DEMENTIA AND SINGING:

A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS CASE STUDY OF SINGING IN

EVERYDAY INTERACTION

by

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Dementia and Singing: A Conversation Analysis case study of singing in everyday interaction

Thesis directed by Professor Barbara Fox

This dissertation is a case study of a man with dementia, Dan, who sings in everyday conversation with his family. Some of Dan's singing is not unusual. For example, talk might touch-off singing when it includes words that are in a song's title or lyrics. Dan also does something unexpected by modifying songs based on prior talk and the physical environment. The objective of this study is to analyze when, how, and to what ends Dan does this type of modified singing. My primary approach uses Conversation Analysis to describe and analyze (1) how singing fits into the turn-taking structure of talk, (2) the emergent structure of a performance, and (3) what singing accomplishes in the moment. My secondary approach addresses why singing might be a particularly useful tool for Dan to participate in interaction. I provide two accounts, one that focuses on performance and identity and the other on cognitive processes involved in his song production. Combined, these perspectives analyze Dan's singing as an emergent consequence of linguistic, social, and cognitive processes that occur within and between people. There are several key findings. First, Dan's singing is not random but fits systematically within the sequential organization of interaction. Second, Dan's song emerges bit-by-bit in conversation. There is evidence for an orientation to a relatively short turn constructional unit at the beginning of a song. The performance of an extended song is an achievement that is contingent upon the actions of co-participants. Third, Dan's singing is a relatively

open-ended resource. Dan uses singing to accomplish "main" jobs, such as complimenting, and "off record" jobs, such as managing distribution of knowledge and decision-making rights. Dan's performances often position him as a humorous and clever singer in the moment and cumulatively construct a more "durable" identity than found in a single performance. His performances thus constitute an important contrast to the top-down medical category of "demented." This study makes theoretical contributions to the study of singing in interaction, interaction in general, and communication by people with dementia.

Keywords: conversation analysis; singing; dementia; emergent pragmatics; epistemic authority; deontic authority; performance; identity; stance accretion

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the participation of Morgan and Dan. Their video recordings, which they generously volunteered, are more than just data; they provide a glimpse into Dan and Morgan's daily life at home. It is a privilege to be trusted with them. I have learned many things about Dan and Morgan by watching the videos. Perhaps the most profound impression that I'm left with is the way that the couple treats each other with intelligence, humor, and patience. I am inspired by the grace with which they manage changes in cognition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General objective of the study

This dissertation has its origins in my interactions with several residents in a long-term care facility where I worked as a speech-language pathologist. Those residents, like millions of people around the world, had a dementia diagnosis (World Health Organization, 2015). However, our time together was not spent on speech therapy. Our interactions were found in hallways, by nurses' stations, or in the dining hall during my minutes between clients. These residents were known for singing "to themselves" as they roamed the building. I began singing back to them, and over time these residents taught me the potential of singing for establishing mutual engagement even with the singer who had the most advanced dementia. I am grateful to have shared moments of singing "in conversation" with those residents. Our interactions led me to ask what singing helps us – and more specifically people with dementia – to accomplish in interaction. I was aware of another person with dementia, still living at home with his wife, who had developed the practice of singing during everyday conversation. I am very lucky that this couple, Morgan and Dan, granted me access to their home video recordings for this dissertation on singing in everyday conversation. I broadly imagined that the videos would demonstrate Dan's pragmatically felicitous use of singing despite his severe short-term memory loss. The results went beyond my expectations, and I found that singing is a rich resource for Dan to accomplish a wide range of complex social moves and to enact identity.

This dissertation is a case study of Dan, a man with dementia, who sings in everyday conversation with his family. Dan's primary conversational partner is his wife, Morgan. Dan sings during conversation-based interactions and not during dedicated singing events (i.e., choral singing, music therapy, or music-oriented activities). Some of Dan's singing is not unusual or unexpected. For example, turns at talk that include part of a song's title or lyrics might lead to singing.

```
(1) [4-2014 "Trip to Kansas City"]
1.  MO: -> so: hh we're all up to date with the: um (.) with the
2.         statements now they're all printed out.
3.         (6.6) {He nods and she nods back.}
4.  DA:    it means we can take a trip to kansas city
5.         (0.6)
6.  MO:    rea:lly? why is tha:t?
7.  DA:    (("Kansas City"))
8.       ♫ everything's up to date in kansas ci[ty]
9.  MO:                                          [hh] hih heh hih
10.        (("Kansas City"))
11.      ♫ .hh they've gone about as far as they can g[o]
12. DA: ♫                                              [GO]::
```

In this instance, Morgan's *up to date* in line (1) touches off Dan's singing in lines (7-8) of "Kansas City," a song that includes *up to date* in the lyrics. Morgan joins in the singing in line (11), and they sing the last word *go* together. Dan, however, also does something very interesting and unexpected by modifying songs. His modifications, which are based on prior talk and the physical environment, are the main focus of this dissertation. In excerpts like "Turkey vulture," Dan changes the lyrics of one of his favorite songs called "The Fireman's Band."

```
(2) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
1.  DA:    mmm[mmmmmmmm]
2.  MO:       [let's s]ee what the bird book says about the
3.      -> turkey vulture[s]. {walks out of camera view}
4.  DA:                   [y]eah. (0.3)
5.         ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
6.         {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
7.       ♫ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
8.         (1.2) {looks up and back down}
9.       ♫ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.        (2.0)
```

```
11.          ♫ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.            (1.1)
13.          ♫ that we should see the turkey vulture
```

In this and many other examples, Dan modifies lyrics by recontextualizing elements of another participant's turn in the song's formulaic structure.[1] In this case, Dan replaces "the fireman's band" from the original lyrics with Morgan's *turkey vulture.* The objective of this study is to examine when, how, and to what ends Dan does this type of singing.

1.2 Research motivations and significance

The primary motivation of this study is to understand the structure and function of Dan's singing. My first goal is to describe how Dan's singing of a formulaic text is accomplished in everyday conversation. My second goal is to analyze how singing does "main jobs" and "less 'official' business" in interaction (Levinson, 2013, p. 107). My secondary motivation is to understand why singing might be a particularly useful tool for Dan to participate in interaction. This study thus makes theoretical contributions to the study of singing in interaction, interaction in general, and communication by people with dementia.

First, we do not know much about the structure of singing in everyday conversation. Singing is formulaic but not totally pre-fabricated. What a singer reproduces of a text varies from performance to performance. Sometimes a performance is very formulaic. Other times, the participant only produces the tune plus

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[1] I provide original song lyrics and links to publicly available recordings in Appendix A.

rhyme and metric structure. It is a type of formulaic improvisation that we do not know much about in conversation. The analysis of singing in everyday interaction is important because it tells us about the emergent structure of sung formulaic texts and mechanisms through which texts are modified and created anew.

Second, the study of singing has implications for our understanding of interaction. We know very little about how and why people use singing to do "main" and "off record" jobs in everyday conversation. Literature on singing in conversation by neuro-typical participants is lacking, with a few recent exceptions. Frick (2013), Stevanovic (2013b) and Stevanovic & Frick (2014) explore how participants use singing and humming in everyday interaction to achieve specific interactional goals. In Frick's (2013) study, Finnish speakers in Estonia use singing to end extended interactional sequences that include signs of dispreference and non-alignment. Frick notes that well-known songs used in everyday speech, either modified or with original words, are recontextualized texts similar to reported speech. Without an identifiable author or recognizable "voice," these "common texts" resemble figurative expressions. She argues that singing indexes "a voice that is not entirely the speaker's own" and functions as a resource for resolving interactional problems by re-establishing affiliation (p. 266). Stevanovic and Frick (2014) develop these ideas further to argue that a song is not completely a speaker's own composition, so singing results in less agency and accountability. In their view, singing functions to distance the speaker from a potentially face-threatening action and works to establish affiliation. Stevanovic (2013b) also looks at how participants use humming to manage problems in interaction. The participants in her data hum to disengage from joint activity when someone fails to

perform an expected action or performs an inappropriate action. She concludes that humming can be used to redefine participation frameworks. These studies demonstrate that study of singing (and humming) can contribute to research on interactional resources that participants use to manage (dis)affiliation and participation frameworks.

My study adds to the literature on singing as an interactional resource through my analysis of (1) how Dan's singing fits into the turn-taking structure of talk, and (2) what his singing accomplishes in the moment. My analysis demonstrates that Dan sings in systematic sequential locations, co-participants treat his singing as responsive to prior talk, and his singing makes relevant a response. Furthermore, I show that Dan's singing can be used for a wide range of interactional jobs. Co-participants orient to his singing as doing actions such as complimenting, complaining, and requesting. His singing is also involved in doing humor and wordplay, closing sequences to re-establish affiliation, responding to a noticing or informing turn, responding to turns that announce a new activity, and changing the trajectory of talk. Analysis of his singing therefore contributes to our knowledge about how participants get things done in interaction.

Analysis of the form and function of singing is particularly relevant to our understanding of communication by people with dementia. Singing has a history of being classified as "noise-making" and "verbal disruptive behavior" associated with self-stimulation in dementia (Cohen-Mansfield & Werner, 1997; Ryan et al., 1988). Some typologies of "disruptive vocalizations" in dementia note that it may be "goal directed" and hence they include "purpose of the sound" in their classification (e.g., requests for attention, expression of pain, emotional stress, self-stimulation, and

unknown; Cohen-Mansfield & Werner, 1997). Dan's singing is not as "disruptive" as the "loud singing" or "variety of tunes" listed in these classifications of vocalizations. However, Dan's frequent singing of a small set of songs could be described as repetitive, atypical behavior using a clinical typology. This type of top-down analysis of verbal behavior risks erasure of contextual nuances that indicate why a person vocalizes or sings at a particular juncture in time. My study suggests that a bottom-up approach allows for a finer-grained description of the emergent structure and meaning of singing. An analysis of how singing unfolds in interaction demonstrates that singing can be far from "self-stimulation." Developing our understanding of how participants use singing as a semiotic resource for action formation and identity construction is especially important for a population associated with loss of self (Bond, 1992; Guendouzi & Müller, 2006; Kontos, 2005; Millett, 2011; Tappen et al., 1999).

1.3 Research questions and approaches

Dan's cognitive deficit is primarily non-linguistic, and there is not a causal relationship between his short-term memory loss and singing. Dan, however, started modifying songs and increasing his frequency of singing after changes in his cognition. Singing is one way that he has adapted to short-term memory loss. To understand Dan's singing as an indirect compensatory adaption for severe short-term memory impairment, I draw from *Emergent Pragmatics*. Emergent Pragmatics is an explanatory model that integrates cognitive and social contributions to ability and disability by taking into account both intrapersonal and the interpersonal domains of interaction (Lindholm, 2013; Perkins, 2005b, 2007). I first take cognitive and social approaches to the broad

question of how Dan might "benefit" from singing in Chapter 4. I then place the majority of my attention on a micro-level interactional approach to analyzing Dan's singing as it emerges in interaction in Chapters 5 and 6.

First, I ask what cognitive processes are involved in the production of singing and modification of formulaic sequences. To address whether Dan's singing could result in a "processing advantage," I review literature on (1) shared and distinct neural networks for speech and singing (Horvath et al., 2011; Özdemir, Norton, & Schlaug, 2006; Schon et al, 2010; Peretz & Zatorre, 2004; Peretz & Coltheart, 2003; Riecker et al., 2002; Zatorre & Belin, 2001) and (2) cognitive processes involved in formulaic language (Bybee, 2010; Conklin & Schmitt, 2012; Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012; Wray, 2012). Singing formulaic sequences might "free up" cognitive resources, but Dan's method of significantly changing lyrics requires additional online processing that is not usually accounted for in theories of formulaic language. I therefore also use a model of speech production (Menn, 2011) to describe processing involved in Dan's modifications.

Second, I ask what singing might do for Dan socially. To address this question, I borrow from Bauman & Briggs' scholarship on performance (Bauman, 1977; Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Performance of verbal art is often conceptualized as a formally identified and pre-patterned text that is "reinjected into situations of use" (Bauman, 1977, p. 11). Bauman & Brigg replace this object-centered notion of performance by emphasizing the emergent structure and significance of text in situational contexts. Their notion of performance includes scheduled, public, and formalized "cultural performances" (e.g., ceremony and ritual) but importantly extends to "the spontaneous,

unscheduled, optional performance contexts of everyday life" such as telling jokes at a

party (Bauman, 1977 p. 28). This conceptualization allows extension of the notion of

performance to Dan's "unscheduled and optional" singing. Performance is a "mode of

social production" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 76), and the product is the display of a

recontextualized text that involves social issues of access, legitimacy, competence, and

values. I discuss these issues in relations to Dan's performance of songs from his

childhood and college days. I argue that his singing and talk about songs, genres, and

the good old days help Dan to establish himself as someone with a fun past who

continues to be clever, funny, and a bit naughty. Furthermore, I use the notion of *stance

accretion* to explain how Dan's temporary participant roles and participants' stances

towards his singing accumulate to form a more "durable" identity than found in a single

performance (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

I take a micro-level interactional approach to analyzing the structure and

meaning of instances of Dan's singing using Conversation Analysis (CA) (see e.g,

Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007a; Sidnell, 2010; Sidnell & Stivers,

2013). I describe and analyze video recorded interactions in which Dan sings to address

the following questions:

1. How does Dan's singing emerge from the turn-taking structure of talk? Do co-participants elicit singing? Are there design features that project a singing turn from the very beginning? Does a preface alert co-participants to his intent to sing?

2. How is turn-taking managed for Dan's singing? Do participants orient to a song as a structure that suspends turn-taking conventions of talk? Is Dan allocated an extended singing based on shared knowledge of a text? Or is an extended singing turn an accomplishment that is built bit-by-bit?

3. What happens after Dan sings? What operations are available to co-participants in response? Do they treat singing as an "interruption?" How is progressivity of interaction maintained?

4. What does Dan accomplish by singing? Does singing close sequences, open new ones, or return back to previous ones? What actions or "main jobs" does singing do? Is singing involved in "less 'official' business" that participants sometimes attend to, such as managing distribution of knowledge (Levinson, 2013, p. 107)?

In short, the bulk of my analysis addresses how singing "fits" into the structure of conversation (see Chapter 5 on the turn taking structure of Dan's singing) and what it accomplishes at certain moments in time (see Chapter 6 on the function of his singing).

1.4 Preview of main findings

From a cognitive perspective, singing formulaic sequences may provide a processing advantage in the form of quicker activation compared to production of more novel utterances. It seems that at least some types of formulaic sequences have a "privileged" processing status compared to language generated online, but the exact nature of this processing advantage has yet to be determined. (Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012; Wray, 2012). The processing advantage of formulaic sequences may be the result of holistic storage or quickly spreading activation (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012; Wray, 2012). Also, the neural activation pattern for singing may spread out the burden of processing by recruiting additional networks, especially in right hemisphere, to those used in speaking. Together, singing and use of formulaic sequences may "free up" cognitive resources for creative modifications by decreasing the cognitive load of online production.

Dan's textual variations require additional processing for production. Dan's

modifications are complex and cannot be explained by separate activation patterns for the formulaic sequence and modifications. It appears that concepts and event structures from the formulaic structure not only provide syntactic structure but also activate concepts and lemmas for modification.

Singing is not a direct result of short-term memory deficit, but it is a way that Dan has adapted to changes in his cognition. The processing advantage of easily activated formulaic sequences may help Dan to participate in over-stimulating environments, such as multi-participant interactions in restaurants. These are the types of environments in which Dan's participation is significantly reduced and limited to mostly repeated and formulaic sequences. (Unfortunately, I do not have video recordings of such interactions, but I discuss this more in Chapter 3). In less demanding environments, such as dyadic conversations in relatively quiet settings, Dan can allocate cognitive resources to modify songs for his playful and humorous participation. The interactions that I analyze are situated in a relatively less demanding context of one-to-one interaction in the home.

There are several findings worth highlighting regarding the structure and function of Dan's singing. First, the structure of Dan's song emerges bit-by-bit. One might expect that Dan is allocated extended singing turns based on the formulaic nature of the lyrical text, but intuition is not a good guide in this case. Dan's modified singing does not rely on a preface or formulaic structure to suspend turn-by-turn talk, and his song is accomplished in smaller units. There is evidence for an orientation to a relatively short turn constructional unit (TCU) for singing. Dan can switch to talking after singing a single TCU without Morgan pursuing more, and Morgan can take a turn

at that turn-relevance place (TRP) without being held accountable for curtailing the song. There is no guarantee that Dan will produce the "whole" song as it is written in a book or performed on the radio. In fact, Dan's singing beyond an initial TCU is an interactional achievement. Co-participants have a role in song extension by lack of uptake, silences that invite more, production of continuers, minimal assessments, and turns that explicitly request continuation or accounts for song's relevance. The finding that Dan has to extend a song bit-by-bit is unexpected and significant, and it contributes to our understanding of the turn-taking structure of singing in everyday interaction.

Second, singing is a relatively open-ended resource for Dan to do things in interaction. The data collection contains examples of Dan doing humor and wordplay, closing sequences to re-establish affiliation, doing appreciation and gratitude, responding to a noticing or informing turn, responding to turns that announce a new activity, and changing the trajectory of talk. This does not mean, however, that Dan's singing is random or asocial. Dan's singing is a flexible interactional resource because he astutely monitors conversation and modifies songs to the discursive context at hand. In the most general of terms, Dan's singing is a strong example of a person with dementia initiating and being responsive to talk and sustaining mutual engagement. More particularly, singing helps Dan manage knowledge and decision-making in conversation. In certain situations, claims to knowledge and decision-making rights expose changes in Dan's cognition when they involve things that he no longer participates in, such shopping, planning for trips and finances, and problem solving for electronics. Singing in response to noticing and informing turns allows Dan to acknowledge receipt of information without taking much of a stance towards the

distribution of knowledge. This practice subtly and indirectly resists his position as a person with dementia through wordplay. Similar to how Dan sings following informing turns regarding knowledge, Dan also sings following turns that put forth next activities. Dan's singing treats announcements of activities as proposals for him to approve. His singing thus constitutes a subtle shift in the participants' relative rights to decision-making without Dan having to initiate plans and activities on his own (something that is very difficult for him to do).

Third, Dan uses singing to change the trajectory of talk to either return to a previous element of talk or touch off new talk. There is a pattern of Dan redirecting talk away from things that are more challenging for him cognitively and toward more concrete information and accessible objects in the immediate environment. When Dan's singing touches off talk about things that he participates in more, he shifts talk away from challenging topics while constructing himself as clever and funny. In other words, singing is an important way that Dan negotiates *epistemic rights* to knowledge (Enfield, 2011; Heritage, 2012; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Thompson et al., 2015) and *deontic rights* to determine courses of action in everyday interaction (Stevanovic, 2012, 2013a; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). This finding is important because it illustrates that a person with dementia can use a resource, such as singing, in a novel way to navigate challenging interactional "business" without overly exposing cognitive deficit.

Finally, singing is an important way that Dan constructs his identity and positions himself as an active and engaged participant. His singing embodies Bauman & Briggs' (1990) insight that performance is not a production of a reified text that stands apart from day-to-day life as a bounded event. Dan's performances are quite the

opposite; they are completely integrated into conversation as interactional achievements. Dan's performances are recognizable as versions of repeated songs, but he significantly changes lyrics based on surrounding talk and visual-tactile elements of the physical environment. He is only able to accomplish these modifications by monitoring conversation and his surroundings, and his singing demonstrates that he is highly engaged in interaction. His performances are not simple reiterations of an underlying, set text. Rather, they emerge in the context of encounters that unfold moment-by-moment.

The stances that Dan and other participants take toward his singing are important for his construction of self and his relationship with Morgan. The mechanism though Dan's singing enacts and is constitutive of identity can be understood in terms "micro details of identity" that emerge in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 591). Bucholtz & Hall explain that temporary roles and orientations may accumulate ideological associations with identity categories. Dan's humorous performances position him as a humorous and clever singer in the moment, and iterations of his singing cumulatively produce him as a person who makes funny quips with song. Recognizing that Dan constructs himself through repeated humorous performance of song is an important contrast to the top-down medical category of "demented."

1.5 Organization of dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides key background definitions and approaches to dementia and singing. The literature review synthesizes (1) the medical definition of dementias and the impact on communication

from a "deficit" approach, (2) CA and CA-informed approaches to dementia, specifically regarding trouble and spared abilities, and (3) singing in dementia and CA studies on singing. Chapter 3 describes my data, methods, and participant information.

I present the main body of the dissertation in three chapters. In Chapter 4, I introduce the songs that Dan sings and identify types of contextually dependent modifications (based on previous discourse or physical environment). I also discuss sociolinguistic and cognitive approaches to Dan's singing. I take the position that these very different approaches are complementary and together provide a more complete understanding of Dan's singing than either an interpersonal or intrapersonal approach would alone.

I describe and analyze the turn-taking structure of Dan's singing in Chapter 5. The first subsection provides an analysis of the discursive environment from which Dan's singing emerges. I describe where Dan initiates singing in terms of overall "sections" of conversation and also sequential location. In the second subsection, I focus on the song's internal structure and the role both participants play in the achievement of Dan's extended songs. I present this discussion in three parts: (1) beginnings, or how Dan enters into singing and what constitutes a single TCU at the start of a song, (2) middles, or how the participants work together to expand songs beyond a TCU, and (3) endings, or how participants close an extended song. A shorter third subsection analyzes responses to singing.

Chapter 6 addresses the function of Dan's singing. Subsections include doing humor and wordplay, closing sequences to re-establish affiliation, doing appreciation and gratitude, responding to a noticing or informing turn, responding to turns that

announce a new activity, and changing the trajectory of talk. I also relate the actions

accomplished by singing to larger interactional projects and stances regarding rights to

knowledge and decision-making. A final conclusion chapter summarizes main findings,

discusses the significance of the study, and proposes directions for future research.

CHAPTER II

APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE AND SINGING IN DEMENTIA

Dementia refers to a group of symptoms. It is an umbrella term for several specific subtypes. The most common, and well-known, subtype is Alzheimer's disease (AD). Alzheimer's disease (AD), like other dementia subtypes, is a medical diagnosis, and as such it marks a deviation from a norm. Language, both expressive and receptive, is one aspect delineating that difference. The specific way that dementia changes language varies by dementia subtype and from person-to-person. Scholars approach analysis of language and dementia in different ways to answer different questions. Many researchers contribute to the project of developing a "language profile" for dementia, especially AD, by studying areas of language normalcy and deficit. Others, drawing from Conversation Analysis (CA), use notions of trouble and repair to account for other participants in interaction who may facilitate or hinder communication. Another approach asks how people with dementia and their conversational partners use remaining abilities to manage changes in cognition. In this chapter, I provide an introduction to dementia from a medical perspective. I then briefly review literature on language and dementia from a deficit approach and then from a CA-informed approach. Since this dissertation is on singing in conversation, I also summarize literature on singing in dementia and in "normal" conversation.

2.1 Dementias

In most medical discourse, *dementia* is an umbrella term for a group of diagnoses characterized by multiple, acquired cognitive-linguistic deficits. I will

segment this definition of dementia into three parts. First, diagnosis of dementia requires multiple cognitive-linguistic deficits. Second, the deficits must be a decline in condition. Third, there are multiple underlying conditions that could lead to a dementia diagnosis.

The first part of this definition requires multiple deficits for a dementia diagnosis. According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision* (*DSM-IV-TR*) (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) used by psychiatric clinicians and other medical professionals, memory impairment is essential for the diagnosis and is considered to be a prominent symptom that emerges early in the disease process. The person must also decline in at least one other cognitive-linguistic domain including *aphasia, apraxia, agnosia*, or *executive function* (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Grossly speaking, *aphasia* is the deterioration of language function. The person may demonstrate increased word-finding difficulty, vague nominals or deictic words with indefinite referents (e.g., "the thing" or "it" without a clear referent), long circumlocution, and difficulty with comprehension. Aphasia may advance to *echolalia* (repetition of a conversational partner's utterances), *palilalia* (repetition of sounds or words), or *mutism*. *Apraxia* is the impaired ability to complete motor tasks. A person with apraxia has the physical ability, sensory function, and instruction comprehension to do the movements for the task, but the person is unable to do the movement intentionally due to a disorder in motor planning. A person with *agnosia* has decreased ability to recognize objects despite intact sensory ability and memory. Agnosia*,* for example, may lead a person to attempt to eat non-food items or to not recognize his or her family members. A decline

in *executive function* involves impaired planning, initiating, sequencing, monitoring and correcting, and stopping of complex behaviors. Shifting between task sets and abstract thinking are also impacted. People with executive language deficits have difficulty with activities of daily living such as managing finances or medicines, holding dinner parties or even preparing a meal, and coping with novel situations. It is the inclusion of aphasia, apraxia, agnosia, and executive function deficits in addition to memory deficits that distinguishes dementia from an *amnesia disorder*.

These deficits, as they are defined in the *DSM-IV-TR*, must also be acquired. That is, there must be a significant decline in the person's functional abilities for a diagnosis of dementia. The person may be any age as long as a decline from previous ability can be demonstrated.[2] The functional abilities impacted can be social or occupational, including everything from the ability to complete personal hygiene and dressing, to using tools (telephones, microwaves), to completing complex activities (shopping, budgeting, and planning events), to going to school and work. The acquired impairment in cognition must also be relatively stable. The overall course or prognosis of dementia varies based on several factors including the underlying cause, but the symptoms do not fluctuate as greatly as they do in *delirium*. It is the acquired aspect of dementia that differentiates dementia from a developmental disability, and it is the

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[2] An adult, teenager or a child could be diagnosed with dementia by this definition, but elderly adults are more commonly diagnosed. This is in part because it is easier to demonstrate a decline in the functional abilities of an older adult than in developing youth. The elderly are also more susceptible to dementia since people are subject to an increasing variety of etiologies, or underlying causes, of dementia as they age. There is also likely an ideological element to the preference for diagnosing adults since dementia is commonly viewed as a disease of old age (consider, for example, the phrase "old timer's disease" for Alzheimer's).

relatively stable impairment in functional ability that differentiates dementia from delirium.

Finally, multiple conditions could lead to a dementia diagnosis. All dementia diagnoses share a negative impact on functional abilities stemming from multiple cognitive-linguistic deficits. Dementias differ in etiology, onset, and prognosis. Dementia can be caused by an underlying medical condition (e.g., Parkinson's disease), by substances with persisting effects (e.g., toxin exposure), by multiple sources, or by unknown causes. If the specific etiology is known, a subtype is listed with the dementia diagnosis. The following diagnoses are used under the *DSM-IV-TR*:

> Dementia of the Alzheimer's Type, Vascular Dementia, Dementia Due to HIV Disease, Dementia Due to Head Trauma, Dementia Due to Parkinson's Disease, Dementia Due to Huntington's Disease, Dementia Due to Pick's Disease, Dementia Due to Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease, Dementia Due to Other General Medical Conditions, Substance-Induced Persisting Dementia (i.e., due to a drug of abuse, a medication, or toxin exposure), Dementia Due to Multiple Etiologies, and Dementia Not Otherwise Specified (for dementia with undetermined etiology).

In addition to having a multitude of possible causes, dementia diagnoses also differ on their onset (e.g., gradual or sudden) and possible course based on underlying pathology and treatment (i.e., the prognosis may be progressive, static, or remitting).

Labels and categorization of disorders change over time in medical discourse. A new edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM-5*) (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) was recently published, and medical codes are continuously updated. Diagnoses in the "Delirium, Dementia, Amnestic, and Other Cognitive Disorders" section of the *DSM-IV-TR* are now listed under "Neurocognitive Disorders" in the *DMS-5*. "Neurocognitive Disorders" are divided into three broad syndromes: Delirium, Mild Neurocognitive Disorder, and Major Neurocognitive

Disorder. Etiology of the neurocognitive disorder is listed as a subtype if it is known. For example, the *DSM-IV-TR*'s diagnosis "Dementia of the Alzheimer's Type" is "Major Neurocognitive Disorder due to Alzheimer's disease" (or "Mild," depending on the severity) in the *DSM-5*. Significantly, memory impairment is not a required criterion for a neurocognitive disorder. A diagnosis of neurocognitive disorder requires *at least one* cognitive deficit in complex attention, memory, language, visuoconstructional perceptual ability, and/or social cognition. Impaired memory, however, remains a required deficit for a diagnosis of the Alzheimer's subtype.

While changes in the criteria for neurocognitive disorders and their specific etiologies are based on advances in research, other changes have social motives. The move to "neurocognitive disorder" in the *DSM-5* is an intentional attempt to (1) disassociate the disorder from pejorative uses of "dementia," (2) remove social stigma associated with the diagnosis, and (3) loosen discursive connections between memory impairment and the elderly (American Psychiatric Association, 2010; Remington, 2012). Certainly this is not the first attempt at erasing ideological connections between "senility," the elderly, and labels for cognitive decline (cf. Ikeda & Roemer, 2009; Takeda, Tanaka, & Chiba, 2010, regarding the shift from 'Chiho' to 'Ninchi-sho' as a term for dementia in Japanese medical discourse). However, critics of the change from "dementia" to "neurocognitive disorder" warn that it may cause confusion amongst healthcare providers and have negative consequences for diagnosis, treatment, and selection of providers (Ostacher, 2014; Remington, 2012). Their concern is especially valid considering that the current version of the *International Classification of Diseases* (ICD-10) developed by the World Health Organization continues to use the term

dementia and different diagnostic criteria (Ostacher, 2014; Remington, 2012; World Health Organization, 1992). In the US, healthcare providers often use the *DSM* and the *ICD* for different purposes, diagnosis and billing respectively (Remington, 2012). Even the diagnostic usefulness of new criteria for neurocognitive disorders in the *DSM-5* has been questioned (Looi & Velakoulis, 2014). In this dissertation, I use the term *dementia* since it is still most commonly used in the literature.

2.2 A deficit approach to dementia and language

Many scholars have contributed to the monumental project of attempting to define linguistic elements that characterize dementia in reference to speakers without a neurogenic diagnosis.[3] The purpose of this deficit approach is to isolate elements of impaired language to inform (1) diagnostic criteria for possible early disease detection, (2) treatment and/or maintenance options, (3) caregiver education, and (4) current knowledge about healthy brains and unimpaired language.

Much work has been done on linguistic correlates to Alzheimer's disease (AD), and several authors have published overviews of findings. Bayles, Tomoeda, and Trosset (1992) relate "linguistic communication abilities" to AD stage and normal controls. Bayles and Tomoeda (2007) also published a more recent review on AD

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[3] My main purpose here is to review research on linguistic correlates to AD. I recognize, however, that there is controversy over whether there is truly enough diagnostic accuracy and sensitivity to build a linguistic profile of dementia, even by subtype. Orange and Purves (1996, p. 141) criticize early work on language and AD as including "less than robust diagnostic and selection criteria for AD." Those concerns continue to exist. Indeed, more recent medical research on AD has identified likely subtypes of AD and a more complex typology of dementias than previously described (see e.g., Janocko et al., 2012; Murray et al., 2011; Whitwell et al., 2012). We also should not ignore individual variation. Orange and Purves (1996) highlight that variation in linguistic and conversational performance in the normal aging population deserves attention and is necessary for understanding variation in AD.

neuropathology and impaired communicative functions by stage. Maxim and Bryan (2006) provide a comprehensive review of language symptomatology and a pertinent discussion on variation in AD (see also Perkins, Whitworth, & Lesser, 1998, for a shorter summary and critique).

Authors typically report semantic deficits and discourse impairment, and some identify phonological deficits in the late stages of AD and syntactic comprehension deficit (Bayles et al., 1982; Hamilton, 1994; Kempler & Goral, 2008; Maxim & Bryan, 2006). Evidence of semantic deficits includes word-finding difficulty during naming tasks (see e.g., Hodges et al., 1991) and changes in word fluency when asked to quickly name exemplars in a category such as animals. Maxim & Bryan (2006) report that decreased word fluency is an early feature of AD whereas word-finding difficulty is a noticeable but not early feature. Some issues under discussion include the degree to which single word access is intact (and in what situations), whether the nature of the problem is access or storage of semantic information, and the possible importance of semantic features of the target word (e.g., whether those features are distinctive to the target or shared by multiple concepts).

Regarding grammatical structure, authors usually report that AD spares syntax (see Appell et al., 1982; Hamilton, 1994; Kempler et al., 1987; Kempler & Goral, 2008; Schwartz et al., 1979; Whitaker, 1976). Language output may be mostly grammatical, but some studies indicate that comprehension and complex grammatical relations in output may be impaired (Maxim & Bryan, 2006). Kempler & Goral (2008) reference a study showing that people with AD were sensitive to verb transitivity violations but not thematic role assignment violations, and they suggest that there may be "islands of

impairment within the sphere of grammatical processing" (p. 76). They conclude, however, that syntactic comprehension impairment is generally attributed to working memory and attention impairment.

Many studies locate impairment at the level of discourse. Researchers measure discourse impairment though analysis of tasks that elicit retelling of fables and pictures, explaining proverbs (Chapman et al., 1997), personal narratives (Brandão et al., 2009), and, rarely, from spontaneous conversation (Bucks et al., 2000). Kempler & Goral (2008, p. 76) report the often-cited problem in AD of "difficulty constructing an informative and coherent narrative". These difficulties include repetitive topic changes, unclear references, lack of coherence, uninformative speech and incomplete propositions, verbosity, and inability to draw inferences (Brandão et al., 2009; Chapman et al., 1998; Kempler & Goral, 2008). Brandão et al. (2009, p. 147) attribute increasingly unorganized and empty speech, characterized by "a great number of indefinite terms, meaningless sentences and the absence of relevant elements for the comprehension of the message" to disruptions in semantic memory, episodic memory, and working memory. At a conversational level, this may manifest as syntactically felicitous turns at talk that only appear disordered in relation to prior utterances. Hamilton (1994, p. 185) provides this example:

1. Patient: And where did you say your home was?
2. Researcher: I'm on Walter Road.
3. Patient: You can do that. That's a good idea.

The utterance produced by the patient with AD in line (3) is syntactically well-formed but marked in the discursive context of the other turns. The pragmatic nature of deficit in AD has led to a discussion of how best to elicit data to understand the nature of

impairment. Some researchers have concluded that conversation is the best data source for understanding language impairment in dementia.

2.3 CA and CA-informed approaches to dementia

One outgrowth of the neuropsychological understanding of dementia is to view all linguistic production as an outcome of neurocognitive processes and changes. Other researchers on language and dementia have positioned themselves in opposition to the notion that disorder exists only in the individual. CA and CA-informed approaches to dementia attempt to reveal the ways in which trouble emerges in interaction, how all participants manage changes in communication, and what abilities remain despite dementia. Researchers from this perspective endeavor to use "naturalistic" data to examine language that is reflective of everyday language practices that people with dementia and their conversational partners may encounter.[4] While the concept of deficit exists to varying degrees in this literature, this approach differs from other models that focus exclusively on isolating deviant linguistic elements in the speech of the person with dementia. Communicative impairment is not viewed as housed solely in the diseased brain of the diagnosed speaker. All communication partners participate in co-creating troubled and functional communication that unfolds from sequences of talk.

One body of work looks at trouble and repair in conversation, with an applied focus on facilitating remaining abilities through communication partner training (Guendouzi & Müller, 2002; Hamilton, 1994; Orange & Colton-Hudson, 1998; Orange,

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[4] The notion of conversational data as natural or ordinary is not uncontroversial. See, for example, the Billig-Schegloff exchange in the context of a larger debate on methodology (Billig, 1999a, 1999b; Schegloff, 1999a, 1999b).

Lubinski, & Higginbotham, 1996; Orange & Purves, 1996; Orange, Van Gennep, Miller, & Johnson, 1998; Perkins, Whitworth, & Lesser, 1997, 1998; Sabat, 1991; Watson, Chenery, & Carter, 1999). It is somewhat contrived to characterize this CA-informed approach as wholly set apart from other research on dementia that seeks to map out linguistic deficit profiles. Some researchers use multiple methods for data elicitation and analysis (e.g., standardized language assessment and CA). Others use a CA-informed approach to attempt to (1) quantify the quality of an interaction, (2) suggest strategies to improve interaction based on typical repair patterns, (3) measure success of intervention on communication style, and (4) develop theories on the nature of cognitive impairment in AD informed by departures from normal conversational patterns. Yet, the CA-informed approach diverges enough in motivation and method to justify a distinction from standard clinical methods.

A close look at many CA-informed studies also reveals an adaption more than a traditional application of CA methodology. Analysts do not consistently assume the same definitions of repair terminology or have equivalent sensitivity to sequential context, and they also adopt new concepts from allied fields. As an example, Watson et al. (1999) introduce the notion of *trouble indicating behavior* to CA-informed analysis of dementia and conversation. They adapt this concept from the works of (1) Garvey (1977) and Gallagher (1981) on child language acquisition of contingent queries and the development of communicative competence, (2) Bremer, Broeder, Roberts, Simonot, & Vasseur (1993) on explicit "indications of non-understanding" and indirect "symptoms of non-understanding" in second language learning, and (3) Ferguson (1994) on *trouble indicating behaviour* in aphasia that includes both explicit indicators

and implicit symptoms of non-understanding. On a more fundamental level, some of these studies compare "normal" uses of repair and repair done by people with dementia. The identity of a speaker as demented is thus rendered inseparable from the speaker's productions. Furthermore, in contrast to CA of normal speakers, this applied CA literature is charged with an ethical objective to improve the lives of people with AD and their loved ones, with conversation treated as one medium through which challenges arise. As a consequence, a predominant goal of this CA-informed literature is to identify communicative strategies to maximize successful or functional communication.

Another smaller body of research looks at the interactional use of remaining abilities. This literature has been inspired, in part, by groundbreaking work by Goodwin (1995a, 2003) and Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) who analyze the organization of situated activities to understand how a person with severe aphasia competently participates and co-constructs meaning in conversation. Many of the studies in this area focus on specific practices or behaviors by people with dementia. Lindholm (2008) compares the use of laughter by people with dementia in sequences with trouble to earlier findings on how healthy speakers and speakers with aphasia use laughter to deal with problems and "delicacy" in interaction. Her data are from video recordings of Swedish-speakers with dementia (AD and vascular dementia) and their professional caregivers in a day care center in Finland. During a fill-in-the-blank game geared towards enhancing memory, a nurse reads the start of a Swedish proverb, and patients are expected to complete the saying. The participants' use of laughter in these interactions shows their ability to monitor conversation, their own contributions, and

what is expected of them. Lindholm argues that their use of laughter to acknowledge expressive and receptive communication difficulties is more than just a preserved skill, it is an "expanded function" of laughter. The participants with dementia use laughter as a resource during trouble sequences as they face changes in their communication and cognition.

Wray (2010, 2011) has also contributed to the literature with her focus on formulaic language. She (2010) provides a case study of a former international opera star with dementia (possibly early stage AD) who is a guest tutor at a singing workshops. The woman, Joan, manages her communication difficulties by using formulaic language to her advantage. Wray concludes that the workshop is a success because Joan has unimpaired musical abilities, formulaic langauge is legitimate in the context of a music workshop, and all the participants accept Joan as filling an authoritative role as resident expert. Despite her limited ability to communicate, Joan and others do not primarily construe her as a person with dementia. She can communiate effectively in this particular context with the support of others.

Other scholars have looked at disruptive verbal behaviors associated with disease progression. Hydén (2011a) and Samuelsson & Hydén (2011) look at verbal and nonverbal vocalizations (e.g., screaming and "noise-making") produced by people in the later stages of AD. Samuelsson & Hydén (2011) analyze prosody and interactional patterning of singing-like vocalizations produced by a woman with late stage AD who has severe language impairment. They show that participants orient to her vocalizations as interactionally meaningful. Samuelsson & Hydén stress that vocalizations should be taken as communicative contributions and note the importance

of responding to seemingly asocial and disruptive behavior with positive (or at least neutral) interventions. Hydén (2011a) also analyzes vocalizations for their responsiveness to ongoing interaction and how other participants respond to them. He shows that nonverbal vocalizations may "fit" into the interaction to some degree, but more importantly they are treated as meaningful by co-participants. He concludes that vocalizations are meaningful when co-participants treat them as meaningful, even when it is difficult to establish communicative intent. These vocalizations thus have consequences for all participants as part of ongoing and intersubjectively organized interaction.

In the same vein as many CA studies, Kitzinger & Jones (2007) and Jones (2013) use conversations from phone calls to analyze openings and turn-design. Kitzinger & Jones (2007) analyze the openings of phone calls between a woman with AD and her daughter and son-in-law. The woman, May, is competent in routinized summons-answers, recognitions and greetings, "howareyous" and pre-emptions that bypass "howareyou" to go directly to the reason for the call (i.e., displays of urgency). On the one hand, May demonstrates accurate voice recognition, competence in designing opening turns at talk, and appropriate levels of intimacy in greeting family members. On the other hand, she also displays serious memory deficit that interferes with expressing concern about the health of family members and responding to news about their lives. Kitzinger & Jones (2007, p. 199) conclude that competence and impairment are intertwined, and coping strategies cause "an illusion of 'normality'" that make May vulnerable to being held accountable for her memory deficits. Using phone calls between the same family members, Jones (2013) locates presupposition of

intact episodic memory in the turn-design of questions. She argues that this misalignment between presupposed intact memory and actual memory loss can influence whether the family members achieve "good" communication.

Together, these studies demonstrate that communication difficulties arise in part from cognitive deficits but are contingent upon other participants' contributions in interaction. Other related areas of research include the construction of dementia as a category and an identity (e.g., Adams, 2000; Bond, 1992, 2002; Sabat et al., 2004) and narrative and storytelling by people with dementia (e.g., Hydén, 2011b, 2013; Hydén & Örulv, 2009; Hydén et al., 2013; Ramanatha-Abbott, 1994). Of course, other methodologies have significantly contributed to knowledge about dementia, including but not limited to ethnography (e.g., Chatterji, 1998; Ericsson et al., 2011; Malthouse, 2011; Saunders et al., 2011; Stephens et a.l, 2012) and analysis of interviews (Aggarwal et al., 2003; Allen et al., 2009; Brorsson et al., 2011; Caddell & Clare, 2011; Dalby et al., 2011; Davies, 2011; de Witt et al., 2009; Gill et al., 2011; Proctor, 2001). This dissertation adds to the literature on dementia and communication – and more specifically singing. My case study of Dan shows that singing is not just a preserved skill but one that he masterfully uses for achieving multiple actions in interaction despite his cognitive impairment.

2.4 Dementia and singing

Musical recognition and memory may be a spared ability in dementia despite impaired language (see e.g., Cuddy & Duffin, 2005; Särkämö et al., 2012). The most robust research on dementia and singing outside of testing situations is on singing done

by healthcare professionals to people with dementia in the context of (1) music therapy and music recreation or (2) during activities of daily living. Caregivers sing to people with dementia during many activities of daily living such as morning routines, toileting, meals, and transfers (e.g., moving from bed to chair). Several researchers in Sweden have studied singing by caregivers and measured effectiveness mostly by "qualitative content analysis" of video recordings (Brown, Götell, & Ekman, 2001; Götell, Brown, & Ekman, 2002, 2003, 2009; Hammar, Emami, Engström, & Götell, 2011) but also by rating scales of resistiveness to care and observed emotion (Hammar, Emami, Götell, & Engström, 2011), caregiver group interview (Götell, Thunborg, Söderlund, & Wågert, 2012; Hammar, Emami, Engström, & Götell, 2010), and ethnography (Götell, Brown, & Ekman, 2000). For example, Götell et al. (2012) completed group interviews with professional caregivers on the perceived outcome of singing to people with dementia during transfer situations. Based on the caregivers' perception of benefit to both caregiver and resident, the authors conclude that singing may be an alternative to using antipsychotic drugs to reduce resident agitation and aggression during transfers.

Regarding *who* sings to people with dementia and *why*, Chatterton, Baker, and Morgan (2010) conducted a literature review on individuals with differing qualifications (music therapists, professional caregivers, and nonprofessional caregivers) singing to people with dementia. They conclude that music therapists and caregivers use singing to different ends: music therapists were interested in addressing cognitive, social, and behavioral functioning whereas caregivers were attempting to reduce agitation, improve quality of life, and "build connections" especially during activities of daily living. The authors did not come to an unequivocal interpretation of

the findings in regards to whether it is the sing*er* or the sing*ing* that most influences changes in behavior (i.e., is it the interaction with a person who happens to be singing or the specific act of singing that matters), but they lean towards recommending singing to people with dementia for improving quality of life "regardless of the qualifications of the sing*er*" (p. 646; emphasis original). The authors also clarify that evaluating the effectiveness of singing must take into consideration the goals and perceptions of the participants.

While some research has been done on singing by caregivers to people with dementia, singing *by* people with dementia receives far less attention. Several studies have examined participation in singing groups for people with dementia and their caregivers and its impact on quality of life, well-being, day-to-day functioning, and social inclusion (e.g., Camic, Williams, & Meeten, 2011; Davidson & Fedele, 2011). Yet, it is unclear if and how people with dementia use singing as an interactional resource in everyday interaction outside of those structured, choral singing activities.

