Car talk: Integrating texts, bodies, and changing landscapes*

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Abstract

Making use of videotaped recordings of interaction in cars filmed as middle class families pursue their daily activities, we examine some of the ways in which talk while driving includes as parts of its intrinsic organization ongoing attention to phenomena beyond the stream of speech. Important consideration is given to issues posed by the task of driving while talking about a seeable field in either the unfolding landscape or a textual artifact within the car itself. Of particular interest to our analysis is how such phenomena are attended to, collaboratively recognized, and incorporated into the ongoing organization of talk. This process involves making use of a range of resources including deictics, perceptual directives, address terms, pointings (C. Goodwin 2003), etc., to locate for others these phenomena, as well as forms of stance display that inform how the speaker aligns towards the event. Through their gaze direction, questions, and displays of understandings recipients can display their response to a noticing or reporting.

Keywords: *mobility; talk-in-interaction; embodied talk; joint attention; multimodality; family interaction*

1. Introduction

This paper makes use of videorecordings of family interaction in cars to investigate how visible phenomena in the environment, phenomena that are not lodged within the stream of speech, are integrated into the detailed organization of unfolding talk. Such analysis expands our understanding of how actions are organized, not through talk alone, but instead through the mutual elaboration of different kinds of semiotic resources. It also contributes to the study of how local interactions are linked to larger courses of action within which they are embedded, and to the investigation of contemporary family life in a pervasive but distinctive environment: moving cars.

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Making use of videotaped recordings of interaction in cars filmed as middle class families pursue their daily activities, we will focus on two kinds of visual environments that participants treated as particularly salient in our data: 1) texts that had been imported into the car from other settings, and 2) the visual landscape that is revealed as the car moves rapidly through space. We examine some of the ways in which talk while driving includes as parts of its intrinsic organization ongoing attention to phenomena beyond the stream of speech. Important consideration is given to issues posed by the task of driving while talking about a seeable field in either the unfolding landscape or a textual artifact within the car itself. Of particular interest to our analysis is how such phenomena are attended to, collaboratively recognized, and incorporated into the ongoing organization of talk.

We view cars not primarily as physical objects, but rather as activity settings with a quite distinctive structure, one having deep consequences for the organization of interaction that occurs within them. Perhaps this can be most clearly seen by contrasting what happens in cars with Goffman's classic description of an encounter: "a physical coming together" in an "ecological huddle wherein participants orient to one another and away from those who are present in the situation but not officially in the encounter" (Goffman 1964: 64). Goffman's definition of the encounter specified that ratified participants are positioned in proximity to one another in a similar physical space.

This is true for people in a car as well. However, despite the fact that people are located in the same space, they are not involved in maintaining any type of ecological huddle. While walking affords the possibility of people to disband and reconfigure their participation frameworks over time and space, the car constrains the forms that participation takes, as it forces people together for extended periods of time. The bodies of people in cars are positioned so that they are looking away from each other (side-by-side and back to front) (Mondada 2004). Though forms of mutual monitoring (Goffman 1963; C. Goodwin 1981; M. H. Goodwin 1980) are possible for the driver out the rear view mirror, or participants seated side-by-side, it takes effort to look towards each other in the car. Moreover, while people are located in the same physical space and in each other's copresence, they do not, however, have options for leaving this space. In short, there is "no exit." One mother in our study described how, even though her two children (ages eight and ten) attend the same school and have friends in common, after school they quickly retreat to their own rooms for solitary activities (to do homework, watch television, use electronic toys, get onto the computer, and even eat dinner) and don't see or talk to each other for the rest of the day. In the car, however, they "talk about everything."[1]

Some participants have stronger demands made on their attention than other participants. For example, the driver's attention must be on the road. Passengers in the car may be attending to their own activity, such as doing home-

work, playing with an electronic computer game, drawing, reading, watching television, etc., as seen in Figure 1.

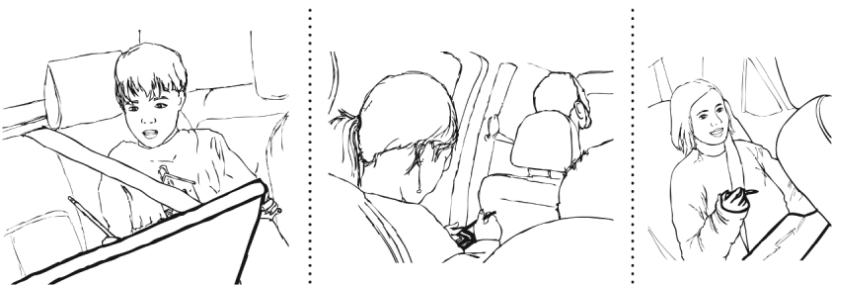


Figure 1. *Passengers' focus: homework, Blackberry, and art projects*

Through such activities passengers can display a sense of self engagement, distancing themselves from the position of fully-ratified participant in talk (Goffman 1981). When there are no schismed conversations (Egbert 1997), participants involved in solitary activities maintain easy auditory access to others in the car, as they can be simultaneously listening to the talk in progress while self-involved. Thus, interaction in the car has the possibility of recruiting participants into states of focused attention (discussed later in Section 6).

As discussed in several of the papers in this special issue, talk in the car, as talk in other settings such as mealtime at the dinner table (Goodwin 1984) occurs in the midst of multi-activity settings, where other activities are co-occurring (Laurier 2004; Laurier, et al. 2007). Drivers (like passengers) can be involved in diverse activities simultaneously, for example, eating their breakfast, putting on makeup, talking on the phone or helping their children with their homework in the midst of driving children to school, as visible in the following images in Figure 2:

Figure 2. *Drivers' multiple foci of attention: eating breakfast and helping with homework*

The activity of driving requires attending to what is happening on the road as well as to the ongoing conversation. Because talk about details of driving is intertwined with local tasks entailed in driving, it takes priority over other talk, and can interrupt other conversation in progress. Thus, when unsure of what route to take, a driver interjected, "Wait. I thought this took us to Freemont." Adult passengers are closely attuned to averting possible problems that could result from drivers gazing at passengers while driving, gesturing while talking, or otherwise not devoting their full attention to the road. While they cannot themselves contribute to the local steering of the car, they can help through cautioning words such as "You're gonna miss your exit." or "Chris, are you concentrating?" In addition, they can give reprimands to those making demands on the driver's attention in utterances such as "Luke stop asking Daddy or we're gonna miss our exit." In fact drivers themselves may alert passengers that they are mindful that talking and gazing at a passenger may interfere with careful driving, in utterances such as "Okay, I got to concentrate on the road." Talk about the activity of driving itself, such as not missing an exit, may compete with other talk in progress; however, as it is deals with time-critical demands posed by driving itself, transporting people quickly and safely from one location to another, it takes priority over other types of talk that can be put on hold.

