

Sibling sociality Participation and apprenticeship across contexts

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This paper examines the embodied language practices through which siblings in two middle-class Los Angeles families structure their participation while apprenticing younger siblings into routine household chores, self-care and during care-taking activities. Siblings make use of a range of directive forms (including requests as well as imperatives) and participant frameworks drawn from their family, peer group and school cultures. Families build accountable actors and family cultures through the ways they choose to choreograph and monitor routine activity in the household, using both hierarchical or more inclusive frameworks. Data are drawn from the video archive of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families.

Keywords: sibling interaction; family interaction; embodied talk in interaction; monitoring; directives

Introduction

This paper examines the embodied language practices through which siblings in middle-class Los Angeles families structure their participation (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) while apprenticing younger siblings into routine household chores and during care-taking activities. Directive

response sequences (M. H. Goodwin, 1990) are core activities of the household, drawing on a broad palette of directives, requests, imperatives and interrogatives to build participation in peer (M. H. Goodwin, 1990 & Cekaite, 2014). Families build family cultures through the alternative ways they monitor routine activity in the household.

Social science studies of sibling interaction

While there are now robust ethnographic studies of sibling interaction with peers (Cekaite, Blum-Kulka & Kyratzis, 2011), the sibling interaction has most part been neglected in the literature on interaction with other children. Two reasons for this neglect. First, research on children's group interaction where children are organized in groups is limited. Second, developmental psychology has long been regarded as a unique forum for child interaction and close relationships (Gaskins, 2007). The 'equivalence of the participant action' (Hartup, 1999, p. 109) is a key concept in this field.

Ethnographic studies of sibling interaction in multiple parts of the world (e.g. Reynolds, 2008; Garcia-Sanchez, 2002; Rabain-Jamin, Maynard, 1996; Rindstedt, 2001; Schiefelbusch & Takada, 2015; Konner, 1981; Zayas & Solari, 2008) provide robust evidence of the role of sibling interaction in the development of communicative competence (Goodwin, 2011). In same-age groups children and older classmates or siblings (Goodwin, 2011) draw out on the experience of mentoring and caregiving promotes interdependence (Whiting, Whiting & Longabaugh, 1985).

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response sequences (M. H. Goodwin, 1980b) constitute a key way that the core activities of the household get accomplished. Siblings select from a broad palette of directives, ranging from requests produced with modal forms and interrogatives to bald imperatives, similar to repertoires used in peer (M. H. Goodwin, 1990a, 2006b) and family interaction (Goodwin & Cekaite, 2014). Families build particular kinds of actors and family cultures through the alternative ways they choose to choreograph and monitor routine activity in the household.

Social science studies of sibling interaction

While there are now robust ethnographic studies of children's interactions with peers (Cekaite, Blum-Kulka, Grover & Teubal, 2014; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011), the sibling group in post-industrial families has for the most part been neglected in social science studies of children's language with other children. Two reasons for such omissions have been proposed. First, research on children's groups most commonly takes place in schools, where children are organized into age-graded groups (Nelson, 2014, p. 246). Second, developmental psychologists view children's groups that are same-aged as a unique forum for children to learn how to negotiate and manage close relationships (Gaskins, 2006, pp. 302–303) due to the 'developmental equivalence of the participants and the egalitarian nature of their interaction' (Hartup, 1999, p. 109).

Ethnographic studies of language practices among multi-age sibling groups in multiple parts of the world (Howard, 2009; de León, 2007; Reynolds, 2008; Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Ochs, 1988; Minks, 2013; Maynard, 2002; Rabain-Jamin, Maynard & Greenfield, 2003; Paugh, 2012; DeHart, 1996; Rindstedt, 2001; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin, 1983; Gaskins, 2006; Takada, 2015; Konner, 1981; Zukow, 1989a; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1989) provide robust evidence of sibling interaction as a crucial site for the development of communicative competence (Reynolds, Dorner & Orellana, 2011). In same-age groups children miss opportunities for learning from older classmates or siblings (Teti, Gibbs & Bond, 1989), and children lose out on the experience of mentoring and nurturing younger children. Sibling caregiving promotes interdependence and prosocial behavior in children (Whiting, Whiting & Longabaugh, 1975; Weisner & Gallimore, 1977).

Traditional studies in psychology, with some exceptions (Dunn, 1983; Zukow, 1989b), have rarely considered siblings as socializing agents or

cultural educators, and rarely is sibling interaction studied in context (Reynolds et al., 2011, p. 108). As argued by Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1989, p. 55), most systematic studies of sibling interactions are undertaken by psychologists who make use of controlled experiments, testing, fixed format questionnaires, behavioral checklists, and laboratory settings; the exception is Zukow (1989b), who observes sibling relationships in naturally occurring settings using ethnographic research methods.

Within psychological anthropology the focus of studies in the classic anthropological tradition of the Whittings was to provide broad correlational studies of the percentages or frequencies of time girls and boys of various ages were in the presence of adults or peers across various activities (Whiting, Whiting & Longabaugh, 1975). The Whittings' *Six Cultures* study found that children in the USA (in a small, predominantly white New England town) were far more frequently in the presence of adults rather than other children, in contrast to five other less technologically developed societies. Rogoff (1981, p. 32), who worked in indigenous Mayan communities, similarly found that 'in industrial societies children are not capable of helping or are not allowed to help in much of the adult work'.

Sibling care-taking interaction in Los Angeles families

Close examination of sibling interaction in Los Angeles middle-class families demonstrates the important contributions children make to sibling care. In the absence of adult supervision older children are responsible care-takers of younger children. Precisely because middle-class parents deem the contributions of older siblings critical to the freeing up of parents' time for other work, parents rely on their older children for child care, and chores, such as assisting in younger siblings' self-care (styling hair, bathing or tooth brushing), or bedtime activities, such as reading books to younger children. Sibling care taking provides invaluable assistance in dual earner middle-class American households, where parents are constantly on the go.

In the post-industrial twenty-first century, with the development of more egalitarian relationships between middle-class parents and children, activities such as performing chores have become increasingly contested (Klein & Goodwin, 2013, p. 112) and negotiable (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; Lareau, 2003). Yet, in some families, where there is consistency in the socialization into routine task assignment and close parental monitoring of task performance, children more willingly assume household

responsibilities. Such is the case in the family of Leslie, in which eleven-year old Stephanie is responsible for instructing and caring for the family, in which Leslie (age 11) is responsible for their 18-month old baby sister. Leslie is a pilot and by necessity frequently travels. In particular, Leslie, regularly : family holds down two jobs. for their younger sibling, and The families differ not only in the types of directives : they typically employ to go toddler and her caretaker ar through the haptic as well :

Directives in sequences of the day's activities, reading : ined in order to investigate for apprenticeship and a fa

Methodology

As part of UCLA's Center on the Family, we conducted an ethnography of sibling interaction. We collected audio and video data on sibling interaction for each of three families over a period of a week's time. Each of the families consisted of children between the ages of eight and twelve (and one child between the ages of eight and twelve) and during the week (Monday through Sunday) and during the day (mornings and afternoons/evenings). The families were located in the Los Angeles area and there were two families in the Los Angeles area. Ethnography made it possible to observe physical gestures (Streeck, 2000), and activities (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2006) where people actually carry out activities (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2006). This is a sequentially unfolding act

interaction studied in context by Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo. Interactions are undertaken in controlled experiments, testing, fixed settings, and laboratory settings; the sibling relationships in naturally occurring methods.