Recent research in related areas provides a direction for studying the interactional use of singing by people with neurocognitive disorders. As I discussed earlier, Hydén (2011a) and Samuelsson & Hydén (2011) look at non-verbal vocalizations (e.g., screaming, repeated syllables, "singing-like" and monotonous pitch contours) by people with dementia to understand how participants orient to noise making as meaningful. Their approach is in contrast to previous typologies that treat non-verbal vocalizations as asocial, disruptive behavior that is an expression of agitation or other inner states (see Hydén, 2011a, for a review). Samuelsson & Hydén's (2011) case study provides acoustic and sequential analysis of interactions with a

woman who mainly communicates with non-verbal vocalizations due to severe Alzheimer's disease. They argue that her vocalizations sometimes have a singing-like prosodic pattern and that the pitch contours "do interactional jobs" (p. 566) that other participants treat as distinct and meaningful. Hydén (2011a) analyzes the turn-organization of verbal and non-verbal vocalizations in the same data as Samuelsson & Hydén (2011). He shows that other participants treat these vocalizations as meaningful when they provide accounts for the vocalizations and try to comfort the person with dementia. Hydén also demonstrates the necessity of analyzing discursive context for understanding non-verbal vocalizations as being part of a repeated interactional cycle that Hydén calls a *caring practice* (p. 142). Hydén and Samuelsson's CA-informed approach to non-verbal vocalizations provides an example for how singing in everyday interaction could be analyzed.

In addition to the research on singing-like vocalizations by people with dementia, singing by people without a diagnosis provides a resource for methodology. CA literature on singing in everyday conversation by neuro-typical participants is also lacking, but recent studies by Frick (2013), Stevanovic (2013b) and Stevanovic and Frick (2014) show that CA is an analytic tool sensitive to exploring how participants use singing and humming in everyday interaction to achieve specific interactional goals. Frick (2013) says well-known songs used in everyday speech, either modified or with original words, are recontextualized texts similar to reported speech without an identifiable author or recognizable "voice," and thus these "common texts" resemble figurative expressions. She argues that singing songs indexes "a voice that is not entirely the speaker's own," that is a resource for resolving interactional problems (p.

266). In Frick's data, Finnish speakers in Estonia use singing to end extended

interactional sequences that include signs of dispreference and non-alignment. For

example, one participant ends an extended teasing sequence by singing a line from a

popular Christmas song about piglets. The rest of the participants join by oinking, and

this closes the sequence by "affiliative joint activity" that distances the participants

from the sequence while also relieving tension from the interaction (p. 250). Stevanovic

(2013b) also looks at how participants manage problems in interaction. Her participants

used humming to redefine participation frameworks, but their use of humming to

establish non-participation is very different from the singing discussed earlier. Instead

of singing to close a troubled sequence and re-establish alignment, the participants hum

to disengage from joint activity when someone fails to perform an expected action or

performs an inappropriate action. Both Frick (2013) and Stevanovic (2013b) use CA to

demonstrate how singing and humming are used as interactional resources to manage

alignment and participation.

2.5 Conclusion

Many scholars from different schools of thought have contributed to the current

state of knowledge about language and dementia. One body of work focuses on

isolating specific domains of impairment and spared abilities through standardized

testing and experimental design. One of the goals of this literature is to develop a

linguistic profile by disease stage. Other researchers looks at trouble and repair in

conversation, with an applied focus on facilitating remaining abilities through

communication partner training. A more recently growing area of research addresses

the interactional use of remaining abilities in specific cases of people with dementia and their communication partners.

This study contributes to the issue of spared abilities in dementia. I demonstrate that singing of formulaic lyrics may be a relatively well-preserved interactional resource that also provides a processing advantage. It may be a particularly accessible resource for people facing increasing difficulty with communication from neurocognitive disorders. Most importantly, since this is a case-study of Dan and Morgan, I show how singing modified songs is a complex and open-ended resource for Dan's creative and humorous participation and identity formation despite his cognitive impairment.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides details on the data and methods used in this dissertation. I also give background information on the participants. In section 3.1, I describe the data collection. I outline Conversation Analysis (CA) as a methodology in section 3.2, and I review the rationale for applying CA to people with dementia in section 3.3. In section 3.4, I explain my procedure for analysis. Finally, I introduce the participants in section 3.5. This subsection also includes a description of the main participant's cognition and communicative competence.

3.1 The data

The data are home videos that Morgan and Dan volunteered for this study. Morgan recorded the videos during meal times and holidays, when they were reminiscing and chatting, and occasionally during preparation for outings. Morgan made the recordings between September 2011 and December 2014. I am in 3 videos that they recorded when I visited to pick up older videos. No other person is present in the recordings. I reviewed 23.25 hours of video and transcribed segments with singing. Dan and Morgan also granted me access to a report of Dan's cognitive-linguistic testing results, and they have given me permission to summarize the results and his background information. The Human Research Institutional Review Board approved this study, and both participants provided verbal and written consent.

3.2 Conversation Analysis as a methodology

The field of CA started with the work of sociologists Sacks, Jefferson, and Schegloff as a method for analyzing social order (see the much cited work of Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). The field was influenced by Goffman's work on the "interactional order" of everyday, ordinary encounters that is the foundation for social institutions (see, for example, Goffman, 1955, 1957) and Garfinkel's development of ethnomethodology (see Garfinkel, 1967). While Goffman's and Garfinkel's perspective-shifting works are often cited as the predominant inspirations for CA, Sidnell (2010) and Psathas (1995) provide additional discussion of the impact that developments in anthropology, linguistics, psychoanalysis, and social psychology had on the emergence of CA. CA has developed into an interdisciplinary endeavor for formally describing the structures of interaction through which participants achieve social order.

A basic premise of CA is that talk is a constitutive feature of social interaction that is systematically organized and ordered. Instead of viewing language as an individual's internal representation, language and action are viewed as collaborative accomplishments that emerge through the interaction. Despite the messiness of talk, with its false starts, revisions, minimal turns, and pauses, CA views conversation as orderly (e.g. Liddicoat, 2007; Wooffitt, 2005). Order does not pre-exist but is accomplished by participants, and the participants orient to that behavior by their coordinated practices (Liddicoat, 2007). For example, a speaker's turn at talk may perform an action that invites or makes relevant a next turn. Sequences can be as basic as two-turn units, or *adjacency pairs*, such as greetings (e.g. *hi – hi*) (see e.g. Wooffitt,

2005). Participants use an organized set of practices for getting and constructing turns, accomplishing sequences of actions, and completing repair along the way for continually establishing intersubjectivity. Psathas (1995, p. 3) writes,

> Social actions in the world of everyday life are practical actions and are to be examined as ongoing practical accomplishments. The logic or organization of such actions is a practical logic, an achieved organization, locally produced, in situ, in the "there and then" and the "here and now."

It is the job of the conversation analyst to identify the internal organization of those practices as they unfold in their sequential context (Liddicoat, 2007; Wooffitt, 2005) by addressing Schegloff and Sacks' query "Why that now?" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299).

Major endeavors in CA address the structure and function of the following: action formation (e.g. Levinson, 2013; Sidnell, 2010), turn design and turn-construction units (e.g. Clayman, 2013; Drew, 2013; Sidnell, 2010), turn distribution (e.g. Hayashi, 2013; Sidnell, 2010), sequence organization (e.g. Schegloff, 2007b; Sidnell, 2010; Stivers, 2013), preference organization (e.g. Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013; Sidnell, 2010), and epistemic and deontic authority (e.g. Heritage, 2012, 2013a; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stevanovic, 2012).

3.3 CA, dementia, and "disordered" speech

A premise of CA is that conversation is orderly. Is it appropriate, then, to use CA for analyzing interactions with populations characterized by disordered speech patterns? What might CA give us? There is a precedent for using CA to analyze conversations involving people with dementia. The next section briefly examines why some researchers of dementia and communication have adopted CA.

Some researchers of dementia and communication are drawn to CA simply for its use of conversational data. From the onset of CA, proponents insisted that using recordings of everyday interaction was necessary as "intuition does not equip researchers to anticipate the range of sequential contexts in which utterances might be produced" (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 10). The literature promoting CA for dementia reiterates the need for recorded conversational data. This is in reaction to the use of methods that isolate linguistic features to assess level of impairment.[5] Certainly, standardized testing and experimental design have a place in understanding linguistic structure, processing, and production. Conversational data, however, retain sequential context in contrast to single-turn responses that are elicited in many assessment tasks. Utterances contextualized in extended discourse reveal many of the pragmatic deficits associated with dementia. Hamilton (1994, p. 185) writes,

> Because of their basically well-formed syntactic structure, most of the inappropriate or irrelevant utterances characteristic of the language used by Alzheimer's patients would not appear out of the ordinary in isolation (with the exception of neologisms) but only when heard within the larger discourse context in pursuit of some interactional goal.

A larger discursive and social context than is elicited in many tasks is required to assess this type of pragmatic impairment.[6]

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[5] As I discussed in Chapter 2, much literature has been published in pursuit of developing a deficit type linguistic profile of AD. See Maxim and Bryan (2006) for a comprehensive review of language symptomatology and a pertinent discussion on variation. L. Perkins, Whitworth, and Lesser (1998) provide a shorter summary and critique. See also Bayles, Tomoeda, and Trosset (1992) on relating "linguistic communication abilities" to AD disease stage and normal controls, and Bayles and Tomoeda (2007) for a more recent review on AD neuropathology and impaired communicative functions by AD stage.

[6] Not all scholars agree that conversation is the only or best medium for understanding Alzheimer's type dementia (See Lesser, 2003; Ripich, Carpenter, and Ziol, 2000).

The call for conversational data also reflects a therapeutic goal of improving "functional communication" relevant to life outside of clinical settings. Orange and Purves (1996, p. 139) summarize the shift as one from a focus on linguistic competence to communication competence. Standardized test results are still required for insurance reimbursement for therapy in the US, but the necessity of documenting everyday function leads researchers to explore the best way to capture real life interaction. Some researchers view CA as an appropriate methodology for gaining insight into everyday interaction and therefore into the particular challenges associated with dementia (L. Perkins et al., 1998).

Some researchers of dementia and communication also view CA as a powerful tool for its separation of error from notions of trouble and repair. What may seem problematic or error-full to the outside observer may not be addressed with a repair sequence, and what may seem unproblematic may be repaired (Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff, 2007b). For example, Kitzinger (2013, p. 230) emphasizes that it is only through the initiation of repair in the following segment of talk that trouble can be identified:

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(1) Hyla and Nancy
1. H: This girl's fixed up on a da- a blind
2.    da:te.
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Kitzinger observes that the projected talk *This girl's fixed up on a date* seems formulated without error until repair specifies that it is a *blind* date. The notion that speech is only problematic if treated as such by the participants is useful for researchers trying to understand the impact of dementia on functional communication in a population that is defined by impairment. Some researchers suggest that this move from error to trouble/repair has implications for how people with dementia are themselves

conceptualized. Watson, Chenery, and Carter (1999, p. 197) go so far as to argue that research focusing on deficit reinforces the impression that communication by people with Alzheimer's disease is "'incoherent', meaningless or vague." They warn of possible repercussions including symptoms of withdrawal or aggression if communication partners assume that little of what the person with dementia says will be understandable. Watson et al. also state that CA can be used to focus on what the person with dementia produces *without* error and their effective communication strategies.

Replacing "error" with "trouble" also means that dementia researchers can look at the whole repair trajectory and not just the trouble source. That is, instead of counting errors to describe degree of impairment, researchers can examine what all participants do following a trouble source to restore intersubjectivity and progressivity. Dementia researchers follow the earlier application of CA to aphasic discourse that sensed in CA the possibility to capture "a view of the dynamic flow of communication from speaker to speaker" with "the recognition of repair as jointly negotiated and produced between speakers" (Ferguson, 1994, p. 144). Importantly, the CA perspective on trouble and repair requires other participants to be accounted for, and successful communication becomes a joint responsibility.

In summary, researchers have applied CA to participants with dementia to (1) widen the scope of inquiry to everyday interaction, (2) analyze communicative competence as well as challenge, (3) replace error with repair trajectories, (4) account for the contributions of all participants, and (5) allow for the discursive construction of normalcy, disorder, and impairment. In this dissertation, I use CA to analyze Dan's

singing and co-participant responses in the context of unfolding interaction to understand how he leverages singing as a resource for participation.

3.4 Procedure for analysis

My first step of analysis was to watch the video recordings. I took detailed notes and made observations on patterns of interaction. I roughly transcribed the recordings, noted frequently repeated questions and conversations about memory, and identified interactions with singing.

I classified 38 occurrences of singing in the corpus. A singing "occurrence" had one or more turns of singing by one or more participants. A singing occurrence might end after a single turn of singing or be part of an extended sequence with overlapping or intervening turns of talk. If the intervening talk in an extended sequence addressed a side sequence but the progressivity of singing resumed, I counted one singing occurrence. Singing is a category with central members (i.e., recognizable lyrics and tune) and less prototypical members. The majority of singing occurrences had immediately recognizable lyrics and prosodic features from Dan's repertoire of songs. The corpus also contains less prototypical singing. Some of Dan's performances had highly recognizable lyrics (e.g. Old McDonald) but less prosodic features. Other productions had less recognizable lyrics but exaggerated melodic pitch movement and elongated vowels. I counted all of those performances as singing occurrences. After classifying singing occurrences, I developed the list of songs in Dan's repertoire.

My second step of analysis was to transcribe interactions with singing sequences using conventions from CA. I used the notations from Jefferson (2004) as a

basis. Following the notation used by Stevanovic (2012), I added a musical note symbol (♫) to mark singing. Transcription symbols are in Appendix B. I changed the participants' names, all names mentioned in the data, and some locations to protect the participants' privacy. Detailed transcripts of excerpts with singing can be found in Appendix C.

My transcripts do not include a "musical" analysis of Dan's singing. I introduce the songs in Dan's repertoire in Chapter 4, but I do not include musical scores there. I do provide lyrics for each song in the repertoire in Appendix A. Appendix A also has links to musical scores and publicly available recordings. Of course, every performance of a text is unique. For this dissertation, however, I am not analyzing and comparing his performances for the elements contained in musical notation – properties of pitch, loudness, duration, timbre, articulation, rhythm, and tempo (Andreas, 2013). For that reason, I have not included musical scores for each transcript of Dan's singing.

The video taped interactions and corresponding transcripts provided the basis for my final stage of analysis. I primarily took a CA approach to turn-taking and action formation, with some caveats. In some instances, I took into consideration comments made by Morgan when she provided me with the videotapes (e.g. what happened immediately before a recording). Her feedback became particularly relevant when Dan reportedly sang immediately prior to a recording and helped to explain the following recorded interaction. I also consider sociocultural notions of performance and cognitive processes involved in Dan's song production in Chapter 4. By taking cognition into consideration for my analysis of Dan's singing as compensatory adaptation, I am departing from traditional CA and moving toward a perspective of Emergent

Pragmatics. I discuss the sociolinguistic and cognitive approaches, Emergent

Pragmatics, and my rationale for including them more in Chapters 4 and 7.

3.5 Participants

Dan and Morgan are the primary participants in this dissertation. Dan is an 80

year old, Caucasian, American English speaking male. Morgan is a 73 year old,

Caucasian, British English speaking female. They have been married for 46 years. This

section of the dissertation emphasizes information about Dan and his communicative

abilities.

Prior to a change in cognition, Dan pursued an active life. His graduate school

training led him to an intellectually demanding career as a physicist. Dan was also very

active as a Boy Scouts leader throughout his working years. His involvement in Boy

Scouts, along with his love for mountaineering, kept him physically active. After

'retirement,' Dan started a second life as an artist. He learned to paint and make

ceramics, and he made friends in the local art community. He even worked part-time

for the city parks and recreations department by making glazes for a pottery studio.

Before and after retirement, Dan had many household responsibilities. He took charge

of financial management, including investments and taxes. He also designed and built

the second floor of their house. This is all to say that Dan enjoyed a high level of

cognitive, physical, and social challenge and achievement. Dan's involvement in

community, leisure, and household activities nearly ceased with changes in his

cognition.

In 2007, Dan had an abrupt change in cognition. He first experienced confusion and short-term memory loss after airplane travel, and he was initially diagnosed with mild cognitive impairment. His doctors and family now believe that he had a neurological "event," possibly a transient ischemic attack (TIA) since a brain MRI did not indicate an acute stroke. Dan's cognition declined beyond mild cognitive impairment over the years. Today, Morgan reports that Dan's cognition has stabilized, and Morgan believes that Dan's memory and initiation have even improved from when they were at their worst a few years ago. Dan's step-wise pattern of decline, possible multiple TIAs, a history of blood clots starting in 2005, and preliminary testing support a diagnosis of "possible vascular dementia." Testing has ruled out negative pharmaceutical contributions to Dan's cognitive decline, and it has also tentatively excluded a concurrent diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease. However, Dan and Morgan are currently pursuing additional multidisciplinary testing to confirm a diagnosis. A diagnosis of "probable vascular dementia" is possible with neuroimaging evidence, and without such evidence a diagnosis is only "possible vascular dementia."

Dan participated in preliminary cognitive-linguistic testing in 2015. Dan and Morgan kindly granted me access to the report for inclusion of the main clinical findings in this study. The clinicians concluded that Dan has general linguistic strengths in speaking, listening, reading, and writing. He also has relative strengths in attention and conceptualization that support his level of functioning, but his difficulty with short-term recall is severe enough to significantly impact his daily life. Dan's testing results indicate that he has severely impaired short-term memory (his score falls in the less than 1st percentile). The clinicians concluded that the breakdown is his immediate recall

could be attributed to impaired access to, rather than storage of, new information. However, they interpreted his performance on delayed recall tasks as an indication of decay or deterioration in the storage of newly presented information. The severity of his short-term memory loss appears to influence his ability to complete daily care tasks and complex household tasks despite other scores (attention, processing speed, conceptualization, auditory comprehension, expressive language, reading comprehension) falling within normal limits.

Dan's decline in cognition significantly impacted his life. He completely stopped his artistic, social, and physical hobbies, and now he only engages in modified art tasks (adult coloring books) with set up and cues to initiate. He does continue to watch TV, look at magazines, and read the newspaper. He demonstrates some comprehension and recall of media with evaluative comments on their content, especially of the news (e.g. *Isn't it sad what happened*), but he also demonstrates difficulty by asking for content clarification especially with faster-paced drama shows. For exercise and socialization, he is dependent on Morgan. She takes him on daily walks and takes him to social meet-ups, mostly with family. He no longer keeps in touch with friends from work or the art world.

Dan also had extreme changes in his ability to complete daily tasks. He does not complete higher-level tasks (*instrumental activities of daily living* or IADLs) in any form. This means that he is wholly dependent for financial and medicine management, shopping, housework, cooking, laundry, social planning, organizing appointments, etc. After getting lost on familiar driving routes close to home, he also stopped navigating and driving. Some of Dan's basic routine activities (*activities of daily living* or ADLs)

now require assistance as well. He is independent with toileting. He is physically able to complete self-feeding, oral care, and dressing. He does, however, require assistance for those tasks in the form of set up or cues to start. Recently, he needs help with bathing. For most all activities, Dan needs frequent reminders to start a task and to remember what he is doing and why. It can take up to two hours to get him out of bed and ready for an appointment. Morgan previously used checklists to help Dan be more independent with medications and daily care tasks. In the past two years, those visual aids stopped being effective. Morgan now uses verbal instruction and helps Dan to initiate tasks (e.g. handing him a toothbrush, medications, etc.). Dan and Morgan still have some success with the following strategies to compensate:

- notes telling Dan where Morgan went and when she will return,
- verbal reminders and frequent cues to start, complete, and recall tasks,
- structured daily routine,
- delivered noon meal, and
- verbal rehearsing of family members' locations, jobs, and partners.

Dan's abilities continue to vary based on changes to his routine and time of day.

Dan also experienced major changes in communication. In groups and in interactions outside the home, such as restaurants, he contributes less and his range of turns is reduced. His social co-participation nearly ceases, and he focuses more on eating or looking at room decorations. When he does participate, he produces mostly repetitive questions, highly positive evaluations of concrete objects in the immediate environment (e.g. multiple productions of *those flowers are really beautiful*), and formulaic sequences including lyrics. Dan communicates most effectively in a dyad in a lower-stimulus and familiar environment such as his home. In these contexts, Dan still repeats topics, questions, and evaluations across multiple interactions and within a

single interaction. In these less demanding situations, however, he communicates with a wider range of resources.

3.5.1 Dan's resources besides singing

This section provides examples of ways that Dan participates in data recorded in their home. Dan has a range of resources like greeting, expressing gratitude, giving minimal responses, disagreeing, evaluating, inquiring, providing accounts[7], etc. In the first excerpt, Dan greets me (RF) and initiates a new sequence.

```
(1) [10-2011 "Ostrich feather"]
1.  DA: -> hello roy.
2.         (.)
3.  RF:    hello::
4.         (0.4)
5.  DA: -> did you see these flowers? that they gave me.
6.         (0.3)
7.  RF:    I di:d, I saw them when they dropped em off.
8.         (0.6)
9.  MO:    mmmhmm
10.        (0.3)
11. DA: -> they're beautiful. (4.1) and there's: a really
12.     -> really soft fur- fern (0.8) it's absolutely gorgeous
13.        it's so soft. (0.4) have you felt it yet?=
14. MO:    =mmmhmm
15.        (0.3)
16. RF:    is it real?
17.        (0.4)
18. DA:    ↑oh ↑ye[a:h]
19. MO:          [it's] an ostrich feather.
20.        (0.3)
21. RF:    oh. ↑huh.
22.        (.)
23. MO:    mmm.
24.        (0.3)
25. DA: -> it's gorgeous it's so s[oft.
26. MO:                           [yeah
27.        (0.4)
28. DA:    and fluffy.
```

---

[7] Of note, he uses metalanguage about his memory to account for difficulty in answering questions.

In excerpt (1), Dan summons me in line (1) and inquires whether I saw the flowers

delivered with his meal in line (5). I answer, and Dan expands into an evaluation of the

flowers and an item included with them. Dan upgrades the assessment from *beautiful* in

line (11) to *absolutely gorgeous* in line (12). When there continues to be no uptake of

and alignment with his evaluation, Dan repeats the upgraded evaluation *gorgeous* in

line (25). Despite my initial difficulty understanding what object Dan is evaluating[8] (an

ostrich feather) and the lack of uptake by Morgan and me, this excerpt demonstrates

that Dan is able to open sequences of talk and to do very ordinary actions in

conversation like evaluate and upgrade assessments.

Dan can also repair his speech and the speech of others. In excerpt (1) above,

Dan's same-turn self-repair of replacing *fur* with *fern* in line (12) is not successful in

identifying the referent (an ostrich feather) to the other participants, but it does show

that Dan initiates self-repair. Excerpt (2) provides a successful example of self-repair

by Dan.

```
(2) [9-2011 "Raccoon"]
1.   DA:  {reading newspaper} ↑oh. (0.9) ↑oh dear. (5.0)
2.      -> a raccoon bilt- (0.3) bit a man (0.6) while he was
3.         having dinner at the harvest house
4.         (.)
5.   MO:  yeah. hh (0.5) that's [the o]:ne (.)
6.   DA:                        [(xxx)]
7.   MO:  i- it used to be the (.) harvest house [down th]ere
8.   DA:                                         [yeah]
```

In excerpt (2), Dan replaces *bilt* with *bit* in line (2), and Morgan does not treat his repair

as problematic. Dan also does other-initiated other-repair:

---

[8] As evidence, Morgan identifies the referent as *an ostrich feather* in line (19), and I respond
with a news token *oh* in line (21).

```
(3) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture wing span"]
1.   MO:    it ha:s it's size is twenty six to thirty two
2.        -> inches .hh with up to a 6 foot win:d span.
3.           (0.5)
4.   DA: -> win:g span?
5.   MO: -> win:g span.
6.           (0.5)
7.   MO:    .hh ummm (.) it's a large bird with obvious red
8.           head and legs
```

Here, Dan offers *wing span* in line (4) as a replacement for Morgan's earlier *wind span* in line (2), and Morgan accepts the correction by repeating it in line (5). The examples of repair in excerpts (1-3) demonstrate that Dan is able to identify trouble and do repair operations.

Dan does other types of language "play" besides singing. One type he often produces is saying *oh deary deary* followed by an action he is about to complete. He reduplicates the final lexical item with –y affixed. Take these two examples:

```
(4) [9-2011]
167. DA: hh oh deary deary I'll have to get dressy dressy

(5) [3-2014]
17.  DA: oh deary deary (0.5) I hafta get up and eat lunchy
lunchy
```

In other words, the format appears to loosely be [*oh deary deary* + I have to do X+*y* X+*y*]. This may function as a complaint (especially regarding transitions, which can be difficult for him), with the verbal play downgrading the strength of the complaint from a stronger "I don't want to do this" to a weaker "This is going to take effort."

While this study does not go into detail about all of Dan's abilities, it is important to recognize that he has resources for participation besides just singing. The point of these examples is not to argue that his communication is unaffected by cognitive decline. It is, however, important to start an investigation into his singing by acknowledging that he has many other verbal resources for participation.

In many of the excerpts presented in this dissertation, Dan appears exceptionally competent. This is in part because the excerpts are removed from their larger discursive context. A five-minute clip may seem relatively "normal" when it is extracted from a two-hour recording and not viewed in the context of interactions from previous days. It is readily apparent from viewing longer interactions across a wider time frame that Dan's communication is impacted by cognitive decline. While he may not have severe word finding deficits or syntactic impairment, it is not unusual for him to repeat himself or to deny that he has access to knowledge for answering questions. For example, in many of the videos, Dan asks questions about where his children live, what jobs they have, and who their partners are even though that information has not changed in many years. Dan also makes routine inquiries into temporal orientation. For example, in one video, Morgan states that the next day is Saint Patrick's Day. In the following thirteen minutes, Dan asks about the date or holiday two more times. Morgan accepts his repeated questions as non-accountable. Morgan and Dan also negotiate who has the right to access his memory and family history in many of the videos. In the following interaction, Morgan and Dan have been talking about the location where Dan built a radar antenna for research, and Dan treats much of the information as new or denies memory of the events.

```
(6) [3-2014 Radar]
1.   MO:    did you get birds migrating over there. (1.1)
2.          was that where you looked at the the tweets and
3.          the chirps and, (1.7) [the ((xxx))
4.   DA: ->                      [you know] ((xxx)) I
5.       -> don't- I remember (1.6) that looking for those
6.       -> things. but I can't remember where it was.
7.   MO:    mmhmm. (5.4) cause that: um (.) there was a
8.          fellow (0.3) who (1.1) was an ornithologist.
9.          (1.8) I think he was at the university of
10.         Illinois. (1.6) North- was it Northman?
11.  DA: -> I can't remember.
12.  MO:    oh okay. .hh um (0.4) cause I think there was
```

```
13.            one person that (.) uh collaborated with you,
14.            (0.4) i:n (0.3) um identifying the types of
15.            birds that went over the radar. (0.5) um (2.1)
16.            because you'd have these flights of birds at
17.            night and you'd have microphones out. (0.5)
18.            because the birds would communicate. (1.4) [umm
19.   DA:                                                  [mmm
20.            (0.7)
21.   MO:   as they were flying o[ver in a]
22.   DA:                         [yeah
23.   MO:   flock, (.) a:nd you were getting um (0.7) um
24.            (0.7) bounced signals. [off the
25.   DA:                             [mmmhmm
26.   MO:   birds. (0.4) and you were trying to (.) be able
27.            to distinguish between (.) large birds and
28.            little birds.
29.   DA: -> mmm I can't remember.
30.   MO:   yeah
31.   DA: -> that's funny it's all, (.) vague to me now I
32.   MO:   yeah,
33.   DA: -> I think I tried to forget it as quick
34.       -> [as possible.]
35.   MO:   [uh huh huh heh hih] .hhh .hhh yeah cause you
36.            en- started as a geologist, (.) and then you
37.            went into solar physics, (.) and then
38.            ionospheric physics. (.) and then you ended up
39.            as a radar ornithologist.
40.   DA:   °o:h ((shakes head))
41.   MO:   hh HA heh ha ha ha °hih °hih .hh hmm
```

In this example, Morgan shifts from inquiring to informing after Dan denies memory of

his work history in lines (4-6) and (11). Dan continues to position himself as less

knowledgeable in lines (29) and (31). Morgan accepts his denials of knowledge and his

humorous account that he *tried to forget it as quick as possible* in line (33-34). In the

data corpus, Morgan and Dan do a lot of similar interactional work to manage their

epistemic stances and relative positions regarding specific domains of knowledge

(Heritage, 2012). Morgan does not treat it as problematic when Dan denies knowledge

of his life events, even when Dan suggests that his lack of knowledge is morally

questionable (e.g. *It's too bad. I should be able to remember those things but…*). Dan

has considerable charm and humor, but his repetition in conversation, his frequent *I

don't know* and *I can't remember*, and his need for cues to complete simple tasks can

make caregiving and interacting for long durations challenging. It is clear that Dan has both difficulty communicating and remaining abilities, and Morgan does quite a lot of work to construct Dan as a competent communication partner. His pattern of pragmatic ability and disability in the absence of other significant linguistic impairment is common in dementia. What is less typical is Dan's use of singing.

3.5.2 Singing as a resource: an introduction

It is not unusual for people with end-stage Alzheimer's disease to make intonation patterns without verbalization and speech characterized by palilalia and clang association (Lamar et al., 1994). This usually happens when the person produces very little language. As I described in the previous section, Dan still produces a variety of verbalizations, many of which are free from impairment. He also is not in the late stage of AD. In my experience from clinical practice, Dan is unique in his frequent use of singing as a communicative resource while still having many other verbal resources.

Dan does not have professional training in music. He had piano lessons as a child that he dreaded, but he has always appreciated listening to music. He does enjoy listening to classical music and jazz and watching popular music videos at a shopping mall. Morgan also appreciates music without having formal training. In contrast to Dan, Morgan is more known for her dry humor and even seriousness. Dan's playfulness with rhymes and singing continues to be part of his humorous persona.

Dan started singing in conversation when he had increased difficulty with communication. Dan certainly sang before dementia, and he often sang old drinking songs to his children. That prior singing history is not irrelevant, and in fact is likely

crucial for his continued access to songs for modification. Yet, there is a difference in his earlier singing and how he uses it now as a resource. His earlier singing is what one might expect from someone who sings around the house. That is, he sang familiar songs from his generation, mostly outside of everyday conversation. Singing activities were separate for primarily talking activities. It was only after changes in his cognition that family members noticed he would frequently repeat verses of those songs in conversation, and increasingly over time he began to modify the lyrics based on prior utterances.

Dan has a limited repertoire and audience for his singing. Dan uses a fairly small set of songs that he learned mostly in college but also in childhood. He sings a "new" song on occasion, and his wife mentioned that "new" songs tend to be from his childhood. As an important point of contrast, Dan only sings with very familiar conversation partners. This means that Dan's singing is not a form of disinhibition, perseveration, or a simple stimulus response. He is sensitive to context – both in terms of conversation partner and prior discourse. The fact that Dan does not sing with some people and that he changes lyrics based on previous turns indicates a sophisticated pragmatic judgment of relationship and identity performance. The rest of this dissertation analyzes instances of his singing in their local, discursive context.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND COGNITIVE APPROACHES

TO SONG REPERTOIRE AND MODIFICATION

Dan's songs come from a relatively small repertoire but his modifications create a collection of unique performances. In this chapter, I introduce Dan's repertoire of song texts and compare unmodified and modified versions. This section also includes a description of sources for modification and the ways that modification changes the structure of the song text. I also provide two very different accounts of Dan's singing, one that focuses on performance and identity and the other on cognitive processes involved in Dan's song production. From a cognitive processing perspective, Dan's singing formulaic sequences helps him adapt to memory deficits by addressing issues of neural arousal and allocation of cognitive resources. A sociocultural perspective tells us why Dan might value certain texts for repetition and how they emerge in interaction as unique performances. Combined, these different perspectives provide a rich analysis of Dan's singing as an emergent consequence of linguistic, social, and cognitive processes that occur within and between people (Perkins, 2005b).

Sociocultural notions of performance and identity provide an explanation for why the particular songs in Dan's repertoire are useful resources for participation in interaction. Dan's songs are not just any songs. They are texts with connections to Dan's past.[9] In this section, I discuss concepts of *detachability* and *recontextualization,*

---

[9] There are examples in the corpus in which Dan demonstrates new learning of lyrics and rhymes with frequent repetition and other-initiated correction, so his selection of songs cannot be explained only by cognitive limitations.

which are important for understanding performance (Bauman, 1977; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Spitulnik, 1997). I also explain key principles for the sociocultural study of identity (*emergence*, *relationality*, *partialness*, *positionality*, and *indexicality*) and the process of *stance accretion* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). I use these notions to explain that Dan's performances have meaning beyond that found in the text's internal composition. Dan's performances position him as having access, legitimacy, competence, and values to perform fun and silly songs from his childhood and college days. His singing and talk about the songs, genres, and the good old days help Dan to establish himself as someone with a fun past and who continues to be clever, funny, and a bit naughty.

A cognitive approach suggests that singing formulaic sequences may provide Dan with several processing advantages compared to producing speech and novel sequences. Distinct but overlapping neural networks are used for processing singing and speaking, and singing recruits additional right hemisphere activation. Singing may therefore decrease processing demands in some areas of production by re-allocating and more widely distributing cognitive load. Formulaic sequences provide an additional processing advantage. One approach to formulaic sequences views them as prefabricated chunks that are stored holistically. A holistic method of storage reduces online processing for speech production, and it thus lessens the burden on working memory. Alternatively, the processing advantage may be due to quickly spreading neural activation of elements within the formulaic sequence during production. These processing advantages for singing formulaic sequences mean that Dan can still participate in interactions in over-stimulating environments, and he can allocate more resources to wordplay in less demanding environments.

Both cognitive and social perspectives are needed to fully understand Dan's singing as a functional adaptation to short-term memory loss. *Emergent Pragmatics* is a model that views pragmatic ability and disability as the result of interaction between intrapersonal and interpersonal domains (Lindholm, 2013; Perkins, 2005b, 2007). Deficit and *compensatory adaption* may occur in multiple elements (e.g., phonology, syntax, executive function, memory, hearing, etc.), systems (e.g., cognitive, semiotic, and sensorimotor), and domains (e.g., intrapersonal and interpersonal) to achieve *equilibrium* (Perkins, 2007). In the final subsection of this chapter, I argue that *Emergent Pragmatics* is a useful framework for analyzing Dan's singing because he uses multiple systems to adapt to a primarily non-linguistic impairment of memory in interaction.

4.1 Dan's repertoire

There are 9 songs that Dan sings in the data. The songs in Dan's repertoire are as follows:

1. "Bicycle Built for Two" – a.k.a. "Daisy Bell" (Dacre, 1892/1925)
2. "The Farmer in the Dell" (original author and date unknown; see Newell, 1883, p. 129-130)
3. "The Fireman's Band" – a.k.a. "The Life of a Fireman" (original author and date unknown; see Best & Best, 1948/1955, p. 63)
4. "I've Got Sixpence" (original author and date unknown; see Box, Cox, & Hall, 1941.)
5. "Kansas City" (Rodgers & Hammerstein II, 1943)
6. "Old McDonald" (original author and date unknown; see Best & Best, 1948/1955, p. 21)
7. "R.P.I. was R.P.I. When Union Was a Pup" (original author and date unknown; see Cray, 1992, p. 335)
8. "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain" " (original author and date unknown; see Sandburg, 1927, pp. 372-373)
9. "There's a Meeting Here Tonight" " (original author and date unknown; see The Limeliters, 1961)

I provide lyrics to each of the songs in Appendix A. Some of these songs have several variations, parodies, or verses that can be performed ad infinitum. I have only provided one variation of each song, and have limited iterative verses. In Appendix A, I have also listed websites that link to audio files or videos for most of the songs. I have been unable to locate any recordings of "The Fireman's Band," also called "The Life of a Fireman." For that song, I have reproduced a musical score from "The New Song Fest," a collection of college club songs edited by Best & Best (1948/1955).

These songs belong to several genres: musicals, college or drinking songs, children's songs, and old popular or folk songs. One song, "Kansas City," comes from the musical "Oklahoma!" (Rodgers & Hammerstein II, 1943). "The Fireman's Band" and "R.P.I. was R.P.I. When Union Was a Pup" are both college club songs, and they are perhaps more accurately called drinking songs. In particular, "R.P.I." is a college "fight" song that speaks to an old rivalry between two schools. Two of the songs, "Farmer in the Dell" and "Old McDonald," are children's songs. Four of the songs are old popular or folk songs: "Bicycle Built for Two," "I've Got Sixpence," "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain," and "There's a Meeting Here Tonight." Several of these songs have crossed genre. For example, "Bicycle Built for Two" and "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain" are often sung as children's songs. "I've Got Sixpence" could also be considered a children's song, or more specifically a Boy Scout campfire song, but it could also be sung as a drinking song. Most of Dan's performances in the data are college drinking songs and children's songs. The prevalence of these two genres in his repertoire is understandable considering that Dan was a bartender for his college fraternity, he went on many Boy Scout camping trips, and he sang to his young

children. Most importantly, they help construct him as fun and jolly.

Dan performs certain songs more frequently than others. The following table

shows the number of Dan's performances of each song in the corpus.

Table 4.1 Number of Dan's recorded performances of each song

Song	Instances
"The Fireman's Band"	13
"Bicycle Built for Two"	10
"Farmer in the Dell"	5
"Old McDonald"	3
"I've Got Sixpence"	3
"Kansas City"	2
"R.P.I. was R.P.I. When Union Was a Pup"	1
"She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"	1
"There's a Meeting Here Tonight"	1
Total	39[10]

More than half of Dan's performances are of two songs. Out of 39 singing instances, 13

of them are "The Fireman's band" and 10 are "Bicycle Built for Two." In Chapter 6 on

the function of Dan's singing, I go more into why these songs are especially useful for

Dan as interactional resources for aligning with a proposed activity and expressing

appreciation and affection. In contrast, the songs that Dan performs the least are more

likely to be touched off by another speaker's turn that has words from the song's title or

lyrics. He is less likely to modify those "touched off" songs. This distribution suggests

that Dan draws from an even smaller set of songs as a productive resource for his

creative modifications. In the next subsection, I describe Dan's methods of

modification and their prevalence.

---

[10] There are 38 singing events. The discrepancy with the total 39 instances listed here is due to "The cat and the camera" excerpt. Dan sings a modified verse of "Farmer in the Dell" followed by an unmodified line from "I've got sixpence." I have counted it under both songs.

4.2 Modification

I classify Dan's performance as either *modified* or *unmodified* versions of "original" song texts. All songs are modified in the sense that they are individual, unique performances. I use *modified* here to indicate performances in which Dan changes a portion of song lyrics in reference to earlier discourse and/or an element in the physical environment. Dan's performances of modified lyrics are highly context dependent; the unique form of each performance is only made possible by that juncture in interaction. For instance, Dan unmodified version of "The Fireman's Band" is a shortened version of the chorus of the published text.

Table 4.2 "The Fireman's Band" – published text vs. Dan's unmodified version

"The Fireman's Band" (Best & Best, 1948/1955)	[3-2014 "The Fireman's Band"]
"The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	the firemen's band the firemen's band
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	here's my heart and here's my hand
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	
Now don't you really, really think,	oh don't you really really think
That we should have another drink?	that we should have another drink
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	

Dan's unmodified version is shorter and has the minor change from "Now don't you really, really think" to *oh don't you really really think*, but he performs the central elements of the "original" text. In contrast, Dan significantly changes the lyrics in his modified performances. In the excerpt, "Santa Fe," for example, Dan sings a modified version of "The Fireman's Band" after Morgan suggests that Dan *start thinking about going to Santa Fe*.

Table 4.3 "The Fireman's Band" – published text vs. a modified version

"The Fireman's Band" (Best & Best, 1948/1955)	[9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
"The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	oh santa fe old santa fe
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	how I love my santa fe
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	
Now don't you really, really think,	oh don't you really really think
That we should have another drink?	that we should take a trip to santa fe I think
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,	
Here's my heart and here's my hand.	

In this example, Dan maintains the melody of the original song but substantially changes the lyrics. His primary modification is to substitute *santa fe* for "fireman's band." In this, as with many of Dan's modified versions of this song, he also substitutes *oh* for the initial "the". The resulting substitution is thus a felicitous *oh santa fe*. Santa Fe is a city and their destination. Dan maintains a thematic thread by changing "that we should have another drink" to *that we should take a trip to santa fe I think*. These substantial differences in texts justify distinct classifications of modified and unmodified performances.

Dan sings more modified than unmodified performances in the data. Out of 39 instances, 29 are modified singing. Seven are unmodified. There are also 3 instances in which Dan sings a modified verse followed by an unmodified portion of the same song.[11] The following table shows the distribution of modified and unmodified instances for each song.

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[11] For reference, those excerpts are "Blinky light" (a version of "The Fireman's Band") "Soft seat," (a version of "I've Got Sixpence") and "Gusto" (a version of "Bicycle Built for Two").

Table 4.4 Modified and unmodified instances of each song

Song	Modified instances	Unmodified instances	Modified & Unmodified	Total
"The Fireman's Band"	11	1	1	13
"Bicycle Built for Two"	9		1	10
"The Farmer in the Dell"	5			5
"Old McDonald"[12]	3			3
"I've Got Sixpence"		2	1	3
"Kansas City"		2		2
"R.P.I. was R.P.I. When Union Was a Pup"		1		1
"She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"[13]	1			1
"There's a Meeting Here Tonight"		1		1
Total	29	7	3	39

It is worth noting that most of the unmodified instances come from songs that have no modified versions in the data. Dan's short, unmodified performances are often touched off by Morgan producing words that happen to be in the song's title or lyrics (e.g., Morgan 's turn *we're all up to date with the um with the statements* touches off a singing of *everything's up to date in kansas city*). Likewise, most of the texts that Dan modifies do not have many unmodified version in the corpus. For our current purposes, it suffices to say that Dan sings more modified than unmodified songs, and singing is a productive way in which he participates in interaction. Four songs – "The Fireman's Band," "Bicycle Built for Two," "The Farmer in the Dell," and "Old McDonald" – are

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[12] One could argue that the original text of "Old McDonald" is designed to be modified with a new animal for each verse. Dan's modifications, however, are based on prior discourse and not animals (e.g., *dabble, wuzzle, whimsical*). Note the phonological similarities amongst those three modifications, which suggests a possible pattern for modficiation of this text.

[13] Dan's performance is only marginally modified in "She'll be coming Round the Mountain." It is not completely clear if he modified the song based on my position since I was looking at him from around the corner of another room. It is also possible that he simply substituted *corner* for "mountain" without referencing anything in the room.

especially productive resources for Dan and account for 28 of the 29 modified instances.

The initial or primary modification for Dan's performance has its source in a previous turn and/or physical environment. The majority of the songs have a source in a previous turn of talk. "Turkey vulture" is a typical example of how Dan transitions to singing from another participant's turn.

```
(1) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
1.  DA:    mmm[mmmmmmm]
2.  MO:       [let's s]ee what the bird book says about the
3.     ->  turkey vulture[s]. {walks out of camera view}
4.  DA:                    [y]eah. (0.3)
5.         ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
6.         {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
7.     ->♫ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
8.         (1.2) {looks up and back down}
9.       ♫ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.        (2.0)
11.      ♫ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.        (1.1)
13.      ♫ that we should see the turkey vulture
```

In line (7), Dan appropriates Morgan's "turkey vulture" from line (3) and uses it as the primary modification for his song. This is the most common way that Dan modifies song texts. For 27 out of 38 of the singing events, the modification is based on a prior turn, and most of those turns were Morgan's.

There is no obvious pattern to what linguistic element Dan uses from earlier talk to modify songs. Some sources for modification are lexemes from prior turns (e.g., *wuzzle*, *gusto*, *whimsical*), but they can also be larger chunks (e.g., *blinky light*, *cat with a green face*, *tail comes out*). The source can also be a song's title (e.g., *she'll be coming around the mountain*). Also, not all of Dan's modifications are based on exact repetitions of the source in Morgan's turn. Dan does (1) morphological changes (e.g. *jake jabs* in source -> *jakey jabs* in song, *lunch pills* -> *lunchy pills*, *dabbling* -> *dabble*, *meetings* -> *meeting*), (2) lexical changes (*she'll be coming round the mountain* ->

she'll be coming round the corner), and (3) syntactic changes (*cat with a green face ->
green faced cat*, *tail comes out -> cat without the tail*). In addition, the modification
may be semantically related to the source (*heavy -> weight*) or related by hierarchical
classification (talk about genre of *drinking songs* -> singing of "The Fireman's Band").
With such a wide range of sources for Dan's primary modification, it appears that there
is nothing particular about the linguistic form of the source that touches off singing.

There are also 8 excerpts in which the source of Dan's modification is in the
surrounding physical environment. Six of them are visually and tactilely accessible to
Dan, and the other 2 are auditorially accessible. In the case of the 2 auditory sources,
one modification is based on a talking clock telling the time (the excerpt "9:19 am"),
and the second one is based on a political TV ad ("Amendment 68"). The remaining 6
have their source in objects that Dan can see and touch. Three of them are based on
movement of a lazy susan, or revolving tray, that Morgan placed in front of Dan's seat
at the dining room table. Over the course of filming, Morgan has put various animal
figurines on the lazy susan, and Dan often sits and spins the tray while talking about the
animals. In three excerpts, "Toucan looking right at you," "Toucan comes around
again," and "The cat and the camera," Dan spins the lazy susan to position a specific
animal before singing about it. The modifications of two other excerpts ("Black beans"
and "Blueberries") have their source in food that Dan is eating. Finally, one example
has its source in the object that Dan is holding. In "Pills," Dan modifies his song based
on the pills that he is holding.