2. Methodology and ethnographic context

Laurier et al. (2008: 3) report that with some exceptions there is little research on what happens interactionally in the interior of the car (see also Mondada 2004). This study is based on fieldwork that was undertaken as part of the project at the Center for Everyday Lives of Families, or CELF project, directed by Elinor Ochs (Ochs et al. 2006). Videographers followed parents and children of thiry-two dual earner middle class Los Angeles families throughout their day, from the time they got up in the morning until the children left for school, and from the time children returned from school until they went to bed, for two weekdays. During the weekends we recorded families when they woke up until about noon each day, and returned Sunday in the evenings. The range of activities we were able to record included activities in cars, such as taking the children to school and extracurricular activities, such as sports, going to church, shopping, and weekend outings. The authors were principal videographers in fourteen of these families. Usually the videographer sat in the front seat on the right in the passenger seat, facing towards the road, but positioning the camera on the space between front seats, usually towards the back seat; this type of filming largely

captured children in the back seat, but sometimes the driver and the surrounding scene being attended to by participants were recorded as well. When the videographer was seated in the back seat, the actions of those in the seats towards the front of the car were focused on. All names used in transcripts are pseudonyms.

The particular cohort of individuals we are investigating are parents and children. Historians of the transformations of living spaces in Western houses have documented the parlor giving way to the living room as a major locus for activities, and now the great room takes center stage for family activities. One way to view the car is as a particular kind of structured spatial extension of the participants' home and a place where repetitive expected activities are occurring. In the same way that kitchens have resources, such as tables, that facilitate the organization of particular kinds of activities, such as meals, children doing homework, paying bills simultaneously (Graesch 2008), the car allows for families to import activities such as homework into the car, so that it becomes a particular type of activity setting, a regular part of their lives.

In our study, cars were frequently used by families to transport children from one location to another — in particular for sports activities (Kremer-Sadlik and Kim 2007). Family SUV's (sport utility vehicles) were frequently reconfigured to make possible particular kinds of activities. For example, a board that can act as a table might be added to the rear seat so that the child can do homework while traveling (see Figure 1). Books and electronic toys are brought into the car to occupy the attention of children. The car is thus configured as an activity space that can support the cohort of participants who occupy it on a regular basis, and who repetitively carry on particular activities there. Because of this feature of cars, talk may at points be directed towards the performance of such embedded activities, in directives such as "Do your homework while we're driving." The car is thus mobilized in terms of the larger activities that help constitute the family and linked to settings where the activities of the household are done.

Cars provide an interesting site for interaction because of the interplay between the emerging organization of talk and environment, as well as the consequential activities that the drive is embedded within. Mobility in cars provides access to an ever-changing landscape. By noticing events in the surround, and bringing such noticings to others' attention, speakers make requests that others attend to the passing environment in some significant way. The practices utilized to introduce new topics in this way are analyzed in section 6 of this paper. It is also possible, however, to import textual materials from another environment into the car. Documents of various sorts, articulated through environmentally coupled gestures (C. Goodwin 2007a), can also become the visible focus of talk for some or all participants.

3. Imported text: Constituting an activity system

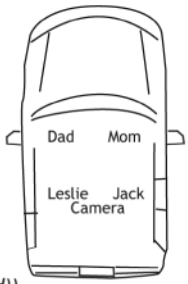
We will begin by looking at how a text from another context, a report card, becomes relevant for talk in the car. In Figure 3, Mom, Dad, Leslie (age ten) and her brother Jack (age eight) are returning from a parent-teacher conference. While Dad is driving, Mother, as front seat passenger, has her hands free. She becomes principal speaker, the party holding the textual document, Leslie's report card, which becomes the primary focus of attention. How is the text interpreted and made relevant to the current interaction? We argue that this imported text helps to constitute a small activity system that is structuring the interaction around it.

Mom opens the report card, and makes it visible to those in the front and back seat. As she reads, she transforms the text in front of her; rather than being neutral, her reading constitutes a vivid commentary on Leslie's scholarship. Though the absent teacher is the author of words being spoken, Mom and her interlocutors use a range of different resources to transform the materials provided by the teacher into densely textured events that constitute their current action.

The following diagram (Figure 3) shows seating positions of participants, with the cameraperson between the two children in the back seat. Dad is positioned as driver in the left front seat, and Mom as passenger in the right front seat. The transcript provides drawings from frame grabs to indicate facing formations, gestures, and other features of embodied interaction that co-occur with the text opposite them. Where relevant arrows to text show precisely how text and gestures are linked. The transcription conventions are a modified form of Jefferson's system (Sacks et al. 1974), with bold italics indicating emphasis.

As the text in question concerns actions of a present participant, Leslie, the participation framework of the moment is quite relevant. Leslie is the "principal character" (Goffman 1981) of the descriptions being read. Through use of a yellow highlighting pen Leslie's teacher, Miss Cochran, categorized certain parts of the text as particularly salient. In so doing, she reconfigured the rather anonymous text of the report card into something she personally and professionally endorsed. Highlighting occurs through Mom's voice and use of her body as well. She expressively animates (Goffman 1981) what she is reading, with the enthusiasm of someone giving compliments to an opera star after a command performance, and invites others to take up a similar interactive stance towards it. There are thus three different levels of embeddedness of the text. Through her enthusiastic reading, Mom animates praiseworthy text on the generic report card that Leslie's teacher, through her highlighting, had herself animated.

The driver in the front seat has his primary orientation on the road. As the car stops at a light, however, he can give fuller attention to what is being said about



1 Mom: Did Miss Cochran tell us all the good things
2 That you expected her to tell us?
3 *((looking over report card in front seat))*
4 (2.0)
5 Leslie: Uh, yeah,
6 (0.8)
7 Mom: See, Miss Cochran's a ***high***lighter.
8 (1.6)
9 She put- She ***high***lights *((reads from report card))*
10 "A ***plea***sure to have in class."
11 Car: *((arrives at stop light))*
12 Mom: *((adjusts air conditioning opening and looks back at Leslie))*

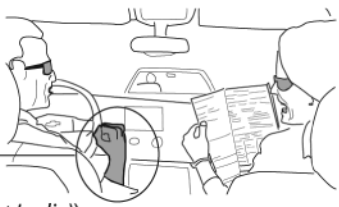
13 (5.4) *((at stop light))*

14 Dad: *((gazes towards Mom & paper and nods))*
15 Mom: See that Love?
16 Leslie ***Y***eah,

17 Mom: "Is a ***rec***og nized ***lead***er." *((smiles, gazes at Leslie))*
18 (1.2)
19 Leslie: Yup.

Figure 3. *Mom reading teacher's comments on Leslie's report card*

what is on the report card. At turn construction unit boundaries, following the completion of a description, he gazes towards Mom (see Figure 4, line 25), occasionally nodding (lines 31, 35). At one juncture he raises a congratulatory fist (line 28; a gesture often used in men's sports following a good play) towards Mom as she reads, "Relates well to peers" (line 27). Subsequently, he produces talk that elaborates the meaning of the gesture with his emphatic "Alright!" (line 28).