The focus of studies in the classic tradition was to provide broad correlations of time girls and boys of different ages or peers across various activities (e.g., 5). The Whitings' *Six Cultures* (1959) is a small, predominantly white study of children in the presence of adults. In other less technologically sophisticated societies children are not involved in much of the adult work.

Los Angeles families

In Los Angeles middle-class families, older children make contributions to sibling relationships because middle-class parents value the freeing up of parents' time for older children for child care, and for self-care (styling hair, bathing, etc.) as well as reading books to younger children. Middle-class parents provide considerable assistance in dual earner families where parents are constantly on the go. In contrast, with the development of middle-class parents and children, sibling relationships become increasingly contested and negotiable (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2006), where there is consistency in parent and close parental monitoring and willingly assume household

responsibilities. Such is the case in the two families whose forms of sibling sociality will be examined in this paper: the Randolph family, in which eleven-year old Stephen and ten-year old Michelle take on duties of instructing and caring for their six-year old sibling Cynthia, and the Walters family, in which Leslie (age 10) and Jack (age 8) are often caretakers for their 18-month old baby sister Roxanne.¹ In the Walters family, Dad is a pilot and by necessity frequently away from home; the older children, in particular, Leslie, regularly acts as a child caretaker. Dad in the Randolph family holds down two jobs. The older Randolph children assist in caring for their younger sibling, and also help out considerably in household work. The families differ not only in terms of the ages of the children, but also in the types of directives and participation frameworks for monitoring they typically employ to get things done. As the bodies of the Walters toddler and her caretaker are often in close contact, monitoring can occur through the haptic as well as visual sense.

Directives in sequences of self-care, chores, and play activities (planning the day's activities, reading storybooks, and playful jousting) will be examined in order to investigate how siblings co-construct a rich environment for apprenticeship and a family ethos of care.

Methodology

As part of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELFL) I assisted in both the ethnography of the project and videotaping of everyday family interaction. We collected approximately fifty-sixty hours of video-recorded interaction for each of thirty-two dual-earner middle-class families over a week's time. Each of the families had two children, with the focal child between the ages of eight and ten. Video recording took place during mornings and afternoons/evenings on three separate days (two weekdays and Sunday) and during the morning hours on Saturday. The families, located in the Los Angeles area, represented a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and there were two families of gay dad couples. Video-ethnographic methodology made it possible to record mundane talk (C. Goodwin, 1981), physical gestures (Streeck, 2009), action (C. Goodwin, 2000), and routine activities (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2011) – all within the household settings where people actually carry out their daily lives (Ochs, Graesch, Mittmann & Bradbury, 2006). This rendered possible fine-grained analysis of the sequentially unfolding action we observed.

This article will examine how siblings in two of the Los Angeles CELF families orchestrate directive trajectories (M. H. Goodwin, 2006a) in the midst of sib care. We first examine conflict in the midst of self-care activities entailing directives. Next we examine how older siblings organize instruction to younger siblings in the midst of chores and self-care activities. The facing formations of bodies to the encounter are critical for monitoring the ongoing progress of the activity. Finally, forms of apprenticeship in the midst of play activities are considered, as these provide some instances of the distinctive ways that children interact with children.

Directives and negotiation with siblings during self-care (hair styling)

Between ages five and seven around the world there are increasing expectations that children will assist with and manage important parts of the family, care taking of younger children, cooking, home safety, teaching, and other tasks (Sameroff & Haith, 1996). Intergenerational family obligations are important for family survival. Within the family siblings make use of directives, utterances designed to get someone else to do something (M. H. Goodwin, 1990a, p. 65), in order to socialize their siblings into household work and self-care obligations, such as brushing teeth.

The children in the Randolph and Walters families often took on tasks without being asked. In the Randolph household Saturday mornings were frequently spent sorting out clothes, cleaning one's room, and vacuuming various rooms of the house. Michelle (age 10) checked her younger sister Cynthia's (age 6) homework and tidied her desk. One weekday morning before school, while Mom was showering and devoting time for herself in preparation for work, Michelle combed, and styled Cynthia's hair in a pony tail, exactly the way Cynthia wanted. This included asking Cynthia if she wanted a special cream their mother used for styling Cynthia's hair and asking her to get it for Michelle (Figure 1).

Dispute, a common feature of all sibling interaction, is not necessarily harmful (Dunn, 1988), as conflict can 'drive the emergence of a "practical" understanding of others people's feelings and intentions' (Zukow-Goldring, 2002, p. 272). When Michelle had finished styling Cynthia's hair, she told her younger sibling to put away 'everything' (which included a brush and cream she had used to style her hair.) Making use of a bald imperative Michelle told Cynthia, 'Okay. Put everything away.' (Figure 2, line 1).

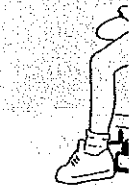


Figure 1

Cynthia's response (line 2) d 'No. I'm *not* putting that aw in argument (M. H. Goodwin towards opposition rather the and Michelle's moves in Figure (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 1 (No in lines 2 and 6 and Yes :

Cynthia attempted to barg take responsibility for puttin

- 1 Michele: Okay. Put *everyth*
- 2 Cyn: {No.: I'm {not} p
- 3 Mich:
- 4 Cyn: *Half* of it away. Y
- 5 Mich: Might as well just
- 6 Cyn: {NO.: {You put tl
- 7 Mich: put *both*
- 8 Mich: I don't know whe
- 9 Cyn: *OH::! GOES* in the
- 10 Cyn: ((disgruntledly goe brush away))

Figure 2 Sibling imperatives,

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Figure 1 Hair styling.

Cynthia's response (line 2) displayed opposition in turn initial position: 'No. I'm *not* putting that away.' In much the same way that peers engage in argument (M. H. Goodwin, 1983, 1990b), siblings display an orientation towards opposition rather than a preference for agreement. Both Cynthia's and Michelle's moves in Figure 2 display oppositional expressions of polarity (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 178) in turn-initial position over several moves (*No* in lines 2 and 6 and *Yes* in line 3).²

Cynthia attempted to bargain with Michelle so that each sibling would take responsibility for putting away half of the hair care materials (line 6).

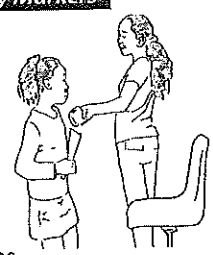
- | | | | |
|----|----------|--|---|
| 1 | Michele: | Okay. Put everything away, | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Polarity Markers</div>  |
| 2 | Cyn: | No. I'm not putting that away. | |
| 3 | Mich: | Yes you are. | |
| 4 | Cyn: | Half of it away. You put the cream away. | |
| 5 | Mich: | Might as well just- | |
| 6 | Cyn: | NO. You put the cream away. | |
| 7 | Mich: | put both away. | |
| 8 | Mich: | I don't know where the cream goes . | |
| 9 | Cyn: | OH::! GOES in the same drawer the brush goes. | |
| 10 | Cyn: | ((disgruntledly goes to bathroom to put cream and brush away)) | |

Figure 2 Sibling imperatives, refusals and compliance.