The distinction between an environmental source and a discursive source is not
clear-cut. Many of the excerpts have a combination, and the modification can be traced

back to prior turns and an accessible object. The excerpt "Apple," for example, is unusual in that Dan's singing *there's an apple with a bite out of it* has its source in Dan's prior turn *someone took a bite outta that apple,* and it references a glowing apple icon on an Apple laptop. In another case, two singing excerpts are about a turkey vulture. The modifications in "Turkey vulture*"* and "Sleeping vultures" are connected to Morgan's prior turns about vultures and wildlife, but they also continue a theme about vultures that persists intermittently throughout the interaction in multiple forms: seeing an actual turkey vulture, taking a photo of the bird, reading about turkey vultures in a bird book, and talking about it. Amongst all this talk, visual stimuli, and activities, the concept of turkey vulture is strongly activated. Similarly, a series of singing excerpts about a toucan figurine ("Toucan with a red beak," "Toucan looking right at you," and "Toucan comes around again") perpetuate a theme about the toucan that is discursively, visually, and tactilely available. On the opposite end of the spectrum, there are three instances in which it is unclear what touched off Dan's modified singing. In "Ducky," "No pence," and "Toucan with a red beak," the video starts just before Dan sings, so the potential source is not recorded. In sum, something in the physical and/or discursive environment touches off Dan' singing, but his primary modification cannot be predicted based on the availability of a particular stimulus.

The initial substitution in the modified songs has consequences for the remainder of the song's construction. Dan's modifications cover a wide range of lexical and phrasal substitutions. These modifications have implications for the syntactic structure, metric structure, and rhyme of the original song. Take, for example, Dan's modified performances of "Bicycle Built for Two" in "Ducky" and "Blueberries.

Table 4.5 Comparison of versions of "Bicycle Built for Two"

Original text	"Ducky"	"Blueberries"
Daisy, Daisy, give me your answer true	ducky ducky give me your answer true	blueberries blueberries give me your answer true
I'm half crazy over the love of you	I'm half crazy about the quack quack in you	I'm half crazy for the cereal on you
It won't be a stylish marriage		it won't be a stylish meal
I can't afford a carriage		I can't afford a coors
But you'll look sweet		but you'll taste sweet
Upon the seat		on some ice cream
Of a bicycle built for two		and cookies

"Ducky" is a relatively simple and "conservative" modification. The first repeated substitution *ducky* maintains the initial and final phoneme of "Daisy" and the original syllabic structure. The other change, *about the quack quack in you,* maintains the syntactic but not metric structure of the original. "Blueberries" is a longer version and differs more extensively from the original. Despite the phonological and syllabic differences between *blueberries* and "Daisy," the song is relatively conservative until the end. The structure varies most significantly with the substitution *on some ice cream and cookies* for "upon the seat of a bicycle built for two." Both the original and his modification of this line start with a prepositional phrase but end with changes to syntax, meter, and the final rhyme of "two" with "true."

In summary, Dan has a relatively small repertoire of songs from musicals, college or drinking songs, children's songs, and old popular or folk songs. He draws from physical and discursive contexts to modify these songs. The source of modification may be structurally changed when it is reformulated into the lyrical text. Structures of the lyrical text may also be changed through modification. Sometimes

there are thematic threads that prevail across multiple instances of singing (e.g. turkey vulture). There are no instances, however, of modifications that persist across different conversations or days. Even when Dan sings about animal figurines on multiple occasions, those objects are accessible (visibly and tactilely) during each interaction and are thus available for touching off new songs. This means that there is a sense of "immediacy" to Dan's singing. In other words, the songs in Dan's repertoire provide a stock of resources to talk about things that are currently accessible in the physical environment or relatively proximal discourse. In the following chapters, I analyze this "immediacy" in terms of how Dan's singing fits in its sequential environment and what actions he performs with it. For the rest of this chapter, I present two approaches – one focusing on performance and the other on cognitive processing – to explain why singing familiar lyrical texts is a useful interactional resource for Dan.

4.3 A performance-based approach to Dan's singing

What is it about the songs in Dan's repertoire that makes them useful to him in interaction? In this subsection, I draw from literature on performance and identity to argue that the meaning of Dan's song texts goes beyond what can be found in their internal composition. The texts are a valuable resource to Dan in part because they have been repeated across many interactional contexts. They are recognizable as versions of the same text, yet each performance is unique. This reiteration is possible because of the texts' *detachability*, making them available for *recontextualization*. In this subsection, I argue that links between musical genre, Dan's personal history with media consumption, and his past performances create a symbolic value for Dan's song texts.

Those semiotic links make Dan's singing a rich resource for his construction of identity.
I first review notions of *detachability, entextualization,* and *recontextualization.* I then
discuss the symbolic value of performance for the construction of identity.

4.3.1 Detachability of a text and recontextualization

There is a continuum from set text to novel speech, and there is a range of
emergent structures between those idealized poles (Bauman, 1977). Spitulnik analyzes
one location in the continuum on which quotable *detachables* from radio broadcasts in
Zambia are recontextualized in discourse outside of the context of direct media
consumption. Detachables are formulaic sequences that participants can take from one
context (e.g., media) and repurpose for another context (e.g., everyday interaction).
Spitulnik (1997, p. 166) argues that connections between "smaller, scattered pieces of
formulaic language" and larger, more easily identifyable genres (e.g., narrative,
oratory) are a key constitutive feature of community. Dan's singing is another location
on the continuum where portions of lyrics are recontextualized outside the context of
prototypical singing events.

Dan's performances of song texts – or poetic lyrics – are not segregated from
everyday talk. Dan repurposes short, detachable texts that he "consumed" from media
in a relatively distant past. Dan recontextualizes and grounds the text through his
creative modifications that draw from surrounding talk and the immediate physical
environment. His singing thus brings together a distally consumed detachable from
media into proximal context of the immediate interaction. It is the very intersection of
distant consumption of media and his past performances with immediate discursive

context and text modifications that give meaning to Dan's performances. The process of *entextualization* makes Dan's performances recognizable as unique versions of same text. Recognizablility is important because "the resultant text carries elements of its history of use within it" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73).

The process of entexualization is crucial for a text's detachability and availability for recontextualization (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Bauman & Briggs (1990, pp. 73-74) mention "anchoring counterforces" that bind verbal art to its context and oppose detachability. Entexualization is the decentering process that makes a stretch of production into a unit of discourse that is then extractable as a *text* despite those anchoring counterforces. The resultant text is *decontexualizable,* and it is available as a "detachable" text that is recognizable in new contexts despite the uniqueness of each performance. Song lyrics have qualities that make them particularly susceptible to entextualization and detachability.

What about Dan's song lyrics makes them susceptible for use as detachables? Prosodic features of singing and other features such as final rhyme mark lyrics as discontinuous from conversational speech. In addition to those structural components that mark a stretch of production as a distinct from talk, Dan and Morgan also orient to lyrics as something different from everyday talk. Their interactions with written texts (e.g., looking up genres and lyrics in a songbook and on the internet) help to create lyrics as "special" or "set apart" from other forms of verbal production. Furthermore, Morgan and Dan retrospectively mark Dan's lyrics as separate from everyday talk by (1) categorizing a performance as a rendition of a particular text (e.g., Dan announcing *there that's the fireman's band* after singing) and (2) evaluating a performance in a way

that invokes its construction relative to other performances (e.g., whether a song *came out*, or characterizing a performance as a *variation on a theme*). Bauman & Briggs (1990) write, "the prepared-for detachability of texts may be interactively accomplished" (p. 74). Dan and Morgan orient to lyrics as separate from everyday talk and to Dan's performances as reproductions of texts. These orientation help to recreate lyrics as extractable and reusable texts. The combination of structural features of singing (e.g., prosody, rhyme), interactions with written texts, metacommunication about Dan's singing (e.g., genre), and assessment of performance reinforce the entextualization of lyrics as set apart from talk.

A decontextualized text can be recontextualized in performance. Building on work by Goffman (1974) and Bateson (1972), Bauman asks how performance of a text is keyed, or in other words, how performance is accomplished by processes of invoking and shifting frames of interpretability. Processes that key "performance frames" are culture-specific, but Bauman (1977, p. 16) lists possible devices: special codes, figurative language, parallelism, special paralinguistic features, special formulae, appeal to tradition, and disclaimer of performance. Of these possible devices, formulaic sequences and paralinguistic features of singing are particularly relevant to Dan's singing. Keying devices are important because they signal performance, but association of texts with particular genres (e.g., drinking songs) is also significant for interpretation. Like detachables from radio broadcasts analyzed by Spitlunik (1997), Dan's repertoire has symbolic value because of the song's association with a lyrical medium that is a site of innovation, wordplay, and even a little naughtiness.

Devices like formulae and paralinguistic features key "performance frames,"
but how are performances of recontextualized lyrics to be interpreted? Bauman (1977, p.
9) argues, "[P]erformance sets up, or represents, an interpretive frame within which the
messages being communicated are to be understood, and that this frame contrasts with
at least one other frame, the literal." He also provides a partial list of interpretive frames,
in addition to performance and literal ones, which may be used in combination:
insinuation, joking, imitation, translation, and quotation (p. 10). Dan's performances of
childhood and drinking songs set up multiple interpretative frames that include
performance, joking, and even literal possibilities. I describe participant orientation to
interpretation in more detail in the following chapters where I analyze individual
performances.

Recontextualized texts are grounded in interaction but have semiotic ties to
more distant speech events. Performance is situated within multiple contexts, including
setting, institution, event, and interaction (Bauman, 1977). Yet, Bauman & Briggs
(1990) warn against an incomplete, reified notion of a performance as a single, bounded
event. A performance is also "tied to a number of speech events that precede and
succeed it (past performances, readings of texts, negotiations, rehearsals, gossip, reports,
critiques, challenges, subsequent performances, and the like)" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990,
pp. 60-61). Dan's textual modifications are salient. They bind lyrics to an immediate
discursive context and simultaneously demonstrate that Dan is an attentive and creative
participant. Dan's singing also has links to his previous performances, explicit talk
about the texts and genres (e.g., looking up the lyrics and musical categories), and
reminiscing about settings and events associated with musical genres (e.g., working and

entertaining as a bartender at his fraternity) in the more distant past. This duality of temporally distal and proximal connections imbues Dan's singing with a richness of meaning, making singing a valuable interactional resource. Approximate repetitions of unique, humorous performances combined with discourse about music and contexts for consumption have a cumulative effect that constructs Dan as an authentic, legitimate, and competent singer (especially of college drinking songs).[14]

4.3.2 Performance and identity

Performance involves notions of legitimacy, values, and competence, and it has the potential for transformation via construction of authority. Legitimacy can depend on access via institutional structures and also social standards for eligibility (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Dan was initiated as a fraternity brother, such that the fraternal institution allocated access and legitimate rights to college song texts. Even beyond that, his status as a bartender for the fraternity, and one who was known for bar tricks and participation in collective singing, gives him special privilege to fun and entertainment associated with communal drinking. Dan meets standards of eligibility for performing college drinking songs by his status as a fraternity brother, and he reproduces his legitimacy by performing songs and telling stories from those days.

Performance also involves displays of competence. Bauman (1977) observes that performers assume the responsibility to display knowledge and ability to speak in appropriate ways. Performance is thus subject to evaluation, not just in terms of referential content, but also in terms of relative skill and effectiveness of production.

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[14] See also Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, on *authentication* and *authorization* as tactics for constructing identity in relation to other available identity positions.

Compared to a more prototypical singing performance such as a concert, Dan's singing is more fragmented but also more seamlessly integrated into conversation. Dan, however, is still susceptible to evaluation of his poetic composition. Interestingly, even when Dan is in "performance mode," he is still held accountable for the appropriateness of his singing to the conversation. Modified singing provides Dan with two fields in which he can display competence: (1) demonstrating the appropriateness of his performance by grounding texts in the immediate discursive and physical context, and (2) demonstrating skill in creative wordplay within the structure of the lyrical text.

Performance has the potential to be transformative. Bauman (1977) argues that displays of competence in performance can lead to prestige and control of interaction. Bauman & Briggs (1990, p. 77) further explain that access, legitimacy, competence, and values are centrally involved in the "construction and assumption of authority." Dan's legitimate and competent performances help to construct him as having authority, however narrow a scope his authority may have. For Dan, the central issue of authority is controlling his own position by showing his competence in keying performance and humor. His skill in humorous and witty performance positions him in contrast to other roles that are potentially available to him (e.g., a person in need of care) and in relation to other participants.

Dan and Morgan's interactions that involve singing and talk about music are a powerful example of what Spitulnik (1997) calls *lateral* communication regarding media. In contrast to a one-way, *vertical* directionality in which mass media is fed to and consumed by the public, a lateral perspective focuses on communication between individuals. Dan and Morgan are far removed from the circulation and consumption of

Dan's songs from the media. However, their reminiscing and production (and occasional co-production) of songs demonstrate the endurance of lateral communication about media texts. Dan's singing illustrates that this form of communication can endure long after instances of consumption and have significant impact on an individual's claim to authority and identity.

The songs in Dan's repertoire are not strongly associated with a particular identity. Dan does not "own" the songs, and he is not distinguishing himself with parody from some other who does. But the songs are a resource for his construction of self. This ties into the notion of *value*. Bauman & Briggs (1990, p. 77) write, "Texts may be valued because of what you can use them for, what you can get for them, or for their indexical reference to desired qualities or states – Bourdieu's cultural capital." Dan uses these texts for an important performance of his own identity. Bucholtz & Hall (2005) propose a framework for the analysis of identity as relational positioning of self and other. They outline five principles that are fundamental to the study of identity: emergence, relationality, partialness, positionality, and indexicality. These principles emphasize that identity is not a stable, psychological structure located in fixed categories that are assigned a priori. Identity *emerges* in interaction as a local discursive construct that acquires meaning in relation to other identity positions. As an inherently *relational* phenomenon, identity is always *partial* since it shifts across different contexts and as interaction unfolds. Identity includes macro categories (e.g., gender) as well as local categories and transitory positions or stances such as "evaluator, joke teller, or engaged listener" (p. 591). Bucholtz & Hall argue that incorporating this micro-level, *positional* notion of identity is crucial because participant orientations to

interactional participant roles contribute to the emergence of subjectivity and intersubjectivity at the most basic level. They write,

> On the one hand, the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity. On the other, these ideological associations, once forged, may shape who does what and how in interaction, though never in a deterministic fashion. (p. 591)

These ideological associations between interactional positions and identity categories (local and macro) are created through *direct indexical*, or semiotic, links between linguistic form and social meaning and *indirect indexical* links to identity categories (Ochs, 1992). Indexical associations between linguistic structures and identity are based in beliefs and values about who can and should talk in certain ways (i.e., linguistic ideology). For example, linguistic forms that directly index politeness may indirectly index femininity or masculinity, depending on the language and community (Ochs, 1992). Bucholtz & Hall point out that indexical processes occur at multiple levels, including overt production of identity labels, less overt implicature and presupposition, and production of structures associated with specific social categories. Especially relevant to our current discussion, identity relations also emerge through participant roles and "the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse" (i.e., stance; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 595). Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 596) take up the notion of *stance accretion* to explain how stances accumulate overtime to construct more "durable" identity structures.

Although stance accretion is usually discussed in relation to larger social groups and macro identities (e.g., gender), it is relevant for understanding the relationship between Dan's singing and his construction of self. The stances that Dan and other

participants take towards his performances as funny and clever position him as a particular type of singer in the moment. Those stances accumulate in a bottom-up fashion to construct Dan a more "durable" identity (such as "jokester") than found in his temporary participant roles. In later chapters, I address these issues of stance and participant roles as they become relevant to analysis of specific interactions and patterns of behavior.

At the start of this subsection, I asked what makes Dan's songs useful to him in interaction. I have argued that lyrical texts are a valuable interactional resource because of semiotic connections amongst performances, past discourse about media consumption, and genre. There is a popular notion, and sometimes a medicalized notion, that people with dementia lose identity with the loss of coherence and memory, analogous even with death (for discussion, see Bond, 1992; Guendouzi & Müller, 2006; Kontos, 2005; Millett, 2011; Tappen et al., 1999). Dan is still here, positioning himself as competent with humorous and clever performances and establishing self. In the next subsection, I approach this question from a different angle. I now turn to a cognitive perspective on processing for production of singing and formulaic language.

4.4 A cognitive approach to Dan's singing

Although I am primarily taking a CA approach to analyzing the data in this dissertation, it is worthwhile asking whether there is anything about singing that is "easier" for Dan than speaking considering that he has short-term memory deficits. In this subsection, I review literature in several areas to address this overarching question: (1) what do we know about the difference between music and language processing, (2)

what do we know about the processing of formulaic language, and (3) if singing and formulaic sequences "free up" cognitive resources, what online processing is left for Dan to do for his modifications.

4.4.1 Processing speaking and singing

There is a long-standing notion that the left hemisphere of the brain processes speaking while the right side is used for singing. The idea that there may be distinct but overlapping resources for language and music has not been lost on aphasiologists and clinicians. Aphasia researchers and speech therapists have attempted to exploit spared singing ability to rehabilitate speech-language for people with severe nonfluent aphasia. Melodic Intonation Therapy (MIT) is one such treatment method. It is particularly suited for people with Broca's or mixed nonfluent aphasia who have poor repetition but moderately preserved language comprehension and who may also have apraxia of speech. MIT is a formalized protocol that involves exaggerating (1) the melodic line or variation of pitch, (2) the tempo and rhythm, and (3) stress of an utterance (Albert, Sparks, & Helm, 1973; Peach, 2004; Sparks, 2008;). The clinician also holds the client's left hand and taps it to the rhythm of the stimuli. The program has multiple levels that start with intoning (or singing) simple phrases and increase in complexity to sentences.

It is not completely understood how MIT works to improve speech (Peach, 2004). The researchers behind the development of the technique propose that MIT facilitates use of language areas in the right hemisphere that are not normally fully utilized for speaking (Albert, Sparks, Helm, 1973). Their argument suggests that

intoned speech recruits right dominant networks similar to singing. Somehow this right-hemisphere recruitment persists after the MIT stimuli "fade" from intoned speech to prosody more typical of everyday speech. Berlin (1976, p. 299) retorts that the possible right hemisphere dominance for nonverbal acoustic processes like music make it "provocative, but not necessarily accurate, to assume that melodic intonation therapy activates the right hemisphere in some way to control motor speech gestures." Berlin hypothesizes that MIT bypasses the damaged Broca's area but that the left hemisphere still controls motor speech gestures. His account postulates a remote posterior-to-anterior route from Wernicke's area to the right side and then to the left. In his words, "The intact left motor strip might receive transcallosal command from an intact right Broca's homologue, activated by MIT" (p. 299). His account means that activation on the right during MIT is part of an indirect pathway to motor control on the left, but it does not mean that the right side completely takes over for processing intoned speech. Alternatively, Belin (1996) concludes that abnormal right hemisphere activation during simple language tasks is a consequence of the lesion and thus associated with persistent aphasia and not MIT. He argues that MIT actually coincides with reactivation in Broca's area and the adjacent left prefrontal structures induced by the recovery process. Belin (p. 1510) admits that this finding may seem "unexpected and counterintuitive" but suggests that MIT may recruit left language-related brain areas that control syllable duration by being more akin to "exaggerated speech prosody" than singing. In summary, it is not clear whether MIT (1) uses a right hemisphere networks similar to singing, (2) recruits a right hemisphere homologue to Broca's area as part of a transcallosal

posterior-to-anterior processing route, or (3) reactivates Broca's area with exaggerated syllable duration.

The controversy over why MIT works is understandable considering how much we still do not know about processing for speaking and singing. Our knowledge about the neurology of speech-language and music is still growing, even in the most basic terms of left and right hemispheres. Part of the difficulty in understanding exactly what is happening in the brain during speaking and singing comes down to the complex, multiple levels of processing inherent to those behaviors. The debate boils down to whether the neural correlates for those behaviors belong to distinct or shared networks (or modules) for processing speech and singing.

The question of whether there are modules specific to processing language and music is nowhere near settled. Case studies have noted the independence of acquired language disorders (aphasia) and acquired music processing disorders (amusia). A person may have aphasia without amusia, and another person may have amusia without aphasia (Peretz, Gagnon, Hebert, Macoir, 2004; Peretz & Zatorre, 2004). Some researchers take this as indisputable proof of domain-specificity for music processing (Peretz & Zatorre, 2004; Peretz & Coltheart, 2003). Others contest the claim that language and music processing have completely distinct cerebral modules (Özdemir, Norton, and Schlaug, 2006; Schon et al, 2010). Özdemir, Norton, and Schlaug (2006) argue for shared *and* distinct neural correlates that include bilateral activation for speaking and singing with additional right hemispheric activation for singing. According to them, speaking and singing words and phrases activates the inferior pre-central and post-central gyrus, superior temporal gyrus, and superior temporal sulcus in

both hemispheres. The authors surmise that this pattern of activations is a shared network for motor planning, execution, and sensory feedback for vocal production. Activation for singing is comparatively strong in the mid-portion of the superior temporal gyrus (right more than left hemisphere), and there is additional activation of the central operculum, middle portion of the primary sensorimotor cortex, and inferior portion of the inferior frontal gyrus. Schon et al. (2010) also find there to be a common network for speech and music processing with both hemispheres activated to different degrees – left temporal and frontal regions more involved with linguistic processing and right temporal and frontal regions more involved in music processing. The greater bihemispheric and additional right lateralized activation for singing may help account for why some people with nonfluent aphasia from left frontal lesions can sing but not speak lyrics to a song without having to postulate wholly separate modules for speaking and singing (Özdemir, Norton, and Schlaug, 2006).

The debate over modularity verses shared activation for music and language is further complicated when specific elements of prosody – pitch and rhythm – are considered. Murayama, Kashiwagi, Kashiwagi, & Mimura's (2004) case study of singing by a person before and after a right hemisphere stroke implicates the right hemisphere as having an essential role in controlling pitch interval and the left hemisphere in producing rhythm and overall melodic contour. The patient had amusia, expressive more than receptive, that made her singing sound "out of tune" (p. 38). Her change in singing could not be accounted for by any changes in motor planning or execution. Acoustic comparison of her pre- and post-morbid singing shows unimpaired rhythm and melodic contour but severely distorted pitch intervals. Studies of perception

generally support the notion of lateralization but also show bilateral activation for both pitch and rhythm. Zatorre & Belin (2001) find hemispheric specialization despite bilateral activation for perception of spectral and temporal variation. The bilateral anterior superior temporal areas are involved in perception of fine frequency differences, but responses are weighted toward the right hemisphere. The core auditory cortex bilaterally responds to temporal variation but more strongly in the left hemisphere. Peretz & Zatorre (2004) agree that musical activities recruit a large, bilateral network, with a right-sided asymmetry for processing pitch. Specifically, Peretz & Zatorre (2004) identify the distinction between pitch-based and time-based mechanisms for musical processing: "Extraction of musical pitch relations seems to depend on a series of operations that predominantly involve the right auditory cortex, whereas extraction of musical time relations recruits more widespread and bilateral neural networks" (pp. 106-107). Bilateral activation that is weighted towards lateralization for pitch and rhythm (expressive and receptive) explains selectively impaired and spared components of prosody.

Even this description of bilateral activation that is weighted "left for rhythm" and "right for fine pitch interval" is complicated by the possibility that distinct networks process different properties that go into "rhythm." Riecker et al. (2002) compare activation during nonmetric rhythm tasks and isochronous sequences. Nonmetric sequences are produced by repeating syllables with varying vowel duration (e.g. "pa pa paa pa pa paa pa pa paa"). Isochronous sequences have vowels with equivalent durations. For the nonmetric rhythmic pattern, the activation pattern includes right perisylvian areas (superior temporal gyrus, Broca analogue, adjacent premotor

cortex) and left subcortical areas (putamen and thalamus). Riecker et al. interpret this pattern as evidence of right hemisphere involvement in rehearsal of rhythmic patterns and left hemisphere monitoring of verbal output. Horvath et al. (2011) agree that the right hemisphere is essential for processing perception of nonmetric rhythm, specifically in the right fronto-temporal network. Together, these studies point to a more sophisticated system of networks than is captured in a "left for speaking" and "right for singing" distinction.

The significance of shared and specialized activation patterns for elements of music and language processing continues to be controversial. Peretz & Zatorre (2004) warn that the interpretation of overlapping networks is not as straightforward as complete rejection of modularity. They suggest that there could be specificity for some processing components of music while other processing components share networks with speech. Peretz & Zatorre (2004) also critically note that research has focused on the level of musical phrase typically used in Western popular music and that there is a scarcity of research on macrostructures of music organization. Researchers continue to face challenges on stimuli, task, and sampling techniques due to the multiple levels of processing that are inherent to speech and music and the limitations of technology for measuring them (Özdemir, Norton, & Schlaug, 2006; Peretz & Zatorre, 2004; Schon et al, 2010).

In summary, there is still much that we do not know about the relationship between cognitive processing required for music and language, and there are many challenges to mapping the various levels of processing. While this research suggests that Dan's singing may correlate to bilateral activation with right-sided asymmetry,

many questions remain about what neural networks are activated for his complex

productions and for the way that he quickly switches between speaking and singing. It

may be that additional right activation comes from the formulaic lyrics and not just the

prosody of singing. In the next subsection, I review literature on processing of

formulaic sequences.

4.4.2 Processing formulaic sequences

Formulaic language is a loosely defined notion that includes "formulaic

sequences, multi-word expressions, lexical bundles, interactional routines, language

chunks, and so on" (Polio, 2012, p. vi; see also Wray, 2002, pp. 8-10). Some scholars

propose using the term *formulaic sequence,* either to distance themselves from the

many ways that "formulaic language" has been used (Wray, 2002) or to indicate a

specific production of formulaic language (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012). For my

analysis of Dan's singing, I am following Wray's (2012) definition of *formulaic*

sequence:

> a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is,
> or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole form memory
> at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the
> language of grammar. (p. 9)

Conklin and Schmitt (2012) synthesize studies of formulaic sequences to estimate that

formulaic sequences account for one third to one half of discourse. Despite this

prolificness, there is much we do not know about how formulaic sequences are stored

and produced (see, e.g., Bybee, 2010; Conklin & Schmitt, 2012; Wray, 2012 on various

approaches to repetition and frequency). It does seem that at least some types of

formulaic sequences have a "privileged" processing status compared to language

generated online (Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012; Wray, 2012). The exact nature of this processing advantage has yet to be determined. It may be that formulaic language is stored holistically and processed differently than novel language (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012). Alternatively, a processing advantage may simply come from faster mapping or activation of formulaic components (Wray, 2012). I address each of these points in turn in relation to Dan's singing.

One theory is that a formulaic sequence is stored as a single unit. Bybee (2010) explains that chunking is a domain-general cognitive process that occurs with repetition of sequential experiences.

> In language, chunking is basic to the formation of sequential units expressed as constructions, constituents and formulaic expressions. Repeated sequences of words (or morphemes) are packaged together in cognition so that the sequence can be accessed as a single unit. (p. 7)

Conklin & Schmitt (2012, p. 54) provide the example of *fish and chips*. The notion of holistic storage means that there are representations in the mental lexicon for *chips*, *fish*, *and*, and *fish and chips*. Furthermore, there may be a continuum of "holisticness" for how language is stored (e.g. individual lexemes to multiword units) that varies for individual speakers (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012). Based on this model, it is possible that Dan has representations of multiword formulas based on lyrics.

Holistic storing of prefabricated strings allows for larger chunks to be held in working memory during processing. Models of working memory theorize that there are limited resources for language processing and that language processing and storage degrades when demands exceed that capacity (Weismer, 2004). Conklin & Schmitt (2012) explain that using formulaic sequences helps to circumvent the limited capacity of working memory by making use of the relative abundance of long-term memory.

Using long-term memory to compensate for limited resources means that formulaic

sequences could be "easily retrieved and used without the need to compose them online

through word selection and grammatical sequencing" (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012, p. 45).

Holistic storage of longer strings thus helps solve limitations caused by the gap between

grammatical capability and online processing capability (Wray, 2012). Storing

multiword formulas would potentially benefit someone like Dan who has severely

impaired short-term memory but relatively strong semantic memory.

In addition to the possible processing benefit of holistic storage, there may be a

right hemisphere asymmetry to processing formulaic sequences in contrast to novel

language production. Evidence from linguistic patterns produced by people with

localized brain damage (stroke, Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease) points to the

involvement of the right hemisphere and subcortical nuclei in formulaic language (Van

Lancker Sidtis, 2012). For formulaic sequences that have both literal and non-literal

meanings, it is possible that the right hemisphere facilitates the non-literal interpretation

but bilateral activity ensures "semantic integration" (Wray, 2008, p. 191). It follows,

then, that difficulty interpreting ambiguous formulaic sequences is a result of brain

damage to an area necessary for at least one step in the process of semantic integration.

This explanation would not require completely separate networks for processing novel

and formulaic sequences. Formulaic sequences could be stored holistically like lexical

units but have internal composition and insertion rules for filling gaps. The alternative

is a dual processing model that treats processing of formulaic and novel language as

separate activities.

A *dual-systems* approach to processing posits separate modes for novel and

formulaic sequences that can be selectively impaired or preserved following brain damage (Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012). Wray (2002, p. 15) explains that her dual-system solution for processing is neither "grammar-only" that postulates that language is generated at the time of production, nor "formula-only" that posits prefabricated units. She explains the two parts of the model:

> Analytic processing entails the interaction of words and morphemes with grammatical rules, to create and decode, novel, or potentially novel, linguistic material. Holistic processing relies on prefabricated strings stored in memory. The strategy preferred at any given moment depends on the demands of the material and on the communicative situation, and so, importantly, holistic processing is not restricted to only those strings which *cannot* be created or understood by rule, such as idioms. It can also deal with linguistic material for which grammatical processing would have rendered exactly the same result. (pp. 14-15)

Presumably, analytic and holistic processing could occur in parallel and in serial to account for combined prefabrication and novelty like we find in Dan's modified singing.

To summarize, one approach to formulaic sequences views them as prefabricated chunks that are stored holistically. This method of storage reduces the burden on working memory during production since less processing would need to be completed online. Processing of formulaic language might use the same neural network as processing novel language, or it may be part of a dual system for novel and formulaic language. Either way, it seems that the right hemisphere is more involved in processing formulaic language than novel language. Whether we think of processing in terms of a singular system or dual systems, it seems clear that units within formulaic sequences are strongly connected. An alternative perspective on the processing advantage of formulaic sequences focuses on activation of those strongly connected

units instead of their possible holistic storage. Conklin & Schmitt (2012, p. 55) concede that "what it means to be represented in the lexicon and what underpins the processing advantage is unclear. One might argue that words that occur together frequently have strong connections. Thus when readers encounter *fish and*, activation quickly spreads to *chips*." I now turn to what it means for words to be easily activated and for that activation to spread quickly to other units in a formulaic sequence.

The term *activation* during linguistic processing is used in reference to firing patterns of neurons (Menn, 2011). Neurons are "connected" at a synapse, a point where the axon of one neuron nearly touches the dendrites of another neuron. A neuron becomes activated when at least one neighboring neuron releases enough packages of neurotransmitter molecules at the synapse. An electrical impulse runs through the newly activated neuron, and it in turn releases neurotransmitters at the next synapse. A *strong* connection means that relatively more neurotransmitter molecules are released at the synapse. What counts as "enough" neurotransmitters for activation depends on the *threshold* of each neuron. A neuron with a *low threshold* requires fewer neurotransmitters to become activated. If that threshold is not reached, the neuron remains in a *resting state*. Also, each neuron has a *resting level* that is closer to or further away from its threshold. A neuron with a *high resting level* requires fewer neurotransmitters to reach its threshold. Taken together, this means that an easily activated neuron will have a *high resting level*, a *low threshold*, and *strong connections* to other neurons.[15]

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[15] For a more detailed description with accompanying illustrations, see Menn's (2011) chapter "How Brains Work" and Seikel, King, and Drumright's (2005) chapters "Neuroanatomy" and "Neurophysiology."

How do activation patterns of neurons relate to the "processing advantage" for formulaic sequences? Menn (2011) explains that every experience changes the strength of a set of synaptic connections. The intention to produce a behavior is connected to motor and sensory memories and the context for prior experiences with the behavior. Frequently produced words, or rather their lemmas, have a higher resting level of activation (Menn, 2011). The higher resting level of activation explains why a frequently produced word is more likely to be activated than a less frequently produced one since it requires less neurotransmitter molecules for arousal. We can speculate that frequently produced formulaic sequences are produced by neural activation patterns with strong connections that more easily spread activation to their phonological forms (than novel or less frequent sequences). If it turns out that formulaic sequences are not stored holistically, strong neural connections with high resting levels and low thresholds could explain why the next lemma in the formulaic string is more likely to be activated than an alternative. In other words, a strong connection for formulaic language allows for more effective activation that spreads amongst neurons in the neural network. In the next subsection, I discuss different levels of language processing to be more precise about where Dan might benefit from "quick activation" to reduce the processing load of his singing. Integrating novelty into formulaic sequences is an essential part of what Dan is does with singing, so I also address the processing required for the "creative" aspect of his singing.

4.4.3 A model of processing modified formulaic sequences

Dan's modification of formulaic sequences requires pattern recognition and concept formation. The notion of predictability interspersed with novelty is not new. Dechert (1983, p. 184) speaks of fluent "islands of reliability" in short narratives produced by advanced learners of English. He suggests that formula-like islands provide "anchoring points" for planning and executing speech (see also Conklin and Schmitt, 2012, p. 47). Pawley & Syder (1983) write that these "ready-made" sequences free a speaker to focus energies on other production tasks,

> He can, for example, attend to matching the timing, tone and rhythm of his utterance to his conversational purpose; he can produce a slightly novel, unexpected variation on the familiar usage; and he can do the work of constructing a larger piece of discourse by expanding on, or combining ready-made constructions. (p. 208).

In this subsection, I used a model of speech production presented by Menn (2011) to describe how Dan produces his "unexpected variations."

Speech production models only approximate reality based on incomplete knowledge, but they are useful for describing behavior. Menn (2011, pp. 109-151; see pp. 150-151 for a shorter summary) describes a model that has 5 levels or types of processes. These processes are not ordered steps and may occur in parallel.

Figure 4.1 Levels of speech production

Message Level	–	The process of organizing prelinguistic conceptual information that includes referents and event structure. It encompasses the general notion and "angle" of what you are going to say.
Functional Level	–	The process of arousing lemmas and semantic roles that are associated with the message's conceptual information and event structure.
Positional Level	–	The process of grammatically ordering word forms of lemmas based on the activated event structure.
Phonological Encoding Level	–	The process of ordering stings of phonemes.
Speech Gesture Level	–	The process of planning motor movements for articulatory gestures.

Dan's songs require processing at each of these levels. Processing for action formation is not explicit in this model but presumably would be part of processing at the *Message Level*. Once some stimuli activate the conceptual information for his song at the *Message Level*, lyrics of the song are activated at the *Functional Level*. If it is accurate that frequent formulaic sequences are stored in holistically, then "prefabricated" chunks are activated. This means that the processing load is lightened at the *Positional Level* since this level of processing involves the grammatically ordering of word forms into syntactic "slots."[16] At the *Phonological Encoding Level*, activated word forms and their phonemic representations are ordered into phonemic strings, and motor planning for articulation is processed at the *Speech Gesture Level*.

Processing is more complicated for Dan's modified songs. The stimuli that

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[16] Even if formulaic sequences are not stored holistically, a processing advantage could be at the Functional Level based on strong connections and thus quickly spreading activation between individual lemmas.

activate the song at the *Message Level* also activate the concept that he uses as the

primary modification for the song. This means that he activates lemmas for modifying

the song as well as the formulaic lyrics at the *Functional Level*. At the *Positional Level*,

some of the "slots" are filled with word forms from the lemmas used to modify the

song. The modified songs are processed for phonological encoding and motor planning

just like his unmodified songs.

In a simple modification, an alternative referent and a quality associated with

the referent are substituted for "slots" in the formulaic sequence. In the excerpt "Heavy

toucan," for example, Dan substitutes *toucan* for "Daisy" and *weight* for "love." In this

example, Dan has been intermittently spinning and looking at animal figurines on the

lazy susan. Two of the animals are toucans. At the start of this excerpt, Dan has just

stopped spinning the animals on the lazy susan. The turntable is rotating slightly

backwards, and Dan and Morgan are both gazing intently at it.

```
(2) [7-2014 "Heavy toucan"]
1.   MO:    wo::w (0.3) it
2.          (1.6)
3.   DA:    °it's °going °backwar[ds      ]
4.   MO: ->                     [the hea]vy bi:rd I think that
5.       -> onyx one (.) is the heaviest (2.6) and so it's
6.          <rotating the turntable.>
7.          (1.7)
8.   DA: -> {picks up the chicken} that's pretty heavy (2.2) {picks
9.       -> up the large llama} ↑o::h that's hea[vy]
10.  MO:                                        [hh]uh huh huh .hh
11.         {Dan spins the animals}
12.  MO: -> .hh bu:t the onyx is very very very heavy
13.         (0.7) {He stops spinning the animal when the onyx
14.         toucan faces him. He picks up the toucan}
15.  DA:    ↘O:H oh y(h)es you're ri(h)ght .hh the o[nxy is]
16.  MO:                                            [mmhmm ]
17.  DA: -> very very heav[y   ]
18.  MO:                  [yea]h.
19.         (2.0) {Dan spins the animals}
20.  DA: -> the ducky's not very heavy=
21.  MO:    =so I don't think the table is horizontal
22.         (2.6) {He wiggles the lazy susan}
23.  DA:    no
24.         (0.4)
```

```
25. MO:    it's tilted (.) to the w[est]
26. DA:                             [yes] (.)
27. MO:    [down to the we]st
28. DA:    [it's tilted   ]
29.        (4.2) {He spins the animals again}
30. MO:    either that or the turntable (.) is not <completely>
31.        horizontal.
32.        (0.7)
33. DA:    no it may not be
34.        (2.9) {He spins it then stops to wiggle it}
35.        [look at it wiggle]
36. MO:    [it's   not    fa]r off I don't get d[izzy (or)   ]
37. DA:                                         [(look at it)]
38. MO:    uh hih
39. DA:    look at it wiggle
40. MO:    o:h. {She has her glasses off and is rubbing an eye.}
41.        (1.0){He stops wiggling, starts turning the lazy susan}
42. DA:    that's quite a (0.8) quite a wiggle to it
43.        (1.4)
44. MO:    °mmhmm {Still rubbing eye}
45.        (0.3)
46. DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
47.    ->♫ toucan toucan give me your answer true .hh
48.    ->♫ I'm half crazy over the weight of you
```

Before Dan sings, the quality of being "heavy" and the category of "bird" – and

specifically "toucan" – have already been strongly activated from the visual-tactile

stimulus of seeing and touching the figurines and the discourse in lines (4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 17,

20). These concepts are activated at the *Message Level*, and the specific lemmas "weight"

and "toucan" are activated at the *Functional Level* for the production of his song. At the

Positional Level, *weight* and *toucan* are positioned in slots from the song's formulaic

sequence. In other words, the activation of weight and toucan "wins" or is stronger than

the activation of chunks of the lyrical formula.

Figure 4.2 Modification of "Bicycle Built for Two" in "Heavy toucan"

```
 toucan  toucan
    ↓       ↓
[Daisy   Daisy] give me your answer true

                        weight
                          ↓
I'm half crazy over the [love] of you
```
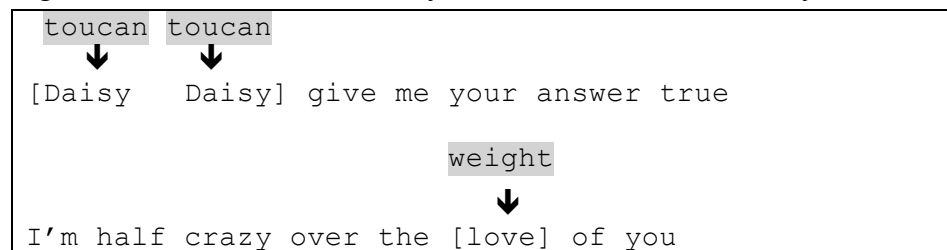
This analysis means that the "prefabricated" holistic sequence is analyzable or

decomposable for referents, event structure and semantic roles, and syntactic roles. So,

although the song is "pre-composed," Dan can replace "Daisy" in subject slot with

toucan.

The composition of Dan's modified songs, however, is not as simple as two

completely separate fields of activation for the formula and modification. In more

complex modifications, referents and associated concepts for the modification are not

simply waiting in a buffer to fill slots in the formula. In "Blueberries," for example,

Dan produces more modifications over a longer period of time while he is eating a meal

of blueberries and cereal.

```
(3) [7-2014 "Blueberries"]
1.  DA:     ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
2.         ♫ blueberries blueberries
3.            (1.8)
4.         ♫ give me your answer true
5.            (0.3)
6.  MO:    m:::hm
7.  DA:  ♫ I'm half crazy (0.3) for the cereal on you
8.            (11.6) {He continues eating}
9.         ♫ it won't be a stylish (.) meal
10.           (.)
11.        ♫ I can't afford a coors
12.           (3.9)
13.        ♫ but you'll taste sweet
14.           (5.4)
15.        ♫ on some ice cream and (0.3) cookies
```

In this example, the stimulus for the song is the visual and tactile experience of eating

the blueberries and cereal. These concepts and lemmas are activated in the *Message*

Level and *Functional Level* of processing respectively. The other modifications *meal*,

coors, *taste*, *on some ice cream and cookies* cannot be completely explained by

spreading activation from blueberries and cereal. Activation likely spreads from

concepts of the food modifications *and* the formulaic lyrics at the *Message Level* to

activate an event ("marriage" -> *meal*), something he would highly value at the event

("carriage" -> *coors* beer), a pleasant sensation ("look sweet" -> *taste sweet*), and referents associated with that pleasant taste (*ice cream and cookies*).

Figure 4.3 Modification of "Bicycle Built for Two" in "Blueberries"

```
blueberries  blueberries
     ⬇            ⬇
 [Daisy       Daisy]      give me your answer true

                  for the cereal on you
                          ⬇
I'm half crazy [over the love of you]

                      meal
                      ⬆⬇
It wont be a stylish [marriage]

                  coors
                  ⬆⬇
I can't afford a [carriage]

             taste
             ⬆⬇
But you'll [look] sweet

       on some ice cream and cookies
                 ⬆⬇
[Upon the seat of a bicycle built for two]
```
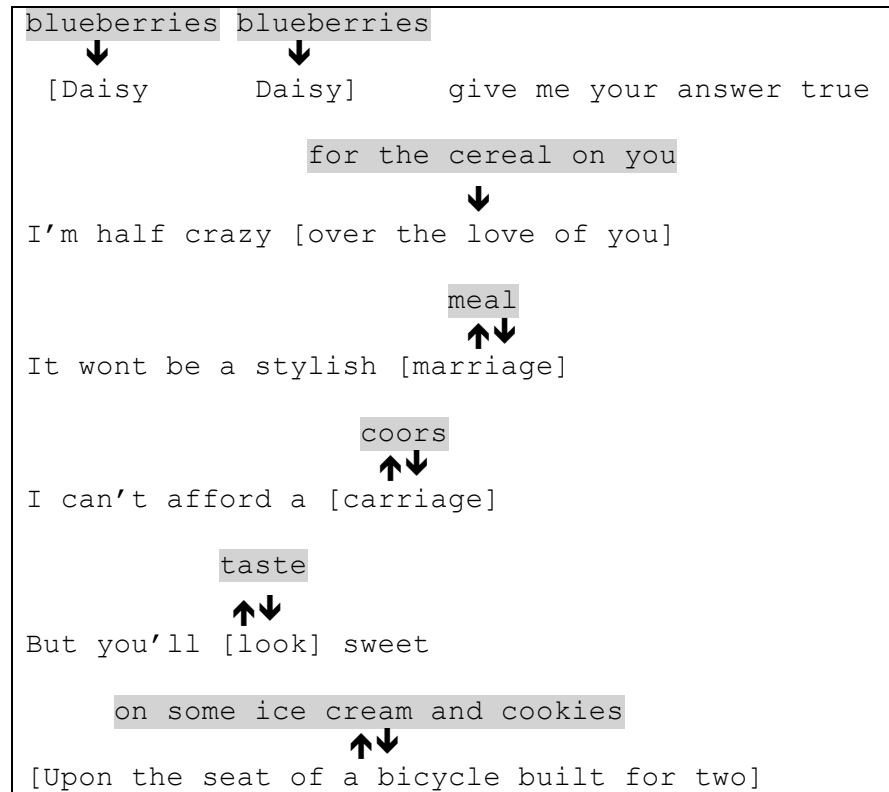
This suggests that concepts and event structures from the formulaic lyrics play a role not just in providing a syntactic structure but also in activating concepts and lemmas for the modifications. The formulaic sequence provides preformulated "slots" but also spreads activation for modification. This type of processing requires no small amount of pattern recognition and concept formation.