24 Mom: "Tries [***hard***."
25 Dad: [*((gazes towards Mom))*
26 Leslie: °Yes,
27 Mom: [“Relates well [to peers.”
28 Dad: [*((fist to Mom))* [Alright!
29 Leslie: °Yes.
30 (2.0) [*((smiles broadly at Leslie))*
31 Dad: [*((nods at Mom))*
32 Mom: “Takes ***pride*** in doing work neatly and corrective-
33 cor***rect***ly.”
34 Leslie: Yup.
35 Dad: [*((nods to Mom))*
36 Mom: [“***List***ens attentatively.”
37 Leslie: Mm-***hm***. [I listen ***all*** the time to ***e***:verything.
38 Dad: [*((looks to Mom))*
39 (1.6)
40 *Car:* *((Stop light changes and car goes))*
41 Dad: *((starts driving as light turns))*

Figure 4. *Dad’s congratulatory gesture regarding teacher’s comments*

The activity of stopping at a light is in fact quite consequential for the development of this sequence. Though Mom reads the first comment on the report card while facing forwards, it is only after the car stops that Mom begins gazing towards Leslie while reading. Each of the six subsequent positive assessments on the report is read while the car is stopped at the light. When the light changes, and the car is again in motion, Mom produces a summary commentary: “You got a::ll these four’s. That is so: wonderful honey,” (lines 42, 46) for the report card talk.

As Mom says “You got a::ll these four’s”, she gesturally highlights text on the report card, with a circling hand motion. She is thus able to organize her talk about the report card not only through talk, but also through the use of environmentally coupled gestures (C. Goodwin 2007a) that articulate the text in front of her with her talk. Afterwards, she lowers the report card slightly, removing this important actor (Smith 1990) in the interaction from view.

Mom has transformed the report card text into a series of temporally unfolding events in the interaction. Here we see how the structure of talk is both deeply tied both to the participation framework of the current interaction as well as to the textual artifact that has been imported. The principal character whose actions are highlighted in the text and animated through the reading is

42 Mom: *((smiles))* You got ***a::ll*** these four's.
43 Dad: Yes,
44 Mom: ((*looks and points to 4's on report card*))
45 (3.0)
46 ***That*** is ***so:*** wonderful honey,
47 (2.0)
48 Mom: *((lowers report card slightly)*

Figure 5. *Mom congratulating daughter on report card*

Leslie, a present participant. This has consequences for mobilizing the types of stances that are taken up with respect to her, both the way in which highlighted, annotated text is read, and the forms of embodied orientations that are taken up towards it. The event that is occurring at this particular point demands attention to features beyond the stream of speech. While the interaction is built through talk, it is deeply tied to the imported artifact. The particular animation of the report card observed here suggests the possibility for an ecology of types of readings (Sterponi 2007) in the family, each with its distinctive features of intonation, gesture, and embodied action.

4. Imported text: An epistemic ecology

We will now look at how a second form of text imported into the car becomes a locus for extended talk, two spelling lists. Five of the eleven minutes it took to drive from home to school was occupied with Mom drilling each of her children on their spelling words. In addition to what the texts might contain, they also make relevant different epistemic ecologies (C. Goodwin 2010; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987), one that is intrinsic to the organization of the activity of quizzing, and different sets of participants looking at things.

In Figures 3–5 the text brought on to the scene was designed to be publicly available for all participants to view. What occurs in Figures 6–7 is that keeping the imported texts hidden from view constitutes a crucial feature of the activity of drilling children. Only Mom has access to the lists of spelling words. The images below show Mom receiving the spelling lists from Allison in the

back seat, and Mom reading from them. They are propped up against the steering wheel.

Figure 6. *Spelling lists: repositioning from backseat child to steering wheel*

Mom does several things to make the activity of quizzing children on spelling words the explicit focus of collaborative orientation. Before starting the quiz she checks to make sure that potentially competing activities (combing hair) are underway. Through the use of "okay" (Beach 1993) she bounds the activity of spelling as set off from other activities: "Okay. Hand me the spelling words." (line 7) After a brief summary commentary about the relative difficulty of each child's spelling words, she bounds the actual introduction of particular spelling words with "All right" and an address term "Allie?" (line 17) and begins reading the words on Allison's list (line 20). At junctures where there is some ambiguity about whether or not Allison understands certain conventions in spelling, Mom checks to be sure rather than continuing with a new word (lines 22–23).

With this example, a situation quite different from the ecological huddle Goffman describes occurs because participants are differently positioned with respect to what they should or should not be permitted to read. Mom has the dual jobs of keeping her eye on the road and driving as well as drilling her children on their spelling words. To organize the activity of quizzing her children, she must arrange a relevant configuration of participants for the activity and the imported text. First, materials that have relevance to participants and the task at hand must be imported into the current context. Second, the participants must build relevant foci of attention, ecologies that are specific to the knowledge states of each set of participants (quizzer and quizzee). Mom has to be able to see the words but position them so that the child cannot see them. What the mother creates through her placement of the spelling list is a particular epistemic ecology of what particular people can see and know (Goodwin 2010; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987), one that is intrinsic to the organization of the activity of quizzing.

1	Mom:	Bye. *((saying goodbye to father as drives off))*
2		(4.2)
3	Mom:	Okay Allie. You got your hair combed?
4		(0.6)
5	Allison:	Combing it.
6		(0.4)
7	Mom:	Okay. Hand me the spelling words.
8		(2.2)
9	Allison:	Here. *((handing two papers on seat to Mom))*
10		I practiced on my own.=
11		=Don't say them so fast.
12		(0.8)
13	Mom:	Well yours are simple this week.
14		(3.0)
15	Mom:	Mikey yours are a little bit- harder.
16		(1.0)
17		All right.= Allie?
18		Blow through these real quickly.
19		(0.6)
20		Mizz.
21	Allison:	M (.) S.
22	Mom:	Now you- you totally understand it's-
23		How- they start and how they end?
24		(0.6)
25	Allison:	Yeah. Capital period.
26	Mom:	Okay.
27		Mister?
28	Allison:	M R,
29	Mom:	This is s-simple.
30		Last week her words were like- you know-
31		(1.4)
32		Belligerent, [Un- unconscious,
33	Camera:	['h °Oh:::.
34	Mom:	[And-
35	Allison:	[Yeah.=Unconsciousness.
36	Mom:	Unconsciousness, and (.) inconvenient.
37	Camera:	Wow(hh).
38		[heh-heh!
39	Allison:	[I had be[lligerent.
40	Mom:	[Words I have trouble spelling.
		((spelling continues all the way to the school))

Figure 7. *Car spelling lesson*

The organization of what is happening extends beyond the stream of speech itself. The spelling words that are called out are located on a piece of paper, something central to the activities the participants are engaged in. Family members have imported into the car textual artifacts that become the focus of their attention and work. The car now becomes an extension of home, a particular type of space that is reconfigured through the importation of the spelling list documents, and the differently positioned protagonists, those asking questions and evaluating talk and those responding. By importing the document listing spelling words into the car, and placing it exclusively in Mom's line of gaze, an activity space is created within the car for carrying out a consequential activity central to the larger projects of the family: helping children with their school work.