This fails as Michelle argues that she does not know where the cream goes. Though Cynthia does put the cream and brush away, she does so registering her stance of righteous indignation in a response cry with both extremely high pitch (600 Hz) and strong embodied opposition (line 9). Cynthia disgruntledly stomps out of the room. The bald imperatives, terms of polarity, and response cries used here resemble resources used in peer disputes to create oppositional moves (M. H. Goodwin, 1983). However, while participant frameworks in disputes can rapidly shift among peers (M. H. Goodwin, 1982; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990), repositioning who has the upper hand in the sibling group is less fluid. As the youngest Randolph sibling, Cynthia is often told what to do by her older siblings. In this family a form of hierarchy is co-constructed in both sibling and parent-child relationships. This renders aspects of daily life less open to the forms of exhausting, extended negotiation found in many other families in the CELF study (M. H. Goodwin, 2006a; Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2013):

- ((Roxanne kicks w
- | | | |
|---|----------|---------------------|
| 1 | Leslie: | Roxanne? |
| 2 | Roxanne: | Hneh heh hn |
| 3 | Leslie: | Do you want |
| 4 | Roxanne: | Eh eh eh? |
| 5 | Leslie: | No. Then you |
| 6 | | No kicking . |

Figure 3 Monitoring and eval

Directives and contestation between siblings during self-care (changing baby's clothes)

Leslie (age 10) and Jack (age 8) Walters, provide care taking for their younger sibling, Roxanne (age 18 months) across several routine activities: self-care (bathing, changing clothes, brushing teeth), school-like activities, and combative play. Walters siblings used bald imperative forms with Roxanne when sanctioning inappropriate behavior, protecting her from danger, narrating what to do next in a task activity (when timely execution of a next action was crucial), and when providing demonstrations of next actions ('Do like this').

Leslie played a peekaboo routine with Roxanne as she removed her pajamas over her head. Next, while Leslie was changing her sister's diapers, she began to kick. Leslie monitors this inappropriate kicking with a scolding reprimand (Figure 3).

In response to Roxanne's kicking, Leslie first summons Roxanne's attention, producing her name with a scolding tone (Figure 3, line 1); she next sanctions the kicking behavior by threatening Roxanne with a time-out (line 3). Roxanne, in her next move, produces a response cry with a whiney tone of voice (line 4), which Leslie interprets as a form of protest. With her utterance '**No.** Then you be a good *girl*. No **kicking**' Leslie provides a commentary on Roxanne's behavior. Roxanne's present

kicking behavior is contrasted with 'girl' behavior. While the you (Figure 2), the older sibling has of action that is deemed mor

Instruction and monit

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- ((Roxanne kicks while Leslie changes her diaper))
- | | | | | |
|---|----------|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Leslie: | Roxanne? | ← | Monitoring Roxanne's Behavior |
| 2 | Roxanne: | Hneh heh hn eheh:.... | ← | |
| 3 | Leslie: | Do you want a time out? | ← | Imperative & Evaluation |
| 4 | Roxanne: | Eh eh eh? | | |
| 5 | Leslie: | No. Then you be a good <i>girl</i> ! | ← | |
| 6 | | No <i>kicking</i> . | | |



Figure 3 Monitoring and evaluating baby's kicking.

kicking behavior is contrasted with what is expected of Roxanne: 'good girl' behavior. While the younger sibling can register her protest (as in Figure 2), the older sibling has the upper hand, and can proscribe the type of action that is deemed morally acceptable.

Instruction and monitoring into household tasks

Older siblings in both the Randolph and Walters families provide careful instruction in important work in the family: chores and self-care. The older Randolph siblings apprentice their younger sister Cynthia into new tasks important in household management. One evening when Michelle and Stephen were rinsing their dinner dishes and putting them in the dishwasher, Stephen (age 11) told his older sister Michelle that he thought Cynthia (age 6) was now old enough to clear her own dishes. Using bald imperatives ('Put *that*- Clean that *all* in the trash, Wash it out and put it in the dishwasher'; Figure 4, lines 3-9), Stephen directed Cynthia to clean off her plate and put it in the dishwasher. With vigilant gaze he stood next to her as he apprenticed her into the task. Positioning herself as recipient of the directive move, Cynthia took the dishes to the trashcan to be scraped and asked for clarification about what exactly was to go in the trash (line 13). As Cynthia scraped her plate into the trash, Stephen

- 1 Steve: ((pointing to Cyn's plate)) Cynthia.
 2 Cynthia.
 2 Cyn: ((comes to the table))
 3 Steve: Put **that**-
 4 Put-
 5 Cyn: ((looks disgruntledly at Steven))
 6 Steve: ((pointing to Cyn's dirty plate))
 7 Jus- clean that **all** in the trash,
 8 Wash it out,
 9 And put it in the dishwasher.
 10 Cyn: ((puts Steve's glass on her dirty plate))
 11 Steve: **Nope**. ((removes his glass from C's plate))
 12 Cyn: ((takes dishes to trashcan))
 13 Throw **this** is the trash.
 14 Steve: No. And- and put-
 15 Pour everything else in the trash.
 16 **That**- and- and all the rice.
 17 Cyn: ((empties plate in trash))
 18 Steve: And keep goin. ((monitoring her))
 19 And make sure to clean off all- **all** the rice.
 20 And that's- Now **wash** it off a little bit,

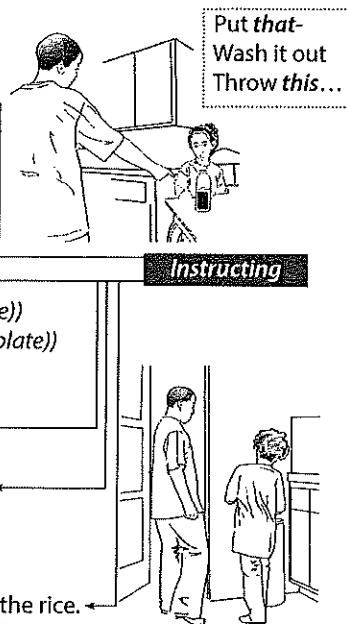


Figure 4 Instructing how to do chore of washing dishes.

monitored her activity, telling her, 'Make sure to clean off all- **all** the rice' (line 19).

When Cynthia went to the sink to wash the scraped dishes, Stephen positioned himself close to her to monitor her cleaning. With a bald imperative he instructed her 'Now get all the **grease** out' (Figure 5, line 25). Cynthia rinsed the dish and was about to leave it in the sink (line 24), when Stephen corrected her ('Nope. **Ep**- Put **that** in the dishwasher **too**'; lines 27-28). After Cynthia had put the dish in the dishwasher (line 26) he repositioned the dish ever so slightly to carefully align it.