Dan is not aphasic, and in fact language is his relative strength. Yet, Dan has notably reduced participation, increased repetition, and increased formulaic sequences during group interactions, especially in public. He is also easily distracted in these more stimulating environments. These behaviors suggest that he has a low threshold for information overload. Routines and formulaic sequences are a way to deal with

overstimulation by using predictable, easily activated patterns that required less processing. Dan also demonstrated severe impairment in immediate recall of information that was presented during cognitive testing. His performance improved with semantic cues, meaning that his breakdown in immediate memory is primary a problem of access and not encoding of information. However, even with cues his recall of the information quickly deteriorated over the duration of testing. This means that storage of information is also a problem for Dan after a short period of time. Use of formulaic sequences addresses these problems of storage and neural arousal in several ways. First, the formulaic sequence is quickly activated. Second, activation of the formulaic sequence provides "slots" that can be filled by modifications. Finally, the activation of formulas also spreads activation to conceptually related modifications. In these ways, formulaic lyrics "anchor" a concept from the ongoing discourse or environment into a routinized "chunk" from the song repertoire. The singing frame thus functions as a "scaffold" or resource for modifying the song by reducing the amount of online processing. Repetition and frequent use of formulaic sequences are ways that Dan copes with his memory deficits when there is an increased burden on his cognitive resources. Cognitive testing also indicated that one of Dan's relative strengths is conceptualization. Decreasing cognitive load in some areas of processing allows him to allocate resources to his creative modifications using his relative strength of conceptualization in less demanding situations.

In conclusion, Dan's singing provides several processing advantages. Singing recruits additional right hemisphere activation, and different neural networks may be used for processing singing and speaking. Singing may therefore decrease processing

demands in some areas by re-allocating and more widely distributing cognitive load. Formulaic sequences provide an additional processing advantage in the form of high resting level and decreased threshold for activation at the *Functional Level* of processing. Formulaic sequences also reduce the amount of processing required for grammatical assembly at the *Positional Level* of processing. Words and phrases that Dan reformulates from previous turns as the main modification for his songs possibly have faster activation from their recent receptive activation. Finally, spreading activation from the formula assists in concept formation for modifications. These processing "advantages" mean that Dan can still contribute in over-stimulating environments, and he can allocate more resources to conceptual wordplay in less demanding environments. How might a processing advantage be realized in everyday interaction? In the following subsection, I discuss *Emergent Pragmatics*, an approach that integrates cognitive and social contributions in an explanation of pragmatic ability and disability in interaction.

4.5 Emergent pragmatics

Some accounts of the storage and processing of formulaic sequences have included a social perspective. Lindholm and Wray (2011) examine the puzzle of people with dementia's unexpectedly poor performance in completing the second half of a proverb given the first half. Their performance in these games appears to contradict the theory that proverbs, as a subset of formulaic language, are stored holistically and thus easier to recall and produce. The authors note *primacy of need* (Wray, 2002, p. 235; see also Wray, 2012) as a missing element in these "games," or rather "tests," that could

explain the participants' poor performance. In this account, speakers use formulaic sequences to express needs and aspects of self by maximizing *the recipient's* efficient and accurate comprehension of holistically stored sequences. Wray (2002, 2012) emphasizes that since formulaic sequences require less decoding by a recipient, speakers can decrease the risk of recipient misunderstanding. Lindholm and Wray argue that proverbs are a subset of formulaic language that do not share the same high frequency and achievement of interactional goals as other forms of formulaic language, such as greetings, apologies, or specific rhymes. People with dementia are thus less likely to recall proverbs, even if they are holistically stored. Lindholm and Wray's (2011) study provocatively suggests that a cognitive processing model for formulaic sequences is insufficient if it does not account for function, other participants, and interaction.

Incorporating cognitive and social components in analysis of interaction is no simple task. How does an analyst disentangle the many forces that influence production and comprehension in interaction, and is that even possible? Lindholm (2013, 2014), for example, navigates this obstacle by analyzing interactions in which participants overtly identify the source of comprehension trouble with repair initiators (e.g. *what*) and meta-comments about hearing loss (e.g., *I don't hear that well* and *I don't catch it*). These devices locate intrapersonal contributions to difficulty with comprehension. Co-participants compensate for trouble with repair attempts, and communication impairment is thus managed communally in interaction. In contrast to these interactions, there is not a pattern of Dan singing after obvious signals of trouble in hearing, speaking, or understanding. That is, Dan does not sing as a true compensatory strategy

in direct response to processing difficulty. Dan's increase in singing with cognitive decline aligns more with the concept of compensatory adaptation that has arisen out of changes in cognition and that is possible because of his communication partners. *Emergent Pragmatics* is one model that views adaption as a product of both cognitive and social facets of interaction.

Emergent Pragmatics is an explanatory model for pragmatics that takes into account both *intrapersonal* and the *interpersonal* domains of interaction (Lindholm, 2013; Perkins, 2005b, 2007). In this approach, *compensatory adaption*, or redistribution of resources, occurs in an attempt to maintain equilibrium when there is an interactional imbalance from a deficit in one domain. Perkins (1998, 2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2007) has been a driving force behind this approach. He starts with the position that "the conceptualization of phenomena as emergent rather than inherently unitary—derives from a view of the world which pays specific attention to association and interaction, as opposed to dissociation and discreteness" (2005a, p. 364). Perkins goes on to argue that a holistic approach to pragmatic ability and disability should not be "seen as resulting directly from a dysfunction in some kind of discrete pragmatic 'module' or behavioural mechanism," but instead they should viewed "as the emergent consequence of interactions between linguistic, cognitive and sensorimotor processes which take place both within and between individuals" (2005b, p. 367). As a result, there may be no direct link between deficit and resulting pragmatic impairment (Lindholm, 2013; Perkins, 2007). Deficit may have multiple sources, and redistribution of resources to compensate for deficit may occur in multiple elements (e.g., phonology, syntax,

executive function, memory, hearing, etc.), systems (e.g., cognitive, semiotic, and sensorimotor), and domains (e.g., intrapersonal and interpersonal; Perkins, 2007).

Emergent Pragmatics is useful in the case of Dan precisely because his singing does not represent deficit and compensation in one particular element (e.g., memory or syntax). In other words, there is not a causal relationship between memory loss and singing, and his singing is not a self-repair strategy following indications of trouble in conversation. However, as I described in the previous subsection on cognition, singing and formulaic sequences involve complex neural networks that may provide processing benefits to compensate for deficits in other areas. An approach that incorporates linguistic and nonlinguistic systems, cognitive and sensory-motor input and output systems (Perkins, 1998, 2000, 2005b) is particularly suitable for analyzing Dan's singing. He uses multiple linguistic subsystems to adapt to a primarily non-linguistic impairment of memory. Emergent Pragmatics is closely associated with pragmatic impairment (see Perkins, 2007), but it accounts for ability and disability within an individual (Lindholm, 2013). Dan's singing increased with his cognitive decline. Yet, the singing excerpts that I present are remarkable, in part, for their appropriateness. This appropriateness is, of course, interactively created and managed.

4.6 Conclusion

Dan started to modify songs and increase his frequency of singing after changes in his cognition. In this chapter, I have approached Dan's singing from two directions. From a cognitive perspective, the activation pattern for singing (versus speaking) may spread out the burden of processing by recruiting additional neural networks, especially

in right hemisphere. Dan's formulaic lyrics may also provide a faster processing advantage compared to novel language, possibly from being stored and processed as holistic chunks. Together, singing and use of formulaic sequences may "free up" cognitive resources for creative modifications by decreasing the cognitive load of online production. Singing is not a direct result of short-term memory deficit, but it is a way that Dan has adapted to changes in his cognition over time to achieve *compensated equilibrium* (Perkins, 2007, p. 65). Producing formulaic sequences is a way that Dan can continue to participate in overstimulating environments.[17] In less demanding environments, modified singing is one medium for Dan's complex and playful participation. Of course, the functionality of Dan's singing depends on specific contexts of use and the response of his co-participants. I examine how particular interactions unfold in the next chapters.

I have also argued that Dan's songs are recontextualized lyrical texts. His performances have multiple layers of meaning arising from direct links to the immediate discursive and physical context and less direct semiotic links to more temporally distant past performances and discourse about media. Dan constructs himself as having access, legitimacy, competence, and values to perform fun, silly and sometimes naughty songs from his childhood and college days, and he is held accountable for appropriately modifying them to the conversation at hand. His frequent performances and talk about the texts have a cumulative effect that establish Dan as someone who is fun and clever, as someone who can astutely monitor conversation for

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[17] There are no examples in the corpus of Dan in more stimulating settings outside the home or in larger group interactions due to the nature of the home videos and lack of consent from other participants.

sources of lyrical modification, and as an active participant who can continue to contribute to creative interaction. Finally, Dan's performances, with their proximal and distal semiotic connections, are a resource for Dan to key interactions as humorous. What the performance and its humorous interpretive frame mean for situated interaction is not always straightforward and depends on the previous and following talk. For example, one performance may be doing humor in the context of intermittent joking whereas another performance may be diffusing disaffiliation in the context of disagreement. I discuss the humourous and other interaction work that Dan does with singing in Chapter 6.

In the following two chapters, I present a relatively fine-grained analysis of interactions in which Dan sings. The following chapters focus on situated singing "events." I describe interactions in which Dan sings and analyze the song text's emergent structure and function.

CHAPTER V

TURN TAKING STRUCTURE OF SINGING

This chapter describes and analyses the turn-taking structure of Dan's singing. Dan's singing differs in design (prosodic and structural) from both turn-by-turn talk and storytelling. Sometimes Dan produces a short turn of singing. This feature of singing is similar to talk in which speakers are normatively allocated one turn-constructional unit (TCU) at a time (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Clayman, 2013). Many times, however, Dan accomplishes extended singing. One of the central questions addressed here is: how is the turn-taking managed for Dan's singing? Are his extended turns accomplishments in the moment, built up one TCU or line at a time? Or does he make a bid for an extended turn, as prospective storytellers do, projecting from the very beginning that an extended turn is due? The answer is surprising: it appears that all of his singing, even extended songs, is accomplished one TCU at a time.

Extended turns at talk are often secured from their beginning with prefaces (see, for example, Jefferson, 1978; Sidnell, 2010; Mandelbaum, 2013). One way that participants suspend turn-taking conventions of talk to produce an extended story is with a preface that signals an upcoming story and establishes a stance towards it (Mandelbaum, 2013). For example, a preface such as "A funny thing happened today," puts potential recipients in a position to block or forward a story, monitor the story for a funny ending, and formulate a response that may or may not affiliate with the teller's stance. Interestingly, Dan's unmodified singing lacks prefaces that accounts for its relevance in regards to the talk at hand. In almost all cases, Dan launches into singing

without preliminary work to expose the song's "topical coherence." Not having a preface also means that Dan does not provide clues, or *prospective indexicals* (Goodwin, 1995b), that characterize the upcoming song and project an appropriate ending. One might expect that Dan is allocated extended singing turns based on the formulaic nature of the lyrical texts, but intuition is not a good guide in this case. Dan's singing does not rely on a preface or formulaic structure to suspend turn-by-turn talk, and his songs are accomplished in smaller units. The finding that Dan has to extend a song bit-by-bit is unexpected and significant, and it contributes to our understanding of the structure of his singing in everyday interaction

Completing an analysis of the emergent structure of singing in everyday interaction is a massive project. Ideally, there would be a body of literature like we have for spoken conversation that could serve as a comparison for the structure of Dan's singing. With the exception of Frick's (2013) analysis of singing in sequence closure, there is no guide for comparative analysis. This means that my analysis must include a basic description of the sequential and internal structures of Dan's singing before attempting to understand how Dan accomplishes extended singing. There remain many questions and areas for further development.

For one, my data provide preliminary evidence of a turn-taking structure similar to talk, at least at the beginning of songs. There is evidence for an orientation to a single, relatively short TCU. Dan can switch to talking after singing a single TCU without Morgan pursuing more, and Morgan can take a turn at talk at that turn-relevance place (TRP) without being held accountable for curtailing the song. This initial TCU seems to coincide with a first "line" of song, but the definition of a "line" is vague. Certainly,

what could be considered a "line" varies from text to text, and medium to medium (i.e., written vs. spoken). In this chapter, I describe the initial TCU for several songs.

Another issue arises after the first "bit" of a song. The evidence points to practices for song extension beyond an initial TCU (Schegloff, 1988). Dan may extend songs by continuing to sing after intervening turns by a co-participant or by withholding gaze at a TRP. Co-participants also have a role in song extension by lack of uptake, silences that invite more, production of continuers, minimal assessments, and turns that explicitly request continuation or accounts for the song's relevance. All of those responses after an initial TCU invite more singing as a possibility. Although my findings point to allocation of a short "line" as a TCU at the start of singing (e.g., *oh lunchy pills oh lunchy pills*), there is evidence that participants orient to other structures beyond text "lines" as the song progresses. For example, there is a preference for syntactic completion of *oh don't you really really think* in "The Fireman's Band" that extends to production of the next "line" (e.g., *that we should take a trip to santa fe I think,* or *to have sockie wokies to wear upon my feet*). It would be worthwhile to further develop our understanding of syntactic, pragmatic, prosodic, and gestural cues involved in projecting possible completion points of extended singing turns in future research (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 1996).

In this chapter, I describe the structure of Dan's singing in relation to its location in ongoing talk and in regards to its internal organization. The first subsection on the initiation of singing provides an analysis of the discursive environment from which Dan's singing emerges. I describe where Dan initiates singing in terms of overall "sections" of conversation and also sequential location. In the second subsection, I

focus on the song's internal structure and the role both participants play in the achievement of Dan's extended songs. I present this discussion in three parts: (1) beginnings, or how Dan enters into singing and what constitutes a single TCU at the start of a song, (2) middles, or how the participants work together to expand songs beyond a TCU, and (3) endings, or how participants close an extended song. A shorter third subsection on responses to singing addresses what comes after a song.

5.1 Initiation of singing

This subsection provides an analysis of the discursive environment from which Dan's singing emerges. I address the question of where Dan initiates singing in the context of ongoing turns of conversation. (Note that I address *why* Dan sings at these junctures in Chapter 6.) By "where" I mean two types of locations in talk. The first refers to coarsely defined opening, middle, and closing sections of conversation (see, e.g., Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, on the structure of closing sections). The second is sequential location, such as first and second parts of an adjacency pair, post-expansions, etc. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; see also useful summaries by Levinson, 1983, and Stivers, 2013, and more thorough descriptions by Schegloff, 2007b, and Sidnell, 2010). There are different patterns to where Dan sings unmodified and modified songs, so I address both kinds of performances in turn.

5.1.1 Location of unmodified songs

Most of Dan's recorded unmodified songs come at the closing of a sequence or at the closing section of an interaction. Morgan's and Dan's performances of "There's a

Meeting Here Tonight" illustrates singing in a closing section. In this excerpt, it is after

11pm, and Dan has just eaten a late meal. Dan and Morgan have just finished talking

about their day, his meal, and him feeling tired. There has been a lapse in the

conversation, and Morgan is looking down at her hands or at the table.

```
(1) [3-2014 "No more meetings"]
1.   DA:    o::h↓ deary deary Morgan.
2.          (0.3)
3.   MO:    mmmhmm? {she turns her head and gaze to him}
4.          (0.8)
5.   DA:    mmm. (0.9) I'm gonna try to get up. {Starts moving}
6.          (0.3)
7.   MO: -> mmhmm. (2.2) [well you have no meetings to go to.  ]
8.   DA:                 [{Dan stops moving and attends to her}]
9.          {Dan shakes his head}
10.  MO: -> nothing to do.
11.         (0.9)
12.  DA:    no meetings? {gazing at her with raised eyebrows}
13.         (0.8)
14.  MO:    no meetings.
15.         (5.2) {He has sifted gaze down with a "thinking face" -
16.         licking and pinching together lips}
17.  DA: -> what's that song there's a meeting here to[night?]
18.  MO:                                             [heh   ] (.)
19.         hih heh yeah. .hh heh hih
20.  DA:    {He starts moving again, preparing to stand}
21.  MO: -> ((unmodified "There's a Meeting Here Tonight"))
22.       ♫ th(h)ere's a meeting here tonight .hh
23.         {Dan halts his moving-to-stand trajectory}
24.       ♫ I could see by your friendly face=
25.       ♫ there's a meeting here tonight
26.         (2.3)
27.  DA:->♫ oh there's a MEETING HERE TONIGHT .HH
28.       ♫ THERE'S A MEETING HERE TONIGHT
29.         (0.4)
30.         THERE'S A LOT OF DRIVE IN THAT [SONG]
31.  MO:                                  [hh  ]
32.  DA:    {Starts moving again}
33.  MO:    (h)OH TH(h)ERE REALLY IS, .hh YOU COULD USE IT FOR ANY
34.         SORT OF GET TOGETH[ER. ]
35.  DA:                     [yep.] {Stands all the way up}
```

In this closing section of the interaction, Dan opens with *oh deary deary Morgan,* a turn

that starts a summons-answer pair in lines (1-3) to "restart" conversation after a lapse.

Dan's next turn in line (5) continues with a possible pre-closing first pair part *I'm*

gonna try to get up, and he starts a rocking movement in preparation for standing.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) argue that participants use adjacency pairs for possible pre-closings so that they can monitor co-participant alignment with the possible closing. Indeed, following Dan's *I'm gonna try to get up*, Morgan accepts the pre-closing with *mmhmm* in line (7). Schegloff and Sacks (1973) also observe that possible pre-closings may reference something that warrants a closing. Morgan thus further aligns with the pre-closing by providing an account of why Dan can get up and, by inference, go to bed. Dan only minimally responds to Morgan's account *you have no meetings to go to* by shaking his head, and Morgan pursues a bit more with *nothing to do*. This is followed by a gap and an insertion sequence *of no meetings? – no meetings.* in lines (12-14). At this point, the sequence with Morgan's account *you have no meetings to go to* and *nothing to do* has not been closed. Here we could expect some closing of the sequence, such as Dan saying, "Okay, then, I'm going to get up and go to bed." Instead, Dan produces a "thinking face" during a gap in the interaction, and then *what's that song there's a meeting here tonight* in line (17). Morgan responds to this inquiry as an invitation to sing the song in question. After her production, Dan does a shorter version before launching directly into an assessment of the song. Morgan seconds the assessment, and Dan ends the interaction by finally getting up from the table. In sum, Dan's singing is part of a complex closing section of their interaction. Morgan produces an account that warrants the closing (*nothing to do* and *no meetings*). Her account includes the word *meetings,* and it touches off Dan's turn about a song with *meeting* in the title.

Dan's production of "There's a Meeting Here Tonight" illustrates singing as part of an interaction's final closing *section*. Most of Dan's other recorded unmodified

songs come at closing of *sequences* in the middle of ongoing conversations. In "Put

down song," a ringing phone interrupts Dan and Morgan's ongoing talk about medical

results. They don't answer the call, and Dan sings during the closing of talk about the

caller.

```
(2)  [4-2014 "Put down song"]
1.           ((phone rings))
2.   DA:     boy [that's] loud
3.   MO:         [wo:ah ]
4.        -> {looks at caller id on phone} ar pee i.
5.           ((phone rings))
6.   DA: -> no thank you ar pee i.
7.           ((phone rings))
8.   MO:     {gets up and walks toward another room to put phone
9.        -> away} no I signed up again on the do not call list
10.       -> so after thirty one da:ys we shouldn't get any calls.
11.          (6.1)
12.  MO:     {walks back into room} mmm.
13.          (2.6)
14.  DA:     ((unmodified college song)) {looking straight ahead}
15.      ->♫ old ar pee i was ar pee i when union was a pup
16.          (2.0)
17.          {looks up to Morgan, smiling} heh heh heh
18.  MO:     hih heh .hh [that's a] put down s[ong hih heh huh]
19.  DA:                 [.hhh    ]           [yes it is .hh  ]
```

In this example, Dan and Morgan complain about the loudness of the ringing phone in

lines (2-3). In line (4), Morgan identifies the caller as the university *RPI*, and by doing

so she invites Dan to accept or reject the call. Dan rejects the call *no thank you RPI* and

implies that the purpose of the call is to make an offer or request. Morgan then provides

an informing account for why RPI is able to call in lines (9-10). A response to her

informing is notably missing, and after a gap, Dan launches directly into singing about

RPI and its rival university in line (15). Dan's singing closes the talk about the phone

call, and the following talk evaluates the song and makes inquiries into the lyrics.

Dan also sings "Kansas City" in closing sequences during two different

interactions. In the first example, Morgan has looked up a word in the dictionary, and

they have just finished talking about its derivation and pronunciation.

```
(3) [3-2014 "Kansas City 1"]
1.   MO:     {putting away dictionary} but (.) that's the (.)
2.           british system that the (0.4) [british]
3.   DA:                                   [oh it a] british
4.   MO:     that's a [british]
5.   DA:              [british]
6.   MO: -> hh heh d(h)icti(h)onar(h)y s(h)o °hih .hh BU:T I:T'S
7.       -> an up to date one it's a twenty well it's a twentieth
8.       -> century dictionary so it's not quite up to date
9.           {She looks ahead and takes a drink}
10.  DA: -> we'll have to go to kansas city for the most recent one.
11.  MO: -> rea:l[ly?]
12.  DA:       [ye ]s
13.      -> ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
14.       ♫ everything's up to date in kansas city.=
15.  MO:     =hh [hih heh heh ha heh] °hih
16.  DA:         [.hh khhh heh       ]
17.       ♫ THEY'VE GONE ABOUT AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO:.
18.  MO:     ((sniff))
19.          (0.6)
20.  DA:     I love that son[g. (xxx)  ]
21.  MO:                    [(mm i- i-)]
22.  DA:     in fact I like that whole musical. it was rea:lly had
23.          a l[ot of]
24.  MO:        [mmhmm]
25.          (1.5)
26.  DA:     umph to it.
27.  MO:     umph y(h)eah hah
```

In this example, Morgan puts the dictionary off to the side. She does an informing about the dictionary being *british* in lines (1-2) and Dan treats her turn as providing new information. Morgan continues with talk about the dictionary in lines (6-8) by evaluating whether the dictionary is *up to date*. On one hand, Dan could simply acknowledge Morgan's informing and evaluation. On the other hand, not having an up to date dictionary could be heard as a problem, and Dan could propose a solution to the problem. It may appear as if Dan is taking the second route of proposing a solution with his response *we'll have to go to kansas city for the most recent one* in line (10). To know that this is not a sincere solution requires background knowledge that (1) Kansas City would not be reasonable distance destination for a shopping trip based on their geographical location, (2) Dan often expresses no desire to travel to Kansas City, and

(3) Dan frequently sings "Kansas City" whenever another participant produces the phrase *up to date*. In this case, Dan uses the "trip proposal" to secure a "go ahead" for his singing much like how participants produce a story-preface to project and secure alignment with a story-telling (see e.g., Mandelbaum, 2013). Morgan gives her go-ahead *really?* in line (11), and Dan performs his song. This entire exchange of putting away the dictionary, informing about and assessing the dictionary's qualities, and touching off singing results in closing the sequence about the dictionary and launching talk about the song and musical in lines (20-27).

Dan produces this same method of closing a sequence and launching a new one in the other example of "Kansas City".

```
(4) [4-2014 "Trip to Kansas City"]
13.  MO: -> so: hh we're all up to date with the: um (.) with the
14.         statements now they're all printed out.
15.         (6.6) {He nods and she nods back.}
16.  DA: -> it means we can take a trip to kansas city
17.         (0.6)
18.  MO: -> rea:lly? why is tha:t?
19.  DA:    ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
20.      ->♫ everything's up to date in kansas ci[ty]
21.  MO:                                         [hh] hih heh hih
22.         ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
23.      ♫ .hh they've gone about as far as they can g[o]
24.  DA:  ♫                                          [GO]::
25.         (0.6)
26.         that's a really nice song=
27.  MO:    =mhmm
28.         (1.8)
29.  DA:    that fellow who wrote that ↑really was clever.
30.         (0.5)
31.  MO:    was that a rogers and hammer[stein or  ]
32.  DA:                                [I think so]
33.  MO:    a lerner and loewe one of the (.) the (.) the (.)
34.         the [two ]
35.  DA:        [yeah]
36.         (0.4)
37.  MO:    uh partnerships yeah. ((sniff))
```

In this second example, Dan and Morgan have been talking about preparations for an upcoming trip. In line (1), Morgan informs Dan that they are *up to date* with printing

out their bank statements. As in the first excerpt, Morgan's *up to date* touches off Dan's "proposal" for a trip to Kansas City as a pre-sequence for singing "Kansas City" in line (4). Morgan gives her "go ahead" *really? why is that?* in line (6), and Dan performs the song. In both performances of "Kansas City" that I have just described, Morgan's *up to date* touches off a post-expansion. The post-expansion has a two-part structure. First, there is a pre-singing adjacency pair that looks like an invitation for a trip but is actually a "set up" that occasions the second part. The second part is the singing itself. The post-expansion singing closes the sequence of talk and touches off more talk related to the song. The pattern is so predictable that Morgan told me that she avoids saying "up to date" because it inevitably touches off this pre-singing and singing response and ends the prior talk.

In summary, a pattern has emerged of Dan singing unmodified songs at closings of interactions and sequences. There are two recordings that do not obviously follow this pattern. First, Dan sings "The Fireman's Band" during ongoing talk about the song. His performance, however, is made relevant by a question about the lyrics of the song and Morgan proposing to find the lyrics in a book. In the second example, "No pence", Dan sings an unmodified "I've Got Sixpence" at the start of the video recording. This performance is also not a strong contrastive example to Dan singing as part of a closing because it comes at the beginning of the video recording. It is unclear if the song closes a prior sequence or how it relates in any manner to the preceding talk.

5.1.2 Location of modified songs

In contrast to Dan singing *unmodified* songs mostly during closings in these

data, Dan sings *modified* songs in a wider range of locations.[18] Dan does sing modified

songs in the final closing sections of interactions, but he sings most of his recorded

modified songs "in the middle" of interactions. In terms of sequence organization, he

sings to open a new sequence, in response to a first pair part, and in post-expansion

position.

As with unmodified songs, Dan occasionally sings modified songs as the

interaction is winding down. In the following example, Dan has finished his meal and is

about to go to a dentist appointment.

```
(5) [5-2014 "Toothbrush"]
1.  DA:   well morgan I think I should (1.1) call it a minute.
2.        (.)
3.  MO:   oh okay. (.) well, (0.4) tha:t's pretty good there
4.        wasn't anything there that you didn't like.=
5.  DA:   =no there wasn't.
6.        (0.3)
7.  MO:   mmhmm. .hh
8.        (2.3) {He starts moving to get up from chair}
9.  MO:   [yeah           ]
10. DA:   [I'm supposed to] get up and get dressed now
11. MO:   well why don't you clean your teeth
12.       firs[t and the:]n
13. DA:       [oh okay    ]
14. MO: -> um (.) you know if the: (.) toothbrush dribbles it
15.       won't dribble on your shirt.
16. DA:   ↑↘o:h (0.3) ↑ok[ay]
17. MO:                  [↑o]
18.       (0.3)
19.       ↑yeah
20. DA: -> hhuh
21.       (1.2) {standing up}
22.       ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
23.    ->♫ toothbrush toothbrush give me your answer true
24.       (0.5)
```

---

[18] It does not appears that Dan sings modified songs in a wider range of locations simply
because he produces more modified than unmodified songs in the data collection. As I discuss
in the next chapter, Dan's modifications allow him to accomplish a wider range of actions.
Their functionality makes them useful in more sequential positions.

```
25.    ->♫ I'm half crazy if I'm not brushing you
26.        (.)
27. MO:    ((sniff)) (.) mm↑hmm
28.        (.)
29. DA:->♫ it won't be a stylish brushing
30.        (1.0)
31.    ->♫ because I'm (.)
32.     -> pretty late for
33.        (0.5)
34. MO: -> hh heh hah .hh (0.3) you really ought to be rushing
35. DA: -> hah th(h)at's very good morgan
36. MO:    hh ha ha okay .hh hh {She gets up}
37. DA:    (xxx) brush brush
```

In line (1), Dan starts to close the interaction. Morgan aligns with the closing (*oh okay*)
and follows with an assessment of the meal in lines (3-4). An assessment of the prior
meal is in alignment with a closing, as closing sections may reference something
particular to the interaction that is being closed (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Dan agrees
with her assessment in line (5), and the interaction is at a potential closing point with
Morgan's third position *mmhmm* in line (7). Indeed, Dan starts moving in preparation
of getting up from the table in line (8), but he halts his own progression with a new first
pair part in line (10). Schegloff and Sacks (1973) note that closings of interactions may
include making future arrangements. This moment is an adjournment before the couple
reconvenes, so it is not surprising that their talk addresses next activities. Dan's turn
I'm supposed to get up and get dressed now in line (10) is part of the pre-closing
sequence that identifies steps to prepare for Dan's dentist appointment. Schegloff and
Sacks (1973 p. 313) also argue that co-participants may respond to possible pre-
closings and not to what seems proposed in the pre-closing turn (e.g., commands), so
Morgan could simply agree or disagree with Dan's closing move here. Morgan prefaces
her response with *well*, a move that can mark a departure from a type-conforming
response (e.g., a non yes/no answer to a yes/no question; see Raymond, 2003; Heritage,
2013). In fact, Morgan only implicitly agrees with the closing while taking issue with

Dan's proposed next steps. Morgan suggests an alternative order to upcoming events *well why don't you clean your teeth first* in lines (11-12) without negating that he should get up and get dressed. Dan aligns with her alternative with a change-of-state token *oh* and with an *okay* acceptance. In (14-15), Morgan continues with a post-expansion that is an account for the new proposal, and it contains the *toothbrush* that Dan later recycles into a modified version of "Bicycle Built For Two". Following his song about brushing his teeth, the interaction closes as Dan goes to prepare for the dentist appointment. The point of this example is to illustrate that Dan does sing modified songs at the closing sections of interactions. It is more common, however, for Dan to sing in the middle of ongoing interactions.

Recordings of Dan and Morgan capture segments of their "continuing state of incipient talk" in which they engage, disengage, and re-engage in talk over a period of time in proximity with each other (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 325). There is no recording of them greeting each other or clearly starting "new" interactions. The nature of the recordings makes it impossible to make claims about whether Dan sings at openings of interactions. Dan does sing during ongoing interactions, or "in the middle" section of an encounter. For singing instances "in the middle" of the encounter, Dan performs modified songs in the opening turns of a sequence (i.e., as a first pair part), in response to an opening turn (as a second pair part), and in the post expansion to a sequence. In the remainder of this subsection, I describe examples of Dan singing in each of those sequential positions.

There are several examples of Dan singing at the start of a sequence. For example, in "Toucan comes around again," Dan and Morgan have just finished talking

about a teapot, the family member who gave it to them, and the Boston Tea Party. Dan

is spinning a lazy susan and looking at the animal figurines that are on top of it.

```
 (6) [7-2014 "Toucan comes around again"]
1.  MO:     mmm=
2.  DA:     {He is looking at animals and spinning the lazy susan.
3.          He moves it until the two toucans face Morgan}
4.          ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
5.     ->♫ =toucan toucan
6.  MO:     o:h they've come around again.
7.          (4.4)
8.  DA:     actually there- there's lots of pretty things on this
9.          tray.=
10. MO:     =mmhmm: (0.5) ((sniff))
```

In this excerpt, the previous sequence has ended. Dan starts a new sequence by singing

in line (5). Dan only sings a portion of the first line of the song *toucan toucan*, Morgan

responds, and this sequence touches off talk about the items on the lazy susan.

Dan also sings after a first-pair part. In "Wuzzle," Dan sings after an

announcement by Morgan.

```
(7) [4-2014 "Wuzzle"]
1.  MO: -> {comes back into room} oh there was another wuzzle
2.          today hh (.) one of these word puzzles
3.          (2.7) {She starts writing down the wuzzle}
4.  DA:     ((modified "Old McDonald"))
5.     ->♫ wuzzle here and a wuzzle there
6.      ♫ here a wuzzle there a wuzzle
7.      ♫ old mc (0.5) donald liked his ↓wuzzles=
8.  MO:     =mhmm?
9.          (1.0)
10. DA:  ♫ e-i-e-i-o
11.         (0.9)
12.      ♫ and I don't like wuzzles very much
```

Morgan opens the sequence with an announcement about a new wuzzle word puzzle at

her gym in line (1), and her announcement also projects a possible doing of the wuzzle.

Dan does not respond at the possible TRP in line (2) after Morgan's *today*, and Morgan

extends her turn with *one of these word puzzles*. Morgan writes down the wuzzle during

a gap, furthering the potential doing of the wuzzle, and Dan could align with the

upcoming activity. Dan, however, sings a response starting in line (5). This sequential

location of singing in second position is not uncommon in the data

In "Wuzzle," Dan sings after a first pair part produced by Morgan. He also sings

in post-expansion. In "Gusto," Dan produces a first pair part that Morgan responds to,

and Dan then sings.

```
(8) [5-2014 "Gusto"]
1.  DA: -> I'm slowing down Morgan. (0.5) getting full.
2.  MO:    mmm?
3.          (9.1)
4.  MO: -> ((sniff)) well you've attacked that with gusto.
5.  DA:    ((closed mouth laugh))
6.          (4.6)
7.  DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
8.      ->♫ gusto gusto give me your answer true
```

In this excerpt, they have just finished talking about the meal and feeling full. In line

(1), Dan announces that he is *slowing down* with his meal and *getting full*. Morgan's

continuer *mmm?* in line (2) invites Dan to say more. He does not continue after a gap,

and Morgan does a noticing about Dan's manner of eating *well you've attacked that*

with gusto in line (4). Dan could confirm her account for why he is slowing down and

getting full. Instead, Dan sings in response in line (8).

In other excerpts, Dan sings as part of a much more elaborate post-expansion. In

"Dabble," Dan and Morgan have been talking about slip trailing, a technique for

applying raised patterns to ceramics.[19] Dan remarks on his difficulty learning this

method of decorating pottery.

---

[19] *Slip* is clay that has been thinned with water. *Slip trailing* is squeezing slip out of the tip of an applicator and onto the surface of pottery to create a raised pattern. The technique requires precision in selection of applicator size, slip consistency, applied pressure, and hand movement and pace across the surface.

```
(9) [3-2014 "Dabble"]
69. MO:    yeah it takes years to
70.        y'know feel totally competent [in  ]
71. DA:                                   [yeah]
72. MO:    the techniques to learn all the pattern:s and
73. MO:    [all the textures that you need]
74. DA:    [boy I tell you I couldn't do i]t (.) I literally
75.        couldn't do it
76. MO:    mmm-hmm (1.5) with practice (3.5) like everything
77.        else it's practice practice practice
78. DA: -> yeah but if: f:or a person who it's not their
79.     -> business y'know [already] retired heh hih
80.                        [mmmhmm ]
81. DA:    [huh huh huh huh]
82. MO:    [huh huh hih hih] hih hih ((sniff))
83. DA: -> there aren't many years left to practice=
84. MO:    =mmm-hmm
85.        (3.8)
86. MO: -> yeah and if you're just dabbling (0.5) (to g-)
87.        (0.8)
88. DA:    yeah
89.        (0.4)
90. MO: -> y- y- you can't spend that time
91.        (0.6)
92. DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
93.     ->♫ a dabble here and a dabble there=
94.       ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
95.       ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble
```

In this excerpt of a much longer interaction, Dan provides an account as to why he could not get better at slip trailing with practice with his turns *yeah but for a person who it's not their business y'know already retired* in lines (78-79) and *there aren't many years lift to practice* in line (83). Morgan aligns with his account with *yeah and if you're just dabbling.* Dan accepts this with *yeah* in line (88), and Morgan continues with *you can't spend that time* in line (90). Dan could do more with her elaborated account here or he could close the sequence. After a gap, however, he modifies "Old McDonald" with *dabble.* Dan produces most of his modified singing in second position or in post-expansion.

In summary, Dan sings in a wide range of discursive locations.[20] In terms of general "sections" of conversation, Dan sings modified and unmodified songs in middle and closing (or adjourning) sections. Due to the nature of these home videos, I cannot make conclusions regarding whether Dan sings at opening sections (e.g., as part of a greeting sequence). Sections of conversation are relatively coarse divisions of interaction. In terms of finer grain sequential structure of interaction, Dan sings at the start of sequences, in response to a first pair part, and in post-expansion position. In this data set, Dan does not sing unmodified songs to open new sequences (i.e., as a first pair part). This finding is similar to the pattern Frick (2013) describes for Finnish speaking participants who sing in sequence closing position. In contrast to unmodified songs, Dan's performances of modified songs are less restricted in their sequential positions. He sometimes sings modified songs to open sequences but more often he performs them as second pair parts or post-expansions. This pattern suggests that formulaic lyrics are highly "malleable" in the sense that they can be modified for a number of purposes. In the next chapter, I analyze specific functions of this open-ended resource.

5.2 Internal structure of singing occurrences

This subsection on the structure of singing looks at its internal structure and the participants' co-construction of singing sequences. I do this by analyzing three parts: (1) beginnings, or how Dan enters into singing and what constitutes a single turn-

---

[20] In a couple of the instances that I described in this section, Dan's singing is preceded by a change in physical position and movement. This pattern was not consistent but may be an area for future exploration.

constructional unit (TCU), (2) middles, or how the participants work together to expand

songs beyond a TCU, and (3) endings, or how participants close an extended song.

5.2.1 The beginning of singing

Jefferson (1978) contrasts economical and elaborate methods of entry into

storytelling. Like storytellers who elaborately set up a story, Dan sometimes uses a

singing pre-sequence to project an upcoming singing of an unmodified song (i.e., his

performances of "Kansas City"). However, most of the time Dan enters into singing

highly economically. Dan relies heavily on frequently repeated tunes and formulaic

lyrics for his turn to be recognized as doing singing. In this subsection, I first do a brief,

comparative analysis of spoken and sung turn-initial *oh* in order to identify or rule out

possible prominent design features that project singing. Second, I provide a preliminary

analysis that applies to notion of TCU to singing.

5.2.1.1 Projecting singing early in the turn

How does Dan construct turns so that they are projectable as singing

performances early in the turn? As mentioned in Chapter 3, singing is a category with

central members and less prototypical members. Dan's turn may be quickly recognized

as singing by its prosodic features and formulaic lyrics. While there is the possibility

that Dan produces singing so that it is almost immediately projectable as singing, I have

not yet found robust evidence to support this claim.

Many of Dan's singing turns start with *oh*. Dan begins other types of turns with

oh, even other formulaic turns like *oh deary deary,* so it is conceivable that Dan designs

singing turns from the very start to differentiate them from other *oh*-initial turns. I did a preliminary analysis to search for a prominent phonetic feature that clearly demarcates different types of *oh*s. I identified four tokens of *oh deary deary* and six instances of *oh*-initial versions of "The Fireman's Band." I compared them for initial frequency in Hertz and duration in seconds. I also used PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2014) to render the pitch contour of the vowel's duration. Certainly, four spoken and six sung tokens are inadequate for a strong argument regarding turn design and could only serve as a starting point for observing any notable distribution patterns for future research. This rudimentary inquiry, however, did not reveal emerging patterns.

A durational difference may be insignificant and may not hold up in future data collection. The duration of *oh* in "The Fireman's Band" was shorter on average, 0.35 seconds for singing compared to 0.49 for talking, but duration overlapped in range (0.20-0.45 seconds for sung *oh* and 0.43-0.55 seconds spoken *oh* in *oh deary deary*). Two of the singing instances are longer (0.45 seconds) than two of the speaking tokens, so there is not strong evidence that duration or duration alone is relevant for turn design. Table 5.1 lists the duration of each turn-initial *oh*.

Table 5.1 Vowel duration of *oh* in seconds

oh deary deary	0.53	0.43	0.44	0.55		
Singing "Fireman's Band"	0.45	0.32	0.20	0.45	0.33	0.36

Likewise, there is not a clear pattern for starting frequency of *oh*. One instance of spoken *oh* was voiceless and thus frequency could not be measured. The other tokens of spoken *oh* ranged from 127-211 Hz. The average initial frequency for singing was

lower compared to talking (126 Hz for singing vs. 164 Hz for speaking). Again,

however, there were overlapping ranges for speaking and singing (89-173 Hz for

singing vs. 127-211 Hz for speaking). It may be that pitch relative to preceding

utterances is a factor, but there is no obvious pattern to this data set. Starting frequency

of *oh* in Hertz is listed in Table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2 Starting frequency of *oh* in Hz

oh deary deary	n/a	211	155	127		
Singing "Fireman's Band"	173	89	107	145	122	122

Finally, the minimal data set provides no visibly distinguishable pitch contour

for the duration of *oh* for singing verses talking. Two of the spoken *oh*s have an initial

fall and a final slight fall but are otherwise relatively flat. The other measurable spoken

oh has a flat contour. The sung tokens are mostly flat as well, with one having an initial

fall. Certainly, the pitch contour of *oh* in singing is related to the "tune" of the song, but

more than *oh* is evidently needed to project the melody. The "pitch contours" rendered

by PRAAT software are presented in Figure 5.1 for spoken *oh* and Figure 5.2 for sung

oh.

Figure 5.1 Pitch contour of *oh* from spoken *oh deary deary*

Token 1	Token 2
n/a – vowel is voiceless	

Token 3	Token 4
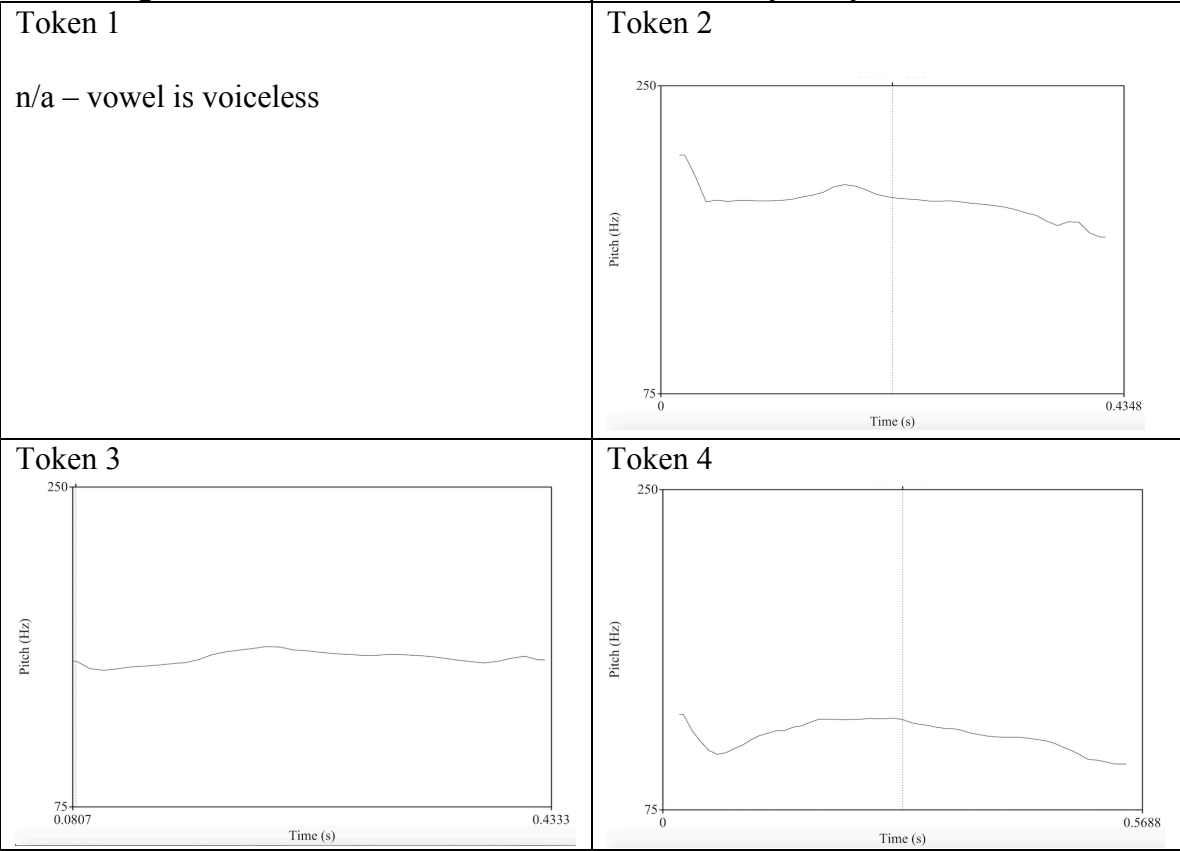
Figure 5.2 Pitch contour of *oh* from "The Fireman's Band"

"Blinky light"

"Lunchy pills"

"Green faced cat"

"Whimsical"

"Carrots and peas"

"Santa Fe"
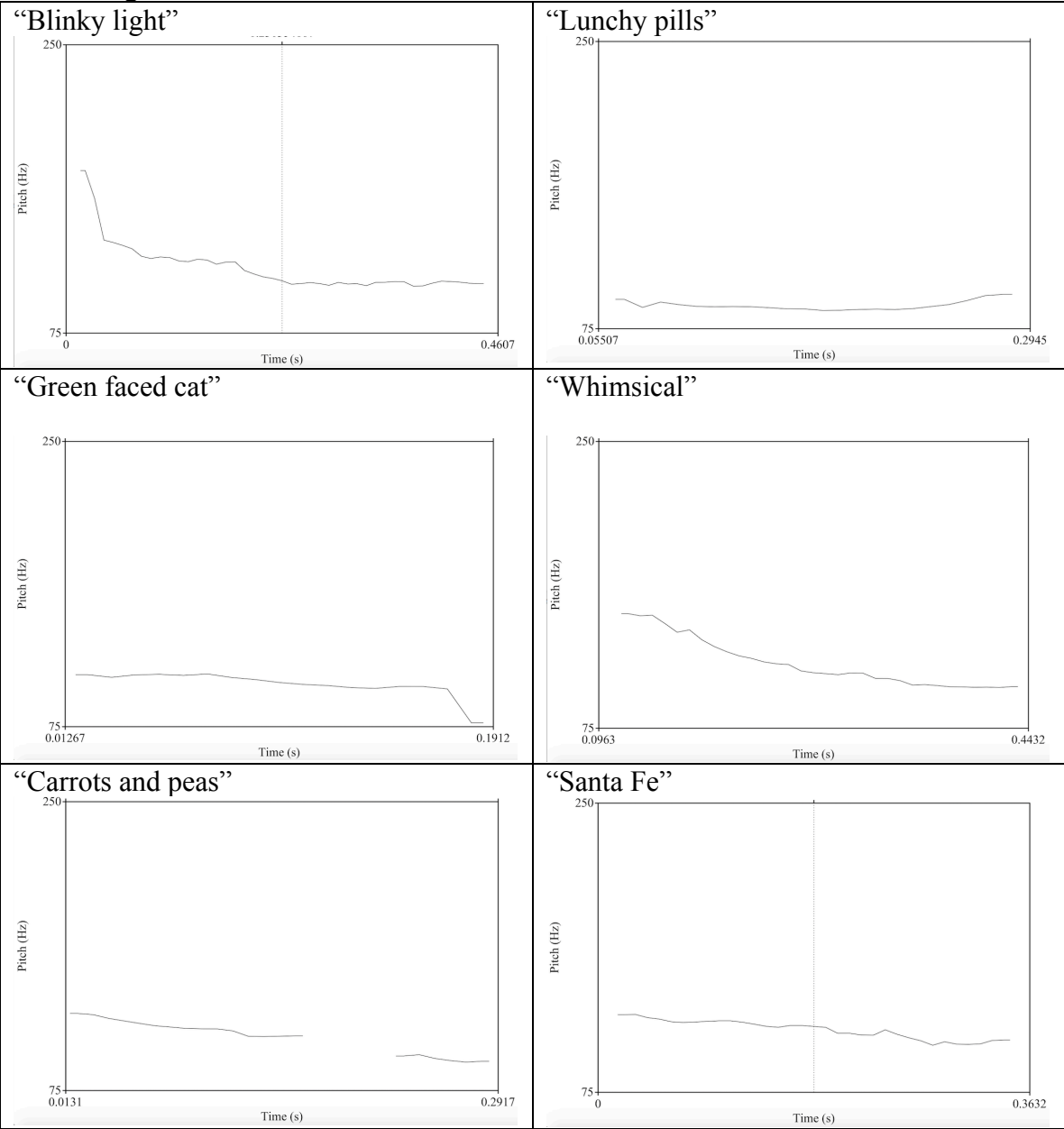
In summary, I have not yet found evidence of phonetic design features that

distinguish *oh* in *oh*-initial singing turns from those starting speaking turns. There may

be features that I have not identified. It is also possible that some of these

measurements are "outliers" and that a pattern could emerge from a larger data set.