5. Competing stances

As we have seen with the examples presented thus far, attending to imported texts as well as spatial features in the car setting is central to the activities that participants are engaged in while in cars. We now turn to considering an array of different forms of co-participation that can occur in response to talk that develops in relation to textual artifact brought into the car.

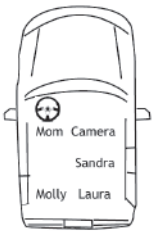
In the following (Figure 8) on the way home from school in the family SUV, Sandra (age eleven) holds up a certificate she received in school that day, for her sisters Laura (age eight) and Molly (age five) to look at. It is her Student of the Week certificate, a bureaucratic form with her name written on it that she received that day. In the operative participation framework of the moment, she is both the principal character in the text, as well as the animator of the words of the text. As she holds up the document, she produces a summons to attention using both an address term, "Laura," and what we will call a "perceptual directive": "look." What follows is an exposition of what was written on the certificate.

1 Sandra: Laura, Look! *((shows paper))*
Student of the week.

This format for presenting the document for scrutiny is similar to the one that was used in Figure 3, with the introduction of talk about the report card. When Mom initiated the topic of Leslie's stellar performance on her report card, she also used perceptual directive ("see"), followed by an explanation of what was relevant to look at: "Miss Cochran's a highlighter."

7 Mother: See, Miss Cochran's a highlighter.
She put- She highlights, *((reads from report card))* "A pleasure to have in class."

In both cases talk related to a setting where the speaker had recently been is introduced via a material artifact, in essence a bureaucratic form, in order to focus talk. The physical space of the car is important in constructing the organization of seeing, as in both instances the speaker must position the document to be seen by other interlocutors. Leslie's mom placed the report card so that it was viewable by those in the back seat. In Figure 8, Sandra, seated in the second row of seats in an SUV, holds up her Student of the Week certificate, for her sisters Laura and Molly, seated in the back seat, to look at before she begins



1	Sandra:	Laura, Look! *((shows paper))*
2	Molly:	Laura, Look!
3	Sandra:	Student of the week.
4	Molly:	Student of the week.
5	Sandra:	Molly! *((falsetto))* *((retracting paper))*
6	Molly:	Eh heh heh!
7		Ah ah ah, *((high pitched))*
8		Heh heh-heh!
9	Sandra:	M(h)olly:.
10	Molly:	eh huh:,
11		(2.0)
12	Sandra:	Wait a minute.
13		(0.8) *((repositions paper for sisters to see))*
14		Look. Student of the we:e:k, *((singsong))*
15		*((points to paper document as reads))*
16		Sa:ndra: Anderson, *((singsong))*
17		You have been chosen because, *((singsong))*
18		(1.2*)*
19		Of your outstanding behavior in our-
20		In our class.
21		And effort to join in so quickly.
22		*h Your respect for others and hard work
23		*h are- quite (.) apparent.
24	Mom:	[Ah::: ah.
25	Laura:	[What's apparent.
26	Mom:	Good for you sweetie.

Figure 8. *Sandra, seated in the second row of SUV seats, gets out paper from seat next to her and holds it up to show it to Molly and Laura, seated in the third row of seats*

reading. As in Figure 3, the text to be animated and commented upon is that which is printed on the document that is being held.

In contrast to the way in which Leslie's mom began reading (with enhanced intonational stress), Sandra introduces her reading of the certificate almost as one would read a generic report, with neutral intonation (line 3). The uptake from her sisters is not enthusiastic appreciation, or any form of gearing into what Sandra was reporting. Instead her younger sibling Molly parrots what Sandra said (lines 2, 4). Actions of this sort that repeat prior talk do not advance the telling, but rather comment on it; they constitute a form of dispreferred response recipients to talk can choose to engage in, as in byplay (M. H. Goodwin 1997). With her repetition, Molly is in essence making light of what her sister has presented for commentary, rather than expressing excitement or asking for elaboration. This results in an irritated response from Sandra; with a falsetto voice Sandra reprimands her sister by calling her name: "Molly!" and placing the certificate on her lap (line 5). We see from both the sanctioning name calling as well as the retraction of the document from its position in the line of sight of her coparticipants that Sandra temporarily puts on hold further development of her announcement.

Molly in response produces a short laugh "eh heh heh!" (line 6). She subsequently replicates a version of the high pitched voice Sandra had used in her name calling, as she produces the sounds "Ah, ah," (line 7). This constitutes a kind of mimic of Sandra's reprimand. Such forms of "de-composition" of prior talk reference past talk and comment upon it (C. Goodwin 2010). Molly then frames this talk with another short laugh (line 8). In what follows once again Sandra sanctions her sister by calling her name (line 9).

Sandra's name calling this time is produced in a lower volume with respect to the first (without falsetto voice), with a laugh token, and elongation of the last syllable of Molly's name (line 9). Such types of actions are used when attempting to shut down a course of action, as a sort of a "second" recycling to a first call-to-attention. Sandra's reprimand is answered this time not by mocking, but by a diminished version of Molly's prior laugh (line 10), without high pitch. Following a two second period of silence, after intrusions into her announcement about her award have subsided, Sandra once again prepares the stage for her reading (line 12). She attempts to gain focus on her activity of the reading of the text with another call to attention: "Wait-a-minute. (0.8) Look." In addition she repositions the paper document for her sisters to see.

Having secured a more attentive cohort of listeners to her announcement, Sandra then proceeds to read the letter of commendation that was given her (lines 14–23). Similar to the report card example, as Sandra begins to read, she takes up a stance towards the bureaucratic textual document she is reading (lines 14–17). This is made possible through the deployment of a constitutive semiotic resource that participants make use of in producing their talk, intona-

tion. Similar to Mom's reading of the report card (see Figure 3), Sandra utilizes an intonation that highlights the importance of what has been written. The stance she takes up, however, is quite different from the one assumed by Mom in Figure 3. She had used intonation to express appreciation of, as well as excitement about, the words on the report card about her daughter. As Sandra speaks "Student of the week. Sandra Anderson" she uses a type of singsong intonation that is similar to melodies children use when bragging, as in "Neh neh, neh neh neh." (meaning "I got something better than you"; lines 14–17). As she continues her reading, she produces additional singsong melody over the words "You have been chosen because." The rest of the certificate, however, she reads without singsong, but in a voice that clearly enunciates each word and is enthusiastic, in that way similar to the reading of the report card (lines 19–23).