Stephen equated responsibility with age. Stating 'You're old enough to do that **yourself**. = **Okay**?' (line 31), he positioned Cynthia as having reached a level of development at which she could competently carry out some of the tasks she saw her siblings perform every evening. (Commenting on age-appropriate behavior was a regular feature of Mrs. Randolph's interactions with children.) Stephen carefully watched each step undertaken during the process of scraping the dishes, washing them off, and locating them appropriately in the dishwasher. He provided a reason for why Cynthia should put away the juice. When Stephen left the kitchen

- 21 Steve: [With water?
 22 Cyn: ((positions water
 23 Steve: ((positions himse
 24 Cyn: ((turns on water),
 25 Steve: Now get all that
 26 Cyn: ((puts rinsed plat
 27 Steve: Nope. **Ep**-
 28 Put **that** in the d
 29 Cyn: (hhh:::) ((sigh))
 30 Steve: Here- here you a
 31 You're old enoug
 32 And put the **juice**
 33 Cyn: Uh(hhh:::) ((sigh),
 34 ((puts juice and v
 35 cleans up table ri

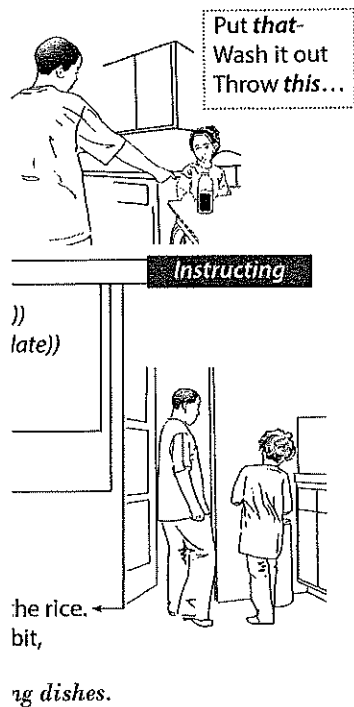
Figure 5 Monitoring Cynthia

Cynthia continued with her juice and other items to the r and put it into the dishwash

Throughout, through the tative about the steps in the p each step of the process an water, repositioning a dish, ar scraping and those that did Stephen's directives without sighs (lines 29, 33), transcrik

Monitoring and appr

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- 21 Steve: [With water?
 22 Cyn: ((positions water spigot at sink))
 23 Steve: ((positions himself to monitor her))
 24 Cyn: ((turns on water))
 25 Steve: Now get all that **grease** out, ((turns off water))
 26 Cyn: ((puts rinsed plate in the sink))
 27 Steve: Nope. **Ep-**
 28 Put **that** in the dishwasher **too**.
 29 Cyn: (hhh:::) ((sigh)) ((Puts dish in dishwasher))
 30 Steve: Here- here you are. ((repositions dish in dishwasher))
 31 You're old enough to do that yourself. **Okay?**
 32 And put the **juice** back 'cause you took it **out**.
 33 Cyn: Uh(hhh:::) ((sigh))
 34 ((puts juice and water away in fridge,
 35 cleans up table rinses a glass and puts it in dishwasher))

Figure 5 Monitoring Cynthia washing dishes.

Cynthia continued with her responsibilities on her own; she returned the juice and other items to the refrigerator, cleared the table, rinsed her glass, and put it into the dishwasher.

Throughout, through the use of bald imperatives Stephen was authoritative about the steps in the process of washing dishes. Stephen monitored each step of the process and helped her at various phases, turning off water, repositioning a dish, and differentiating between dishes that required scraping and those that did not. Cynthia followed through with each of Stephen's directives without complaining; her only objections were audible sighs (lines 29, 33), transcribed as (h:::) (Hoey, 2014).

Monitoring and apprenticeship in a self-care activity

In interactions with baby sister in the Walters family, the close proximity of bodies allows for fine coordination, as one bodily move is answered by a subsequent move with both verbal and embodied action (M. H. Goodwin, in press). The body as a whole is like a 'tactile field' sensitive to pressure, temperature and surface qualities (Wyschogrod, 1981, pp. 26, 39). In Figure 6 we find close monitoring of the infant's body and touch in an interaction between Leslie and Roxanne. On a weekday morning, as Leslie and her younger sister Roxanne sit close together on their parents' bed watching television, Leslie turns to her sister and says, 'Roxanne, just stay

here. =okay? Roxanne, I *need* to- go- I need to brush my *teeth*.' Leslie, as a concerned sibling not wanting to leave her sister unattended, initiates her directive in imperative form (line 2), and then appends a reason for her departure. The moment when Roxanne turns her body towards Leslie (line 5), touching her ever so gently, Leslie quickly readjusts her course of action and asks if her sister would like to accompany her, using an interrogative form: 'D'you wanna come and brush your teeth with me?' (line 6). When Roxanne makes a nudge even closer to Leslie, big sister Leslie interprets this as an affirmative response and states, 'Okay. *Let's* go brush our teeth' (Figure 6, line 9), making use of an inclusive request construction using 'let's' while shifting off of the bed and offering her arms for Roxanne to climb into.

We see a range of different directives used to coordinate activity in this sequence: imperatives for control (line 2) and coordination (line 11), interrogatives (lines 6–7), and requests with 'let's' (line 9) when inviting a new course of action. When Roxanne initiates a change in her body orientation vis-à-vis Leslie, as an attuned caregiver, responds by finding ways to include her sister in her tooth brushing activity.

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | Leslie: | ((On parents' bed with tv on Leslie is massaging Roxanne's legs and arms)) | |
| 2 | Leslie: | Roxanne, just stay here. =okay? | Imperative |
| 3 | | Roxanne I <i>need</i> to- go- | |
| 4 | | I need to brush my <i>teeth</i> . | |
| 5 | | (1.6) ((Rox nudges closer to Leslie)) | |
| 6 | | D'you wanna come and brush your | Interrogative Request |
| 7 | | and brush your teeth with me? | |
| | | (1.2) | |
| 8 | Rox: | ((moves closer towards Leslie)) | Request with Let's |
| 9 | Leslie: | Okay. <i>Let's</i> go brush our teeth. | |
| 10 | | ((stands Roxanne up on both feet, holding arms, taps bed where she wants Roxanne to position her feet to get lifted up)) | |
| 11 | | Go! ((extends arms to standing Roxanne)) | Imperative |

Figure 6 Close attunement and activity reorganization.

When they arrive in the bathroom for Roxanne to stand on before guiding her to face the sink and retrieve the objects that they need for the brushing routine (Tulbert & Goodwin, 1999). Leslie's utterance 'Okay. *So*' (line 10) marks the start of the brushing routine (Tulbert & Goodwin, 1999). Roxanne's toothbrush under the sink.

As Leslie is uncapping the toothpaste tube, Roxanne stands towards Leslie, waiting for the age of 18 months Roxanne's steps of this routine, and holding the correct physical gesture of holding the brush. Leslie then attempts to socialize Roxanne's activity by saying 'Could you say you're well?' (line 11).

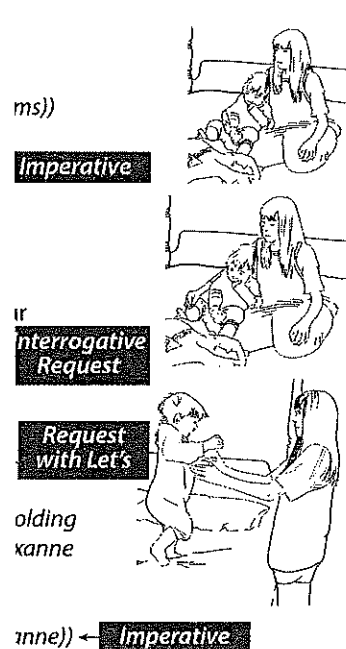
Here as at the onset of the routine, Leslie uses imperatives ('*Could* you' in lines 11 and 12).