Considering the data that I currently have, it seems plausible that there is still *front*

loading (Levinson, 2013) of features that signal a singing turn but that a larger chunk than *oh* is necessary. A more rigorous acoustic analysis than provided here is needed for a robust argument for what phonetic qualities are necessary and sufficient for designing a singing turn. These features may include properties of loudness, timbre, articulation, rhythm, and tempo, along with other properties of pitch that I have not looked at here. There may also be other embodied practices at play. Of course, the overall tune and lyrics have a prominent role in Dan's performance as the performance progresses beyond the first *oh*.

5.2.1.2 A single TCU of singing

Dan produces a range of singing lengths from one "line" of modified lyrics to extended turns at singing with intervening talk. On the sparser side, 10 of Dan's 38 singing occurrences are "one liners." These shorter singing excerpts provide data for analyzing how much singing counts as a TCU. In the following examples, Dan produces a short singing turn, and Morgan takes the next turn without an intervening gap.

```
(10) [9-2011 "Jakey Jabs"]
21. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
22.      ♫ oh jakey jabs oh jakey jabs
23. MO: -> °hih °hih
24.        (1.2) yeah (0.6) hhh (0.3) let's take our cameras (0.6)
25.        in case there are any (1.3) wildlife (any wildlife
26.        around)

(11) [7-2014 "Toucan comes around again"]
4. DA:    ((modified "Bicycle built for two"))
5.      ♫ =toucan toucan
6. MO: -> o:h they've come around again.

(12) [7-2014 "9:19 am"]
7. DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
8.      ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
9.        (.) {Dan walks closer to Morgan.}
```

```
10.      ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
11. MO: -> I had better go:: and huff and puff,
```

In the above examples, Morgan does not latch her turn onto Dan's singing turn or speak in overlap. These excerpts demonstrate that a singing turn can be short and that a single line of lyrics opens up a possible transition to next speaker.

One could argue that Morgan is curtailing the song in the previous examples, but Dan also treats a single line of lyrics as complete in the following examples:

```
(13) [4-2014 "Lunchy pills"]
3.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's band"))
4.       ♫ oh lunchy pills oh lunchy pills
5.         (0.7) {picks up fork and starts to get bite ready}
6.    -> boy this looks like a good lunch morgan.

(14) [5-2014 "Green faced cat"]
11. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
12.      ♫ oh green faced cat
13.        (0.3)
14.      ♫ oh green faced cat=
15.    -> =there's a lot of black and yellow and red on it too,

(15) [9-2014 "Amendment 68"]
3.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
4.       ♫ oh sixty eight oh sixty eight
5.         (1.7)
6.    -> .hh (.) it's an amendment to the state {their gaze
7.    -> meets} constitution.

(16) [5-2014 "Whimsical"]
12. DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
13.      ♫ oh a whimsical here and a whimsical there. (.)
14.        {Stops spinning animals so the llamas face him}
15.    -> especially the little one.
```

In the four examples above, Dan switches to talking after the first line of a song. This supports the notion that Morgan is not curtailing singing in the earlier "one line" examples. It indicates that a potential end to a singing turn, and thus a possible transition relevance place to next speaker, is located at the end of a relatively short turn of singing.

The examples so far examined in this subsection suggest that both speakers treat the following formulaic sequences, when performed with prosody for their respective songs, as TCUs: [oh *xxx* oh *xxx*] for "Fireman's Band," [oh a *xxx* here and a *xxx* there] for "Old McDonald," and [it's *xxx* it's *xxx*] for "Farmer in the dell." At least that amount of a song is projectable as a singing turn-unit. The following example is additional evidence that at least that much of the song is projectable as a turn:

```
(17) [7-2014 "Carrots and peas"]
15. DA:     ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
16.      ♫ oh ca[rrots and p]eas
17. MO: ->    [and some   ]
18. DA:    {starts to move bowl of carrots and peas closer}
19.      ♫ and carrots and peas=
20.        =actually the carrots and peas are good.
21.        (0.3)
22. MO:    mmhmm.
```

In this example, Dan continues singing *oh carrots and peas and carrots and peas* despite overlap with Morgan in line (17). The fact that Dan continues singing until he reaches the end of those lyrics, and that Morgan relinquishes the floor, supports the argument that his singing in lines (16) and (19) is a single TCU.

In summary, 10 out of 38 of Dan's singing occurrences are "one liners" (about 26% of the corpus). In over half of them, Dan switches to talking after the sung TCU before Morgan takes a turn. In those instances, Morgan does not pursue more singing nor does she hold Dan accountable for not producing more lyrics. This pattern suggests that when Dan starts a singing turn, at least one line of the song, as defined above for each song, is projectable as a TCU. A possible transition relevance point follows. Of course, there is likely a constellation of syntactic, pragmatic, prosodic, and gestural cues involved in projecting possible completion points (Ford, Fox, &Thompson, 1996). I am by no means presenting this analysis as conclusive evidence for a universal

singing unit in conversation. Certainly "one line" of a song is too vague and unpredictable to be a viable unit, and each song needs be considered on a text-by-text basis for determining what constitutes an initial TCU. Although this preliminary evidence points to one short TCU allocated at the start of singing, there may be a different orientation as the song progresses (e.g., to syntactic completion). TCUs, and the amount of singing projected, may take a different shape as Dan goes further into a verse or chorus. Many of Dan's singing occurrences are more than an initial TCU. If only a short singing TCU is projectable as a turn, how does Dan accomplish longer singing occurrences? This question opens the next section on the "middle" structure of Dan's singing.

5.2.2 Accomplishing multi-unit singing turns

Although 10 of Dan's singing occurrences are performed in short, single turns, 28 occurrences are produced as a multi-unit turn or across multiple turns. Out of the 38 singing events in the data collection, Dan sings 22 extended songs (58% of the corpus) and Dan and Morgan co-construct 6 others (16%). Song extension beyond an initial TCU is an interactional achievement. This section describes and analyzes how Dan and Morgan accomplish longer singing sequences that extend past a single TCU. In some interactions, Dan's singing competes with co-occurring activities that may contribute to other participants' lack of uptake and thus song extension. In other interactions, Morgan not only cooperates with but also aids Dan's production of longer sequences. She does this by declining to take a turn after a singing unit and by producing turns that

encounter more singing. There is also preliminary evidence that the participants use

gaze in the construction of multi-unit singing turns to hold or relinquish the turn.

5.2.2.1 Lack of uptake, silence, continuers, and minimal assessments

      Interaction often requires people to split attention between parallel activities, or

to favor one activity for selective attention. In some of my data, Dan sings when other

things are happening in addition to talk. The intersection of multiple activities is one

context in which Dan may extend his singing. For example, in "No pence," Dan sings

while Morgan is getting the room ready for a meal.

```
(18) [7-2014 "No pence"]
2.  DA:    ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
3.         ♫ °I °got °tuppence to spend
4.         ♫ and no pence to lend .hhh
5.         (0.4)
6.  MO: -> {turns on light} [↑woops there you go.] hh
7.  DA:  ♫                  [and no pence      ]
8.     ->♫ to send home to my wife (0.3)
9.         {Morgan walks over with meal. Dan looks up at her.}
10.        ♫ poo:r °wife
11. MO: -> well that is terrible {starts to close window shades
12.     -> behind Dan} but at least she has credit ca:rds.
13.        (1.4)  {Dan turns head straight ahead}
14. DA:    pardon? {blinks slowly and keeps mouth open}
15. MO:    hh heh hih ha ha ha hih ha .hhh  {walks away}
16. DA:    {shifts gaze to meal} °heh
```

Dan starts his song in lines (3-4). After a pause, he continues singing in overlap with

Morgan's *woops there you go* as she turns on the lights in line (6). Morgan's turn is

only a brief action inserted within Dan's singing, and Dan's extends his singing with *to*

send home to my wife poor wife in lines (8 and 10). It may be that Dan extends his song

because of Morgan's lack of uptake, similar to how speakers extend turn and action

past a TRP when there is lack of recipient uptake (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002). It is

also possible that Dan's singing in this case is similar to extending turns during storytelling. Jefferson (1978, pp. 233-234) proposes that

> Storytellers do not explicitly challenge or complain of tangential recipient talk (as they do not complain of recipient silence). Instead, they propose that the story was not yet completed by offering a next story component. Upon completion of that component, a next point occurs at which the story can be responded to […], and thus, at least an opportunity for, and perhaps an invitation to, a different order of response – in the case of tangential talk, a more fitted response – is provided by an added story component.

Dan does not stop singing to address Morgan's tangential talk about the light or to respond to her ongoing meal preparations. He continues singing until Morgan responds with an appropriate response to his singing, a joke of her own in lines (11-12). It is not clear whether Dan sets out to produce an extended song, but he certainly extends his song until there is recipient uptake.

In the case of "No pence," Dan sings during side talk and activities until he receives a response to his song. In other instances, his singing is not done in overlap with other talk. Some of the extended songs have periods of silence between singing turns during which Morgan does not align with his singing. In three of these cases, Morgan is occupied with competing activities, and she does not take the floor despite longer pauses between Dan's lines. For example, in "Turkey Vulture," the pauses within his singing extend up to two seconds.

```
(19) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
5.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
6.         {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
7.       ♬ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
8.      -> (1.2) {looks up and back down}
9.       ♬ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.     -> (2.0)
11.      ♬ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.        (1.1)
13.      ♬ that we should see the turkey vulture
14.        (0.4)
15. MO:    {sits at table with book} huh hih ((sniff)) (.)
```

We know from the previous subsection on song beginnings that at least *oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture* is projected as a turn construction unit and that its end marks a possible transition relevance place. The silence in lines (8) and (10) are points where Morgan could but does not take a turn. It is possible that she does not take a turn here because she has temporarily removed herself to retrieve the bird book, but she is still within hearing distance. This leaves Dan with two options. He could leave the silence as a gap during which Morgan could take a turn but does not. Or, he could extend his turn. In this, and in other cases in which Morgan is pre-occupied, Dan extends his singing.

In many more cases, however, the silence between singing turn is not caused by Morgan having removed herself from joint-focused interaction but from her withholding turns at transition points. In thirteen of Dan's extended singing sequences, possible singing end points are followed by a combination of pauses and Morgan pursuing more singing. In "Toothbrush," Dan accomplishes a multi-unit singing with Morgan's active participation.

```
(20) [5-2014 "Toothbrush"]
22. DA:     ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
23.       ♫ toothbrush toothbrush give me your answer true
24.    -> (0.5)
25.       ♫ I'm half crazy if I'm not brushing you
26.         (.)
27. MO: -> ((sniff)) (.) mm↑hmm
28.         (.)
29. DA:->♫ it won't be a stylish brushing
30.         (1.0)
31.       ♫ because I'm (.)
32.         pretty late for
33.    -> (0.5)
34. MO:    hh heh hah .hh (0.3) you really ought to be rushing
35. DA:    hah th(h)at's very good morgan
```

The end of the lyrics *toothbrush toothbrush give me your answer true* in line (23) could mark the end of the singing turn, and Dan does not do a rush-through into more lyrics (see Schegloff, 1982, 1987, on rush-through as a turn extension device). There is a half second of silence that could allow Morgan to start a turn, but she does not take the floor. It is well established in CA literature that silence is meaningful. Sidnell (2010, p. 158) writes that the extension of a turn past points of possible completion "is in part a product of an interaction between current speaker and recipient: by *not responding* at these points of possible completion, the recipient treats the turn as incomplete and the speaker is invited to continue." After the moment of silence in line (24), Dan does continue with his song, and the silence becomes an intra-turn pause instead of a gap in the interaction. In this scenario, Morgan's silence invites Dan to continue with singing.

Another systematic practice used to co-produce multi-unit turns at talk is the use of *continuers* (e.g. *uh huh*). Morgan often produces *mmhmm* between Dan's singing turns. In line (26) of "Toothbrush." Morgan says *mmhmm* preceeded by half a second gap (inclusive of her sniff) and followed by a micropause. Dan continues singing just as Morgan opens her mouth. It is not clear whether she intends to continue with a fuller turn, but his singing *it won't be a stylish brushing* in line (28) shows that Dan responded to her *mmhmm* as a go-ahead. This behavior fits with what Schegloff (1982) termed *continuers,* things like *uh huh* that are used

> to exhibit on the part of its producer an understanding that an extended unit of talk is underway by another, and that it is not yet, or may not yet be (even ought not yet be), complete. It takes the stance that the speaker of that extended unit should continue talking, and in that continued talking should continue that extended unit. 'Uh huh', etc. exhibit this understanding, and take this stance, precisely by passing an opportunity to produce a full turn at talk. (p. 81).

This is to say that Dan does not get to continue singing by default because Morgan somehow "fails" to interact with him. On the contrary, Morgan is focused on Dan. In contrast to examples in which Morgan is involved in competing activities, Morgan demonstrates a high level of engagement with Dan by sitting with him, putting on her glasses when he re-starts the interaction, turning her head in his direction, smiling slightly, intermittently gazing at him, and tracking his movements with her head when he gets up to leave the table. Also, when Dan abandons singing for talking and does not finish his turn in line (32), Morgan laughs and provides a candidate ending to the song that he accepts and appreciates. As this example shows, Morgan actively treats Dan's singing as incomplete by way of silence and continuers. Her participation provides Dan with the opportunity for multi-unit singing, and she even produces a possible ending to complete the song in line (33). In other examples, her brief assessments take a stance toward his singing, and she even more strongly urges him to continue.

Pauses and continuers that contribute to the production of a multi-unit turn at talk do not necessarily establish a stance toward the extended turn. Recipients have other resources for establishing a position toward another speaker's extended talk without taking a full turn. Goodwin (1986) contrasts the sequential structure and function of continuers with minimal assessments (e.g., *oh wow*) that are produced in the midst of another speaker's extended talk. He argues that recipients do assessments so that they are produced within the other speaker's TCU. Continuers, in comparison, are not restricted in this way and may extend past possible transition points. The purpose of continuers is to treat something just said as preliminary to more talk whereas assessments operate on the TCU being spoken at the time. Thus far, I have shown how

Morgan uses continuers and withholds talk to treat Dan's singing as preliminary to

more singing. Morgan also regularly does minimal assessments of Dan's singing, as in

the example below.

```
(21) [9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
36. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band))
37.       ♫ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
38.    -> (0.9)
39.       ♫ how I like some sockie wokies
40.    -> (0.5)
41. MO: -> mm[hm]
42. DA:  ♫   [oh] don't [you  really really] think
43. MO: ->              [hh heh heh heh heh]
44.       (1.3)
45. DA:  ♫ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
46. MO:    hh
47.       (0.3)
48. DA:    ↑HA HA (0.6) that song didn't wanna come out (.)
```

In "Sockie wokies," Morgan produces silences in lines (6 and 8) and a continuer that

bridges his singing turns in line (9). Like in "Toothbrush" discussed above, Morgan's

silences and continuer here invite more singing and treat the emerging elements as part

of a yet incomplete, larger structure. In line (11), Morgan's laughter coincides with

Dan's *really really think*. Like the minimal assessments discussed by Goodwin,

Morgan's laughter is contained within Dan's TCU and treats the content of his singing

turn as laughable. Morgan makes no additional assessment, and Dan continues with his

song.

In summary, a multi-unit singing turn is a joint accomplishment. His singing is

not an isolated text posited in the middle of conversation. His singing shapes the

unfolding conversation and is shaped by Morgan's co-participation. On the one hand,

Dan's singing makes relevant next-turn possibilities for Morgan. She could produce a

continuer, laugh, decline to take a turn, take a speaking turn in response to the song,

pursue an alternative course of action unrelated to singing, etc. On the other hand, the

unfolding of Dan's song as a single or multi-unit turn is shaped by Morgan's response,
such as lack of uptake, silence, continuers, and minimal assessments. In a later section,
I discuss responses to Dan's singing that include full-turn assessments and turns that
explicitly request additional singing turns.

5.2.2.2 Gaze in multi-unit singing turns

Preliminary evidence suggests that Dan uses gaze as a practice to hold or
relinquish the floor when producing an extended song. (Of course, gaze is only one
resource that participants might use to regulate turn-taking, along with syntactic
structure, other embodied practices, etc.) In this subsection, I contrast two examples of
Dan looking at Morgan and back away within a TCU with two examples of Dan
shifting his gaze to Morgan near the end of his singing. The pattern indicates that
withholding or withdrawing gaze at a TRP is a practice for extending a song, and the
participants may establish joint gaze at the song's ending. To give finer detail in the
transcript regarding gaze, I use "+" below the turn to indicate Dan's gaze at Morgan
and "–" for when he looks away from her. The first example is "No pence."

```
(22) [7-2014 "No pence"]
2.  DA:    ((unmodified "I've got six pence"))
3.         ♬ °I °got °tuppence to spend
4.           - - - - - - - - - - - - -
5.         ♬ and no pence to lend .hhh
6.           - - - - - - - - - - - - -
7.         -> (0.4)
8.  MO: -> {turns on light} [↑woops there you go.] hh
9.  DA:  ♬                  [and no pence        ]
10.                          - - - - - -
11.        ♬ to send home to my wife
12.          - - - - - - - - - - - - - +
13.          (0.3){Morgan walks over with meal.}
14.        ♬ poo:r °wife
15.          + + + + + +
16. MO:    well that is terrible but at least she has credit ca:rds.
17.        + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
```

At the start of this excerpt, Morgan is out of view of the camera and Dan is standing by his chair. He sings *I got tuppence to spend and no pence to lend* in lines (3, 5) as he shuffles into position to sit. Note that Dan's singing could possibly end here, but he continues to sing in overlap with Morgan after a pause in line (7). The remainder of his song is timed with his sitting motion, and the final moment of sitting creates a sense of drama that punctuates the end of his song. He looks down at his chair and sits as he sings *and no pence to send home to my wife* in lines (9, 11). Immediately after *wife*, Dan looks up at Morgan. There is a short pause before he sings an exaggerated *poor wife* in line (14), during which time he tracks her movement into the room by moving his head to gaze at her. She comes into view just after he finishes *poor wife,* and she walks up to the window curtains. He does not look away from her as she starts her turn at talk. In sum, Dan only looks up at Morgan near the end of his singing, and he does not look away from her while she takes her turn.

One could counter that in "No pence," the timing of Dan's gaze to Morgan is not independent of his action of sitting or of Morgan's movement towards him. Perhaps the timing of his gaze with the end of his singing is coincidental, and he is only looking at Morgan because of her physical movement. There is another example, however, that shows a similar timing of gaze to Morgan with a song's ending.

```
(23) [7-2014 "Ducky"]
1.   DA:    ((modified "Bicycle built for two"))
2.        ♫ ducky ducky give me your answer true
3.          - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
4.          (0.5)
5.   MO:    mm[hm]
6.   DA:  ♫   [I']m half crazy about the quack quack in you=
7.          - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - + +
8.   MO:    =mm to be woken up by y(h)ou, .hh
9.            + + + - - - - - - - + + + + + +
```

This time, Dan is already sitting down at the table. He is looking at the animals and spinning them on the lazy susan. Morgan is again out of view to start. Dan begins singing as she walks into view. Morgan pulls her chair out while he sings *answer true* in line (2). He pauses, and this is a potential ending point to the song. Morgan produces a continuer *mmhmm* half way through sitting down, and Dan still has not looked up at her. Dan continues singing and looking at the animals. Morgan has completely sat down as he starts *about* in line (6), and has scooted herself into the table at *you.* Dan finally flashes his eyes to her at the end of the vowel in *you*. Morgan now takes a turn, and Dan continues looking at her for the first part of her TCU. Unlike the previous example "No pence," Dan does not look up at Morgan when she walks over, and he does not even look at her when she is in the process of sitting down next to him. Surely he can hear Morgan's movements and see her in his peripheral vision, which means that he is withholding his gaze. Dan extends his singing in "No pence" possibly because of Morgan's lack of uptake, but she encourages him to continue with a continuer in "Ducky." Despite the differences in co-participation in these two excerpts, Dan's withheld gaze at TRPs coincides with continued singing, while his gaze to Morgan coincides with the end of extended singing. These two examples suggest that the timing of gaze near the end of a TRP is part of how Dan signals to Morgan whether he will continue or end an extended singing.

There is additional evidence that not only the timing of Dan's gaze to Morgan, but also withdrawing his gaze away from her, is important for conveying extended singing. In "Cat and camera," Dan looks at Morgan in the middle of a singing unit but looks away at a TRP.

```
(24) [5-2014 "Cat and camera"]
36. DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the dell"))
37.        ♫ the camera can see the cat. (0.4)
38.        - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
39.        ♫ the [camera can see ] the cat
40.        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
41. MO:        [hhh heh hih hih]
42.        (0.5)
43. DA:    ♫ hi ho the derry oh
44.        - - - + + + + + - -
45.        ♫ the camera can see the cat
46.        - - - - - - - - - - - - -
47.        ((uncertain tune))
48.        ♫ bum bum boom bum (1.3) bum bum bum bu:m (1.2)
49.        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
50.        ♫ bum bum bum BUM BUM BUM BUM
51.        - - - - - - - - - - - - -
52.        ((unmodified "I've got sixpence"))
53.        ♫ happy is the day (2.0)
54.        - - - - - - - - - - - -
55.        I don't li:ne up for my pay. (0.3) actually I never di:d.
56.        - - - - + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
```

In this excerpt, Dan has moved the lazy susan so that the cat faces the camera. Dan keeps looking forward as he starts singing. Morgan laughs within his TCU in line (41) but does not take attempt to take the floor, and Dan takes an inbreath at the end of that unit without changing his gaze. He does look at her briefly, but it is within the unit *hi ho the derry oh* in line (43), and he looks back to the animals long before the next TRP at the end of line (45). He does a rush-through to move from *the camera can see the cat* to his wordless tune in line (48). The song eventually finishes when Dan switches to talking, and he again looks to her in the middle of his speaking turn.

Another example of Dan withdrawing gaze at a possible transition to next speaker is "Toucan looking at you."

```
(25) [7-2014 "Toucan looking at you"]
70. DA:    ((modified "Bicycle built for two"))
71.        ♫ toucan toucan he's lookin right at you
72.        - - - - - - - - - - - - - + + + +  - -
73.        (0.4)
74. MO:    mm[hmm]
```

```
75.  DA:   ♫   [I'm] half crazy (0.6) over the toucan and you
76.            - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
77.  MO:   ↓mmmm.
78.          (2.6)
79.  DA:    the toucan's got a red face.
80.         - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
```

Here, Dan looks at the animals for most of his singing. He only looks up at Morgan in the middle of his singing TCU when he sings *right at,* and then he looks back down during *you* in line (71). The end of that turn marks a possible TRP, but he continues singing in partial overlap with her continuer. Like with the previous example, "Cat and camera," Dan looks at Morgan while singing, but only within the boundaries of a TCU. He withholds gaze during possible transition points when he extends the song.

It would be ideal to have evidence that Morgan's gaze or other embodied practices also orient to Dan's song extension. Unfortunately, the filming of many of the videos does not capture her well enough for analysis. There is one example, "Santa Fe," that may provide leads. I continue using "+" for Dan's gaze to Morgan and "–" for his gaze away from her. I have added "@" for Morgan's gaze at Dan, and "x" for her gaze away from him.

```
(26) [9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
7.  DA:     ((modified "Fireman's band"))
8.          ♫ .hh oh santa fe old santa fe (1.2)
9.            + + + + + + + + - - - - - - -
10.           @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
11. DA:     ♫ how I love my santa fe=
12.           + + + + + + + + + + + +
13.           @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
14. MO:      =mm ↑hmm ↑hmm {quick nod up}
15.           + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
16.           @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
17.          (0.3)
18. DA:     ♫ oh don't you really really think (0.7)
19.           + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
20.           @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
21. DA:     ♫ that we should take (0.3) a trip to santa fe I thin[k ]
22. MO:                                                          [hh]
23.           + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
24.           @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
25.
```

```
26. MO: -> huh hah (h)oh good[y goody heh]
27. DA:                       [hhhh  hhhh ]
28.        + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
29.     -> @ @ @ @ x x x x x x x x
```

In "Santa Fe," Dan and Morgan are sitting looking at each other when he starts singing. He maintains gaze at her during *oh santa fe,* but then he shifts his gaze away from her and leans back slightly as he looks forward. He keeps looking forward and away from Morgan for all of *old santa fe,* the end of which marks a TRP. Dan slowly turns his head back toward her. As his gaze meets hers, he leans toward her and starts the next TRP. She has made no move to take a turn here, and the way that he withholds eye contact until he leans toward her and starts singing shows that he is not done singing yet. He goes on with *how I love my santa fe* while looking at and leaning toward her. This is a possible end to the song, but Morgan produces a continuer and Dan leans back as he sings *oh don't you really really think.* His production of *think* is done with a sharp nod downward, and he slowly blinks before starting *that we should take a trip to santa fe I think.* Their orientation to syntactic completion of *oh don't you really think* allows for Dan's dramatic pauses and sustained gaze to Morgan without opening the floor to Morgan. Morgan starts laughing when Dan produces the final /k/ of *that we should take a trip to santa fe I think*, and she launches directly into an assessment. She does not look away from him while she is laughing, but she does move her head to look away at the start of *oh goody goody*. So, at least in this one example, Morgan looks at Dan while he is singing until she begins to take a full turn in response to the singing. It may be that future data and analysis will support a patterned practice of Morgan looking at Dan during an extended song and only looking away when she aligns with its ending.

In summary, I have discussed the participants' use of gaze in several excerpts in this subsection. In these examples, there are points of possible completion during Dan's song, and Dan does not look at Morgan during those moments if he goes on with singing. Moreover, although Dan may look at Morgan in the middle of a unit, he moves his gaze away from her as he nears a transition point and continues singing. Participant use multiple resources to hold the floor because they are not guaranteed more speaking time. Withholding gaze at TRPs is one way that Dan is doing "not pursuing a response" to extend his singing turn. In contrast to the cue of withholding or withdrawing gaze to signal song extension, Dan and Morgan may establish joint gaze near the end of a TCU and through the TRP at a song's ending. There remain important issues regarding the role of gaze in holding the floor for song extension and changing participant roles, such as whether Dan regularly looks at Morgan at TRPs during lack of uptake (See Rossano, 2013, on the use of gaze for mobilizing response). More work needs to be done on the regulatory function of gaze in turn-taking, its role in action formation, and how it is used to establish and shift participation frameworks especially in the context of concurrent activities (Rossano, 2013). Due to the nature of Morgan and Dan's video recordings, these and other questions about the recipients' embodied behavior cannot be answered adequately at this time.[21]

---

[21] It is also possible that the timing of Dan's gaze with verbal references to Morgan is significant in some instances. However, Dan's gaze to Morgan does not always coincide with referential terms of address for her. Although his gaze to her is timed with a reference to her in one example (*poor wife* in "No pence"), in other examples his gaze to her is timed with reference to other objects (e.g., *you* in reference to ducky). At other times, he removes his gaze before referencing her (e.g., *you* in "Toucan looking at you").

5.2.3 The ending of extended songs

The previous section demonstrates that Dan's multi-unit singing is a product of the unfolding interaction. One line of a song, defined on a song-by-song basis, is allocated as a TCU. TCUs only determine minimal turn size (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), and Dan can accomplish extended singing beyond a single TCU. Extended songs emerge turn-by-turn, and the ending of a multi-unit song is not predetermined but arrived at jointly. As mentioned earlier, Dan's singing is most often not preceded by a pre-sequence or preface. Without a singing preface, there is nothing before the song that foretells what element should be reached for an appropriate ending (e.g., saying *Here's a funny song* before singing tells the recipient that something funny should be sung before the song ends). If an ending is not projected by a preface, how do extended songs end? This subsection describes practices that Dan uses as exit devices and examples of negotiated endings.

The most obvious method Dan uses to end an extended singing is to transition to speaking. The "strongest" way to switch to speaking is to produce a metacomment on the song's completion.

```
(27) [3-2014 "Dabble"]
92. DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
93.        ♫ a dabble here and a dabble there=
94.        ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
95.        ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble
96.          (2.5)
97. MO:    hih hih hih ((sniff)) hih (.)
98. DA: -> I won't say the rest of it
```

In line (98) of "Dabble," Dan marks an end to singing by simply declining to provide more singing. His turn *I won't say the rest of it* implies that there is more that he is withholding. Morgan can, of course, not accept his singing as complete. The point here, however, is that Dan can and does explicitly mark possible endings.

Dan also has less "strong" ways of transitioning from singing to talking. In some instances, Dan switches to talk that continues some element of the song's content, as in "Green faced cat."

```
(28) [5-2014 "Green faced cat"]
10. DA:    {stops spinning the animals to look at the cat}
11.        ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
12.      ♬ oh green faced cat
13.        (0.3)
14.      ♬ oh green faced cat=
15.   ->  =there's a lot of black and yellow and red on it too,
16.        (0.9)
17. MO:    mmhmm.
```

In this example, Dan ends the song and seamlessly latches on a spoken extension in line (15) that does a noticing about the other colors painted on the cat. In other examples, Dan's talk provides a commentary on the song itself. Take another look at "Sockie wokies":

```
(29) [9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
4.  DA:     ((modified "The Fireman's Band))
5.        ♬ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
6.          (0.9)
7.        ♬ how I like some sockie wokies
8.          (0.5)
9.  MO:    mm[hm]
10. DA: ♬   [oh] don't [you  really really] think
11. MO:                 [hh heh heh heh heh]
12.          (1.3)
13. DA: ♬ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
14. MO:    hh
15.          (0.3)
16. DA: -> ↑HA HA (0.6) that song didn't wanna come out (.)
```

Dan finishes his song in line (13) and provides an assessment of his production in line (16). In these examples, Dan is the one who is responsible for ending the song, although it is not clear what motivates the switch from singing to speaking. Dan may end extended songs by explicitly saying that he is not singing more, continuing with talk related to the song, or evaluating his performance, but Morgan does not necessarily align with possible endings.

There are three ways in which Dan and Morgan negotiate endings in the data. First, Morgan can contest an ending by pursuing more singing. Second, Dan can resist a possible ending by resuming a song after intervening talk. Finally, Dan and Morgan can produce an ending in unison by co-constructing it. A longer excerpt of "Dabble" than in example (27) demonstrates the first possibility of Morgan pursuing more singing. In this interaction, Dan and Morgan have been talking about slip trailing, a technique for applying raised patterns to ceramics. Dan remarks on his difficulty learning this method of decorating pottery.

```
(30) [3-2014 "Dabble"]
74.  DA:    I literally couldn't
75.         do it
76.  MO:    mmm-hmm (1.5) with practice (3.5) like everything
77.         else it's practice practice practice
78.  DA:    yeah but if: f:or a person who it's not their
79.         business y'know [already] retired heh hih
80.                         [mmmhmm ]
81.  DA:    [huh huh huh huh]
82.  MO:    [huh huh hih hih] hih hih ((sniff))
83.  DA:    there aren't many years left to practice=
84.  MO:    =mmm-hmm
85.         (3.8)
86.  MO: -> yeah and if you're just dabbling (0.5) (to g-)
87.         (0.8)
88.  DA:    yeah
89.         (0.4)
90.  MO:    y- y- you can't spend that time
91.         (0.6)
92.  DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
93.      ->♬ a dabble here and a dabble there=
94.        ♬ here a dabble there a dabble=
95.        ♩ everywhere a dabble dabble
96.         (2.5)
97.  MO:    hih hih hih ((sniff)) hih (.)
98.  DA: -> I won't say the rest of it
99.         (0.6)
100. MO: -> oh go on huh hih hih
101. DA:->♬ old mcdonald had a farm
102.         (0.3)
103.     ->♬ e-i-e-i-o
104.         (3.4)
105. MO: -> what did that got to- to do with pottery (.)
106.        heh hih [hih
107. DA:  ♩       [with a dabble dabble here=
108.        ♬ and a dabble dabble there=
109.        ♩ here a dabble there a dabble=
```

```
110.        ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble .hh
111.        ♫ old mcdonald had a farm
112.          (2.8)
113.    ->♫ and on this farm he had a pottery lab
114.          (.)
115.    ->♫ [e-i-e-i-o]
116. MO:     [huh huh hih hih] hih hih hih (0.6) ((sniff)) hih
117. DA:     {smile] .hh hh .hh {Cough} (.) hhmmm (.)
```

This excerpt shows that both participants have a say in when the song is done. In line (93), Dan recontextualizes Morgan's earlier *dabble* from line (86) in his modified version of "Old McDonald." As discussed earlier, Dan comes to a possible ending of the song with *I won't say the rest of it* in line (98). Morgan does not accept the ending and encourages him to *oh go on* in line (100). Dan extends the song with the typically expected final verse *Old McDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o* in lines (101 and 103). This is another possible ending point, but Morgan again does not treat it as an acceptable one. Morgan pursues an account for the song's relevance in line (105). By asking what the song had to do with pottery, Morgan's "go-ahead" for more singing emerges as more specific than a general request for additional lyrics. Singing the *rest of it* does not just mean any old lyrics in this case but ones that relate to their prior talk. Dan responds by singing with reference to pottery in line (113). The song again comes to a possible completion point with *e-i-e-i-o* in line (115). This time, the song ends. The fact that Morgan pursues more singing and that Dan expands the song to account for its relevance shows that the song's ending is contingent and arrived at jointly. The ending of the song is negotiable, Dan can be held accountable for how the singing relates to the ongoing action, and a lot of interactional work is done to establish progressivity with and after singing sequences.

A second scenario for negotiating an ending is one in which Dan adds an additional singing turn after intervening talk. Returning to the "Turkey vulture" example,

```
(31) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
 5.  DA:     ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
 6.          {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
 7.       ♬ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
 8.          (1.2) {looks up and back down}
 9.       ♬ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.          (2.0)
11.       ♬ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.          (1.1)
13.       ♬ that we should see the turkey vulture
14.          (0.4)
15.  MO:     {sits at table with book} huh hih ((sniff)) (.)
16.  DA:     (°a drink / don't you think°)
17.  MO: -> hh (0.8) don't go out if you're not feeling well hh
18.          (2.5) {Dan looks at Morgan and opens mouth}
19.  DA:     wh(h)at? (.)
20.  MO:     heh huh hah [ha .hh hih huh hih hih hih huh hahahahaha
21.  DA:                 [.hhh HA HA .hhhhhh (H)o(h)k(h)ay .hhhh
22.          (h)I (h)w[(h)on't .hhhhhh] uh huh uh huh .hhh
23.  MO:              [.hh hih hih hih]
24.          (0.5)
25.  DA:->♬ {looking away} oh turkey vulture
26.          (0.7) {Morgan looking in book}
27.  MO:     ↑woah there it i::s {turns book to Dan; he looks at it}
```

Morgan's turn in line (17) comes at a possible transition point that could end Dan's singing. In contrast to previous examples in which Dan switches from singing to speaking, Morgan's turn here possibly ends the song. There is no way to know at this point that Dan has yet to finish. He goes along with the new action sequence, a somewhat morbid joke by Morgan. By doing one last singing turn in line (25), Morgan's joke become an inserted sequence within the song. Dan's final singing turn shows that Dan can treat a song as incomplete by extending singing even after intervening sequences, thus producing an alternate ending.

One final example shows that Dan and Morgan can arrive at an ending together. In "Trip to Kansas City," they co-construct part of the song.

```
(32) [4-2014 "Trip to Kansas City"]
 7.  DA:     ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
 8.       ♬ everything's up to date in kansas ci[ty]
 9.  MO:                                        [hh] hih heh hih
10.          ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
11.       ♬ .hh they've gone about as far as they can g[o]
12.  DA:->♬                                            [GO]::
```

```
13.          (0.6)
14.          that's a really nice song=
15. MO:      =mhmm
```

Dan starts the song in line (8), and Morgan performs a second part in line (11). In an earlier discussion, they have established that neither of them knows more of the lyrics. Morgan's turn in line (11) thus marks a likely end point to the song. Dan, however, enters with the last word *go* with increased loudness and duration in line (12). He does this in overlap with Morgan but not with "perfect" timing for choral singing. In fact, his production is timed to start just after Morgan has started and to extend past it. The timing of his turn makes his *go* the final ending to the song without having to provide additional lyrics. This is a practical solution to prolonging a song and accomplishing its ending.

In summary, a song's ending is not predetermined by a set text, and it is not projected by a preface that signals what will constitute an appropriate ending. Dan and Morgan use a set a practices, verbal and otherwise embodied, to extend a song and negotiate its ending so that they may progress with other talk.

5.3 Response to singing

This final subsection on structure of singing sequences addresses what comes after the closure of singing. A response to singing *is* made relevant, and singing is not treated as a meaningless, repeated verbal "behavior" isolated from the rest of the interaction. There are three general types of responses to a song: (1) responses that take a stance toward the song's structure or content, (2) related talk that is touched off by some element of the song, (3) responses that are made relevant by some action accomplished by the song.

Talk that follows many of the songs in the corpus establishes a stance toward the song. In many cases that I have already discussed, Morgan laughs after the song. Sometimes Morgan laughs when Dan has not. This is what Jefferson calls volunteered laughter, and it comes after a *recognition point* when a recipient recognizes something as laughable. For example,

```
(33) [9-2011 "Sleeping vulture"]
27.  ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
28.      ♫ oh don't you really really think
29.         (2.7)
30.      ♫ vultures should stay asleep
31.         (0.9)
32. MO: -> ha ha ha ha .hh heh ha ha ha hih .hh
33.      -> oh hh (0.5) ↑↘poo::r poo:r vulture hh
```

After Dan sings his song about the vulture, Morgan produces a period of laughter followed by commentary about the joke being made at the vulture's expense. Sometimes, Dan follows Morgan in her laughter. In other words, he displays support of her stance toward the song as laughable, an endorsing move that constitutes affiliation (Mandelbaum, 2013).

Taking a stance can be done in ways other than laughter, and both Morgan and Dan do this with assessments. Some assessments, like laughter, retain a degree of ambiguity regarding what exactly is being assessed. In "Toucan with a red beak," Morgan produces an assessment in the turn after Dan's song.

```
(34) [7-2014 "Toucan with a red beak"]
2. DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
3.      ♫ [toucan] toucan give me your answer true
4.         (.)
5.      ♫ I'm half crazy over the red beak in you
6.         (1.4) {Looks at Morgan as she starts to speak}
7. MO: -> o:h very (0.8) heh very colorful. .h[hh  heh heh]
8. DA:                                        [heh heh heh]
```

Morgan's assessment *very colorful* in line (7) seems designed to speak to Dan's song since it follows his singing, but she could also be commenting on the toucan referred to

in the song. (It appears that Morgan is looking not at the toucan but at papers that she is moving, which goes in favor of the assessment being about the song.) Neither participant questions whether the song or the toucan is the referent for *very colorful* in this example, but the target of assessment unfolds in other interactions. In "Santa Fe," Morgan laughs before assessing the song.

```
(35) [9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
7.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
8.      ♬ .hh oh santa fe old santa fe
9.        (1.2)
10.      ♬ how I love my santa fe=
11. MO:    =mm ↑hmm ↑hmm {quick nod up}
12.        (0.3)
13. DA:  ♬ oh don't you really really think
14.        (0.7)
15.      ♬ that we should take (0.3) a trip to santa fe I thin[k ]
16. MO:                                                      [hh]
17.     -> huh hah (h)oh good[y goody heh]
18. DA:                      [hhhh  hhhh ]
19. MO:    hah hah
20. DA:    heh .hh[h heh heh]
21. MO:           [.hh heh  ] heh heh .hh
22. DA:    oh dear[y].
23. MO:          [o]o[oh dear.]
24. DA: ->         [fool you] didn't I.=
25. MO: -> =oh y[es definitely did          ]{She moves to stand}
26. DA: ->      [you weren't sure what I was] gonna sa[y.]
27. MO:                                              [y-] yeah,
28.        (0.6)
29. DA:    oh the elephant and [the (xxx) ]
30. MO: ->                     [that was a] new variant on the
31.        theme.= {She stands up.}
32. DA: -> =yes. (.)
```

Dan finishes his song in line (15), and Morgan laughs before saying *oh goody goody* in line (17). At this point, it is not obvious what Morgan is assessing or what makes it good. Dan gives a hint with *fool you didn't I* in line (24), suggesting that there was a clever turn of words involved, and Morgan agrees that she was fooled in line (25). Dan expands that *you weren't sure what I was gonna say* in line (26). Dan starts a new sequence about the animals on the table (*oh the elephant and the*) in line (29), but Morgan overlaps with him to end the previous talk about the song. In lines (30-31) she

says *that was a new variant on the theme*, and Dan agrees. Morgan's characterization of the song points to the variation of the text as what makes his singing funny and clever. This example shows that the song's modification, its structural differences from other performances, is on the table for possible assessment. In this case, the assessment starts as vaguely "goody" and emerge as being "goody" on account of being an unpredictable variant as their talk progresses.

Assessments following songs can also be contested. Participants may align with a singing activity without agreeing upon some aspect of its content or structure. Mandelbaum (2013) contrasts *alignment* with *affiliation* in her overview of CA scholarship on storytelling. Participants may disagree on these two orientations to talk. *Alignment* regards the current state of talk, such as participants adjusting to a change in turn-taking to accommodate storytelling. *Affiliation* is about affective stances to events. Mandelbaum explains that "recipients may adopt the teller's stance toward the events, or resist it. Endorsing and/or displaying support of the teller's perspective constitutes affiliation" (p. 500). Although Mandelbaum is referring to storytelling, the concepts of alignment and affiliation are relevant to singing. In the following interaction, Dan completes a song and launches into an evaluation of it.

```
(36) [9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
4.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band))
5.         ♬ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
6.           (0.9)
7.         ♬ how I like some sockie wokies
8.           (0.5)
9.  MO:    mm[hm]
10. DA:    ♬  [oh] don't [you  really really] think
11. MO:                  [hh heh heh heh heh]
12.          (1.3)
13. DA:    ♬ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
14. MO:    hh
15.          (0.3)
16. DA: -> ↑HA HA (0.6) that song didn't wanna come out (.)
17.     -> but it ca[me out.]
```

```
18. MO: ->          [uh yeah] eh [it sort] of came out.
19. DA:                          [heh heh]
20.        heh heh heh
```

In line (16), Dan laughs and then assesses his production of the *sockie wokies* song.