Two different ways of gearing into the animation of the text are made by the other coparticipants on the scene, Laura and Mom. Both are differently positioned with respect to the reader of the text, and her message. Upon completion of the certificate reading Mom produces a response cry (Goffman 1978) ("Ah:::: ah.") (line 24) that expresses delight in the news that has been reported. With her subsequent utterance "Good for you sweetie" (line 26), Mom praises Sandra, both through the use of an assessment adjective "good," showing positive alignment towards the achievement, as well as through the use of the endearing address term "sweetie." Laura, however, selects a different way to respond; rather than giving praise, she treats the sequence as one from which she can launch a repair sequence, questioning the meaning of the word "apparent" (line 25).

The different positionings of family members vis-à-vis the characters in the text and the text's animator are consequential. While Mom produces talk that expresses appreciation for the conduct of the character reported on in the text, Molly through her parroting, mimicking Sandra's intonation contour and laughing, takes up a quite different stance. Rather than advancing the sequence further, Molly's de-composing of Sandra's talk for commentary temporarily aborts it, until Molly indicates she is not going to derail the onward progression of the announcement further. Laura, the official addressee, asks for the explication of a word she has not understood, rather than commending her sister for her accomplishments.

With these three examples we have seen some ways in which text from an environment outside the car (the school) can be imported into the present scene and made the focus of attention for some span of talk. This was achieved first, in part, by the physical positioning of the textual artifact. Different epistemic ecologies (C. Goodwin 1979, 2010; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987) were at play in these three examples. While Mother in the spelling example wanted to keep the sheet with the spelling words hidden from her children, in the other

examples the textual artifact was positioned so that it could be viewed by others in the car who were constituted as audience to the reading of the text.

The forms of stances taken up towards the text can vary considerably, as seen in Figures 3 and 8. Intonation contours used to produce talk constitute powerful semiotic resources, in that they help create variable types of stances. In each of these examples the relationship of the speaker and hearers vis-à-vis the principal character being commented upon was consequential for the ways in which the text was animated, as well as the way that the audience to the reading responded to it. Considerable work is often entailed in securing both an attentive audience to the reading of the words on the imported printed document, as well as an alignment to those words that is congruent with that of the speaker. In the next section of this paper, we turn to other ways in which talk in cars gets organized, by considering practices for generating talk about events in the passing scene.

6. Seeing the landscape

As car travelers move through space, topics may also be occasioned by noticings (Sacks 1995) that the landscape affords. Any number of features — buildings, billboards or features in the environment such as fires or floods — may trigger commentaries that are inserted into ongoing conversations. In that the object noticed will quickly pass from view given the automobile's speed, the noticing often occurs in overlap; it is indexically tied to the object in the landscape that occasions the commentary and thus occurs at the first possible opportunity to mention it before it becomes too late.

Some noticings about features of the landscape receive no uptake, despite requests calling for attention to the local scene that are made quite explicitly. The following sequence provides an example of such a situation. In Figure 9, Dad alerts his five-year old son Weston, seated next to him in the front seat, that there is something of interest in the passing marina scene. Pointing out some boats for him to see, Dad makes use of a deictic term "there" as well as an address term, "Wes." Dad's talk about boats, however, was followed by singing, rather than a request for elaboration.

Dad:	There's some boats Wes. There's a couple of boats.
Wes:	*((singing))* Over the world, and then you wrote,
	and then you have to-
	Went to you- went into the park,
	into the library, into the street.

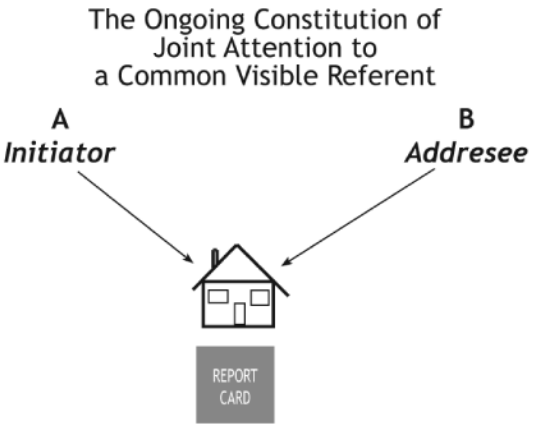
Figure 9. *Driving through the marina*

Other noticings of the passing scene produced with lowered volume may not explicitly call for a response; such types of utterances have been analyzed as "outlouds" (Sacks 1995) or self commentaries (C. Goodwin 1987). Depending on how recipients respond, there can be development or closure of the sequence. The transformation of a noticing into ongoing talk is an interactive accomplishment, something that requires the collaboration of multiple participants — not only the party who makes the noticing, but also others who transform it into an interactive event.

Joint attention in which two parties attend to the same aspect of the same object in their visible environment is argued to be central to the development of human cognition, and moreover something that requires a distinctively human form of intentionality (Tomasello 2003). Here we want investigate the practices through which joint reference and attention are accomplished as constitutive features of ongoing interaction in cars. Figure 10 summarizes the practices entailed in achieving joint attention that are central to the rest of the analysis of this paper.

A state in which multiple parties are attending together to a common referent is something that emerges within a more basic framework of mutual orientation focused on the organization of collaborative action. Thus, a first issue for someone initiating a state of joint attention is summoning another into a framework of collaborative mutual orientation. Phenomena not in any way present in the current local environment can be the focus of mutual orientation, for example, discussions about past events. Thus, a distinct task faced by someone performing a noticing is signaling to the addressee that they should focus on something in the visible surround. That entity might exist outside in the rapidly unfolding environment of the city being moved through, or it could be something inside the car, an imported text such as a report card. The parties must then establish that they are attending to the same phenomenon from the same perspective (Tomasello 1995: 105). These are basic generic issues in human interaction and cognition. It is therefore not surprising that there are conventional systematic resources to facilitate the accomplishment of this task. The initial speaker can use categorizations, descriptions, and deictic terms to indicate what the hearer should try to locate in the complex visual field around them. The hearer then has resources for displaying that the entity has or has not been located, for example, through providing descriptions of her own that depict aspects of the object she has been charged with locating.

As speakers produce materials to help their addressee locate what it is that is being discussed, they also use prosody and other embodied actions, word choice, and other phenomena to display the *stance* they are taking up toward that entity, for example, as something to be proud of, etc. In their replies, addressees may also demonstrate that they have recognized the speaker's



1) Initiating Collaborative Action;

Address Term, Summons

2) Focused on Something Visible in Their Surround;

"Look", Deictic Terms, Response Cries

3) Locating Together Appropriate Entity And Perspective

A Initiator	B Addressee
Provide Addresse with Resources that will enable her to pick out Relevant Phenomeon in a Complex Visual Field *Categorization, Description Deictic, "that house", Showing through Embodied Manipulation of Objects*	Demonstrate that What has Been Indicated Has In Fact been Located Descriptions of her own
Alignment & Stance toward Object *Prosody, Word Choice*	Alignment & Stance • Recognition • Congruent Alignment or Opposition

4) How this Jointly Constructed Sign Complex Constitutes a Point of Departure for the Organization of Subsequent Action

Figure 10. *Joint attention*

displayed stance, and may choose to either align in the same fashion themselves, or to oppose the initial speaker's alignment.