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Leslie: | ((carries Roxanne to the sink, retrieves her bottle, retrieves toothpaste)) |
| 2 | Leslie: | Okay. <i>So</i> , ((gives Roxanne the toothbrush)) |
| 3 | Rox: | ((extends toothbrush towards Leslie, is squeezing front of toothbrush)) |
| 4 | Leslie: | <i>Thank</i> you Roxanne. |
| 5 | | Could you say you're well? (2.0) |
| 6 | | Rox- <i>Could</i> you say you're well? (2.2) ((Roxanne says 'well')) |
| 7 | | Rox- could you say you're well? (2.3) |
| 8 | Rox: | ((chews her brush)) (23.0) |

Figure 7 Apprenticeship in tooth brushing.

ed to brush my *teeth*.' Leslie, her sister unattended, initiates and then appends a reason for she turns her body towards Leslie e quickly readjusts her course e to accompany her, using an and brush your teeth with me?' ven closer to Leslie, big sister pponse and states, 'Okay. *Let's* ing use of an inclusive request ff of the bed and offering her

used to coordinate activity in : 2) and coordination (line 11), th 'let's' (line 9) when inviting niates a change in her body caregiver, responds by finding shing activity.



nization.

When they arrive in the bathroom (Figure 7), Leslie moves a small stool for Roxanne to stand on before positioning Roxanne on top of it, and next guiding her to face the sink. Stepping on the edge of the bathtub Leslie retrieves the objects that the two will need for brushing teeth. With her utterance 'Okay. *So*' (line 2), Leslie bounds the initiation of the actual brushing routine (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2011), turns on the water, and lifts Roxanne's toothbrush under the running water.

As Leslie is uncapping the toothpaste, Roxanne extends her toothbrush towards Leslie, waiting for toothpaste to be deposited on her brush. At the age of 18 months Roxanne is able to show her familiarity with the steps of this routine, and her role as a novice, through her production of the correct physical gestures. Her older sister thanks her for this small gesture of holding the brush out: '*Thank* you Roxanne' (line 4). Leslie then attempts to socialize Roxanne into a politeness routine using a modal: '*Could* you say you're *welcome*?' (line 5).

Here as at the onset of the activity, directives in the form of interrogatives ('*Could* you' in lines 6–7) are used to structure the activity. After

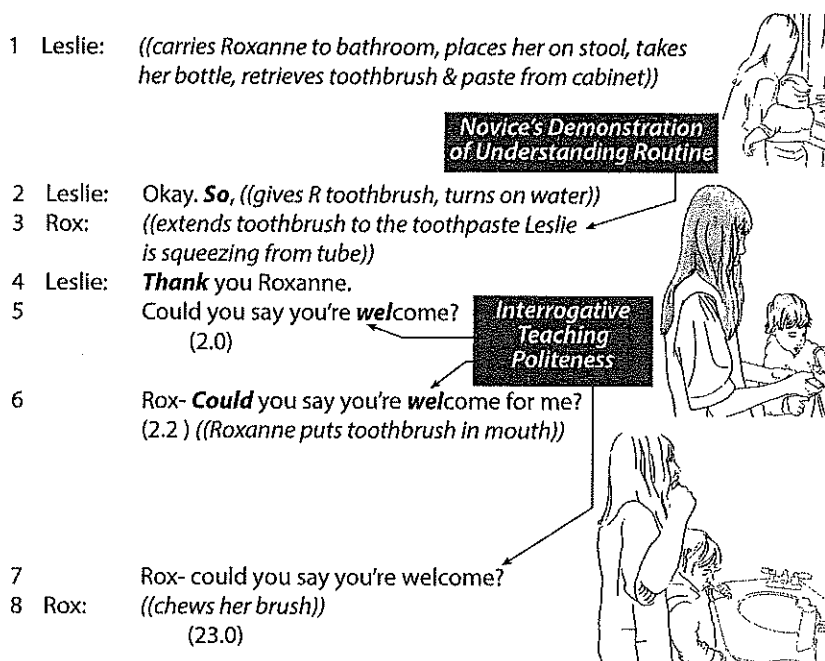


Figure 7 Apprenticeship in brushing teeth.

- 9 Leslie: Now **keep** on brushing your teeth **Roxanne**.

((Leslie begins to brush her own teeth in quick rhythmic strokes, standing behind Roxanne in a nested formation as she chews at her brush.)) (19.0)

Imperative

- 10 Leslie: ((Brushes teeth)) **Roxanne, spit.**

((Leslie spits))

- 11 Leslie: Are we all done Roxanne? We're **all** done.
((puts toothpaste and brushes away))

Interrogative
& Declarative
Directive

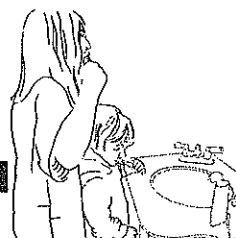


Figure 8 Monitoring and apprenticeship in action.

the toothpaste has been applied, Roxanne puts the brush in her mouth making a slow chewing gesture with her mouth and moving the handle of the brush in a laggard rhythm. Behind her, Leslie vigorously brushes, filling the space with the fast-pace noise of her action. Leslie creates a nested formation around her younger sister, physically embedding Roxanne in her own performance of the activity. Roxanne can feel the rhythmic movements of her sister's body behind her, and listen to the quickly paced scrubbing motion of her sister's brushing. Although she cannot yet perform the task herself, and does not know how to spit, she is surrounded by the sound and feeling of the expertly performed activity. As Leslie begins brushing her teeth she delivers imperatives: 'Now **keep** on brushing your teeth **Roxanne**' (line 9), and later, 'Roxanne, **spit**' (line 10). Roxanne shows her familiarity with the steps of this routine, and her role as a novice, through her production of the correct physical gestures. After Leslie puts her toothbrush on the sink and closes up the toothpaste, she provides a closure to the activity with 'We're **all** done' (line 11). Subsequently Roxanne responds by taking the toothbrush out of her mouth.

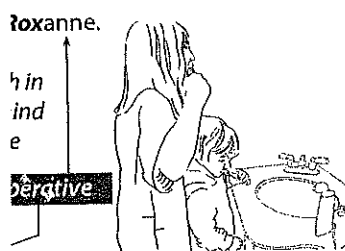
Figure 8 illustrates how a small child's presence in the unfolding of their caregiver's activities affords a site for the socialization of carefully attuned attention to a physical activity. Roxanne knows some aspects of how to physically participate in the unfolding sequence of the routine though she does not yet know how to embody the rhythm of brushing. Leslie uses language to explicitly point out the action steps of the sequence as she does them, providing a verbal narrative of the physical routine. Here we see a careful attunement of attention that allows for the building of a complex structure of participation. A sibling caregiver choreographs the

physical attention and move in routine activities together in the sensorial field of the child's life through sound and physical

In the initial phase of the activity, Leslie uses interrogatives and imperative imperatives to her younger sister, as well as forms of endogenous practice to guide the tooth-brushing. Narration occurs as the activity unfolds (line 10) are given as the child makes a requested (spitting). Demonstrations of mothers of Papua, New Guinea give instructions for children in how to drink water from a stream (to drink water from a stream, to weed from a garden) while she is brushing (Labov, 1990, p. 76). This allows the child to participate without interruption.