Morgan aligns with the current state of talk by accepting the song's ending. That is, she

does not disagree with the song coming to an end but with his assessment of it as a

rendition that *came out* in line (18). She accomplishes this disaffiliation with Dan's

stance by repeating part of his turn *it came out* with the added qualification that *it sort*

of came out. While not made explicit, it could be that the assessment of Dan's song

production speaks to how well he modified the lyrics while maintaining the

grammatical structure of the song's original lyrics *that we should have another drink*.

In summary, one possible response made relevant by Dan's singing is an assessment of

his song. Song assessments can be made at the get-go and not followed up for more

("Toucan with a red beak"), they can be expanded with more talk ("Santa Fe"), and

they can be contested ("Sockie wokies").

A second possibility following Dan's singing is additional talk touched off by

some element from the song's contents. Dan is often the one who transitions from the

song to related talk. Here are two examples:

```
(37) [9-2014 "Amendment 68"]
3.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
4.        ♫ oh sixty eight oh sixty eight
5.          (1.7)
6.     ->  .hh (.) it's an amendment to the state {their gaze
7.     ->  meets} constitution.


(38) [7-2014 "Carrots and peas"]
15. ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
16.       ♫ oh ca[rrots and p]eas
17. MO:         [and some   ]
18. DA:    {starts to move bowl of carrots and peas closer}
19.       ♫ and carrots and peas=
20.    -> =actually the carrots and peas are good.
```

In "Amendment 68," Dan follows his singing with an informing turn that *sixty eight* in

his song refers to a constitutional amendment. His informing touches off more talk

about politics. Similarly, in "Carrots and peas," the post-song talk assesses the carrots

and peas that are included in his meal, and they go on to talk more about the food and

who prepared it. Morgan does this type of transition to related talk too; here are two

examples:

```
(39) [7-2014 "9:19 am"]
7.   DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
8.        ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
9.          (.) {Dan walks closer to Morgan.}
10.       ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
11. MO: -> I had better go:: and huff and puff,


(40) [7-2014 "No pence"]
2.   DA:    ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
3.        ♫ °I °got °tuppence to spend
4.        ♫ and no pence to lend .hhh
5.          (0.4)
6.   MO:    {turns on light} [↑woops there you go.] hh
7.   DA: ♫                   [and no pence       ]
8.        ♫ to send home to my w<u>i</u>fe
9.          (0.3) {Morgan walks over with meal. Dan looks at her}
10.       ♫ poo:r °wife
11. MO: -> well that is terrible {starts to close window shades
12.          behind Dan} but at least she has credit ca:rds.
```

In "9:19 am," Dan has just repeated the time from a talking clock to the tune of

"Farmer in the Dell." Morgan responds *I had better go and huff and puff*, and this

makes sense with background knowledge that Morgan goes to the gym each morning.

"No pence" requires less inference to understand, but the connection between *no pence*

to send home to my wife poor wife and *well that is terrible but at least she has credit*

cards does require play on literalness. In these four examples, the transition to related

talk is related to action formation (i.e., responding to what the song is doing or

attempting to do) and to concurrent or upcoming activities. The connection of singing

to action is the focus of the next chapter, but I mention it briefly here in the discussion

of options for responding to Dan's singing.

Another response to singing is one made relevant by some action put forth by

the song. Of course, there is not a one-to-one correspondence between form and

function. This means that each song occurrence must be analyzed on a case-by-case

basis for understanding what the song is designed to accomplish and how Morgan

responds to it. In "Gusto," for example, Dan is not just *doing singing* for singing's sake.

```
(41) [5-2014 "Gusto"]
7.  DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
8.        ♫ gusto gusto give me your answer true
9.        (1.3)
10. MO:    mmhmm
11.        (5.5)
12. DA:->♫ I'm half crazy over eating with you {looks to morgan}
13.        (1.7)
14. MO:->♫ well that's very kind of you
```

In line (12), Dan sings *I'm half crazy over eating with you*. Just taken as a song, there

are many possible responses that Morgan could make. Her next turn in line (14),

however, is structured like a response of gratitude to a compliment. Their singing forms

a fairly typical adjacency pair of compliment and thanking. In several other examples,

Morgan responds by providing an account (in response to a complaint done by singing),

pursuing an account (for a request done by singing), and doing her own wordplay or

joke. In the next chapter, I provide a more detailed analysis of what Dan and Morgan

are accomplishing in their interactions with singing.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, Dan's singing is not random but fits systematically within the

sequential organization of interaction. Although the location of Dan's unmodified

singing is more restricted to closings, he performs modified songs as a first pair part, second pair part, and post-expansion. As discussed at length in Chapter 4, Dan sings recontextualized, formulaic texts. Versions of the text, especially published texts and recorded performances, are produced in relatively long chunks (e.g., verses). Yet, there is no guarantee that Dan will produce the "whole" song as it is written in a book or performed on the radio. The length of Dan's singing emerges moment-by-moment. His singing, like talk, can be understood in terms of turn construction units. Dan and Morgan collaboratively work to expand a singing occurrence from a single TCU to multi-unit turns. The song can end after a single "one liner" TCU, or Dan can accomplish a longer, multi-unit song. The ending of a longer song is arrived at jointly and emerges turn-by-turn from a conglomerate of embodied practices that Dan and Morgan systematically deploy. The singing sequence makes relevant a response and furthers progressivity of interaction. In other words, singing is locally occasioned and contingent on surrounding talk and involvement of other participants.

This chapter only scratches the surface of the structure of singing in conversation. Although I have presented evidence that a relatively short first-line of lyrics constitutes an initial TCU, more data are required to analyze the structure of units and turn-taking as a song progresses. There is the possibility that the formulaic nature of lyrical texts projects a potential for "more song" when singing extends further into a verse. Shared knowledge of the formulaic nature of singing may thus have implications for turn-taking when songs are extended. If shared knowledge of lyrical texts does influence the unfolding structure of extended singing in conversation, it would mark a departure from the turn-taking structure of speaking.

Dan's singing also has some structural qualities in common with storytelling. As can happen in storytelling, something in a prior turn touches off singing and may be re-contextualized within the singing turn. There also can be a singing pre-sequence in the form of a pre-singing turn that projects an upcoming singing turn (as in "Kansas City"), although this is not common in the data collection. One participant, in this case Morgan, may align as a recipient to the singing and forward singing with continuers and laughter. Further turns may evaluate the singing, continue to establish a stance regarding its construction, or touch off talk related to the song. Jefferson (1978) writes, "Stories emerge from turn-by-turn talk, that is are locally occasioned by it, and upon their completion, stories re-engage turn-by-turn talk, that is, are sequentially implicative for it" (p. 220). In this general sense, singing is like storytelling in that while both may be marked as something different from ordinary talk, neither is a disjunctive artifact produced outside of conversation.

Dan's singing also differs significantly from the structure of storytelling. Beside the obvious difference between the vocal manner of delivery, Dan's singing differs from storytelling in the lack of preface that accounts for the relevance of the singing for the talk at hand. Jefferson (1978) observes,

> The local occasioning of a story by ongoing turn-by-turn talk can have two discrete aspects: (a) A story is "triggered" in the course of turn-by-turn talk. That is, something said at a particular moment in conversation can remind a participant (speaker or hearer) of a particular story, which may or may not be "topically coherent" with the talk in progress. (b) A story is methodically introduced into turn-by-turn talk. That is, techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and prior talk and thus account for, and propose the appropriateness of, the story's telling. (p. 220)

In almost all cases Dan launches into singing without any work to expose its "topical coherence." Not having a preface also means that Dan does not provide clues to what

Morgan can expect in the song. Co-participants are able to monitor a story for where it is appropriate to produce subsequent talk based on a characterization of the story typically found in the story preface (e.g. "funny," "sad," "exciting," etc.). Goodwin (1995b, pp. 126-127) calls those characterizations *prospective indexical expressions* because "they point to other talk where the particular event that constitutes the funny, sad or exciting thing being recounted in the current telling is to be found" in the upcoming story. The *prospective indexical* provides recipients with a template for interpreting the story and for anticipating the structure of the story so that they may determine when the story has ended and how to respond to it. Dan does not project the structure of his singing in this way. Without a prospective indexical in a preface to guide interpretation of the song's intended meaning and ending, the song's structure is negotiated turn-by-turn. In the next chapter, I turn to what Dan is accomplishing by singing.

CHAPTER VI

FUNCTION OF SINGING

This chapter analyzes what Dan is *doing* with singing. The CA approach to action is grounded "in the enchronic frame of face-to-face interaction," (Enfield, 2013, p 83). The goal of analysis is to un-package what participants are accomplishing through detailed examination of the design of the turn in question, its location within an on-going sequence, and how following turns respond to it. In this chapter, I describe actions or "main jobs" that Dan accomplishes with singing, such as complimenting and complaining, and also "less 'official' business" that the participants attend to, such as managing distribution of knowledge (Levinson, 2013, p. 107). Most broadly, Dan does humor with singing, and this is an important way that he participates in interaction. The humor of Dan's singing is an interactional achievement, and it contributes to his situational construction of self as a funny and clever person. Humor can also contribute to the achievement of other actions, and the humorous key of his singing helps dissipate disaffiliation in sequences that are characterized by *dispreference*. I also describe examples of Dan using singing to express appreciation and gratitude. Dan's singing in these contexts work towards building affiliation and closeness.

Dan also sings in response to noticing or informing turns that make a claim to knowledge and turns that claim rights to decision-making. I analyze these singing instances in relation to epistemic and deontic authority respectively. *Epistemic authority* is the right to claim or demonstrate knowledge of something (Thompson et al., 2015). Informing and noticing turns make claims to knowledge, and the knowledge is

presented as generated in the here-and-now (a noticing) or as comparatively long-held (an informing). Another participant's claim to epistemic authority, in certain situations, exposes changes in Dan's cognition when they involve things that he no longer participates in, such as dealing with electronics or running a household. These noticing and informing turns index knowledge but, crucially, they indirectly point to his need for assistance with everyday activities due to his cognitive decline. Dan's singing recognizes receipt of information by appropriating part of the noticing/informing turn without taking much of a stance towards his own knowledge about it. This practice allows him to subtly and indirectly resist being positioned as a person who needs to be cared for by repositioning himself from "person with dementia" to "jokester," through wordplay.

Participants also negotiate *deontic rights* to determine courses of action in everyday interaction (Stevanovic, 2013a). Similar to how Dan sings following informing turns regarding knowledge, Dan also sings following turns that put forth next activities. I argue that Dan's singing treats announcements of activities as proposals for him to approve and thus constitutes a shift in the participants' deontic stances relative to each other.

Finally, Dan uses singing to change the trajectory of talk to return to a previous element of talk or to touch off new talk. There is a pattern of Dan redirecting talk away from things that are more challenging for him cognitively (memory, high-level planning for trips and finances, problem solving for electronics) and toward more concrete information and accessible objects that are in the immediate environment. Morgan is now responsible for completing complex tasks and running the household.

When Dan's funny songs shift talk away from those activities to return to a prior

element of talk or to open a new sequence, he redirects talk to things that he participates

in more while positioning himself as funny.

6.1 Singing touched off by a song's title or lyrics

Singing can be an unexceptional turn in everyday interaction. One can imagine

someone directly requesting a singing or asking how a song "goes," or a singing could

be made relevant by someone's announcement of having forgotten the lyrics to a song.

There are no examples of such explicit invitations for Dan to sing in my data. There are

however, less "strong" examples in which singing is touched off by a song title. In one

situation, Morgan is showing me an old book of songs. Some of these songs are very

familiar to Dan, and he sings twice during the course of the interaction. In the following

segment, Morgan has just finished telling the story of how she acquired the book, and

she is now reading notes about songs and their page numbers that a previous owner had

written on the inside cover.

```
(1) [3-2014 "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"]
16. MO:    and someone had written in it camptown
17.        races page thirty eight (.) s- u:h (0.3) she'll (1.0)
18.     -> she'll coming I guess that's she'll be coming around
19.        the mountain page five and aunt rhody page nineteen,
20.        .hh so I think it probly belo:nged to like a girl
21.        scout leader
22. RF:    oh yeah,
23.        (1.0)
24. MO:    u::m (0.4) but (.) it was the eighth printing was may
25.        nineteen sixty. {She closes the book and puts it down}
26.        (0.8)
27. DA: -> ((modified "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"))
28.     ♫ she'll be coming around the corner when she comes {Dan's
29.        eyes flash to RF who is looking around corner of wall,
30.        out of view of camera} (1.0)
31.     ♫ she'[ll be driving six white horses]
32. MO:       [so    that    was    (.)    PRIN]TED SIXTY FOUR YEARS
33.        ago that book. (.){She picks up and looks at her phone}
34. DA: ♫ she'll be driving six white horses=
```

```
35.        ♫ she'll be driving six white horses (0.7)
36.        ♫ she'll be driving six white horses when she comes
37.        ♫ °bum °bum °bum °bum=
38. MO:    =yeah. {without looking up from her phone}
```

In the start of this excerpt, Morgan reads out faint handwriting on the inside cover of the book that lists several songs and their page numbers. One of those songs is "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain" in lines (18-19). The overall project for Morgan, it seems, is to tell a history of the book that includes surmising who might have previously owned it (*like a girl scout leader*) based on song titles noted on the inside cover. Morgan goes on to give the printing (*May 1960*) in lines (24-25). Dan, however, has taken the song title back in lines (18-19) as sufficient for warranting a performance of the song, and in line (27) he starts to sing a modified version of the "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain." Morgan continues to talk about the age of the book in overlap with his singing, and only minimally responds to his performance with *yeah* in line (41) without looking up at him. Although Morgan does not align with the singing in this instance, this excerpt illustrates that another participant's production of a song title can touch off a performance of it.

Unfortunately, there are no examples in the data in which Morgan aligns with Dan's singing after she produces a song title. There is an instance of Morgan singing after Dan produces a title, and Dan strongly aligns with her singing.

```
(2) [3-2014 "No more meetings"]
5.  DA:    mmm. (0.9) I'm gonna try to get up. {Starts moving}
6.         (0.3)
7.  MO:    mmhmm. (2.2) [well you have no meetings to go to.  ]
8.  DA:                 [{Dan stops moving and attends to her}]
9.         {Dan shakes his head}
10. MO:    nothing to do.
11.        (0.9)
12. DA:    no meetings? {gazing at her with raised eyebrows}
13.        (0.8)
14. MO:    no meetings.
15.        (5.2) {He has sifted gaze down with a "thinking face" –
```

```
16.          licking and pinching together lips}
17. DA: -> what's that song there's a meeting here to[night?]
18. MO:                                              [heh  ] (.)
19.          hih heh yeah. .hh heh hih
20. DA: -> {He starts moving again, preparing to stand}
21. MO: -> ((unmodified "There's a Meeting Here Tonight"))
22.      ♫ th(h)ere's a meeting here tonight .hh
23.      -> {Dan halts his moving-to-stand trajectory}
24.      ♫ I could see by your friendly face=
25.      ♫ there's a meeting here tonight
26.         (2.3)
27. DA:->♫ oh there's a MEETING HERE TONIGHT .HH
28.      ♫ THERE'S A MEETING HERE TONIGHT
29.         (0.4)
30.         THERE'S A LOT OF DRIVE IN THAT [SONG]
31. MO:                                   [hh  ]
32. DA:     {Starts moving again}
33. MO:     (h)OH TH(h)ERE REALLY IS, .hh YOU COULD USE IT FOR ANY
34.         SORT OF GET TOGETH[ER. ]
35. DA: ->                   [yep.] {Stands all the way up}
```

In "No more meetings," Morgan and Dan's sequence about meetings in lines (7-14) touches off Dan's inquiry about a song with "meeting" in the title in line (17). Morgan laughs and agrees with his recollection of the title. She continues by singing the song, starting in line (21). At the start of this excerpt, Dan was starting to close the interaction and leave. He had stopped his standing trajectory during the "meetings" sequence but started standing before Morgan's song. Dan halts his movement again after she starts singing in line (23), and he performs an even louder version of the song than hers in lines (27-28). After they finish singing and evaluating the song, Dan completely stands up, and they adjourn. In this example, Dan aligns with Morgan's singing by attending to her performance, interrupting his standing trajectory, and performing parts of the song after her. Dan and Morgan thus orient to singing as an appropriate response to a song title. Without more data, I can only presume that saying a song title is a common practice for inviting a singing event.

6.2 Doing humor and wordplay

Humor is a major function of Dan's singing. In section 3 of Chapter 5, I

demonstrated that a response to Dan's singing is made relevant and that laughter is one

possible response. Jefferson (1979) compares structurally and sequentially distinct

types of recipient laughter. *Volunteered laughter* is produced after a *recognition point*,

which is a moment when a recipient recognizes that laughter is warranted. A recipient

produces *speaker-invited laughter* after a speaker's end-of-turn or within turn laughter.

There are many examples of Dan and Morgan treating Dan's singing as humorous

using both types of laughter. The laughter may be volunteered laughter as in "Sleeping

vulture."

```
(3) [9-2011 "Sleeping vulture"]
27. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
28.      ♬ oh don't you really really think
29.        (2.7)
30.      ♬ vultures should stay asleep
31.        (0.9)
32. MO: -> ha ha ha ha .hh heh ha ha ha hih .hh
33.        oh hh (0.5) ↑↘poo::r poo:r vulture hh
34. DA: -> heh heh heh hah
```

After Dan sings his song about the vulture, Morgan produces a period of laughter in

line (32). Dan aligns with her stance toward the song with his own laughter in line (34).

In "Sleeping vulture," Morgan laughs after a short gap, but she does not always wait

until the end of the song to laugh. Lerner (1996, p. 259) writes that "a recipient need

not delay affiliation until next turn" with laughter. Indeed, in "Plug it in," Morgan

laughs throughout most of Dan's singing.

```
(4) [9-2011 "Plug it in"]
10. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
11.      ♬ oh plug it in [oh plug it in]
12. MO: ->              [heh heh heh heh] hih hih .hh hih
13. RF:     [hhhh         ]
14. DA:  ♬ [oh isn't Roy] nice
15. MO: -> hh hih [hih hih heh ha]
```

```
16. DA:  ♫         [to plug it in ]
17.           (0.6)
18.       ♫ oh don't you really really think
19. MO: -> hih
20.           (0.4)
21. DA:   ♫ (that you should plug the phone in)
```

In this instance, Morgan starts laughing before the end of Dan's first singing turn in line

(12), and her laugh tokens continue intermittently past the end of his last intelligible

singing turn in line (19). Her laughter in overlap demonstrates her understanding of his

singing as funny, from near its onset.

In addition to volunteered laughter, Morgan sometimes replies to Dan's singing

with a joke of her own. Here are two examples.

```
(5) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
10. DA:   ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
11.       ♫ oh don't you really really think
12.           (1.1)
13.       ♫ that we should see the turkey vulture
14.           (0.4)
15. MO:   {sits at table with book} huh hih ((sniff)) (.)
16. DA:   (°a drink / don't you think°)
17. MO: -> hh (0.8) don't go out if you're not feeling well hh
18.           (2.5) {Dan looks at Morgan and opens mouth}
19. DA:   wh(h)at? (.)
20. MO:   heh huh hah [ha .hh hih huh hih hih hih huh hahahahaha
21. DA:              [.hhh HA HA .hhhhhh (H)o(h)k(h)ay .hhhh
22.       (h)I (h)w[(h)on't .hhhhhh] uh huh uh huh .hhh
23. MO:            [.hh hih hih hih]


(6) [7-2014 "No pence"]
2.  DA:   ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
3.        ♫ °I °got °tuppence to spend
4.        ♫ and no pence to lend .hhh
5.            (0.4)
6.  MO:   {turns on light} [↑woops there you go.] hh
7.  DA: ♫                  [and no pence        ]
8.        ♫ to send home to my wife
9.            (0.3) {Morgan walks over with meal. Dan looks at her}
10.       ♫ poo:r °wife
11. MO: -> well that is terrible {starts to close window shades
12.     -> behind Dan} but at least she has credit ca:rds.
13.           (1.4)  {Dan turns head straight ahead}
14. DA:   pardon? {blinks slowly and keeps mouth open}
15. MO:   hh heh hih ha ha ha hih ha .hhh
16. DA:   °heh
```

In both these cases, Morgan makes a humorous remark related to Dan's song immediate after he finishes singing. In "Turkey vulture," Morgan's morbid turn *don't go out if you're not feeling well* in line (17) expands upon Dan's song turn *we should see the turkey vulture*. Her joke is met with astonishment (*wh(h)at* in line (19)) and a great deal of laughter in this case (see Selting, 1996, on "astonished" questions in contrast to repair of hearing and understanding in German). Dan does not laugh as much at Morgan's joke in the second example, but they have both been joking at the other's expense. Dan ends his song about not having any money, or pence, for his wife with *poor wife* in line (10). Morgan's response starts by lamenting the problem but then provides the upside that *at least she has credit cards* in lines (11-12). Dan performs surprise or astonishment with *pardon* and by slow blinking with an open mouth posture.[22] Morgan then laughs. In these two examples, Morgan responds to Dan's singing by doing a joke. Jokes can come in tit-for-tat succession, and Morgan's in-kind humorous responses are further evidence that some of Dan's songs are designed to be and taken as funny.

There is evidence that Dan and Morgan orient to wordplay within the song's original structure as constituting humor. The participants 'retrospective' characterizations of songs in "Santa Fe" provides evidence.

```
(7) [9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
7.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
8.       ♫ .hh oh santa fe old santa fe
9.         (1.2)
```

[22] Dan produces repair initiators after Morgan's humorous comments in both of these examples. However, based on their prosody, his following laughter, and Morgan's response, his turns appear to be doing astonishment or surprise and not repair of hearing or understanding. See Selting, 1996, for an analysis of "astonished" questions in German. Also, note that Dan frequently responds to jokes (especially jokes that are morbid, rude, or made at his expense) with repair initiators followed by laughter in the corpus.

```
10.        ♬ how I love my santa fe=
11. MO:    =mm ↑hmm ↑hmm {quick nod up}
12.        (0.3)
13. DA:    ♬ oh don't you really really think
14.        (0.7)
15.        ♬ that we should take (0.3) a trip to santa fe I thin[k ]
16. MO:                                                           [hh]
17.     -> huh hah (h)oh good[y goody heh]
18. DA:                       [hhhh  hhhh ]
19. MO:    hah hah
20. DA:    heh .hh[h heh heh]
21. MO:           [.hh heh  ] heh heh .hh
22. DA:    oh dear[y].
23. MO:           [o]o[oh dear.]
24. DA: ->        [fool you] didn't I.=
25. MO:    =oh y[es definitely did       ]{She moves to stand}
26. DA: ->      [you weren't sure what I was] gonna sa[y.]
27. MO:                                               [y-] yeah,
28.        (0.6)
29. DA:    oh the elephant and [the (xxx) ]
30. MO: ->                     [that was a] new variant on the
31.        theme.= {She stands up.}
32. DA:    =yes. (.)
```

After Dan finishes singing, Morgan volunteers laughter in line (17) and says *oh goody goody*. Dan joins in her laughter, and in line (24) says *fool you didn't I*. Morgan agrees, and Dan expands that with *you weren't sure what I was gonna say* in line (26). Morgan again agrees and expands *that was a new variant on the theme* in lines (30-31). Both Morgan and Dan have treated the song as laughable. Their turns indicate that a laughable song can *fool you* because you won't be sure what he is *gonna say.* These representations suggest that part of the fun of Dan's singing is anticipating how he is going to make *a new variant on the theme* by modifying a recognizable song text. Dan and Morgan are thus orienting to Dan's singing as a performance of a recurrent text. Their assessment of the performance implicitly recognizes prior performance (i.e., a *new variant* implies previous variants). His performance has value, in part, by the novelty and creativity in which he recontextualizes the text by changing elements based on surrounding talk. In other words, humor hinges on unpredictability within a

formulaic sequence and on his competent performance of clever modifications.

This example is a piece of evidence towards answering why Dan bothers to do the cognitive processing work of modifying formulaic sequences that are intrinsically predictable (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012). His wordplay has potential interactional value by doing witty humor. Over time, as Dan and Morgan establish affiliation by jointly taking the stance that his singing is humorous and/or clever, Dan's temporary participant role as a funny singer in variant performances accumulates. This process of *stance accretion* constructs a more durable identity, such as "jokester," through indexical links between performance and meaning based on linguistic ideologies (i.e., beliefs and values about who produces what sort of language; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).[23]

Morgan does not always align with Dan's stance towards humor. This type of disalignment can be accomplished by withholding laughter. Morgan's absence of laughter is especially salient after Dan invites her to laugh. Jefferson (1979, p. 93) writes, "One technique for inviting laughter is the placement, by speaker, of a laugh just at completion of utterance, and one technique for accepting that invitation is the placement, by recipient, of a laugh just after onset of speaker's laughter." A co-participant, however, does not have to accept the invitation to laugh. For example, in "Sockie wokies," Morgan volunteers laughter at the start of the song but does not join Dan in laughing afterwards.

```
(8) [9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
4.  DA:    ((modified "Fireman's Band))
5.         ♬ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
6.           (0.9)
7.         ♬ how I like some sockie wokies
8.           (0.5)
```

---

[23] Perhaps "funny guy" or some other alternative is more suitable than "jokester" since Dan's songs are not precisely jokes.

```
 9.  MO:     mm[hm]
10.  DA:   ♫   [oh] don't [you  really really] think
11.  MO: ->                [hh heh heh heh heh]
12.         (1.3)
13.  DA:   ♫ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
14.  MO:     hh
15.         (0.3)
16.  DA: -> ↑HA HA (0.6) that song didn't wanna come out (.)
17.      -> but it ca[me out.]
18.  MO: ->          [uh yeah] eh [it sort] of came out.
19.  DA: ->                       [heh heh]
20.      -> heh heh heh
```

Morgan volunteers laughter in the midst of Dan's singing in line (11). At this moment, she appears to take the position that his singing is humorous. Dan's laughter after the song is finished in line (16) makes her laughter relevant again. Morgan does not immediately laugh, and Dan continues with *that song didn't wanna come out but it came out* in lines (16-17). Jefferson explains that one technique to decline an invitation to laugh is with recipient talk that does "serious pursuit of topic as a counter to the pursuit of laughter" (Jefferson, 1979, p. 93). Dan's *it came out* turn provides an alternative route for Morgan, and she declines to laugh by responding to Dan's assessment of the song's construction. Dan's songs make relevant some kind of assessment or doing of appreciation, and laughter is only one type of evaluation that might be used. In this example, Morgan does an alternative evaluation by withholding laughter and producing a second assessment of the song's construction.

Morgan's stance in "Sockie wokies" also illustrates that the humor of Dan's performance is not pre-determined by the "original" song text. Morgan can shift her evaluation of Dan's singing as the song unfolds. She accomplishes her change of stance by initially volunteering laughter and later failing to laugh when it becomes relevant again. Based on her initial volunteered laughter in line (11), Morgan treats the start of the song as funny. She changes her stance at the end of the song by withholding

laughter and with her counter that *it sort of came out*. A funny text does not guarantee a funny performance by a funny guy. Dan's humor is emergent and contingent on the unfolding structure of his performance and the stance others take towards it. The laughability of his performance – and as a consequence, his role as a jokester or funny guy – is an accomplishment at every turn.

In summary, doing humor is one of the primary things that Dan accomplishes with singing. In Chapter 5, I described several kinds of turns that can come in the evaluation "slot" after singing, including assessments (e.g., *oh very heh very colorful* in "Toucan with a red beak," *oh goody goody* and *that was a new variant on the theme* in "Santa Fe," and whether the song *came out* or *sort of came out* in "Sockie wokies"). The assessment often includes laughter. A song's laughability may depend on how well Dan maintains a balance between preserving the form of the original text (e.g., syllabic structure, syntactic structure, and final rhyme) and providing unique modifications. Humor may also depend on how well the song reflects semantic themes of the prior discourse, parallel and upcoming activities, and physical environment. For this reason, evaluation of the song may include reference to the song's relevance to ongoing talk (e.g., *what did that got to do with pottery* in "Dabble"), the construction of the song (e.g., *that song didn't wanna come out* in "Sockie wokies"), and unpredictability of the wordplay (e.g., *fool you didn't I* in "Santa Fe"). Dan and Morgan often treat Dan's singing as laughable, but Morgan does not always align with Dan's stance toward his singing. The humor of Dan's singing is an interactional accomplishment that is not guaranteed by the original text, and its achievement contributes to Dan's situational construction of self and to how their long-standing relationship is manifested in

interaction. In following sections, I present evidence of other actions that Dan accomplishes with singing. Of course, humor can contribute to the achievement of other actions. In the next section, we will see that it is the very element of humor that helps to dissipate disaffiliation.

6.3 Closing to re-establish affiliation

As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, Dan sometimes makes a bid to close sequences by singing. That chapter focused on the sequential position of singing, whereas this chapter focuses on what the participants accomplish with singing. Accordingly, I argue here that Dan at times uses singing to close sequences that are characterized by *dispreference* in order to redirect the interaction toward affiliation. The concept of *preference* can be used in reference to turn-design. Sidnell (2010, p. 87) gives contrastive examples of "You didn't like that much, did you," which has a *design-based preference* for a "no" response and "You liked that, didn't you," which is designed for a "yes" response. Preference can also relate to norms of sequence progression such that a preferred response promotes progression. For instance, the *action-type preference* of an invitation is an acceptance (Sidnell, 2010). Responses may be designed with features that project dispreference, such as delays, palliatives, accounts, and pro-forma agreement. The notion of preference is relevant to singing because participants in Frick's (2013) Finnish language data use singing to end sequences that include signs of dispreference, such as being silent after a story and not granting requests.

The "Dabble" excerpt illustrates that Dan uses singing for similar ends in

English. In this clip, Dan and Morgan have been talking about what makes slip trailing

such a difficult technique for decorating pottery.

```
(9) [3-2014 "Dabble"]
74.  DA: -> boy I tell you I couldn't do it (.) I literally
75.         couldn't do it
76.  MO: -> mmm-hmm (1.5) with practice (3.5) like everything
77.      -> else it's practice practice practice
78.  DA: -> yeah but if: f:or a person who it's not their
79.      -> business y'know [already] retired heh hih
80.                         [mmmhmm ]
81.  DA:    [huh huh huh huh]
82.  MO:    [huh huh hih hih] hih hih ((sniff))
83.  DA: -> there aren't many years left to practice=
84.  MO:    =mmm-hmm
85.         (3.8)
86.  MO: -> yeah and if you're just dabbling (0.5) (to g-)
87.         (0.8)
88.  DA:    yeah
89.         (0.4)
90.  MO:    y- y- you can't spend that time
91.         (0.6)
92.  DA: -> ((modified "Old McDonald"))
93.       ♫ a dabble here and a dabble there=
94.       ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
95.       ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble
96.         (2.5)
97.  MO:    hih hih hih ((sniff)) hih (.)
98.  DA:    I won't say the rest of it
99.         (0.6)
100. MO:    oh go on huh hih hih
101. DA:  ♫ old mcdonald had a farm
102.        (0.3)
103.      ♫ e-i-e-i-o
104.        (3.4)
105. MO: -> what did that got to- to do with pottery (.)
106.        heh hih [hih
107. DA:  ♫         [with a dabble dabble here=
108.      ♫ and a dabble dabble there=
109.      ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
110.      ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble .hh
111.      ♫ old mcdonald had a farm
112.        (2.8)
113.      ♫ and on this farm he had a pottery lab
114.        (.)
115.      ♫ [e-i-e-i-o]
116. MO: -> [huh huh hih hih] hih hih hih (0.6) ((sniff)) hih
117. DA: -> {smile} .hh hh .hh {Cough} (.) hhmmm (.)
```

Dan started ceramics as a hobby following retirement. He quickly advanced in skill and

took a part-time job making glazes and assisting in pottery classes. Earlier in this

interaction, Dan and Morgan have disagreed about what makes slip trailing difficult to master. At the start of this excerpt, Dan starts with *boy I tell you* in line (74) that indicates something newsworthy is coming. The rest of his turn continues with *I couldn't do it* that he repeats with an intensifier *I literally couldn't do it*. Dan's turn could be heard as a complaint about the difficulty of slip trailing or as a trouble with learning the technique. Morgan's response *with practice like everything else it's practice practice practice* in lines (76-77) resists his troubles talk. Drew & Holt (1998) describe the use of idiomatic, clichéd, and proverbial expressions in complaint sequences in which speakers do not assume a recipient's affiliation or sympathy. Although Morgan is a recipient of Dan's complaint here, Morgan deploys her "commonsense" *practice practice practice* in a context of disagreement and withheld affiliation. Morgan's response presents Dan with a predicament. On the one hand, a skill that requires *practice practice practice* suggests a level of difficulty that could account for why Dan was not able to master it. On the other hand, if slip trailing is *like everything else*, then Dan simply did not practice enough to do it successfully. Dan could simply agree with Morgan and allow closure of the sequence, but instead he resists her formulation. Proverbs and similar formulaic expressions possibly "have some special resistance to being challenged" (Drew & Holt, 1988, p.411). These types of expressions often achieve affiliative responses because of their generality and taken-for-granted knowledge, but Kitzinger (2000) argues that speakers have strategies to resist affiliation. One strategy is to resist an idiom's generality through particularization. Dan employs this strategy by starting an account and disagreement with *yeah but* in lines (78-79). His response provides a justification for why he could not practice

enough: for a person who is already retired *there aren't many years left to practice*. His turn resists the vagueness and generality of *like everything else it's practice practice practice* by pointing to particular circumstances that render practice inapplicable or at least unattainable. Morgan aligns with this account in line (86) with a post-expansion *yeah and if you're just dabbling;* her word choice presents Dan with another interactional problem. *Dabbling* accounts for why Dan *couldn't do it* because a person who dabbles lacks the commitment to practice to expertise. After a pause, Dan minimally responds with *yeah,* and after another pause Morgan slightly adjusts her characterization away from someone who lacks seriousness to someone who *can't* spend that time. Rather than overtly contesting her assessment that he was *just dabbling*, Dan takes up *dabble* for a rendition of "Old McDonald." Morgan's turn in line (105) calls into question the relevance of Dan's singing to their talk at hand, but his final ending *on this farm he had a pottery lab e-i-e-i-o* appears to secure her alignment with laughter.

Frick (2013) describes how participants in one of her videos follow singing with smiles, laughter, and other sound making. She argues that this "affiliative joint activity" builds rapport and distances them "from the context of dispreferred actions" without calling for continuation of the sequence (p.250). The "Dabble" excerpt is comparable. The interaction has elements of dispreference and disagreement: dispreference by blocking progression of troubles talk, overt disagreement about slip-trailing, and conflicting characterizations over degree of involvement in pottery. Dan's singing ends the interaction on a humorous key. Dan smiles after Morgan laughs, and they close the sequence that explicitly talks about his involvement with slip trailing and pottery.

Dan and Morgan's talk about slip trailing has overt elements of disagreement, but

some cases in the corpus are more subtle. In the following example, Dan and Morgan

have been talking about preparations for an upcoming trip, and Morgan has a long list of

things to do in front of her.

```
(10) [7-2014 "Costco"]
1.          {Dan is looking at the meal he is eating.
2.          Morgan shifts her gaze to him as she starts speaking.}
3.   MO:    hh ↘so hh I was going to get you:r passport photo
4.          taken today.
5.          (0.3)
6.   DA:    o:h.
7.   MO:    we'll have to do that tomorrow. (2.1) o:r whenever.
8.          {She looks away from him and at her nails}
9.          (1.2)
10.  DA:    °mmm.
11.         (1.1)
12.  MO:    you know we've got {Dan shifts gaze to her} three (.)
13.         working  {She looks back to him} da:ys {Dan nods} (1.2)
14.         before we lea:ve but (0.8) i- ya know we can fit it in
15.         somewhere around all the other jobs.
16.         (9.2) {Morgan looks down at the table. Dan looks
17.         straight ahead and at meal.}
18.  DA: -> {Dan's eyes flash to photo envelope that has Costco
19.      -> written on the cover} we get those at the costco do we?
20.         (0.8)
21.  MO:    ↑oh that would be an idea, (5.7) {writes on to do list}
22.         yeah.
23.         (4.8)
24.  DA:    thank you for the mea[l morgan      ]
25.  MO: ->                      [that gives you] {She is looking
26.      -> back at him}(1.3) an excuse to go there
27.      -> (0.7){She continues looking at him. He smiles but
28.         doesn't shift his gaze from the plate.}
29.  MO: -> hh heh ha ha [ha  ]
30.  DA: ->              [°heh]
31.  MO: -> °heh°heh .hhh m[m].
32.  DA:    ((modified "Bicycle built for two"))
33.      ♫                 [c]ostco costco give me your answer true
34.         {She looks away from him))
35.         (4.9)
36.         {Dan looks at Morgan just before she starts singing}
37.  MO:->♫ dan just wants to have a hotdog (.) from you
38.  DA:    {nods}
```

The excerpt starts with Morgan talking about her plans to have Dan's passport photo

taken in preparation for a trip in lines (1-15). Dan only minimally responds during this

segment of talk, and they lapse into a period of silence. During this time, Morgan is

looking down at the table, so she likely does not see Dan's eyes flash to the Costco

photograph envelope before he says *we get those at the costco do we?* in lines (18-19).

His turn is in the form of a tag question, but Morgan takes it as a proposal and not an

inquiry. She starts her turn with the change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984), marking

his proposal as something new or indicating a potential change in plan, and she at least

tentatively accepts the proposal with *that would be an idea* in line (21). She then writes

something on her to-do list and confirms *yeah*, and it is possible that she is noting

Costco as the location for taking the photograph. This is a possible ending to a

proposal-acceptance sequence, and Dan starts up a new sequence with an expression of

gratitude *thank you for the meal morgan*. His turn is sequentially deleted, however, by

Morgan's post-expansion account in lines (25-26) for Dan's proposal. Morgan's turn

that gives you an excuse to go there posits an ulterior motive for going to Costco.

Going to Costco is a recurrent theme in the data, and it is well established that Dan

likes to go to there for food like hotdogs, pizza, and ice cream. Partway through her

account, Morgan shifts her gaze to Dan, and she continues looking at him during a brief

(0.7) pause and while laughing in line (29). As I mentioned earlier, end-of-turn laughter

is speaker-inviting laughter (Jefferson, 1979), but Dan only minimally treats her turn as

laughable. He produces a quiet, single laugh burst *heh* in line (30) while Morgan

continues quietly laughing. Morgan's continued gaze and laughter after her *excuse*

account indicates that she is pursuing more laughter or confirmation. Dan does not

upgrade his display of alignment, but he also does not increase resistance to her stance.

Instead, he sings *costco costco give me your answer true* in line (33). Morgan extends

the song with a second turn in line (37) that makes more explicit her account of Dan's

real motivation. By singing that Dan *just wants to have a hotdog from you*, Morgan negates any other reason for wanting to go to Costco. We, of course, cannot know his "true" intentions. However, Dan's earlier eye flash to the Costco photo envelope before his proposal is a clue that he was processing information from his environment that is directly related to Costco and photographs.

Like with Morgan's use of *dabble*, her account for Dan's proposal presents him with another dilemma no matter what his intentions were. He could agree with the food motivation, and such a move would highlight their closeness by affirming their shared knowledge of his preferences. Yet by doing so, he would diminish his contribution to planning for the trip, which is a high level task that he does not usually engage in. It is also possible that her account is hearable as a complaint, and aligning with her account would accept that complaint. Whatever his reason, Dan does not immediately respond to her account. Morgan pursues a response with her sustained gaze and laughter. An affiliative response would be to join in her laughter and even agree with her "ulterior motive" account (e.g., "You know me too well" or "I almost got away with it."). By singing, Dan takes a middle ground without affirming or denying her account. Dan again only minimally agrees with a nod to Morgan's final sung account about the hotdog, and the sequence closes. Dan then opens talk about animal shaped bowls on the table and expresses great appreciation for them and for Morgan having bought them. Dan's talk quickly moves the interaction away from any dissonance and towards affiliation. "Dabble" and "Costco" illustrate that Dan does use singing to end sequences marked by dispreference. However, most of Dan and Morgan's interaction do not have

this degree of disafilliation. In notable contrast to the two examples in this section, Dan often sings to do appreciation, an action we will take up in the next section.

6.4 Doing appreciation and gratitude

There are multiple examples of Dan singing to accomplish appreciation and gratitude in the data. In the most transparent examples, Dan explicitly identifies the person or the action that he appreciates. For instance, in "Gusto," Dan is partway through eating his meal. The previous talk about local traffic has closed, and this excerpt begins after a brief lapse in conversation.

```
(11) [5-2014 "Gusto"]
1.   DA:    I'm slowing down Morgan. (0.5) getting full.
2.   MO:    mmm?
3.          (9.1)
4.      ->  ((sniff)) well you've attacked that with gusto.
5.   DA:    ((closed mouth laugh))
6.          (4.6)
7.   DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
8.        ♫ gusto gusto give me your answer true
9.          (1.3)
10.  MO:    mmhmm
11.          (5.5)
12.  DA:->♫ I'm half crazy over eating with you {looks to morgan}
13.          (1.7)
14.  MO:->♫ well that's very kind of you
15.          (0.5)
16.  DA:    °huh °huh
```

In line (1), Dan announces that he is *slowing down* with his meal and *getting full*. Morgan's continuer in line (2) invites Dan to say more, but he doesn't after a 9.1 second gap. Morgan then does a noticing about Dan's manner of eating *well you've attacked that with gusto* that could account for why he is slowing down and getting full. Dan could simply agree with her, or he could account for why he ate that way (e.g., with an assessment about the meal or an informing about his hunger). Dan goes down the latter path with the second part of his song *I'm half crazy over eating with you* in

line (12). Morgan treats his singing as a compliment with *well that's very kind of you* in

line (14).

Dan also expresses gratitude for things people do. For example, in "Plug it in,"

Morgan and Dan have been getting ready to go to the store. Morgan suggested that they

bring their cameras with them and has just asked me why the camera is blinking. I have

discovered that the camera batteries have almost died.

```
(12) [9-2011 "Plug it in"]
5.   RF: -> I should prolly just turn it u- (.) upstairs and
6.       -> plug it in
7.   DA:    oh [plug i]t in
8.   MO:       [yeah  ]
9.          (0.3)
10.  DA:     ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
11.       ♫ oh plug it in [oh plug it in]
12.  MO:                  [heh heh heh heh] hih hih .hh hih
13.  RF:     [hhhh        ]
14.  DA:->♫ [oh isn't Roy] nice
15.  MO:    hh hih [hih hih heh ha]
16.  DA:->♫        [to plug it in ]
17.          (0.6)
18.       ♫ oh don't you really really think
19.  MO:    hih
20.          (0.4)
21.  DA:  ♫ (that you should plug the phone in)
```

In lines (5-6), I offer to plug in and charge the camera. Morgan agrees, and in line (11)

Dan starts singing *oh plug it in*. By singing *oh isn't Roy nice to plug it in* in lines (14

and 16), Dan does gratitude for my offer and implicitly accepts it.

There are two examples in which Dan's songs include appreciation for his food,

"Blueberries" and "Black beans."

```
(13) [7-2014 "Blueberries"]
16.  DA:     ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
17.    ->♫ blueberries blueberries
18.          (1.8)
19.       ♫ give me your answer true
20.          (0.3)
21.  MO:    m:::hm
22.  DA:->♫ I'm half crazy (0.3) for the cereal on you
23.          (11.6) {He continues eating}
24.       ♫ it won't be a stylish (.) meal
25.          (.)
```

```
26.        ♫ I can't afford a coors
27.           (3.9)
28.      ->♫ but you'll taste sweet
29.           (5.4)
30.        ♫ on some ice cream and (0.3) cookies
31.           hih hih heh heh {He flashes gaze to Morgan}
32. MO:      mmm [mmhmm mm hih    ]
33. DA:          [I don't know .hh] °heh °hih .hh


(14) [7-2014 "Black beans"]
30.           ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
31.        ♫ black beans black beans give me your answer true
32.           (.)
33. MO:      {still in other room} uh hhh
34. DA:->♫ I'm half crazy over the protein in you
35.           {He eats the bite of beans.}
```

In "Blueberries," Dan starts by singing about his meal of blueberries and cereal in lines

(2, 4, 7). This portion of the song ends with *I'm half crazy for the cereal on you*. There

is silence for over 11-seconds while Dan eats. Dan then continues singing by describing

an imagined meal that *won't be stylish* because he *can't afford a coors* beer. After he

finishes singing, Dan laughs and looks briefly at Morgan who is pre-occupied with

writing an email. In the second example, "Black beans," Morgan is out of visual range

but can hear him from the next room. In line (24), Dan does appreciation of the black

beans and their protein. In both of these excerpts, Morgan is within hearing distance but

occupied with other activities. It could be that the main "project" of these singings is to

"do gratitude" for the meal or to re-establish joint interaction with Morgan. In these

excerpts Morgan remains engaged in her other task and does not reply to the singing.

Unfortunately, Morgan's lack of uptake means that we cannot be certain how she might

treat his singing. In many other examples of talk, Dan notices ingredients and their

attributes in the food that he is eating and then thanks Morgan for taking care of him.

Those spoken examples indicate that Dan often does appreciation of food, and, by

extension, gratitude for Morgan for providing him with meals.