Once these tasks have been accomplished, a jointly constructed sign complex now exists in a public environment where it can constitute a point of departure for subsequent action built through systematic transformations of what has just been put in place. These activities can lead away from the present environment to discussion of comparable or linked events that occurred in the past.

We will continue to investigate how phenomena outside of the stream of speech are incorporated into its organization. However, we will now move from texts imported into the car to possibilities provided by events in the unfolding landscape.

A first issue, and something that comes up repetitively in our data, is recruiting or summoning another into a collaboratively sustained framework of mutual orientation. Each person in the car has her own visual perspective, particular to one's positioning in the car. Drivers are uniquely positioned in that the tasks of driving require that they spend most of their time looking outside the car, while passengers may have their gaze directed elsewhere, for example, towards their laps, where books, toys, or art projects are located. In our family car data, drivers are thus often the participants who first comment on a feature of the landscape.

To open up a form of collaborative action they must first summon their interlocutors to attend to what the driver has noticed. Passengers, who can be engrossed in materials of their own, such as books and games, may be reluctant to put these aside to attend to the noticing. Once the attention of the recipient has been garnered, the speaker needs to explain where to look and provide some form of categorization of what is being singled out for looking.

Intertwined with this is getting the recipient to take up a particular perspective or stance towards what has been seen. The recipient then has the job of demonstrating to the initiator of the sequence that s/he has in fact found what the initiator was pointing at, and showing the perspective that they take up to it. This itself can be quite complex in that interlocutors who have been summoned might recognize the alignment of the speaker, but refuse to coparticipate in the way projected by initiator (for example, by heckling, as in Figure 8).

In that the initiator attempts to achieve visual orientation toward something, the sequence often begins with a directive to look and/or an address term, both of which act as a summons. To bring about joint attention speakers make use of an inventory of systematic resources. We find that across a range of similar activities, noticings make use of: summonses, deictic terms, address terms, perceptual directives, and explanations. Consider the following utterance:

"Amy look. They've- Tee Pee'd this house."[2]

The first feature of the turn is a summons (produced through an address term). This is followed by the perceptual directive "look." An explanation for why the speaker is summoning someone to look is provided in the next part of turn: "They've- Tee Pee'd this house."

Address term	*Directive*	*Categorization*	*Deictic term*
Amy	look.	They've- Tee Pee'd	this house.

In locating a second house similarly adorned with toilet paper, Dad subsequently produces talk that additionally contains a response cry as well as a keying (Goffman 1974)[3] through laughter:

Response cry	*Deictic term*	*Address term*	*Keying*
Oh	Here too	Ame	hnh hnh!

Other noticings that attempt to bring a seeable field into view, or summon someone to look at a particular phenomenon, are constructed using similar turn construction elements.

There's the fire up there guys. See it? Wow:.
Look. That's Magic Johnson's Friday's.

Examining this array of examples we find they make use of similar resources (response cries, address terms, perceptual directives, categorizations, and deictic term) as diagrammed in Figure 11 below.

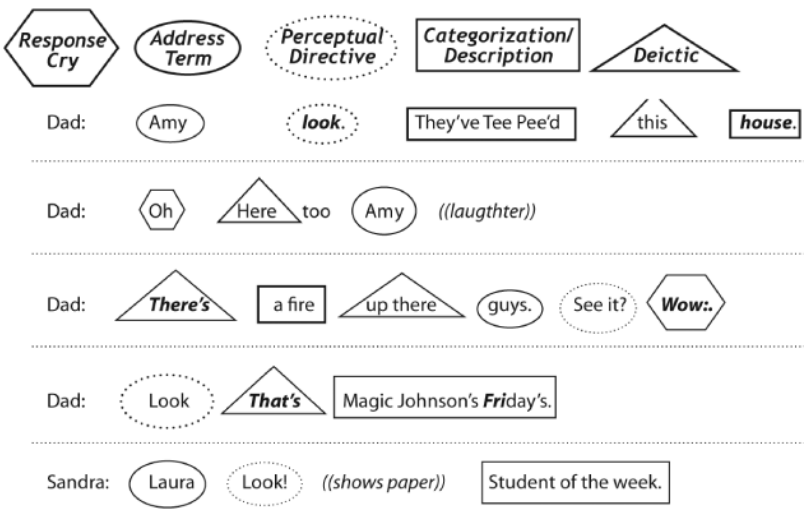


Figure 11. *Resources for constructing noticings*

Looking at the uptake given to each of these utterances, we see that the framing of the request to look was successful in receiving recipient response.

Dad: Amy look. They've- Tee Pee'd this house.
Amy: *((looks out window))*(3.0)

Dad: Oh here too Ame! Hnh hnh!
Amy: What's going on! *((looks to right smiling))*

Dad: There's the fire up there guys. See it? Wow:.
((Kate and Amy begin looking out window))

Dad: Look. That's Magic Johnson's Friday's.
Mike: *((begins to gaze out window))*
Camera: Oh yeah.

We can view such practices as a small activity system (C. Goodwin 1996; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987) that involves attempts to secure the addressee's attention, getting him or her to look at a specific place within a particular time constraint. This is achieved through the command to look or see something, an address term such as "guys" or a personal name, as in "Amy," and a deictic term (that's, this, there's, up there, here) response cries (wow), and a description of what it is that is to be seen.

There is a difference between simply noting the presence of a seeable event in the environment, and organizing collaborative attention to it as a multiparty, interactive project. Thus in Figure 12 below Dad observes, with lowered volume, that he smells a fire, an action that receives no uptake from others in the car. Others continue talk on the current topic.

Dad: °I smell a fire.
Kate: But I would love to go see Warner tomorrow
if we can find out a way that know
whether or not we'll be able to get in.
Dad: Wait. I thought this took us to Freemont.
Kate: Yeah, this takes you to Huntington.
So now if you turn left you'll hit Freemont.

Figure 12. *Dad's noticing fire without uptake*

However, a short time later, he recruits their participation in locating the fire by constructing an utterance that shifts the focus from his experience, to something that should be searched for by others, by using many of the resources for recruiting others to participate in joint reference noted above, including a

perceptual directive, deictic terms, explicit address and a response cry (Goffman 1978). Goffman (1978: 99–100) argues that through response cries, or exclamatory interjections that are not full-fledged words, a speaker displays alignment taken up to a current situation. His talk is not produced in a low voice; instead, he highlights part of the turn, such as the response cry, through emphatic stress (Selting 1996). Note how his use of "the fire" in line 1 of Figure 12 treats it as something that is already known about by his addressees. Moreover he is now presenting the fire as something that they can and should see.