Monitoring and apprenticeship in play activity

Older siblings not only assist in enjoyable activities for the sibling, but also make use of IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) (Labov, 1985), as well as exposed for following the dispute about participation in an activity. Both stood together, and Cynthia into how to create a completed in the daily round of knowledge about the activity arrangement. Playing the role of a caregiver (Labov, 1970) questions to Cynthia she had written on the board. Michelle's question 'What else?' best guess response, using risk-taking, was ratified this response by writing



'done.
)

Interrogative
& Declarative
Directive

tion.

puts the brush in her mouth and moving the handle. Leslie vigorously brushes, of her action. Leslie creates a physically embedding Roxanne can feel the rhythmic and listen to the quickly paced though she cannot yet perform spit, she is surrounded by the need activity. As Leslie begins: 'Now *keep* on brushing your, *spit*' (line 10). Roxanne shows time, and her role as a novice, ical gestures. After Leslie puts the toothpaste, she provides a line 11). Subsequently Roxanne her mouth.

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physical attention and movements of her baby sister through engaging in routine activities together in the same space and attuning with the sensorial field of the child's body: the unfolding activity is experienced through sound and physical sensation.

In the initial phase of the activity (Figure 7), Leslie makes use of both interrogatives and imperatives to launch the activity. Leslie's guiding imperatives to her younger sister occur in the course of the activity as forms of endogenous practice, as her sibling observes and participates in the tooth-brushing. Narration about the steps involved in tooth brushing occurs as the activity unfolds. Imperatives (such as '*Roxanne spit*' in line 10) are given as the child manager herself is accomplishing the activity requested (spitting). Demonstrations such as this resemble those of Kaluli mothers of Papua, New Guinea, who, in the midst of an activity, provide instructions for children in how to carry out an activity (cupping the hands to drink water from a stream, peeling a hot cooked banana, or pulling weeds from a garden) while saying to the child, 'Do like that' (Schieffelin, 1990, p. 76). This allows the child to continue with the activity at hand without interruption.

Monitoring and apprenticeship in a school-like play activity

Older siblings not only assist in forms of self-care, but they also initiate enjoyable activities for the sibling cohort that are instructive and school-like, making use of IRE (initiation, response, evaluation) sequences (Mehan, 1985), as well as exposed forms of correction (Jefferson, 1987). Shortly following the dispute about putting cream away, Michelle invited Cynthia to participate in an activity of figuring out the day's activities at the blackboard. Both stood together next to a blackboard. Michelle apprenticed Cynthia into how to create a list and organize tasks that needed to be completed in the daily round. The older sibling positioned herself as more knowledgeable about the activity and the younger sibling ratified that social arrangement. Playing the role of teacher, Michelle posed 'known answer' (Labov, 1970) questions to Cynthia concerning an initial list of activities she had written on the board (Figure 9, lines 1, 10, 13). In response to Michelle's question 'What *else* did we accomplish?' Cynthia provided her best guess response, using rising intonation: 'Put on our clothes?' Michelle ratified this response by writing it on the board (line 12). However, when

- ((at the chalkboard in the morning before school))
- 1 Mich: Let's see. Did we do everything Cynthia? ←
- 2 Cyn: What.
- 3 Mich: Yeah, we **brushed** our teeth, ←
- 4 Cyn: teeth, ←
- 5 Cyn: Oh Shell-Shell use this **chalk** ((picking up chalk from other side of the blackboard and showing her))
- 6 Mich: Same.
- 7 Cyn: Oh.
- 8 Mich: We brushed teeth, eat breakfast,
- 9 We brushed our teeth, we ate breakfast,
- 10 Mich: What **else** did we accomplish. ←
- 11 Cyn: Put on our clothes?
- 12 Mich: ((writes on blackboard))
- 13 Mich: And then what do we have to do **tonight**. ←
- 14 Mich: Eat- din-
- 15 Mich: Our **homework**.
- 16 Cyn: **No**. Do our **homework**,

Positions Self as
Instructor

Figure 9 Blackboard instruction.

Cynthia responded incorrectly to Michelle's next question, 'What do we have to do tonight', with 'eat din-', Michelle provided a correction: 'Our **homework**'. In overlap with her sister, Cynthia produced a correction: '**No**. Do our **homework**' (line 16).

Michelle carefully monitored the writing that Cynthia produced on the blackboard. When she incorrectly spelled the word 'Homework' with an 'E' at the end, Michelle corrected her spelling with an 'exposed' (Jefferson, 1987) form: '**NO**. Without the E' (line 20), employing an expression of polarity in turn-initial position. A second correction of Cynthia's blackboard work came when Michelle told Cynthia not to put a check in boxes of activities that had not yet been completed. Stating '**Don't** put a check yet. We haven't done homework', Michelle explained the meaning of putting a check in a box opposite one of the words on the list (lines 32-33).

The position of Michelle as sibling in charge of the instruction activity was made evident throughout the sequence. Michelle initially controlled the writing on the blackboard. Cynthia did not assume that she was so entitled and asked Michelle for permission to write on the chalkboard (Figure 10, line 17), ratifying Michelle's position of authority and accepting her incumbency in the relationship category (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005) of apprentice to her older sister. Michele quite overtly corrected her sister throughout the activity and Cynthia accepted the corrections.

- 17 Cyn: Can I write homework
- 18 Mich: Okay.
- 19 Cyn: ((writes on blackboard))
- 20 Mich: **NO!** Without the E.
- 21 Cyn: **Oh** yeah. Oh yeah.
- 22 Mich: Go ahead.
- 23 Cyn: ((erases "e" from blackboard))
- 24 Mich: That's fine. ←
- 25 Cyn: ((drops chalk) Oh st
- 26 Thing is always bre
- 27 Mich: And then you tell n
- 28 Mich: So, you have to put
- 29 ((makes boxes for cl
- 30 Cyn: ((starts writing on b
- 31 Mich: **Don't** put a check y
- 32 We haven't done h
- 33 Dinner, We have to
- 34 Cyn: Kay.
- 35 Mich: Dinner, You could p
- 36 Cyn: ((puts checks on bo

Figure 10 Positioning as instructor.

Apprenticeship during

Sibling interactions, including for coordination, perspective taking, and affective conditions. Sibling negotiation of the relevance and appropriateness of play. Rough play can be seen as an early development of intercorporeal related to exploration of the body, the other's uptake or reaction and defying expected adult norms of what one can get away with. Transitions to quiet, restful activities to provoke heightened boisterous and offensive (farting) as well.