In summary, Dan uses singing to express affection by doing appreciation for companionship and gratitude for assistance. His songs that positively evaluate food may also be doing appreciation and, by extension, gratitude for the meal and the person who provided it. Most of the songs in this section are modified versions of the love song "Bicycle built for two," and Dan can easily change the text to express affection that is specific to each encounter. Dan is acutely aware of the daily help that he needs, and he is quick to express thanks for assistance. He often says things such as *thank you for this meal* or *thank you for taking care of me* multiple times during a meal. Modifying songs, especially sweet love songs like "Bicycle built for two," is a resource for Dan to creatively build closeness and intimacy with Morgan. At least in the case of "Gusto," Morgan's response of gratitude (*that's very kind of you*) is evidence that she recognizes the appreciation done by Dan's singing.

6.5 Responding to a noticing or informing turn that claims rights to knowledge

In this section, I demonstrate that Dan uses singing to respond to noticing and informing turns. Heritage (2012, p. 8) defines informing turns as declarative utterances concerning information in the speaker's domain. Noticing turns also concern knowledge, but a participant "doing noticing" takes a stance that the information is recently acquired. The difference between how strongly participants claim rights to knowledge in noticing and informing turns is illustrated when Morgan pulls the tail out of a cat figurine. Dan does a noticing *oh the tail can move around* that treats the removability of the tail as something newsworthy, and he accomplishes this is part with a change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984). Morgan responds with an informing turn

tail comes out yeah, and her *yeah* helps to mark the removability as something not new to her by affirming his noticing as correct.

I analyze these types of informing and noticing turns and the larger projects they belong to in terms of epistemic authority. The corpus includes examples in which Dan uses talk to either (1) align with the relative distribution of knowledge enacted by talk (e.g., responding to an informing with *oh, wow, mmm,* or *I see*) or (2) push back to achieve epistemic primacy based on independent access and experience. Unlike his speaking turns, Dan's singing does not contest primary rights to knowledge following noticing and informing turns. A claim of knowledge directly or indirectly indexes experience and status categories, such as "caregiver," that allows for a stance of epistemic primacy. Status categories are relational, so orienting to or "activating" a category like "caregiver" also activates the associated category of "person cared for." Dan's singing makes possible an alternative status category, such as "jokester," without negotiating the relative distribution of knowledge. In this subsection, I first discuss epistemic authority and related concepts. Second, I analyze excerpts in which Dan negotiates rights to knowledge with talk. Finally, I describe contrastive examples in which Dan sings but does not push back to contest the relative distribution of knowledge.

Epistemic authority is described as the capacity (Enfield, 2011) or right (Thompson et al., 2015) to claim or demonstrate knowledge of something. Authority can be based in experience or status. Claims to knowledge based in experience have been termed *source-based* (Enfield, 2011) or *access-based* (Thompson et al., 2015). They may be rooted in direct perception (e.g., visual) or indirect inference. Thompson

et al. give the example of two people who assess the intelligence of ping pong players. One person's assessment is based on watching ping pong tournaments on TV whereas the other person has only read about ping pong players in the newspaper. The one who only has read about ping pong has less direct access, leading to less access-based authority to make the assessment. Another source for epistemic authority is *status*. The notion of status used here is similar to that of *membership category* introduced early in the field of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 2007a; Enfield, 2011).[24] Enfield (2011, p. 291) clarifies that a person's status is "a collection of his entitlements (or rights) and responsibilities (or duties) at a given moment, relative to other members of his social group." He gives the example of a lecturer whose behavior can be judged based on a set of normative expectations that guide entitlements, responsibilities, and enablements when the status of a lecturer is "activated" in interaction in relation to others (e.g., students). Important to this notion of status are principles of emergence and relationality (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Whether the source of knowledge is based in status or access, epistemic authority is relative to other participants. Participants encode knowledge moment-by-moment in interaction as *epistemic stance* on a gradient relative to others (compare Kamio, 1997, with Heritage, 2012). Stivers et al. (2011, p. 13) use the term *epistemic*

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[24] Stemming originally from the work of Sacks, membership categorization analysis seeks to understand the ways in which participants implicitly and explicitly invoke categories and assign membership in conversation (Sacks, 1972a, 1972b, 1992; Schegloff, 2002, 2007a). According to Sacks, a Membership Categorization Device (MCD) is a collection of related categories (e.g., 'male' and 'female' are categories in the device 'sex') and rules of application. The key rules of application are *economy*, which has the quality of reference satisfactoriness, and *consistency*, which maintains relevance. In short, invoking a category is adequate reference for a person (*economy*) and sets the stage to categorize others using the same MCD (*consistency*). Categories are associated with category-bound behaviors. Such behaviors can be accessed in the assignment and evaluation of category membership.

primacy in regards to asymmetries in participants "relative rights to know about some state of affairs (access) as well as their relative rights to tell, inform, assert or assess something, and asymmetries in the depth, specificity or completeness of their knowledge." Heritage and Raymond (2005), in their foundational article on practices participants use to index epistemic authority in assessment sequences, introduce K+ as a notation for a participant with high knowledge relative to a K- participant. The "slope" of the knowledge gradient may be shallow or steep depending on relative knowledge claimed by K- and K+ participants (Heritage, 2012). Heritage (2012, p. 6) gives the example of asking an "unknowing" question in another's domain of knowledge such as *Are you married?*, which produces a deeply sloping gradient. In contrast, "knowing" alternatives such as *You're married, aren't you?* or even *You're married.* produce increasingly shallow gradients. Informing turns potentially produce steeper gradients than noticing turns (i.e., there is possibly more of an asymmetry in depth and completeness of knowledge claimed by informing vs. noticing), but noticing turns still point to access-based knowledge that is generated in the here-and-now.

The corpus contains examples of Dan managing relative rights to knowledge with talk. For example, in "Dabble," Dan responds to Morgan's claim to knowledge about slip trailing by pushing back several times to establish epistemic primacy. Here is a longer excerpt of that fragment.

```
(15) [3-2014 "Dabble"]
1.   DA:    {looks up from his dinner plate to a vase with
2.          slip trailing, back to his plate, and then to a card
3.          that Morgan described earlier as a picture made to
4.          look like pottery with slip trailing}
5.          that's slip trailing
6.   MO:    mmm-hmm (.) yeah I guess you put it into a bag (.)
7.   DA: -> yes
8.   MO:    um (.) with a nozzle
9.   DA: -> yep [[(that's right)]
```

```
10. MO:      [and then squirt] it out to make the outline
11.           of your picture
12. DA: -> mmm-hmm (.) yep (.)
              ((non-topical intervening talk about their meal))
13. DA:    {looking at Meg's bowl} boy she's good isn't Meg's
14. MO:    mmm-hmm ye[p
15. DA:              [good
16. MO:    yeah tha:t's quite artistic
17. DA:    yeah (.) {starts to get up, stops and looks up at
18.    -> vase} I tried to make a (.) piece(s) with slip
19.       trailing but I couldn't do it
20. MO:    mmm-hmm
21. DA:    it was too hard {gets up from table}
22. MO:    well (.) yeah cause not only do you hafta squeeze the
23.       bag you hafta (.) ai:m it squeeze it just at the (.)
24.       y'know at the right pressure
25. DA: -> has to be the right consistency [I coul]d never get it
26. MO:                                     [yea:h]
27. MO:    but you hafta mo:ve your hands
28. DA:    yeah
29. MO:    um (.) and just synchronize them all otherwise you
30.       end up with a wiggly li:ne or one that breaks because
31.       you've moved your hand back too quickly (.)
32. DA: -> I thought the toughest part was get the right
33.       consistency in (.) of the gla:ze
34. MO:    mmm-hmm (.)
35. DA: -> {blowing nose} that's what I could never do (.)
36.    -> (you're either) too hard or too soft
37. MO:    mmm-hmm
38. DA: -> {blowing nose}  (hard to get just right) (.) it's
39.       ve:ry hard to get it just right for m[e
40. MO:                                        [mmm-hmm] well that's
41.       the first part of it but actually apply:ing it is a
42.       lot harder than you'd think
43. DA: -> oh it's very hard [[(I could never do it)
44. MO:                      [cause you hafta] squeeze and move
45.       your ha:nd
46. DA: -> yeah I I tried it uhh
47. MO:    mmm-hmm
48. DA: -> and I did it but
49. MO:    mmm-hmm
50. DA:    not successfully
51. MO:    mmm-hmm (.)
```

The early part of Dan and Morgan's interaction is reminiscent of Heritage &

Raymond's (2005) description of how participants may (1) downgrade a claim to

epistemic authority by qualifying a first assessment (e.g., using an evidential verb "It

looks, feels, appears X" or tag question) or (2) upgrade a claim to priority with a second

assessment by confirming and agreeing with a downgraded first assessment. In line (6),

Morgan uses *guess* to mitigate the strength of her claim to knowledge about the procedure for slip trailing. Dan moves himself into epistemic primacy by confirming her guess about how the technique is done in lines (7, 9, 12). In the later portion of the excerpt, Dan makes it explicit that he has experienced-based knowledge for his primary position by claiming that he *tried* the technique in line (18). Morgan provides an account for why he was not successful at his attempts and construes the problem as one of application. Dan could accept her account, but he provides a different account that the main problem was the *consistency* of the glaze used for slip trailing in line (25). He does not let this point go and reasserts it several times in lines (32-33, 36, 38-39). Morgan does not back off either, and she re-formulates the problem as having two parts in lines (40-42). Her re-formulation accepts Dan's account about the glaze consistency as the *first part,* which implies that her account about the application (aim, squeezing, hand movement, coordination) is a next part that can also be problematic. Dan does not contest this formulation, but his turn *oh it's very hard* in line (43) again re-positions himself as having prior and independent knowledge (the *oh* helps to achieve that independent knowledge; Heritage, 1998). At the end of the excerpt, Dan shifts from focusing on the *consistency* problem to emphasizing his pottery making experience by adding *for me* at the end of *it's ve:ry hard to get it just right for me* in line (38-39). He also claims not just that he *tried it* in line (46) but that he *did it* in line (48), even if he was unsuccessful. This excerpt demonstrates that Dan does make claims to epistemic primacy. In this instance, he does not back down when faced with *epistemic incongruency* (or disagreement over access, authority, and rights; Stivers et al., 2011), and he adjusts his strategy for claiming primacy over the course of the interaction.

Dan also sings during interactions that involve claims to knowledge. In contrast to

his speaking turns, Dan's singing does not explicitly contest another participant's claim

to epistemic primacy. There are examples in the corpus in which Dan first sings and

then makes his own claim to knowledge with talk. "Green faced cat" is an example of

epistemic push-back following singing. During this interaction, Dan has intermittently

been spinning animals and talking about his favorites. They have closed the

immediately previous talk about extended family.

```
(16) [5-2014 "Green faced cat"]
1.   DA:    {looking at animals on lazy susan, starts to spin them}
2.           these are so: cute morgan.
3.           (0.4)
4.   MO:    {looks at animals} mmhmm.
5.   DA:    heh hih heh .hh hh {briefly pauses spinning animals to
6.           look at the cat} even the cat is cute.
7.           (2.3)
8.   MO: -> it's sca:ry hh I mean it's a cat with a gree:n face.
9.           (0.9)
10.  DA:    {stops spinning the animals to look at the cat}
11.          ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
12.      ♫ oh green faced cat
13.           (0.3)
14.      ♫ oh green faced cat=
15.      -> =there's a lot of black and yellow and red on it too,
16.           (0.9)
17.  MO:    mmhmm.
18.           (0.6)
19.  DA: -> it's more bluish to me, well the ears inside the ears
20.      -> are bluish (.) for sure  {spins animals again}
21.           (0.3)
22.  MO:    mmhmm.
23.           (3.2)
24.           {Dan stops spinning the animals and moves gaze from
25.           animals to Morgan and then back at animals.}
26.  DA:    {Reverses spin of animals so the cat faces Morgan}
27.      -> you think [that's green    ]
28.  MO:              [no it's abs-   ] {leans closer to cat and
29.           gazes at it} yeah that's gree:n.
30.           {Dan looks up at Morgan and back down}
31.           (1.0)
32.  DA: -> I don't [(think it)   ]
33.  MO:            [there's      ] blue:. {points around cat's
34.           face with pen} (0.4) around the si:de and blue around
35.           there but the inside of the ears {Dan spins animals
36.           so that the cat faces him. Morgan sits back up} and
37.           above the (.) eye:s (0.6) that's gree:n.
38.           (4.7)  {Dan leans closer to the cat and gazes at it.}
39.  DA: -> it's only green above the eyes.
```

```
40.         (1.6)
41. MO:     [mmm.]
42. DA: -> [it's] blue below the eyes.
43.         (0.5)
44. MO:     yep. (0.6) and round the sides of its face.
45.         (1.3)
46. DA: -> there's the darker blue there yeah,
47. MO:     yeah.=
48. DA: -> =there's different shades of blue,
49. MO:     mmhmm.
```

In this example, Dan assesses the figurines as *cute* in line (2). His qualification that

even the cat is cute in line (6) suggests that there is some quality to the cat that would

make it less likely to qualify as cute compared to the other figurines. Morgan counters

with a second assessment of the cat as *scary* in line (8), and describes it as *a cat with a*

green face to account for the alternative assessment. Their assessments are in reference

to a tangible object in the world. Both Morgan and Dan have visual access to the

object's features, and they can assess the cat as *cute* despite some quality or *scary*

because of it. Dan's singing *oh green faced cat* does not contest her assessment of the

cat as green, and it may even be a move to diffuse disaffiliation from their disparate

assessments. Immediately after singing, Dan switches to talking about other colors on

the cat, and in lines (19-20) he makes his first counter claim about the cat's color. He

mitigates his challenge by calling the color *bluish* and not outright blue. Morgan has

only minimally responded to his color push-back. Dan's request for confirmation *you*

think that's green in line (27) simultaneously gives Morgan the option to change her

account of the cat's color while also serving as a stronger pre-challenge to her account.

Morgan sticks with her account that the cat is green, and indeed Dan directly disagrees

with her color assignment in lines (32, 39, 42, 46, 48). This drawn out negotiation of

the cat's color further illustrates that Dan does contest claims about the state of things,

but with talk.[25] His singing turn, however, does not challenge her color description. In

this, and other examples that I will now describe, Dan's singing does not negotiate

relative rights to knowledge.

In the following excerpts, Dan sings responses to noticing and informing turns

about objects in the immediate environment. I describe what is happening before Dan

sings in each excerpt, and then analyze the excerpts in terms of epistemics and Dan's

singing response.

```
(17) [3-2014 "Blinky light"]
5.   RF:    .hh it's not showing that it's charging. oh wait
6.          maybe that's what that blinky light means.
7.          (1.8)
8.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
9.        ♫ oh blinky light oh blinky light (1.0)
10.       ♫ I'm all charged up because of the blinky light

(18) [5-2014 "The cat without the tail"]
3.   MO:    {pulls the tail off of the cat} yeah. and its
4.          (0.3)
5.   DA:    oh the tail can move [arou:nd. ]
6.   MO:                         [tail come]s out yeah.
7.          (2.0)
8.   DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
9.        ♫ the cat without [the tail]
10.  MO:                     [oh it's ] made by jesus sosa calvo.

(19) [4-2014 "Soft seat"]
1.   MO:    hh there you go. so you're sitting on a soft seat,
2.          (0.8)
3.   DA:    ((modified "I've Got Sixpence"))
4.        ♫ I've got a soft seat
5.          (.)
6.        ♫ jolly jolly soft seat
7.          (0.7)
8.        ♫ I've got a soft seat
9.          (0.4)
10.       ♫ to last me all my days
```

In each of these examples, Dan sings after a noticing or informing. In "Blinky light," he

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[25] Dan and Morgan's negotiation of the color of the cat's face is reminiscent of Goodwin's
(1997) chapter *The blackness of black: color categories as situated practice* that contributes to
practice-based theory of knowledge and action in an analysis of "how color terms might be
shaped by systematic patterns of situated use, or the possibility that actors might deploy a range
of different kinds of criteria in order to categorize color" (p. 114).

sings after I do a noticing about a trouble with the camera *it's not showing that it's charging* followed by *oh wait maybe that's what that blinky light mean* that proposes a possible solution to the problem. In "The cat without the tail," Morgan is holding a cat figurine and pulls out the tail as she says *yeah*. She continues without a pause with the fragment *and its*, but she does not complete the turn just yet. Dan's next turn *oh the tail can move around* starts with a change-of-state token *oh* that marks the "newsworthiness" of what Morgan has just shown him, and Morgan finishes her informing turn *tail comes out yeah* in partial overlap. In "Soft seat," Dan sings after Morgan's informing turn *so you're sitting on a soft seat*. Each of these examples involves an object in the environment that the participants have varying degrees of *access* to for doing a noticing, informing, or assessment. Noticing and informing turns claim varying degrees of knowledge about the object in question, and responses may accept or contest the claim based on relative rights to knowledge about the object.

In "Blinky light," "The cat without the tail," and "Soft seat", Dan does not use singing to make moves towards epistemic primacy or to change the "slope" of relative knowledge. Across these three examples, Dan has increasingly direct access to the object involved in the other participant's noticing or informing turn. In "Blinky light," Dan cannot see the screen of the camera that shows it is not charging, so he does not have direct visual access to the object of the noticing *it's not showing that it's charging*. Considering his lack of access, it is of no surprise that Dan does not make any claim to knowledge about what the screen is showing at that moment. Yet, he could still assess the quality of my potential solution in the second noticing *oh wait maybe that's what that blinky light means* based on his general experience with electronics. He does have

visual access to the blinky light, which is used by many devices to indicate some state of the battery (charging or nearly empty). In fact, there are many possible things he could do here that he may have done in the past before his cognitive decline, such as deny independent knowledge (e.g., "Huh I dunno"), make some vague experience-based claim ("Sounds reasonable," "You're probably right," or "Maybe that means it's almost dead"), or even help problem-solve with the camera. He does none of those things in this case.

In the second case, "The cat without the tail," Dan has more access. He can see Morgan remove the tail. Indeed, he does a noticing (*oh the tail can move around)* before Morgan finishes her informing turn. Morgan's turn *tail comes out yeah* positions her as having relatively more knowledge. She adds specificity (the tail not only *can move around* but actually *comes out*), and she uses an agreement token *yeah*. Together these components position her has having previously held information. Dan does not resist her re-positioning of epistemic primacy, and in fact his surprised reaction to her pulling out the tail supports the newness of this information for him. At this juncture, Dan could possibly re-assert his newly acquired knowledge of the tail's movement or make some assessment, but he does not.

In the final example, Dan has the most direct access to the object. In "Soft seat," Morgan does an informing *so you're sitting on a soft seat*. Although her turn may more directly be an offering that could receive a reply of appreciation, it also makes a claim to previously held knowledge about the cushions that make the seat soft. Morgan has access-based knowledge since she had recently bought new cushions, giving her experience. Yet, Dan has even more access. It is his body that is experiencing repeated,

direct contact with the seat. His seat also has two cushions, whereas the other seats including Morgan's only have one. Dan has the strongest case here for making a claim to epistemic primacy. It is not only access to the objects that provide the participants with grounds for managing rights to knowledge in this case. Sequential position also plays a role. The fact that Morgan does the informing in first position places Dan in a relative K- position by the nature of sequential organization. Heritage and Raymond (2005) observe that *first position assessments* initiate an evaluative assessment sequence on a state of affairs. Responses to those are *second position assessments* and are positioned in relation to the first position assessment. First and second position assessments are unavoidably produced in a temporal arrangement, and Heritage and Raymond (2005) argue that first position assessments "carry an implied claim that the speaker has primary rights to evaluate the matter assessed" (p. 16). Morgan's turn is an informing and not an assessment (although the informing *you're sitting on a soft seat* also includes an assessment that the seat is *soft*), but the sequential nature of the informing still place participants in a potential bind regarding claims of knowledge and information. As Enfield (2011, p. 302) put it, declarative forms "imply not just 'I know it,' but also 'You don't.'" In "Soft seat", Dan could structure a second noticing, informing, or assessment to index independent knowledge and physical access (e.g., "Oh yeah it feels really soft"). Alternatively, he could express gratitude for her purchase of the soft cushions. He does neither of those things. As with the previous two examples, Dan sings at this juncture.

Dan's singing establishes *epistemic congruence* by not contesting relative distribution of knowledge claimed by previous noticing and informing turns (Stivers et

al., 2011). Dan's singing responses in these examples recognize receipt of information by appropriating part of the noticing/informing turn without taking much of a stance towards his own knowledge about it. In comparison, Dan does a great deal of interactional work to negotiate his right to knowledge about color in "Green faced cat" and slip trailing in "Dabble." Interestingly, Dan sings in response to noticing turns in which the participants have shared access *and* in response to informing turns that are more exclusively in his realm of physical access. These two types of turns encode different epistemic gradients, with informing turns having a steeper slope than noticing turns. It is possible that a "neurotypical" person would not respond to both of these types of claims to knowledge by establishing epistemic congruence, especially when the object of the informing is more exclusively in the recipient's realm of physical access. So, what does singing in response allow Dan to accomplish in these situations?

Dan's singing responses are not a practice for indexing epistemic primacy, but he accomplishes something by singing that is not achieved with a receipt of informing like *oh* or *wow*. Another participant's claim to epistemic primacy, even if the knowledge could be shared based on joint access, exposes changes in Dan's cognition when they refer to things he can no longer do as well, such as use electronics and go shopping. These noticing and informing turns index knowledge but, crucially, they indirectly point to his need for assistance with everyday activities due to his cognitive decline. These turns are about blinking lights and cushions on the surface, and on a deeper level they highlight that Dan can no longer offer to fix problems with technology or contribute to the running of a household. His singing allows him to be a different kind of expert or at least to save face when he cannot always articulate

expertise. This is in contrast to interactions in which Dan can draw from his continued abilities, such as long-term memory about his experience with pottery or semantic knowledge about color.

As I mentioned earlier, rights to knowledge can be based in access and/or status. Enfield (2011, p. 301) claims that access-based authority and status-based authority are "typically in alignment." Yet, it is plausible that a participant might leverage one resource for authority (e.g., status) to index another type of authority (e.g., experience). Indeed, Enfield (p. 301) provides an example in which a woman's status as a mother allows her to claim "maximal epistemic access regarding her children" based on normative entitlements even if her children's nanny can demonstrate higher authority (i.e., an example of status leading to access). He also argues that behavior can be constitutive of status, as in the case of two people creating the status of close friends by claiming entitlements and responsibilities appropriate for close friends (i.e., experience leading to status). In other words, access and status are distinct but highly intertwined. This relates to my data in that Morgan uses her experience to make claims to knowledge with informing turns, and in some contexts this indirectly activates her status as a "caregiver." She knows about the seat cushions and the cat's tail because she has the experience of buying the cushions and setting up the figurine decorations for Dan. These are activities that she is entitled to and responsible for because she is his caregiver. That is, her access and status are in alignment. Informing turns that activate a "caregiver" status have the potential of activating an associated status for Dan. Being a caregiver can only be understood in relation to a "person who is cared for." Dan often activates the "person cared for" status himself in conversation by saying things such as

thank you for taking care of me Morgan. For example, in one video, Dan thanks

Morgan six times for a meal in less than six minutes. Yet, Dan does not construct

himself as "person being cared for" in the singing excerpts discussed in this section. He

acknowledges the informing by repeating part of the informing turn in his song. More

significantly, he ever so slightly resists being position as "person cared for" by

responding with a silly song. Shifting to another role allows him to re-focus on what he

has to provide in these instances, humorous wordplay. As I described in the previous

section regarding humor and disaffiliation, Dan's performances are often designed to be

funny with wordplay and modification of texts that were originally children's songs and

drinking songs. These repeated performances, along with Dan's spoken jokes and

wordplay, constitute an alternative status. Dan's singing in these moments frames their

respective statuses not as "caregiver" – "person cared for" but as what each has to offer,

"caregiver" – "jokester."

6.6 Responding to a "mere informing" turn that claims rights to decision-making

Another practice used by Dan is singing a modified song in response to a turn

that proposes or announces a new activity. Participants negotiate claims of deontic

rights to determine course of action in everyday interaction (Stevanovic, 2013a). As

with epistemic authority, co-participants might accept (deontic congruence) or contest

(deontic incongruence) claims to deontic authority. My data demonstrate that singing is

a complex resource for negotiating decision-making rights that are allocated by first

position turns in decision-making. Similar to how Dan sings following informing turns

regarding knowledge, Dan also sings following informings and announcements that put

forth next activities. In the previous section regarding epistemics, I argued that Dan

does not use singing to contest another participant's claim to epistemic primacy. In

contrast, I describe in this section how Dan uses singing to establish deontic

incongruency concerning decision-making for immediately relevant courses of action.

In her dissertation on deontic rights in interaction, Stevanovic (2013a, p. 11)

considers deontic rights to be "people's rights to determine their own and others'

actions." She draws parallels between epistemics and its deontic "sibling" (p. 18). She

argues that while both are forms of authority that are managed through interactional

practices, they are associated with two different types of speech acts with regards to

their "direction of fit" between "the words" and "the world" (based on Searle's (1976)

classification of speech acts). Stevanovic explains,

> Epistemic authority is about getting the "words to match the world;" deontic
> authority is about getting the "world to match the words." While epistemic
> authority is about *knowing* what is true, deontic authority is about *determining*
> what "ought –to-be" – what is forbidden, obligatory, or permissible (the ancient
> Greek word *deon*, "that which is binding"). (p. 19)

Deontic rights concern two major domains regarding what "ought-to-be." The first

domain involves decisions about future plans, such as where to go for dinner. The

second domain covers the local structure of interaction like when to initiate a new

sequence. Stevanovic (2013a, p. 20) stresses that the notion of deontic authority shifts

the focus away from "potentially authoritative participants" and toward how all the

participants in an interaction orient to and manage rights to decision making. She

elaborates that deontic authority

> is not primarily about someone *claiming* authority, but it is about others
> *accepting* someone as an authority. This means, by and large, that it is not the
> initiating actions of potentially authoritative participants that tell us about the

participants' orientations to deontic authority, but it is the way in which their co-participants respond to those actions. (p. 20)

Just as participants establish epistemic congruency by accepting the relative distribution of knowledge, participants accomplish deontic congruency when they agree on who has the right to determine future action (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Incongruency arises when a co-participant does not align with another's claim to primary rights.

Dan's singing indirectly contests the relative deontic rights that are allocated when Morgan announces a next activity. His singing treats Morgan's turn as a proposal instead of an announcement, and that is a type of response that constitutes a subtle shift in the distribution of decision-making rights. In the next two subsections, I describe how Dan's singing accomplishes deontic incongruency. First, I describe situations in which Dan aligns with the announced activity. I then describe an example in which Dan does not align with the projected activity.

6.6.1 Positively assessing the activity

Dan establishes deontic incongruence with singing by treating Morgan's announcements as if they were proposals of next activities for him to approve. The formulaic structure of "The Fireman's Band" is a resource for Dan to approve and co-opt Morgan's activity proposal, and it thus functions as a move for Dan to establish his own decision-making authority. The "Turkey vulture" excerpt exemplifies incongruence over deontic authority. I first discuss Morgan's move to start the activity before analyzing Dan's response to it. In "Turkey vulture," Dan and Morgan had seen a turkey vulture near their garden earlier, and they are eating breakfast at the start of the excerpt. Morgan initiates the activity of looking up information about the bird in a book.

```
(20) [9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
2.  MO: -> let's see what the bird book says about the
3.         turkey vulture[s]. {walks out of camera view}
4.  DA: ->              [y]eah. (0.3)
5.         ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
6.         {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
7.       ♫ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
8.         (1.2) {looks up and back down}
9.     ->♫ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.        (2.0)
11.    ->♫ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.        (1.1)
13.    ->♫ that we should see the turkey vulture
14.        (0.4)
15. MO:    {sits at table with book} huh hih ((sniff)) (.)
16. DA:    (°a drink / don't you think°)
17. MO:    hh (0.8) don't go out if you're not feeling well hh
18.        (2.5) {Dan looks at Morgan and opens mouth}
19. DA:    wh(h)at? (.)
20. MO:    heh huh hah [ha .hh hih huh hih hih hih huh hahahahaha
21. DA:                [.hhh HA HA .hhhhhh (H)o(h)k(h)ay .hhhh
22.        (h)I (h)w[(h)on't .hhhhhh] uh huh uh huh .hhh
23. MO:             [.hh hih hih hih]
24.        (0.5)
25. DA:  ♫ {looking away} oh turkey vulture
26.        (0.7) {Morgan looking in book}
27. MO: -> ↑woah there it i::s {turns book to Dan; he looks at it}
28.        {She reads to him from book.}
```

In this example, Morgan simultaneously begins to stand up and to announce a new activity of seeing *what the bird book says about the turkey vultures* in lines (2-3). By the time Dan says *yeah* in agreement in line (4), Morgan has already stood up and walked away from Dan to get the book in the next room. Dan's singing follows the acceptance in lines (7-13). Dan's song is performed within Morgan's hearing distance, and he moves his gaze to Morgan before singing *that we should see the turkey vulture*. During this line of the song, Dan raises his eyebrows during *see,* and he then moves his gaze to the book that Morgan is placing on the table while singing *the turkey vulture*. After an intervening joke by Morgan, Dan sings a final line to his song in line (25), and they start looking at the book together in line (27).

Morgan's method to initiate a new activity and Dan's method of accepting it in

this example are common in their interactions. Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012) contrast

assertions and proposals as two different first pair parts used in decision-making. They

write,

> A proposal clearly implicates that there is a decision to be made and that this decision is contingent upon the recipient's commitment. An assertion, on the other hand, can be heard either as a call for commitment for future action, or as a mere informing, which does not make relevant any recipient commitment. (p. 302)

The initiating turn in "Turkey vulture," and in many other examples of decision making

in my data, is an assertion or "mere informing" in the form of *let's do x*. In this instance,

Morgan does not wait for a response, or even wait to finish her own turn, before

moving to initiate the activity by getting up to retrieve the bird book. In effect, Morgan

is not doing an invitation or proposal that would make relevant an acceptance or

rejection; she is doing an informing or announcement about what will happen next.

That is to say, Morgan's method of presenting the activity distributes relatively

asymmetrical rights to decision-making. Dan could produce only a minimal congruent

response at this juncture (e.g., *okay* or *yeah*), but instead he proceeds to perform "The

Fireman's Band."

Beyond acquiescence, Dan's singing response treats Morgan's unilateral

decision as more of a joint-decision by establishing shared access to and agreement

with the proposed activity (Stevanovic, 2012). The structure of Dan's modified "The

Fireman's Band" song is a resource for Dan to claim stronger rights for decision-

making than allocated by the initial announcement. Dan accomplishes this by

responding to what Stevanovic calls "assertions" as if they were "proposals" to be

assessed and accepted. As with many of the decision-making projects, Dan performs a

version of "The Fireman's Band." This song is particularly useful because it contains a proposal and invitation to join in an activity (i.e., drinking) with the lyrics "the fireman's band, the fireman's band / here's my heart and here's my hand / oh don't you really really think / that we should have another drink." Dan performs this song with two important modifications. First, he frequently modifies the line "here's my heart and here's my hand" to a significantly changed *how I like [object used in activity / to do x activity]*. In "Turkey vulture," he produces this modification as *how I like to see the turkey vulture* in line (9). The modification informs of a preference for the activity and, by extension, a positive evaluation of the proposed activity. Second, the "original" song includes the verse "Oh don't you really really think that we should have another drink." Dan often changes "another drink" to the activity at hand. By singing *oh don't you really really think that we should see the turkey vulture*, Dan proposes the activity a second time.

Dan's re-proposal is similar to practices that speakers of second position assessments sometimes use to index independent authority to assess a state of affairs (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Second position assessments by definition come after a first position assessment, and Heritage & Raymond (2005) argue that temporally first assessments have an implied claim of primary rights to assess the matter at hand. First position speakers have resources to downgrade that implied authority just as second position speakers might upgrade their claim. One practice used by second position speakers is to trump temporal position with sequential position. Speakers can "usurp firstness" by reclaiming first sequential position with turns that mark a "new" first pair part. Tag questions and negative interrogatives are such resources that invite agreement.

Dan's singing has a similar structure of *oh don't you really really think that we should [do x]*. Dan claims rights to decision-making beyond mere acceptance when he sings to propose the activity again in second position. Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012, p. 308) provide examples of congruent responses to proposals in which "the second speakers not only accept the first speakers' proposals, but tacitly confirm that their opinions *matter* when decisions about future actions are made. Thus the second speakers also seem to claim a certain amount of deontic rights." I argue that Dan's singing in "Turkey vulture" exemplifies a practice for subverting an assertion that claims unilateral decision-making authority by assessing and re-proposing the activity in second position. In short, he is claiming that his opinion matters.

Dan's singing can stand alone without a minimal compliance token. In the "Turkey vulture" excerpt, Dan says *yeah* in line (4) in response to Morgan's announcement before singing. In other examples, however, Dan jumps right to singing without an intervening speaking turn that overtly acknowledges the announcement or accepts the activity. In "Sockie wokies," Morgan offers Dan items of clothing, which she often has to do to get him dressed quickly for outings.

```
(21) [9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
1.   MO: -> o(.)kay here's some un(.)der(.)wea:r (1.5)
2.        and some sockie wokies?
3.        (0.5)
4.   DA:   ((modified "Fireman's Band))
5.      ->♫ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
6.        (0.9)
7.      ->♫ how I like some sockie wokies
8.        (0.5)
9.   MO:   mm[hm]
10.  DA:->♫   [oh] don't [you  really really] think
11.  MO:                 [hh heh heh heh heh]
12.        (1.3)
13.  DA:->♫ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
```

Only audio is available in the "Sockie wokies" excerpt, but Dan appears dressed and

ready to go shopping later on in the video. It is likely that Morgan is handing Dan

clothing as she produces lines (1-2). By offering clothes with *here's some underwear*

and some sockie wokies, Morgan is offering the objects and also implying the next

activity of dressing. Dan does a similar modification to what he produced in "Turkey

vulture" by singing *how I like some sockie wokies* and *oh don't you really really think*

to have sockie wokies to wear upon my feet. Dan's singing turn makes explicit the

dressing activity that is implied in Morgan's informing. As in "Turkey vulture," the

singing also assesses the socks as something he likes and he re-proposes wearing them.

In the second example of a singing-only response, Morgan suggests a cognitive

activity of Dan thinking about an upcoming trip. Like the "Sockie wokies" excerpt, Dan

goes right into singing a response.

```
(22) [9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
1.   DA:    I'm all outta things to say. {shifts gaze to Morgan
2.          at the end of his turn}
3.          (1.6)
4.   MO: -> ↑oh (0.3) okay. (0.7) well you can start thinking
5.       -> about going to santa fe
6.          (0.8)
7.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
8.        ♫ .hh oh santa fe old santa fe
9.          (1.2)
10.     ->♫ how I love my santa fe=
11.  MO:    =mm ↑hmm ↑hmm ((quick nod up))
12.         (0.3)
13.  DA:->♫ oh don't you really really think
14.         (0.7)
15.     ->♫ that we should take (0.3) a trip to santa fe I think
```

In this example, Dan makes a move to end the interaction with *I'm all outta things to*

say in line (1). Morgan appears to accept this potential closing, and she proposes a new

activity in the form of a suggestion *you can start thinking about going to santa fe* in

lines (4-5). Unlike the activities in "Turkey vulture" and "Sockie wokies," the activity

Morgan proposes in this example does not necessarily require continued interaction or

result in observable action. Beyond suggesting the immediately relevant "cognitive" activity that could close the joint interaction, Morgan's turn also puts forth their upcoming trip to Santa Fe. Her turn thus references both an immediate event (*thinking*) and a "remote" event of *going to santa fe* (Stevanovic, 2012). Dan's singing of *how I love my santa fe* in line (10) and *don't you really really think that we should take a trip to santa fe I think* in lines (13-15) does at least two things. First, it fulfills the immediate permissive by making visible the activity of "thinking" about going to Santa Fe. Second, it aligns with the remote activity of the upcoming trip that Morgan has planned for them. Although "doing thinking" by expressing love for Santa Fe could be seen as accepting Morgan's authority to decide next activities, Dan's singing also claims some right to approve the upcoming trip. Dan's singing does more than acknowledge Morgan's permissive in "Santa Fe" or offering in "Sockie wokies," and the singing is produced to stand alone as a response to the greater project of decision-making for a new activity.

6.6.2 Negatively assessing the activity

There is not a simple relationship amongst a participant (dis)liking an activity, accepting or refusing a co-participant's authority to announce the activity, and actually doing the activity. In the previous three examples, "Turkey vulture," "Sockie wokies," and "Santa fe," Dan's singing accepts the activity but not Morgan's authority to unilaterally announce that the activity is going to happen. In other examples, however, Dan complains about some proposed activity. Singing a complaint is another way that Dan establishes deontic incongruence with singing. In "Wuzzles," Morgan starts a new sequence about a visual word puzzle, or "wuzzle," that is posted at her gym.

```
(23) [4-2014 "Wuzzle"]
1.   MO: -> oh there was another wuzzle
2.       -> today hh (.) one of these word puzzles
3.          (2.7) {She starts writing down the wuzzle}
4.   DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
5.        ♫ wuzzle here and a wuzzle there
6.        ♫ here a wuzzle there a wuzzle
7.        ♫ old mc (0.5) donald liked his wuzzles=
8.   MO:    =mhmm?
9.          (1.0)
10.  DA:  ♫ e-i-e-i-o
11.         (0.9)
12.     ->♫ and I don't like wuzzles very much
13.         (0.9)
14.  MO: -> you're good you're pretty good at them,
15.         {She finishes writing the wuzzle and puts away
16.         the pen}
17.         (0.5)
18.  DA: -> we:ll, {eating}
19.  MO:    {She holds wuzzle facing Dan and walks toward him}
20.  DA:    {He looks up from eating and notices the wuzzle. He
21.         maintains eye contact on it while chewing, and they
22.         do the wuzzle together.}
```

The excerpt starts with an announcement *oh there was another wuzzle today* in lines (1-2). Reminiscent of how *here's some sockie wokies* goes beyond an informing about the existence of socks to (1) do an offering of the socks and (2) imply a dressing event, the announcement here projects more than news of a new wuzzle. Note that Dan does not take a turn at the possible TRP in line (2), and this may project upcoming disalignment. Morgan continues with *one of these word puzzles*. Morgan also starts writing down the wuzzle, and that strengthens the possibility of a larger "doing the wuzzle" project. Dan then sings a modified version of "Old McDonald." The singing concludes with a complaint *I don't like wuzzles very much* in line (12) that anticipates this larger project. Morgan responds with an assessment *you're good you're pretty good at them* in line (14), and her complimenting turn could also be heard as an account for why he could do the wuzzle despite disliking them. Dan does not align with her assessment, possibly because of the problem of how to respond to compliments (see Pomerantz, 1978, on the

multiple constrains on compliment sequences), but an agreement might also weaken his resistance to the activity. Dan's disalignment (to both the projected activity and her assessment of his ability) does not stop Morgan from presenting him with the wuzzle, nor does it stop him for attending to and attempting to complete the wuzzle.

Dan's complaint and Morgan's response to it changes the symmetry of authority over the course of the interaction. Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012) concede that it is difficult to analyze authority distribution in disagreements over planning because resistance to claims of authority "cannot be easily separated from the recipients' mere dissatisfaction with the first speakers' plan" (p. 308). Yet, Dan's complaint (*I don't like wuzzles very much*) and Morgan's response (*you're good you're pretty good at them*) indicate that she is accountable for Dan's dislikes. Authority for unilateral decision-making is downgraded when a speaker has to provide accounts for a decision. Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012) explain:

> To accept authority is to refrain from examining what one is told to do (deontic authority) or to believe (epistemic authority). To exercise authority is not to have to offer reasons, but to be obeyed or believed merely because of one's authority. Hence, claiming deontic authority means that the speaker announces her decision without accounting for it – without alluding to the possibility that the decision might, in the end, be contingent on the recipient. And on the other hand, offering an account for what is announced, involves a downgrading of the authority claim. (p. 311)

In the case of "Wuzzles," Dan upgrades his claim to authority by assessing the activity, and Morgan downgrades her claim by providing an account for why he should or could still do it. This is not to say that Dan outright challenges her authority or that Morgan completely backs away from her claim. She continues with it despite his complaint, and he concedes. However, their consecutive actions of complaining and accounting constitute a shift in the deontic "gradient," or their deontic stances relative to each other,

compared to what was originally allocated in Morgan's first announcement.

In summary, Dan responds to assertions of immediate and remote events in these examples by singing in a way that does not wholly align with unilateral decision-making. There are two ways that Dan establishes deontic incongruence: (1) acquiescence to the activity plan but not to unilateral decision-making, and (2) resistance to the activity despite ultimately conceding to the plan's enactment. The lyrical structure of "The Fireman's Band" is a resource for Dan to accomplish the first method of accepting the plan. His modification functions as a positive assessment, an agreement, and a re-proposal of the activity. Dan does not necessarily produce an overt compliance token (e.g., *yeah*) following the assertion and before singing. This means that singing is not simply a post-expansion following compliance; singing can stand on its own as a response to claim some independent authority for decision-making. Providing an approval to an announcement can work to undermine another speaker's claim to authority (Stevanovic & Perakyla, 2012). Disapproval can also challenge a unilateral move to decision-making, and Dan's singing of a complaint is a second way in which he establishes incongruence. Both methods – approval or disapproval of the activity – are retrospective moves to establish a stronger deontic stance than is allocated in the first position announcement.

6.7 Shifting trajectory

One final use of singing is changing the trajectory of talk to either return to a previous element of talk or to touch off new talk. Touching off new talk and reanimating prior turns are not "main jobs" like the some of the actions so far discussed

(e.g., doing appreciation, responding to an informing, or complaining). Arguably, however, Dan's singing accomplishes a meaningful move that has implications for sequence development and action formation by returning to prior sequences or opening new ones. Accordingly, in this section I argue that Dan's singing allows for (1) retrospective and (2) prospective shifts in the interaction as a secondary action.

6.7.1 Retrospective shift in trajectory

Dan uses singing to return to prior elements in the interactional sequence. This type of singing "reanimates" earlier turns so that they are relevant again for response. There are three scenarios in the data in which Dan returns to prior elements. The first involves lack of speaker uptake, and the second returns to an earlier grievance. Dan uses singing in a third way to return talk to favored and visually available objects. The "Apple" excerpt exemplifies singing following lack of uptake. In "Apple," there is a Macintosh laptop, a bowl of fruit, and a camera on the table. The back of the laptop has a glowing apple icon that is facing Dan. Morgan cannot see the apple because she has her glasses off while looking at her phone, and I am on the other side of the computer.

```
(24) [3-2014 "Apple"]
1.   DA: -> someone took a bite outta that apple.
2.        (1.6)
3.   MO:    mmm:
4.          {1.25 minute gap during which Morgan continues to
5.          use phone and Dan looks at objects in front of him.
6.          There is also a short exchange about a phone message.
7.          Dan looks back up toward the camera and computer.}
8.   DA:    there's a camera looking down at me.
9.          (1.4)
10.  MO:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
11.       ♬ there's a camera looking down heh hih
12.       ♬ there's a camera looking down .hhh
13.          (0.7)
14.  DA:->♬ there's an apple with a bite out of it
15.  MO:    heh hih
16.          (1.7)
17.        ♬ there's a cam[era looking]
```

```
18.  RF: ->                   [there is?  ]
19.  MO:   ♫ dow[n::::       ]
20.  DA: ->    [yeah right] on the cover of your (0.3) computer
21.  RF:   hhh
22.  MO:   [(huh huh huh ha huh .hh huh huh]
23.  DA:   [hh °heh .hh °huh °heh °heh     ][°uh °hih    ]
24.  RF:                                    [you're right]
25.  DA:   .hh ha [ha ha ha ha ha .hh huh .hh  ]
26.  MO:          [°woa:h huh heh I need to put] my glasses on
27.        for tha:t ↑o:h (0.8) and it's the right way up .hh
28.  DA:   yes
29.        (2.9)
30.  MO:   mm.
31.        ((5 minutes of unrelated talk))
32.  DA:   if someone takes a bite outta your apple you should
33.        get it for free
```

This excerpt is one of the rare cases in which Morgan initiates modified singing. Just like Dan sings parts of prior turns, Morgan reframes most of Dan's turn from line (8) *there's a camera looking down at me* to the "Farmer in the Dell" tune. She produces this twice in lines (11-12) and then Dan sings another line *there's an apple with a bite out of it* in line (14). Viewed in isolation, his production does not seem to fit with the rest of the lyrics. In the context of a larger chunk of the prior discourse, however, Dan's singing turn is tailored for a specific purpose. Just over a minute earlier, Dan had spoken the turn *someone took a bite outta that apple* in line (1). Neither Morgan nor I responded immediately, and after a gap Morgan produced only a minimal response. She was otherwise occupied with her phone, and I recall searching unsuccessfully for the referent or reason for his turn. (I knew that it was not a complaint since the apple in the fruit bowl was whole and it was not a pre-announcement for a story since he did not continue with a more elaborate sequence.) By co-constructing Morgan's song to include a near repetition of his earlier turn, Dan perpetuates the progressivity of the song and also reasserts his earlier announcement. His re-announcement gets taken up at the expense of the song with my inquiry *there is?* in line (18), and talk about the apple

continues from that point onwards. Five minutes after the first announcement in line (1),

Dan makes the punch line *If someone takes a bite outta your apple you should get it for*

free in lines (32-33). So, Dan's first announcement *someone took a bite outta that apple*

attempts to establish shared access to the Apple laptop, and his singing returns to the

disattended turn as a crucial element for an upcoming joke.