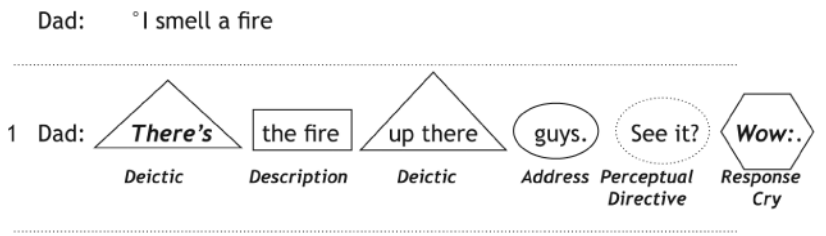


Figure 13. *Perceptual access in noticings*

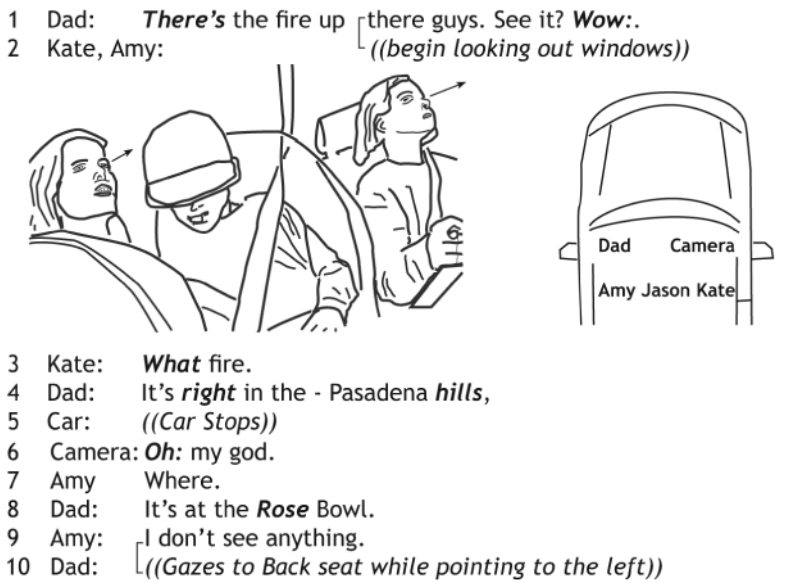
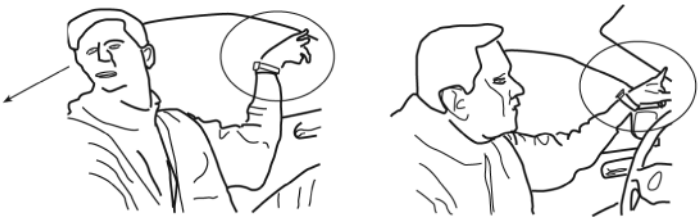


Figure 14. *Differential responses to Dad's noticing of fire*



11 °Over there?
12 Kate: You mean ┌just the gray::
13 Dad: └*((carefully repositions head to view fire out front window, realigns pointing finger))*
14 Dad: Yeah:. You could see the ***sm//oke*** -
15 Kate: It's at the Rose Bowl?
16 Dad: Well, that's Rose Bowl adjacent.
17 It's in the ar***royo*** there somewhere.
18 Kate: Huh. I didn't hear about that. *((looks down))*
19 Car: *((starts to move))*
20 Amy: You know it ***could*** be rain clouds,
21 But- ┌I don't think so.
22 Dad: └No:, I smell- look at it.
23 You don't see 'em Kate? *((pointing to left))*
24 Over there?
25 Kate: Yeah:, I saw just a little, um,
26 Amy: Oh:, but I see a ***lot*** of it.
27 Now: you'll see a lot of it.
28 Kate: *((continues looking down))*

Figure 14 (*Continued*)

In response to Dad's noticing of the fire in line 1, with its distinctive structure, Kate and Amy begin to search for the fire by looking outside the car. However, they are unable to immediately find it. Kate asks, "What fire." (line 3) and subsequently Amy asks "where?" (line 7) Meanwhile another participant, Kate's young son Jason, continued reading his book, without attempting to look.

As the sequence unfolds, Dad continually provides resources for the passengers to locate what he sees. He describes the actual location: "It's right in the — Pasadena hills," (line 4) "It's at the Rose Bowl." (line 8) "That's Rose Bowl adjacent." (line 16) Such descriptions presuppose a particular epistemic ecology — that others present have knowledge of the landscape features being described.

The state of the car itself can impact the types of resources that drivers make available. Deictic references, such as describing a specific location, are frequently restricted to the verbal channel, at least when a driver needs both hands on the wheel while driving. In the present example the car stops at a light

as Amy says "I don't see anything." (line 9). Though drivers do not generally look towards the back seat, when the car is stopped Dad gazes towards the back seat and points with his finger towards the fire (line 10). He subsequently recalibrates his pointing by looking towards the front of the car, repositioning his head to get a better view, and producing a more precise point (line 11). Dad continually provides instructions for how to locate the scene in question, gearing into the interpretations his recipients provide him. When Kate says "You mean just the gray::" (line 12) Dad elaborates the grayness feature of the fire scene with, "Yeah:. You could see the smoke." (line 14)

Participants display different types of engagement in locating what Dad is talking about. Amy provides her version of what the gray sky might mean with "You know it could be rain clouds" (line 20). She continually gazes out the window with a worried look, searching the landscape while attempting to find what Dad has described. Kate, for her part, however, shows lack of enthusiasm for engaging in the search. In response to Dad's alerting her to where in particular the fire might be, stating that it was "Rose Bowl adjacent," and in the arroyo[4] she says simply that she "didn't hear about that" and quickly looks down at her lap (line 18).

Taking note of Kate's lack of uptake, Dad makes explicit requests for displays of engagement from her. He asks, "You don't see em Kate?" (line 23) Getting no response he adds another segment to his talk, to attempt to achieve a collaborative perspective on what he has reported (C. Goodwin 1981; M. H. Goodwin 1980). Dad makes use of both a deictic point toward the fire and a deictic expression as he says "Over there?" (line 24) Lack of engagement is displayed not only through her gaze towards her lap rather than towards the domain of scrutiny, but through her talk as well. She downplays the seriousness of the fire with a flatly delivered agreement, "Yeah:," (line 25) in response to Dad's question about whether she sees the fire, and then describes what she had seen as "just a little." By way of contrast Amy, who had displayed active engrossment in attempting to locate what Dad sees states "Oh:, but I see a lot of it. Now: you'll see a lot of it" (lines 26–27).

With this example we can see the extensive work that a party initiating a looking at a particular feature of the environment must attend to: dismantling a competing focus of attention, getting people to look where he indicates the object to be recognized has been seen and to locate it, and attempting to secure a perspective on the field of view that is consistent with his own.