Children delight in both the embodied moves and transcendent practices to organize her sister of aggressive moves she can use

- 1 Leslie: Roxanne kick like **this**. Go **kick!** ((demos))
 2 Leslie: Could you do **punch!** ((demos arm))
 3 Jack: Punch.
 4 Leslie: Go- **Punch!** ← **Positions Self as Instructor**
 5 Leslie: **Punch!** ((demos with Rox's arm))
 6 Leslie: Punch! Could you go **kick?**
 7 Leslie: **Kick!** ((demos on own body))
 8 Rox: Kick!
 9 Leslie: Could you go-
 10 Leslie: Kick! ((demos with Rox's leg))
 11 Jack: Go **balloosh!**
 12 Rox: **Kick!** ((kicks her leg with L's scaffolding))
 13 Leslie: eh heh!
 14 Rox: Kick! ((kicks her leg by herself))
 15 Leslie: eh heh-heh ((clapping)) ← **Evaluates Kick**
 16 Jack: **Roxanne! Roxanne!**
 17 Leslie: We're teaching her how to fight.

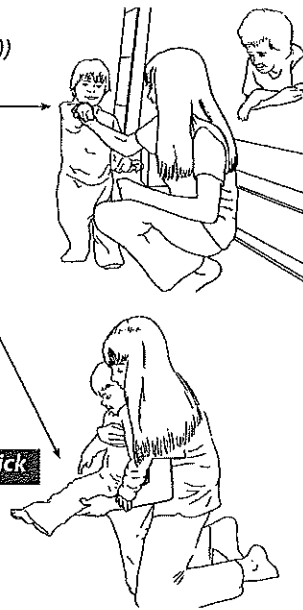


Figure 11 Instructing how to punch and kick in a fight.

demonstrations of the appropriate moves through a series of imperatives (Figure 11).

Roxanne, attuned to her sister's instruction, repeats Leslie's words and gestures (lines 8, 12) as she attempts to balance and orient herself in physical space. Leslie animates her young sister's body like a puppet, moving her legs and arms. Glossing the interaction as 'teaching her how to fight' (line 17) Leslie at once highlights her role as caretaker and teacher, while also pointing to the rule-breaking nature of the whole activity ('fighting').

In Figure 12 the play builds in daring and transgression, as Leslie, pointing to Jack's genitals, tells Roxanne to hit Jack in the most taboo place of all: 'all his stuff.' (line 25). In doing so, Leslie provides a gendered framework of the activity of fighting – it is girls against boys, and each gender for themselves! Here Jack, clearly bested by this allegiance between two sisters, retorts with a moral assessment: 'You're being a very bad *girl* Roxanne' (line 34). He again marks the gendered nature of the activity (not 'baby' or 'kid' but 'girl'). He indexes a broader distinction between 'good girls' and 'bad girls', and categorizes what has just transpired as 'bad girl behavior'.

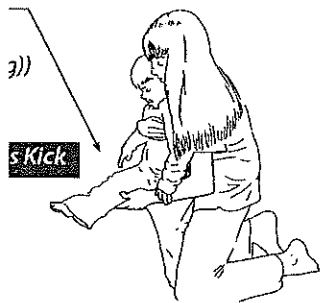
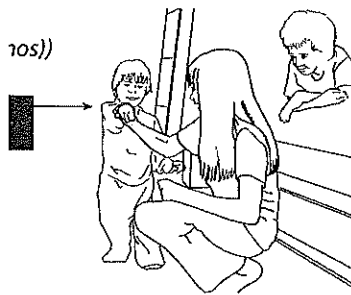
- 18 Jack: [Go **bloosh!** Do it
 19 Leslie: [And we're-
 20 Leslie: Okay. You see tha
 21 Jack: Roxanne.
 22 Jack: Go **cabloosh**.
 23 Leslie: Roxanne you see
 24 Leslie: Now punch him r
 25 Leslie: **Right** in all his stu
 26 Jack: **Roxanne. Roxann**
 27 Leslie: Do it right- I'll shc
 28 Leslie: where to hit him.
 29 Jack: [Do cabl
 30 Jack: Do **cabloosh** on
 31 Leslie: Bam!
 32 Jack: Do **cabloosh** on !
 33 [Ah do cabloosh! I
 34 Jack: You're being very
 35 Leslie: Let's go **get** him. I

Figure 12 Teaching a subversive

In this delightful sequence forms used by the family and repetitions of actions, attune body. But here, the meanings build a complex participatory family interaction. Fighting against sister – these moves everyday. In this complex play to fend for herself as an equal and great delight. The coordinated make outbursts of play always mundane tasks.

Embodied framework:

As the examples in this article than the verbal communicative frameworks where the activity and corrected is essential as monitoring of the turn at talk



a fight.

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- 18 Jack: [Go **bloosh!** Do it!
19 Leslie: And we're-
20 Leslie: Okay. You see that?
21 Jack: Roxanne.
22 Jack: Go **cabloosh**.
23 Leslie: Roxanne you see right **there?**
24 Leslie: Now punch him right **there!**
25 Leslie: **Right** in all his stuff.
26 Jack: Roxanne. Roxanne. Stop doing **cabloosh**.
27 Leslie: Do it right- I'll show you right-
28 Leslie: where to hit him.
29 Jack: Do cabloosh!
30 Jack: Do **cabloosh** on
31 Leslie: Bam!
32 Jack: Do **cabloosh** on **Sissy**.
33 Ah do cabloosh! Do cabloosh on Sissy!
34 Jack: You're being very bad **girl** Roxanne.
35 Leslie: Let's go **get** him. **Run!**



Figure 12 Teaching a subversive activity.

In this delightful sequence, we see many of the same basic patterns and forms used by the family and school in teaching and care-taking – physical repetitions of actions, attuning attention through directly moving the body. But here, the meaning of those forms is inverted. They are used to build a complex participation framework that exists outside of normal family interaction. Fighting, jousting and challenging, pitting brother against sister – these moves are at once out of the ordinary and very everyday. In this complex participation framework, Roxanne learns how to fend for herself as an equal sibling, but always with a sense of humor and great delight. The coordinated and attuned participation frameworks make outbursts of play always available within the accomplishment of mundane tasks.

Embodied frameworks for monitoring

As the examples in this article demonstrate, instruction entails more than the verbal communication exchanged. The alignment of bodies in frameworks where the activities of the novice can be carefully scrutinized and corrected is essential as well. In earlier work on processes of mutual monitoring of the turn at talk (M. H. Goodwin, 1980a) I argued that in

the midst of talk speakers produce kinesic displays about how their talk is to be understood and interpreted; recipients produce non-vocal displays of their own that provide information about their understanding of the speaker's talk. Hearers' displays are subsequently taken into account in the production of speaker's own talk. Similar processes of monitoring are at work in instruction sequences. Instruction requires the organization of a framework where one can easily observe the body of the other and what they are doing, as well as the world they are acting upon, so that calibration of the work underway, as well as correction, can occur.

In initiating actions with others, the Randolph as well as Walters siblings hold their interlocutors accountable for following through with a requested action. Stephen maintained a facing formation (Kendon, 1985) where he could carefully monitor his younger sibling's activity of dishwashing, narrating the steps that were entailed and evaluating Cynthia's task performance as age appropriate. Michelle closely observed the activities of her younger sibling writing and checking off the daily activities on a blackboard. Leslie positioned herself over the body of her baby sister while

changing her diapers; she monitored her younger sibling's activity of dishwashing by placing her in a facing formation with the bathroom sink. In the Walters family, older siblings could control inappropriate behavior. The siblings and the Walters siblings facing formations that permit

Conclusion

In cross-cultural studies in anthropology, older siblings' contributions to family life is in part due to the fact that in America utilize a paradigm, different parenting styles. Zelizer's (1985 and 1930) understanding of family life in America, as children were not to a family's household economy 'priceless' (ibid.) and delicate (investment (Lareau, 2003; Friedman in place, as Thorne (1993, p. 9 'the wheels of description and and move right along'. In the a interaction Lareau (2003, p. 3) not use imperatives with their she argued, is not found in mid however, documents the deployed forms in middle-class families and demonstrating a wide range of situations of use.

In the examples presented in families, older siblings function as children, not merely serving as biological needs (Zukow, 1989) directive forms and participant group, and school culture. They as teaching how to fight) not caregiving provides infants with stimulation, while older sibling

Randolph Sibling Frameworks for Monitoring Performance



Walters Sibling Frameworks for Monitoring Performance

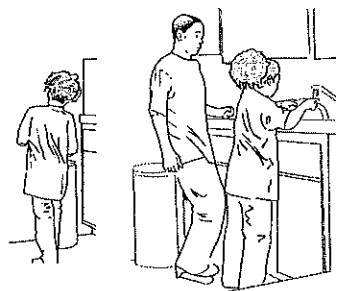


Figure 13 Sibling frames for monitoring performance in tasks.

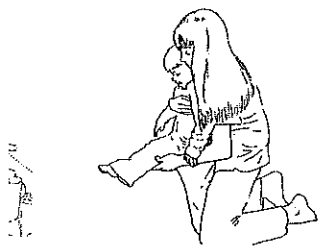
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Monitoring Performance



Monitoring Performance



Performance in tasks.

changing her diapers; she monitored her sister's tooth-brushing at the bathroom sink by placing her body directly behind Roxanne. From such positions older siblings could correct mistakes being made and comment on inappropriate behavior. The images in Figure 13 of both the Randolph siblings and the Walters siblings during task and self-care activities illustrate facing formations that permit close scrutiny of the activities under way.

Conclusion

In cross-cultural studies in anthropology and sociology middle-class Western siblings' contributions to family welfare have been sadly neglected. This is in part due to the fact that most sociological accounts of childhood in America utilize a paradigm, dichotomizing middle-class and working-class parenting styles. Zelizer's (1985) historical work showed that between 1870 and 1930 the understanding of the value and meaning of children shifted in America, as children were no longer considered valuable contributors to a family's household economy.³ Instead middle-class children became 'priceless' (ibid.) and delicate (Kusserow, 2004) – the objects of parental investment (Lareau, 2003; Friedman, 2013). With such dualistic visions in place, as Thorne (1993, p. 96) warned with respect to gender studies, 'the wheels of description and analysis slide into the contrastive themes and move right along'. In the absence of close analysis of video-recorded interaction Lareau (2003, p. 3) maintained that middle class parents did not use imperatives with their children. Hierarchical family structure, she argued, is not found in middle-class families. Ethnographic research, however, documents the deployment of imperatives along with more mitigated forms in middle-class families used by both parents and siblings, and demonstrating a wide repertoire of directive forms calibrated to local situations of use.

In the examples presented in this paper and across various dual earner families, older siblings function as competent socializing agents of younger children, not merely serving as monitors of the young child's most basic biological needs (Zukow, 1989b, p. 254). Siblings make use of a range of directive forms and participant frameworks drawn from their family, peer group, and school culture. They also initiate transgressive activities (such as teaching how to fight) not found in parent-child interaction. Sibling caregiving provides infants with a great diversity of cognitive and social stimulation, while older siblings practice nurturing roles. Siblings, when

spontaneously offering assistance, set themselves up and/or are set up (by the younger siblings) as a viable authoritative source for matters relevant to younger siblings' concerns. They deploy a broad range of (usually adult-associated) interactional resources for scaffolding and responding to the younger sibling's actions, activities and emotions; at other times they make use of polarity markers and counter sequences characteristic of their peer cultures. Siblings provide verbal feedback and expansions of younger sibling talk, and align with the sibling's affective and evaluative stances through collaborative assessments and empathy. Siblings also use haptic resources, shepherding, caressing, and carrying their younger sibs. Sibling caregiving contributes to the well-being of the family in multiple ways; it affords obvious adaptive advantages for families in the twenty-first century who are 'busier than ever' (Darrah et al., 2007).

About the author

Marjorie Harness Goodwin is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at UCLA. Her work investigates how talk is used to build social organization, focusing on the family and peer group. Her books include *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization among Black Children* and *The Hidden Life of Girls: Games of Stance, Status and Exclusion*, studies that combine long-term ethnography with conversation analysis. Recent work investigates how intimate affiliative human sociality in the family is accomplished through the intertwining of interacting bodies.

Acknowledgements

This study is part of an interdisciplinary, collaborative research endeavor conducted by members of the UCLA Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELf) under the direction of Elinor Ochs. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation program on the Workplace, Workforce, and Working Families, headed by Kathleen Christensen, generously supported CELf. I am indebted to the working families who participated in the study for opening their homes and sharing their lives. Michael Sean Smith provided his artistic talents in the renderings of framegrabs and discussed numerous aspects of intonation, gesture, and interaction with me every step of the way. I am incredibly grateful for his contribution to this project.

Notes

- Names of the participants have been changed to ensure anonymity.
- In this and all following transcripts in this article bolded italics is equivalent to underlining for stress or emphasis.

- Dualistic depictions pit parent/cultivation' (Lareau, 2003), core (2004), and differentiate 'control styles' (Grolnick & Seal, 2008) (Kusserow, 2004, p. 99) and is presented as a partial account impose domestic chores on children.

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themselves up and/or are set up as a permissive source for matters relevant to the deployment of a broad range of (usually) scaffolding and responding to needs and emotions; at other times counter sequences characteristic of maternal feedback and expansions of sibling's affective and evaluative stances and empathy. Siblings also use and carrying their younger sibs. The being of the family in multiple contexts for families in the twenty-first century (e.g., et al., 2007).

Professor of Anthropology at UCLA. Her field social organization, focusing on the topic of *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization in the Lived Life of Girls: Games of Stance*, a long-term ethnography with convergent intimate affiliative human sociality and intertwining of interacting bodies.

Qualitative research endeavor conducted by the Center for the Study of the Lives of Families (CELFL) under a Sloan Foundation program on the topic of *Working Families*, headed by Kathleen Christensen, the working families who participated in sharing their lives. Michael Sean and I have framegrabs and discussed interaction with me every step of the way in contribution to this project.

Edited to ensure anonymity.
The article bolded italics is equivalent

- 3 Dualistic depictions pit parenting styles of 'natural growth' against 'concerted cultivation' (Lareau, 2003), contrast 'hard' and 'soft' individualism (Kusserow, 2004), and differentiate 'controlling' against 'autonomy supportive' parenting styles (Grolnick & Seal, 2008). An orientation towards 'soft individualism' (Kusserow, 2004, p. 99) and the 'priceless-child' syndrome (Zelizer, 2005) is presented as a partial account for middle-class parents' greater reluctance to impose domestic chores on children (Ochs & Izquierdo, 2009, pp. 404, 407).

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