Similar practices for securing the attention and engagement of an interlocutor in looking at a passing scene are at work in the next example, Figure 15. The participants in the car are Dad and Amy. En route to pick up their friend Kate, Dad produces a noticing "Amy look. They've- Tee Pee'd this house" (line 1; commenting on how toilet paper had been draped over the house). The utterance is structured through the summons "Amy look" and an explanation

for why her attention was summoned. Dad makes use of an abbreviation to describe the activity of draping trees with toilet paper (visible out the window).

((while listening to "This Land is My Land" and making a peace poster))

1	Dad:	Amy look. They've- Tee Pee'd this house.
2		*((said while looking to left out of car window))*
3		With toilet paper.
4		*((camera shows toilet paper is draped*
5		*on trees on left side of road))*
6	Amy:	*((looks out window))*(3.0)
7	Dad:	By those trees,
8		*((Amy resumes coloring))* (1.6)
9	Dad:	Oh here too Ame Hnh hnh!
10		*((camera pans to toilet paper on right side of road with 3 trees covered))*
11	Amy:	What's going on! *((looks to right smiling))*
12	Dad:	We used to do that as kids.
13		It's called Tee Pee.
14		You throw toilet–
15		Rolls of toilet paper at someone's house.
16	Amy:	*((shaking head, looking out the window))*
17		But why would they do that.
18	Dad:	I don't know.
19		Hopefully it was in a- peaceful, jokeful mode,
20		Not a mean: spirited.
21	Amy:	Daddy, do you believe what happened.
22	Dad:	What.
23	Amy:	At summer camp last year.
24		Gee- um, bee: three, which is boys cabin three?
25	Dad:	Mm hm,
26	Amy:	TP'd girls' cabin? (1.2) TP'd girl three-
27		Girl [three's cabin?
28	Dad:	[Uh huh,
29	Amy:	And- stole the spirit stick.
30	Dad:	Huh huh-huh!
31	Amy:	Huh-huh!
32	Dad:	See: that was in good humor I hope. Right?
33		(3.0)
34	Amy	And then the girls TP'd their cabin,
35		So that they couldn't get out
36		and stole the spirit stick back.
37		*((Sings to music and colors peace poster)).*

Figure 15. *Dad and Amy's collaborative storytellings*

Though Amy briefly looks out the window from the back seat during a three second pause after the first noticing, "Amy look. They've- Tee Pee'd this house." (line 1) she does not produce any verbal uptake. By adding an additional segment to his talk "by those trees" (line 7) Dad provides additional information on where to look, as well as an opportunity space for Amy to respond. The camera shows that Amy resumes working on her art project (a Peace poster for a rally) during the 1.6 second pause that follows Dad's added segment, "by those trees" (line 8).

As was visible in Figure 15, often what precisely is to be looked at can sometimes be ambiguous and problematic. In the present example, the meaning of the abbreviated term "Tee Pee" is potentially an issue for Amy. After the first announcement, she at first looked out the window (line 3), searching for the referent of Dad's talk, though she quickly retreated to her former solitary activity of making a peace poster. In an attempt to solicit Amy's engagement, Dad then provides a second request to look with his "Oh here too Ame! Hnh hnh!" (line 9)

This turn provides an even more elaborated request to look. Dad produces a response cry (oh), a deictic term (here), a diminutive version of her name ("Ame" rather than "Amy") to summon her attention, as well as a laugh that keys (Goffman 1981) the utterance ("Hnh hnh!"). When the camera panned, it was possible to see elaborate draping of toilet paper on two additional trees on the other side of the street. Now having viewed three trees, the activity of TPing can be constituted as a repetitive act. At this point the noticing is responded to with something more than a glance out the window. Amy displays rapt engagement in understanding the meaning of what she has seen through her intonation, as she exclaims: "What's going on!" (line 11). Her question results in the telling of a story about how Dad as a kid used to throw rolls of toilet paper at people's houses. At the close of the story Amy still expresses puzzlement over the activity of TPing. Shaking her head and looking out the window she asks "But why would they do that." (line 17) Dad, seeking to clarify what was going on states "Hopefully it was in a- peaceful, jokeful mode, Not a mean: spirited" (lines 19–20). This then triggers a second story by Amy about summer camp, where boys TPed the girls' cabin and stole the spirit stick (lines 23–29). Stories triggered by a noticing in the surround may concern events located outside of the immediate interaction. As stories and second stories are exchanged they provide for a reciprocity of perspective taking as participants link characters and events in chained narratives.

7. Conclusion

The car provides a site to investigate how talk is organized not only in terms of phenomena located in the stream of speech but also with reference to how see-

able events in the environment outside the car are incorporated into talk. This process involves making use of a range of resources including deictics, perceptual directives, address terms, pointings (C. Goodwin 2003), etc., to locate for others these phenomena, as well as forms of stance display that inform how the speaker aligns towards the event. Through their gaze direction, questions, and displays of understandings recipients can display their enthusiasm in response to a noticing or reporting; this can occasion further expansion of the topic, opportunities for laughing together as parents and children exchange stories about events in their lives. The ever-changing landscape experienced while being mobile provides the possibility for an array of diverse topics to arise (M. H. Goodwin 2007).

As a transition space between activities, talk in the car is deeply related to activities that passengers are coming from or going to. Artifacts from the activities that bound the car ride can be imported into the local environment of the car and organize talk. Participants position papers, such as reports cards or student awards, for others to see as they read from them, and point to them. Speakers do not provide neutral readings, but rather make use of prosody and environmentally coupled gestures (C. Goodwin 2007a) to animate the words on the printed page.

Work by cultural geographers on interaction in cars has been concerned with how social units such as families "are re-assembled and re-organised in the small-scale spaces that are car interiors" (Laurier et al. 2008). As ethnographers of everyday lives of families such issues are a major concern in our work (C. Goodwin 2006, 2007b; M. H. Goodwin 2006, 2007) as well. At home parents at the end of the day are often involved in the multiple activities of meal preparation, helping with homework, talking to their own parents on the phone, and childcare simultaneously (Good 2009), while children may have their attention directed towards an array of media (Pigeron 2009). As children scramble to pack up belongings after a sports event, the scene is often one of frenzied activities: making plans for a next event, changing clothing, greeting other parents, talking to the coach, giving food and drink to the child. The car provides a participation framework removed from the hectic scene of a sports activity or the home. Whereas in previous times the family meal (Ochs and Shohet 2006; Ochs and Taylor 1992; Ochs et al. 1992) provided a distinctive time and space and for the family to be together, in this paper we have shown ways in which interaction in the interiors of cars permits forms of focused interaction that constitute family life: recounting accomplishments, helping children with homework, and learning how to see the world and interpret events.

Notes

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1. We are indebted to Linda Garro for bringing this to our attention.
2. TPing refers the wrapping or covering of a house in toilet paper.
3. Goffman (1974: 43–44) describes the key as "the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else." His notion of keying is built from Bateson's observations that otters not only fight with each other but also play at fighting.
4. *Arroyo* is a Spanish word meaning dry creek bed that temporarily fills with water after a heavy rain.

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