Dan performs the second type of retrospective singing to end a course of action

that then "frees the floor" for a return to an earlier sequence. In the "Apple" excerpt,

Dan's singing clearly indexes elements from a prior turn. The singing takes on a repair-

like structure in pursuit of uptake.[26] In contrast, the singing in the next example does

not reference the retrospective element and is therefore an indirect method of directing

talk back to a previous sequence. The singing stops the current trajectory of talk so that

an earlier element can be addressed again. In this excerpt, Morgan had gone to the store

without Dan, and this has turned into a point of contention. After an extended

complaint sequence, Morgan reads to Dan about robins in the bird book.

```
(25) [10-2011 "Brick red"]
1.  DA:   did you say you went to costco?
2.        (0.5)
3.  MO:   mm-↑hmm.
4.        (0.6)
5.  DA:   (n) I didn't go?
6.        (1.0)
7.  MO:   well cause I was just picking up a few thi:ngs.
8.        (0.7)
9.  DA:   ↘o:h.
10.       (3.0)
11. MO: -> ((Reading page number))°three: °one °↓fou:r (0.9)↑o:.
12.       (2.5)
13. DA: -> and you called to me and I didn't wake up?
14.       (1.2)
```

---

[26] Dan's use of repetition here is similar to what Schegloff (1997, p. 512) calls "repair of a sequence's progressivity" in which a speaker uses a repair initiator (e.g., *huh?*) following a lacking response. In the case of "Apple," however, the structure is a near repetition following a minimal response.

```
15. MO:    no, (.) I asked you if you were ready for your lunch
16.        (.) at one sta:ge and you said well, (.) in a little
17.        while.
18.        (0.4)
19. DA:    I ↑di:d. (.) can't remember any [of that.]
20. MO: ->                                [(yep)   ]
21.        (1.8)
22.        ↑o:ka:y
23.        (26.8) {Morgan looks at the book while Dan eats)
24.        ((reading from book)) (xxx) (1.3) oh it says it's
25.        got a year round range. in our (.) part of the
26.        world? (12.3) if it's north of the border (.) then
27.        it goes up there in the spring but migrates down
28.        (0.5) further south. (0.7) and some of them go to
29.        mexico. (25.3)so the juvenile robin's got a very
30.        spotty breast (1.6) and the female's smaller and
31.        she's more russet. (1.0) a:nd the regular male robin
32.        has got brick red underparts
33.        (1.9) {Morgan is still looking at the book.}
34. DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
35.     ->♫ oh brick red (0.4) oh brick red
36. MO:    mmhmm. (0.3) ((She is closing book and putting it
37.        down)) not underpants underpa:rts.
38.        (2.8)
39. DA:    I don't think they wear p[ants.
40. MO:                            [((khheh heh ha ha)) .hh
41.        (1.1)
42. DA: -> how are you morgan?
43. MO:    I'm doing fi:ne (°actually)
44.        (2.6)
45. DA: -> I didn't go to costco (1.2) I didn't have a peanut
46.     -> buster parf[ait ]
47. MO:              [well] tomorrow you go to see the vampire.
48.        (2.2)
49. DA:    they're going to take a blood sample,
50.        (0.6)
51. MO:    yea:h they'll take an armful so you need to go
52.        somewhere to put it (0.5) back in (.)
53.        [(similar to)] what they took out.
54. DA:    [o::h.        ]
55.        (1.6)
56. MO:    mm::. (4.9) so you could go tomorrow if you so
57.        desired. or you could (0.7) {She gets up from table
58.        and starts walking away} go get a: gelato.
59.        (1.8)
60. DA:    I think I'll go to (.) costco first and then get a
61.        [gelato]
62. MO:    [heh ha] ha ha (.) that's right
```

In "Brick red," Dan's singing is not the first time that he stops the progression of the

reading activity. At the start of the excerpt he has developed a complaint about Morgan

going to Costco, one of his favorite destinations, without him. When Morgan looks up

the page number in line (11) to start the reading, Dan continues with his complaint about not going to Costco *and you called to me and I didn't wake up?* in line (13). His turn shows that he was not done with the complaint, and they continue with that sequence until line (20). Morgan then does the reading activity with little involvement from Dan. There are multiple pauses during the reading, and Morgan has given no indication that she has stopped reading (despite the final 1.9 second pause) when Dan starts singing in line (35). Reading out loud suspends typical turn-taking conventions. Dan's short singing turn not only effectively ends the reading activity but also marks the return of conversational conventions. In response to Dan's turn, Morgan closes the book and makes a joke that falls flat. After another pause Dan asks *how are you morgan?* in line (42). His question is a bit odd at this point of ongoing talk, but inquiries likes these are often done in reciprocal pairs. Asking how she is invites a return question that could make his troubles talk relevant again. Morgan's return question about how Dan is doing is noticeably missing, but Dan does a complaint anyway that offers his state of grievance in lines (45-46). As established earlier, Dan *didn't go to costco*, but the ultimate problem is that he *didn't have a peanut buster parfait* dessert there. His complaint is finally satisfied with Morgan's offering that he get one the next day. In this excerpt, Dan's singing in no way references the earlier complaint sequence that he continues to develop after singing. His singing, however, halts the forward progression of the reading activity a second time, and ending the reading allows for pursuit of his earlier grievance.

In "Brick red," Dan's singing makes a bid to close an otherwise ongoing project that then allows a return to something prior. Dan also uses singing to return talk to an

object in the room multiple times in the course of on-going interactions. In one

particular extended conversation, he sings multiple times about a toucan figurine in his

visual field. The video starts with Dan sitting at the table and Morgan coming into the

room. Dan looks up at Morgan and then down at the animal figurines on the lazy susan.

```
(26) [7-2014 "Toucan with a red beak" & "Toucan looking right at
you"]
1.  MO:    [hhhhh   ]
2.  DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
3.     ->♫ [toucan] toucan give me your answer true
4.         (.)
5.     ->♫ I'm half crazy over the red beak in you
6.         (1.4) {Looks at Morgan as she starts to speak}
7.  MO:    o:h very (0.8) heh very colorful. .h[hh  heh heh]
8.  DA:                                        [heh heh heh]
9.         {looks back down at animals}
10. MO:    hih °hih .hh
11.        (0.4)
12. MO:    ↑oh dear I've (0.4) um I think I've bumped tho:se (.)
13.        arou:nd the other day. don't .hh don't swing it too::
14.        fast otherwise the birds will fly away.
15.        (0.4)
16. DA:    ↘o::h that would be a shame.
17.        (0.3)
18. MO:    mmm,
19. DA:    especially don't want the bud- ducky to lea:ve. (0.9)
20.        or the flower.
21.        (0.5)
22. MO:    no:.
23.        (1.1)
24. DA: -> when I see that flower I just remember (1.2) good time
25.    -> I had at the pottery lab.
26. MO:    °mmhmm.
27.        (1.7)
28. DA:    I wasn't very good.=
29. MO:    =yeah, y-you made that here in bangor.
30.        (0.3)
31. DA:    [yeah    xxx]
32. MO:    [or (0.3) or] was that dow:n (.) at (0.3) the art
33.        museum. (0.3) ((sniff))
34. DA:    [no I made that I made that.]
35. MO:    [at the class that you took.]
36.        (2.4)
37. MO:    yeah.
38.        (0.5)
39. DA: -> I've forgotten about- did I take a cla:ss down in dover?
40. MO:    yea:h. (1.2) yeah that was the first one you too:k.
41.        (0.7)
42. DA: -> [I've forgotten all about it.]
43. MO:    [we went dow:n              ] to the a:rt i- to the
44.        (.) art museum. (.) then you found out that (.) they
```

```
45.            (0.7) had classes there.
46.            (1.1)
47. DA: ->  wo:w. (1.2) fancy schmancy.
48.            (0.4)
49. MO:    yea:h. (3.2) yeah you ma:de (.) tha::t u:m (.) u:m
50.            (0.7) like totem po:le.  {Dan looks at Morgan}
51.            (1.2)
52. DA: ->  oh yeah. (0.8) yeah I remember that [now. ]
53. MO:                                          [mmm:.]
54.            (0.4)
55. DA:    yeah.=
56. MO:    =↑yeah.
57.            (0.5)
58. DA:    that was fu[n].
59. MO:                [a]nd did you make that flu:te or- or did
60.          someone else give you that?
61.            (0.8)
62. DA: ->  I think else gave me tha[t].{looks at, spins animals}
63. MO:                              [y]eah (.) I (.) d-didn't
64.          think that was one that you made.
65.            (2.0)
66. DA: ->  the flute goes ↑toot ↑toot
67.            (0.4)
68. MO:    mmhmm.
69.            (2.3)
70. DA: ->  ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
71.        ♫ toucan toucan (.) he's {Dan stops spinning animals so
72.          the toucan faces Morgan, and he gazes up at her.}
73.          lookin right at you {He looks back down at animals.}
74.            (0.4)
75. MO:    mm[hmm]
76. DA:  ♫   [I'm] half crazy (0.6) over the toucan and you
77. MO:    ↓mmmm.
78.            (2.6)
79. DA: ->  the toucan's got a red face.
```

The excerpt starts at the very beginning of the video, so it cannot be said with certainty

that Dan's initial singing is the beginning of the interaction or the opening of a new

sequence. It is noteworthy, however, that Dan's first song in lines (3-5) comments on

the redness of the toucan's beak. Similar to Dan and Morgan's talk about the color of

the cat figurine, the toucan and its color involve the here-and-now state of the world

since they are visible available objects. By comparison, the next segment of talk is

about things that are not immediately accessible in their environment. Dan often

enthusiastically talks about having done pottery or laments not doing it anymore, and

the next bit of talk that he opens connects an object on the lazy susan with a general

reminiscing about *the good time I had at the pottery lab* in lines (24-25).[27] As the

sequence progresses, the conversation moves to specific dates, places, and ceramic

pieces. Dan claims not to remember the art class in lines (39, 42), and he downgrades

his memory of who made the flute by starting with *I think* in line (62). Although a

person would typically have primary rights to knowledge about his own experiences,

Dan takes the position of being informed (e.g., *wow fancy schmancy* in line (47) and *oh

yeah yeah I remember that now* in line (52)). In effect, the conversation has changed

from here-and-now referents to temporally distant information that is more difficult for

Dan due to his memory loss. Dan closes this segment of talk with *the flute goes toot

toot* in line (66), and this turn provides another concrete announcement about a quality

of an object. After a brief lapse, Dan starts a new sequence with singing about the

toucan looking at Morgan. He sings *toucan toucan he's lookin right at you* in lines (71-

73) as he positions the toucan to face her. He finishes the song with an appreciation *I'm

half crazy over the toucan and you* and then launches into more talk about the toucan

with *the toucan's got a red face* in line (79). This occasions more talk about the toucan

and other visible objects.

The interaction continues, and Morgan has moved the conversation away from

visually accessible objects on the lazy susan. This is about three minutes after the

previous example of "Toucan looking right at you," and they have just finished talking

about the history of a teapot and the Boston Tea Party. Dan again sings to open talk

---

[27] His talk about doing pottery is rarely about specific dates and places. It is almost always a
general reminiscing about how he liked doing pottery but his doctor told him to avoid exposure
to dust from clay and harmful compounds in ceramic glazes.

about the toucan.

```
(27) [7-2014 "Toucan comes around again"]
1.   MO:     mmm=
2.   DA:     {He is looking at animals and spinning the lazy susan.
3.           He moves it until the two toucans face Morgan}
4.           ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
5.        ->♫ =toucan toucan
6.   MO:     o:h they've come around again.
7.           (4.4)
8.   DA: ->  actually there- there's lots of pretty things on this
9.           tray.=
10.  MO:     =mmhmm: (0.5) ((sniff))
11.          (0.4)
12.  DA:     the toucans and the llamas (1.9) the ducky and the
13.          rooster (1.2) and the ↑beautiful ↑flower.
```

The previous talk about the teapot closed about three seconds before Dan turns the

toucans to face Morgan and sings *toucan toucan* in line (5). This short singing episode

is sufficient for a re-noticing of the animals that is picked up as a new line of talk. In

these examples with the toucan, it cannot be asserted that Dan does not participate in

the less concrete talk about past dates, places, and events. However, it is likely not a

coincidence that Dan restarts conversation about visibly available objects, like toucans

and animals, when the talk is about things that are more demanding on his memory.

Researchers and caregivers often describe people with dementia as having poor

topic management and coherence (Bayles & Tomoeda, 1991; Dijkstra et al., 2004;

Garcia & Joanette, 1994, 1997; Guendouzi & Müller, 2006; Mentis et. al., 1995). This

difficulty includes *topic bias* or the repetition of topics, ideas, and expressions

(Guendouzi & Müller, 2006, p. 171). Guendouzi and Müller (2006) argue that topic

bias in dementia may even be responsible for other forms of conversational trouble,

such as "inappropriate responses" and lack of uptake when conversation does not

conform to the bias. There is a pattern of Dan redirecting talk away from things that are

more challenging for him cognitively (episodic memory, high-level planning for trips

and finances, problem solving for electronics) and towards (1) talk about concrete objects available in the immediate environment or (2) talk that is grounded in his relative cognitive strengths (e.g., general reminiscing or procedural memory, see "Dabble" as an example). Although the examples I presented in this section demonstrate "topic bias," Dan manages to make his return to prior talk and favored referents relevant. Dan accomplishes this by in two ways. First, he treats prior projects as incomplete by developing them more: in "Apple," the state of the apple becomes preliminary to a joke, and the main complaint in "Brick red" turns into one about ice cream as the interaction unfolds. Second, he returns to favored referents by starting new sequences that are timed with changes in the object's spatial configuration (e.g., spinning and stopping the toucan so it faces Morgan). This pattern of singing to return talk to objects and interactional projects is retrospective in the sense that elements of talk are reanimated. It is also prospective in that new talk is opened.

6.7.2   Prospective shift in trajectory

Dan's singing can also change an interaction's trajectory towards something new. Dan uses singing for two types of prospective shifts: (1) A previous sequence has closed and singing opens a new sequence, and (2) singing bridges two sequences by closing one sequence and touching off another. When Dan uses singing to start a completely new sequence, the singing can come after a lapse in the conversation or quickly after an unrelated, closed sequence. Several scholars have debated possible structural differences between a "single conversation" unit in a focused encounter like a telephone call and a sprawling "continuing state of incipient talk" (see, e.g., Couper-

Kuhlen, 2010; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2010, 2011; Stivers & Rossano,

2010). In the later, participants do not continuously sustain talk as they lapse into long

silences or shift attention to other activities like watching TV, and they may not

produce greetings and closings. There are moments in which Dan uses singing to shift

from periods of non-participation back to focused talk. In "Blueberries," analyzed

earlier in reference to doing appreciation, Dan works very hard to establish joint

activity during a period when Morgan has stopped the interaction to use her phone. Dan

is unsuccessful at using singing to shift the participation frame in that case, but in other

instances he is successful at opening new sequences. In "Amendment 68," for example,

Dan and Morgan closed the previous talk, and they are now looking at the animal

figurines on the lazy susan turntable. The TV in another room can be heard in the

background.

```
(28) [9-2014 "Amendment 68"]
1.   TV:    please join me and vote yes on sixty eight.
2.          (1.1)
3.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
4.       ->♫ oh sixty eight oh sixty eight
5.          (1.7)
6.       -> .hh (.) it's an amendment to the state {their gaze
7.       -> meets)) constitution.
8.          (0.7)
9.   MO: -> mmhmm. (1.2) allowing an out of state casino (.) to
10.         (.) come in and operate (here) .hh they're trying to
11.         sweeten the deal (0.3) by giving a percentage of
12.         earnings [to an e- e-     ]
13.  DA:            [to the schools.]
14.  MO:    an education fund bu:t .hh um (1.4) al the other
15.         casinos:: are (0.3) heavily campaigning against it.
16.         (0.7)
17.  DA:    yeah.
```

The TV political advertisement touches off Dan's singing, and he follows the singing

with an informing about the referent *sixty eight* in his song. This touches off a much

longer exchange about the proposed constitutional amendment. In this example, Dan's

short bit of singing in line (4) and his following talk are successful in opening a new

sequence following a lapse in conversation. It is possible that his success in this case

has to do with demands of the competing task. In "Blueberries," Morgan is reading and

responding to emails, which is a task that has a more defined ending point than

spinning animals.

The second way that Dan uses singing for a prospective shift in the interaction

is closing one line of talk while touching off a new sequence. The singing transitions

between two sequences by (1) including an element from prior talk, and (2) touching

off new talk related to the song itself. In the excerpts with the song "Kansas City,"

discussed in Chapter 5, Morgan produces turns with *up to date* that touch off Dan's

singing *everthing's up to date in Kansas City* from the song "Kansas City."

```
(29) [3-2014 "Kansas City 1"]
6.   MO:    BU:T I:T'S an
7.          up to date one it's a twenty well it's a twentieth
8.       -> century dictionary so it's not quite up to date
9.          {She looks ahead and takes a drink}
10.  DA:    we'll have to go to kansas city for the most recent one.
11.  MO:    rea:l[ly?]
12.  DA:         [ye ]s
13.         ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
14.     ->♫ everything's up to date in kansas city.=
15.  MO:    =hh [hih heh heh ha heh] °hih
16.  DA:        [.hh khhh heh       ]
17.       ♫ THEY'VE GONE ABOUT AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO:.
18.  MO:    ((sniff))
19.         (0.6)
20.  DA: -> I love that son[g. (xxx)  ]
21.  MO:                    [(mm i- i-)]
22.  DA: -> in fact I like that whole musical. it was rea:lly had
23.      -> a l[ot of]
24.  MO:      [mmhmm]
25.         (1.5)
26.  DA: -> umph to it.
27.  MO:    umph y(h)eah hah

(30) [4-2014 "Trip to Kansas City"]
1.   MO: -> so: hh we're all up to date with the: um (.) with the
2.          statements now they're all printed out.
3.          (6.6) {He nods and she nods back.}
4.   DA:    it means we can take a trip to kansas city
5.          (0.6)
6.   MO:    rea:lly? why is tha:t?
7.   DA:    ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
```

```
8.      ->♫ everything's up to date in kansas ci[ty]
9.  MO:                                     [hh] hih heh hih
10.        ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
11.      ♫ .hh they've gone about as far as they can g[o]
12. DA:  ♫                                          [GO]::
13.        (0.6)
14.      -> that's a really nice song=
15. MO:    =mhmm
16.        (1.8)
17. DA: -> that fellow who wrote that ↑really was clever.
```

In these two examples, Dan's singing maintains cohesion from the previous turn by

recycling *up to date*. He then shifts to talking about the song itself: *I love that song. In*

fact I like that whole musical. It was really had a lot of umph to it in lines (20, 22-23,

26) of "Kansas City 1," and *that's a really nice song that fellow who wrote that really*

was clever in lines (14, 17) of "Trip to Kansas City." Dan's singing and following talk

consequentially close the previous line of talk while opening new talk about the song

by both participants. Similarly, in "Blinky light," Dan changes closes talk about the

camera and opens talk about the song.

```
(31) [3-2014 "Blinky light"]
5.  RF: -> .hh it's not showing that it's charging. oh wait maybe
6.      -> that's what that blinky light means.
7.        (1.8)
8.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
9.      ->♫ oh blinky light oh blinky light (1.0)
10.     ->♫ I'm all charged up because of the blinky light
11. MO:  ♫ oh (.) turn it on
12.        heh hih hh
13.        (0.4)
14. DA:  ♫ oh don't you really really think
15. MO:    ((voiceless laughing)) .hh
16. DA:  ♫ that we should have (0.4) another drink (1.4)
17.      ♫ the firemen's band the firemen's band
18. MO:    °hih ((sniff)) (0.8) hhh heh hih (0.4) hih (1.0) .hh
19.        [((quiet laughing))                               ]
20. DA: -> [no one's ever let me sing that song all the way]
21.      -> through be[fore.]
```

I described in the section on epistemic authority that Dan sings following my noticing

turns about *charging* and the *blinky light* on the camera. Similar to the "Kansas City"

examples, Dan's singing not only recycles the *charge* and *blinky light* elements but also

touches off a longer sequence about the song (starting with *no one's ever let me sing that song all the way through before* in lines (20-21)). In summary, Dan maintains an element of cohesion by appropriating elements of prior turns in his singing, and his singing touches off new talk about the song.

I argued in the previous subsection that Dan's singing about the toucan returns to a *topic bias* about the immediate environment following talk about more "distant" concepts that puts a burden on Dan's memory. In a similar vein, the songs that I have just described as touching off talk about the song also end talk about things that Dan has little involvement with: planning for trips, managing finances, and problem solving for electronics. Morgan has more experience with those areas these days, and completing those tasks is part of her responsibility as a caregiver. When Dan sings funny songs to open a new sequence, he enacts a "jokester" status, and he also redirects talk to things that he participates in more.

6.8 Conclusion

Singing is an open-ended resource for Dan. He does expected things such as singing in response to a turn that references a song's title or lyrics. Singing is also a medium for Dan to do things that he is good at, such as being funny, affectionate, and appreciative. Singing is a resource for Dan to acknowledge talk about activities that he does not fully participate in nowadays and concepts that are no longer in his realm of expertise. There are examples in the corpus in which Dan does not shift away from (or successfully avoid) cognitively challenging talk and activities. In the case of "Wuzzles," Dan takes almost a minute to complete the basic word puzzle, and Morgan provides so

many clues to assist him that he complains several times *you told me* the answer. Also, interactions that require Dan to demonstrate intact episodic memory often result in him producing accounts and complaints about memory loss (e.g., "I can't remember individual things. They all sort of flow together," "It's too bad. I should be able to remember those things but …" and "That's funny, I can't remember. It's all vague to me now."). Singing provides an alternative that directs talk to things that are less cognitively demanding. As a consequence, Dan saves face by not exposing his cognitive deficits. In the most general of terms, Dan's singing is a strong example of a person with dementia initiating talk, being responsive to other participants, and sustaining mutual engagement. More particularly, Dan's singing is a way for him to articulate creative wordplay, and each performance in which Dan does wordplay or humor contributes to his construction of himself as a funny and clever person.

In my analysis of what Dan is accomplishing by singing, I have not discussed how Dan or Morgan describes its function or purpose. Enfield (2013, p. 101) uses the term *treating-as* to describe the process participants usually use to characterize other participants actions (e.g., saying "Thank you") in contrast to a *describing-as* categorization process (e.g., "He gave me a compliment"). In this study, I have focused on how the participants construct and treat turns at talk. Although participants' description of action is certainly valuable for study of language ideology, there are only rare cases in which Dan uses meta-language to talk about the meaning of his singing. The excerpt "Sociable" is a notable exception. This is an example in which Morgan's treatment of Dan's singing is not in alignment with how Dan describes it. In "Sociable,"

the actual singing event was not recorded because, unfortunately, the recording started

just after the singing.

```
 (32) [4-2014 "Sociable"]
1.   DA:    (°xxx)[(°xxx)]
2.   MO: ->      [and w:]hy do you think that we should have
3.       -> another drink. hh
4.   DA:       [(xxx)
5.   DA: -> °I °was °just (1.9) trying to be soci[able.]
6.   MO:                                         [hh   ] hah
7.          s(h)ociable.
8.   DA:    hih heh hih hah (0.3) .hh
9.   MO:    mmm
10.        (0.7)
11.  DA:    hh
12.  MO:    well, you can: ↑have another drink if you li:ke but
13.         [it's uh root]
14.  DA:    [better be wa]ter
15.  MO:    it's rootbeer hh [ha ha] ha .hh °hih
16.  DA:                     [I see]
17.         heh huh
18.  MO:    heh hhh .hhh ↓o:h ↓well. (2.1) ↓o:[ka::y      ]
19.  DA: ->                                   [here we are]
20.      -> right next to coo:rs at least close to it=
21.  MO:    =mmhmm=
22.  DA: -> =and I don't even get any beer.
23.        (0.4)
24.  MO:    ↘o::h [poor Dan,]
25.  DA:         [I get    ] get a rootbeer rather than a
26.        (0.4)
27.  MO:    [yeah]
28.  DA:    [coor]s [beer]
29.  MO:            [hhh ] heh ha ha
30.  DA:    deary deary (.)
31.  MO:    °hih (1.1) ↓o::ka::y (0.4) mhm
```

Morgan told me that just before the recording started, Dan had sung "The Fireman's

band." The original song includes the lyrics "Oh don't you really really think that we

should have another drink." In lines (2-3), Morgan treats his singing as an actual

request for another drink and seeks an account for it (*and why do you think that we*

should have another drink). Dan is acutely aware of the fact that he has medical and

pharmaceutical restrictions on drinking alcohol (see his lament *here we are right next to*

coors at least close to it and I don't even get any beer in lines (14-15, 17)), so it is

unlikely that he meant for his singing to be taken literally. Indeed, Dan counters by providing an alternative interpretation of his singing *I was just trying to be sociable* in line (5). This turn provides us with a *described-as* account for Dan's singing that suggests an emic action category of *being sociable*. In a broad sense, we may treat all of Dan's singing events that I have discussed as *doing being sociable*. He could simply speak instead of sing, but singing allows him to "be sociable" by performing entertaining songs. The texts that he sings to "be sociable" are not neutral vehicles. They are clever and humorous variations of drinking songs, college songs, love songs, and children's songs. His performances are a resource for Dan to position himself as a funny, laid-back guy who used to enjoy a drink with his fraternity brothers and who would still like to have a drink now.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.1 Main findings

We do not know much about singing in everyday conversation. My analysis contributes to our understanding of how the structure and meaning of singing emerges in interaction. There are several main findings worth reviewing regarding (1) how Dan's singing fits into the turn-taking structure of talk, (2) the emergent structure of an individual performance, and (3) what his singing accomplishes in the moment.

First, Dan's singing is not random but fits systematically within the sequential organization of interaction. Dan does unmodified singing primarily at the closing of sequences. The location of his modified singing is less restricted, and he performs modified songs as a first pair part, second pair part, and post-expansion. The singing sequence makes relevant a response and furthers progressivity of interaction. There are several types of responses to his singing. One possible response is an assessment of his song. The assessment may include laughter, appreciation, and/or evaluation of the song's construction. Another response is a joke or humorous remark (similar to jokes in tit-for-tat succession). Sometimes, a co-participant will pursue an account for the song's relevance to ongoing talk. Other times, the co-participant demonstrates orientation to the "main job" of singing by providing an account (to a complaint), expressing gratitude (to a compliment), or pursuing an account (for a request). In sum, Dan sings in systematic sequential locations. His singing is treated as responsive to prior talk, and it makes relevant a response.

Second, Dan's song emerges bit-by-bit in conversation, and singing beyond the first bit is an accomplishment. Lyrics fall on the relatively prefabricated end on the "novel to prefabricated" spectrum of formulaic sequences. Yet, the formulaic structure does not guarantee that Dan will produce the "whole" song. The length of Dan's singing emerges moment-by-moment. His singing, like talk, can be understood in terms of turn construction units (TCUs). There is evidence towards an orientation to a relatively short TCU for singing. Dan's performance of an extended song beyond an initial TCU is an achievement that is contingent upon the actions of co-participants. Co-participants have a role in song extension by lack of uptake, silences that invite more, continuers, minimal assessments, turns that explicitly request continuation, and turns that pursue an account for a song's relevance. The ending of a longer song is arrived at jointly and emerges turn-by-turn from a conglomerate of embodied practices that Dan and Morgan systematically deploy. In other words, singing is locally occasioned and contingent on surrounding talk and involvement of other participants. These findings, albeit from a single-case study, contribute to our understanding of how singing of formulaic structures emerges in conversation.

Third, Dan's singing is a relatively open-ended resource for doing things in interaction. There are examples of Dan doing humor and wordplay, closing sequences to re-establish affiliation, doing appreciation and gratitude, responding to a noticing or informing turn, responding to turns that announce a new activity, and changing the trajectory of talk. Dan uses singing to accomplish "main" jobs, such as complimenting and complaining. Singing also helps to accomplish "off record" jobs that participants attend to, such as managing distribution of knowledge and decision-making rights. In

short, there is not a one-to-one correlation between singing and action. This does not mean that Dan's singing is random or asocial. Dan's singing is a flexible interactional resource because he astutely monitors conversation and modifies songs to the discursive context at hand.

Furthermore, singing is an important way that Dan subtly and indirectly resists his position as a person with dementia. First, Dan sometimes sings in response to noticing and informing turns. Noticing and informing turns expose changes in Dan's cognition when they involve things that he no longer participates in, such shopping, planning for trips and finances, and problem solving for electronics. Singing in response allows Dan to acknowledge receipt of information without taking much of a stance towards the distribution of knowledge. More significantly, singing re-positions Dan based on his witty and humorous wordplay. Second, Dan sings in response to turns that put forth next activities. Dan's singing treats announcements of activities as proposals for him to approve and re-propose. His singing response constitutes a subtle shift in the participants' relative rights to decision-making without Dan having to initiate plans and activities on his own (something that is very difficult for him to do). Finally, there is a pattern of Dan redirecting talk away from things that are more challenging for him cognitively and toward more concrete information and accessible objects that are in the immediate environment. When Dan's singing touches off talk about things that he participates in more, he shifts talk away from challenging topics while constructing himself as clever and funny. These findings are important because they illustrates that a person with dementia can use a resource, such as singing, to navigate challenging interactional "business" without overly exposing a cognitive

deficit that positions him as a "person cared for" or "person with dementia."

In addition to these interactional concerns, I have also discussed Dan's singing in terms of sociocultural notions of performance and identity. People achieve identity in relation to other positions and participants (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). I have emphasized that Dan's performances often position him as witty and funny. The stances that Dan and other participants take towards his performances as funny and clever position him as a particular type of singer in the moment. Those stances accumulate in a bottom-up fashion to construct Dan a more "durable" identity (such as "jokester") than found in his temporary participant roles. This process of *stance accretion* is important for understanding the relationship between Dan's singing and his construction of self (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). It helps to explain how Dan's silly songs can resist the position attributed to him through another participant's stance toward knowledge.

Although I have primarily focused on the funny and clever aspects of Dan's singing, it is also important to recognize that his singing is a resource for doing other types of identity and relationship work. Dan and Morgan use singing to establish similarity through *adequation* when they do co-production and choral production of songs based on their shared memory of texts and history of previous productions (e.g., "Kansas City," see Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Demonstrating long-held shared knowledge, along with doing appreciation and expressing gratitude with singing (e.g., by modifying "Bicycle Built for Two"), has the potential to build closeness and intimacy. Yet, similarity is only one way that Dan positions himself in relation to Morgan and constructs them as a couple. In other contexts, Dan's singing has multiple, complex links to meaning and identity. His singing of his college "fight" song in response to a

call from his alma mater positions him as having legitimate access to texts associated

with his time at university as a fraternity brother through processes of *authentication*

and *authorization* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Furthermore, his affirmative response to

Morgan's negative assessment of the song as a "put down song" followed by his second

singing creates a *distinction* between him and Morgan (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Morgan might be the type of person who does not like put down songs, but Dan is the

type of person who would agree with the assessment and enthusiastically sing it again.

In other words, Dan's singing cannot be reduced to a simplistic semiotic resource for

indirectly indexing a single identity. Dan's construction of self is always shifting and

contingent.

Theories of linguistic production and comprehension have not been my main

focus, but they provide useful approaches for this study. Neurolinguistic and

psycholinguistic perspectives are important here because Dan's increased frequency of

singing and method of song modification coincided with changes in his memory. These

disciplines provide a reference point for understanding why singing could be an indirect,

compensatory adaptation for cognitive deficit. Dan's singing might help him adapt to

changes in memory by addressing issues of neural arousal and allocation of cognitive

resources. Singing formulaic sequences provides a processing advantage in the form of

quicker activation compared to production of more novel utterances. The neural

activation pattern for singing may spread out the burden of processing by recruiting

additional networks, especially in right hemisphere, than used in speaking. Formulaic

sequences also provide a processing advantage, which may be the result of storage as a

holistic chunk or quickly spreading activation. The processing advantage of easily

activated formulaic sequences helps Dan to participate in challenging contexts, such as multi-party conversations in restaurants, by decreasing the cognitive load of processing novel utterances. These are the types of environments in which Dan's participation is significantly reduced and limited to mostly repeated and formulaic sequences.

Singing and use of formulaic sequences may also "free up" cognitive resources for creative modifications by decreasing the cognitive load of online production. Dan's textual variations require additional processing for production. Dan modifies songs based on linguistic elements from prior turns and objects that are visually accessible. A formulaic structure provides "slots" for modification, but there is a bidirectional relationship between the original and novel linguistic elements that go in those slots. Concepts and event structures from the "original" formulaic sequence not only provide syntactic structure but also activate concepts and lemmas for modification. In less demanding contexts, such as speaking one-on-one in a relatively quiet environment, Dan can allocate cognitive resources to modify songs for his playful and humorous participation.

7.2 Significance

There is much that we can learn from singing in terms of turn-taking structure, action formation, cognitive processing, and identity. Analysis of singing in interaction is a worthwhile pursuit because it provides an avenue for understanding the relationship between the structures of formulaic sequences and the moment-by-moment unfolding of conversation. In other words, analysis of singing provides information about how formulaic sequences shape and are shaped by interaction. Singing is formulaic but not

totally pre-fabricated. What a participant reproduces of a text varies from performance to performance. Sometimes a performance is very formulaic. Other times, the participant only produces the tune plus rhyme and metric structure from the formula. Singing is a type of formulaic improvisation that we do not know much about in terms of how participants produce it in conversation and what it allows them to accomplish. Analysis of Dan's singing is not meant to be representative of how and why all people sing in conversation, but this case study contributes preliminary findings regarding the turn-taking structure and function of this understudied behavior.

Improvisational singing is also potentially valuable to understanding how music and formulaic sequences are processed. Of course, singing in conversation does not provide experimental control, but Dan's modified singing suggests that neural activation spreads from the formulaic structure to modifications. Modifications are not simply activated separately and then fit into empty "slots." Further study of parallel processing required for modifying formulaic sequences might contribute to models of linguistic processing.

Analysis of singing further contributes to the study of identity, and it may be particularly relevant to understanding identity positions for people with dementia. In my work as a speech-language pathologist, I have met with many teary-eyed clients who said that they do not want to be a "burden" or a person who has "nothing to give back." People with dementia sometimes express a sense of worthlessness and lament loss of a meaningful role in their community. This is a serious problem. My study shows that singing can be one resource for constructing identities other than "demented."

It is worthwhile to further explore the ways in which speakers with dementia may sing or talk about music to enact various identities.

The study of singing has implications for caregiving and therapy. Dan's frequent repetition of songs may seem like an atypical behavior associated with dementia, but his singing serves a number of interaction purposes. My analysis demonstrates that singing can be used to (1) demonstrate engagement, (2) establish progressivity of interaction, (3) maintain coherence by linking to previous talk and touching off new talk, (4) do interactional jobs, and (4) position self in relation to others. This study is not meant as a guide to intervention for cognitive-linguistic maintenance, rehabilitation, or habilitation. My intention is not to suggest that speech-language pathologists should train people with dementia to sing. However, people with dementia may have other remaining abilities that seem pragmatically unusual, and it is constructive to identify whether those behaviors support participation before attempting to change them.

There is also a recent move for caregivers to sing to people with dementia (Brown, Götell, & Ekman, 2001; Götell, Brown, & Ekman, 2002, 2003, 2009; Götell, Thunborg, Söderlund, & Wågert, 2012; Hammar, Emami, Engström, & Götell, 2011) and to provide people with dementia personalized playlists of music (e.g., the Music & Memory project to supply ipods http://musicandmemory.org). This study demonstrates the degree to which lateral communication about media can be important to continued emergence of self. Links between music, memory, and meaning seem to have endurance. Although not every person with dementia sings like Dan, it could be

productive to integrate talk about music, genre, and contexts for past consumption into reminiscing activities while listening to music. This is an area for future exploration.

7.3 Future research

This research could be taken in many different directions. One would be to develop the cognitive analysis of singing. It would be interesting to explore domain-general cognitive processes required for Dan's modified singing, such as categorization, chunking, analogy, and memory storage of language experience (what Bybee, 2010, p.7 calls *rich memory*). Such a description would be useful for understanding intrapersonal aspects of Dan's singing as a complex, multi-system adaption (i.e., domain-general and linguistic) to memory deficit.

Dan's use of formulaic sequences raises questions for future exploration regarding composition and authorhood. Stevanovic & Frick (2014) propose that singers in conversation usually use compositions that are created by someone else and recognizable as belonging to a genre. In their view, the singer's decreased composition reduces agency and thus the singer's accountability for the utterance. Here they are using Enfield's (2011, p. 105) understanding of agency as "one's degree of flexibility and accountability in relation to some course of behavior and its effects." Composing is conceptualized as one component of flexibility. Stevanovic & Frick (2014) argue that decreased composition and thus accountability can happen "even in a situation where a participant fits the lyrics of his song to the verbal content of the preceding speech" (p. 498). My analysis of Dan's singing raises questions regarding his composition and accountability. Considering his frequency of performing the same texts, does he do less

of the composition? If each recontextualized performance results in something new and unique, is he less responsible for composition? Is he held more accountable for singing when co-participants treat it as accomplishing an action based on a literal interpretive frame (e.g., doing compliments, requests, and complaints)? How do we separate the conglomerate of embodied practices involved in singing to demonstrate that reduced composition is what accomplishes affiliation? How do we show that participants demonstrate contrastive orientation to "less agency" and "greater agency"? There are many directions that we could go in with these questions. One route would be to compare how action unfolds in sung and spoken responses (i.e., compare similar sequences in which Dan sings a response with sequences in which he speaks a response). Signs of increased dispreference and disaffiliation in the speaking turns could demonstrate that singing reduces accountability.

Another area for further research is Morgan's role in supporting Dan's cognition. Dan's singing works as compensatory adaption because of the particulars of his interactions with Morgan and other familiar communication partners. In these videos, Dan does a lot of things with singing and speaking. The excerpts here do not reveal how much interactional work Morgan does at times to keep Dan engaged. There are other interactions in which he barely participates despite Morgan working very hard to engage him in joint interaction. The data that I have presented here are certainly representative of some of their interactions, but they attest to the effort Morgan puts into supporting Dan's communication as much as they illustrate Dan's creativity and resourcefulness. First and foremost, Morgan treats Dan as a competent speaker by responding to his turns as producing meaningful actions. She also is mindful about how

she sets up his visual-tactile environment. It is no accident that there is a lazy susan with animal figurines on the table in front of Dan or that different animals appear on occasion. Morgan intentionally designs his environment with things that she knows Dan will enjoy – cute stuffed animals and figurines, plants, single frame comics, books of art, cards from loved ones, etc. These are the very objects that Dan likes to talk about and reference in his singing.

Morgan also does a lot of interactional work to support Dan's memory. One of her approaches is to rehearse recent events with Dan to facilitate his recall. There are many other examples in which Morgan guides Dan's reminiscing about his childhood and college days and histories about his parents when they were young. These are memories of events that Morgan did not participate in, and they are strongly in Dan's domain. A closer look at their interactions about memory could tell us how they manage delicate matters of memory and how memory of personal history is distributed amongst participants. Analysis of how Morgan sets up Dan's environment and talks about his memory could also tell more us about "native" tactics that family members use for facilitating memory and communication in comparison to those used in speech therapy caregiver training.

7.4 Concluding remarks

I have primarily taken a Conversation Analysis approach to singing in conversation in this dissertation. I have also used theories of performance and linguistic construction of identity, which are a primary focus in linguistic anthropology. My goal in combining these approaches is to document and analyze the social and discursive

contexts for Dan's singing. Dan's frequent singing in conversation could be viewed as an atypical pragmatic behavior. However, his singing emerges and is managed in interaction, and for the most part co-participants treat it as appropriate and responsive. I have also integrated cognitive facets of linguistic processing and social aspects of interaction for an explanation of Dan's singing as an indirect, compensatory adaption to severe short-term memory loss (Lindholm, 2013; Perkins, 2005b, 2007). Combined, these different perspectives provide a rich analysis of Dan's singing as an emergent consequence of linguistic, social, and cognitive processes that occur within and between people (Perkins, 2005b).

Dan has dementia, so one might expect that there would be a direct connection between deficit and compensation. However, the corpus does not show a causal relationship between trouble in conversation and singing. That is, Dan's singing is not a repair strategy in response to alerts of trouble with his speaking, hearing, or comprehending. The lack of trouble and repair in conjunction with singing means that Dan's singing cannot accurately be called a compensatory strategy for his cognitive deficits. There is no evidence that he sings to solve an immediate difficulty with short-term memory. While there may be a cognitive load and resource distribution in effect here, we have to be careful in assuming a causal relationship between short-term memory deficit and singing. There are likely a complex series of cognitive correlations and "connections" in multiple systems that we cannot directly access. Singing provides Dan a route to competency, and his account *I'm just trying to be sociable* exposes an orientation to singing as a form of engagement and participation. Dan and Morgan's interactions thus provide a compelling case of compensatory adaption in multiple

systems that involve multiple processes within a person and between interactants that

contributes to the growing field of emergent pragmatics.

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APPENDIX A

SONGS IN REPERTOIRE

Appendix of "original" song texts

1. "Bicycle Built for Two" – a.k.a. "Daisy Bell"
"Daisy Bell (Bicycle Built for Two)" is a popular song, written in 1892 by Harry Dacre. The following is a portion of the song that Dan often sings.

    Daisy, Daisy, give me your answer true
    I'm half crazy over the love of you
    It won't be a stylish marriage
    I can't afford a carriage
    But you'll look sweet
    Upon the seat
    Of a bicycle built for two
    (Dacre, 1892)

A musical score can be found on Miriam Berg's folksong collection:
    http://folksongcollector.com/bicycle.html

Publicly available performances can be found here:
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78MKBHR3NbU
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-4IxVeRTCA4
    http://www.kidsongs.com/lyrics/bicycle-built-for-two.html

2. "Farmer in the Dell"
"The Farmer in the Dell" is an old nursery rhyme and singing game. There are multiple verses of this song. To provide a general understanding of the song's structure, I quote three verses from the website http://www.kididdles.com/lyrics/f001.html. You can also listen to a version of the song on that website.

    The farmer in the dell
    The farmer in the dell

Hi-ho, the derry-o
The farmer in the dell

And the farmer takes a wife
The farmer takes a wife
Hi-ho, the derry-o
The farmer takes a wife

And the wife takes the child
The wife takes the child
Hi-ho, the derry-o
The wife takes the child
(http://www.kididdles.com/lyrics/f001.html)

There are many versions of this song. Additional audio version can be found here:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kP9PHArRM3E
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2XOQL6GFBz0

3. "The Fireman's Band" – a.k.a. "The Life of a Fireman"
"The Fireman's Band" is a drinking song. To the best of my knowledge, its author and year of composition are unknown. I have reproduced the musical score from Best & Best (1948/1955). It appears that this book is no longer covered by copyright and has moved into the public domain. (Also, I could not find the book in the publisher's database. I attempted to contact the publishers did not received a response.)

(spoken)
Oh, for the life of a fireman!
Oh, for the life of a fireman!
To jump upon the engine red,
And shout to the horses,
"Go ahead! Go ahead! Go ahead!"

(chorus)
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,
Here's my heart and here's my hand.
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,
Here's my heart and here's my hand.
Now don't you really, really think,
That we should have another drink?
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,
Here's my heart and here's my hand.

(spoken)
The fireman's band, the fireman's band,
Here's my heart and here's my hand!
Clang, clang clang!
Ppsssssss - - - -
God damn fire's out!
Eins, zwei, drei, spiel! (repeat chorus)
(Best & Best, 1948/1955)

A slightly different version of the text can be found in The James T. Callow Folklore Archive:
http://research.udmercy.edu/find/special_collections/digital/cfa/index.php?fl_id=10398

I have been unable to find any recordings.

4. "I've Got Sixpence"
"I've Got Sixpence" is a folksong and drinking song, and Boy Scouts sometimes sing it during camping trips. The singer spends tuppence (i.e., two pence) until he has no money to spend, lend, or even send home to his wife (poor wife!). Box, Cox & Hall (1941) are known for an elaborated version.

I've got sixpence, jolly jolly sixpence
I've got sixpence to last me all my life
I've got twopence to spend and twopence to lend
And twopence to send home to my wife - poor wife

Chorus:
No cares have I to grieve me
No pretty little girls to deceive me
I'm happy as a lark believe me
As we go rolling, rolling home
Rolling home (rolling home)
Rolling home (rolling home)
By the light of the silvery moo-oo-on
Happy is the day when we line up for our pay
As we go rolling, rolling home

I've got fourpence, jolly jolly fourpence
I've got fourpence to last me all my life
I've got twopence to spend and twopence to lend
And no pence to send home to my wife - poor wife.

I've got twopence, jolly, jolly twopence
I've got twopence to last me all my life

I've got twopence to spend and no pence to lend
And no pence to send home to my wife - poor wife.

I've got no pence, jolly jolly no pence
I've got no pence to last me all my life
I've got no pence to spend and no pence to lend
And no pence to send home to my wife- poor wife.
(Box, Cox & Hall, 1941; http://www.scoutsongs.com/lyrics/sixpence.html)

A score and slightly different lyrics can be found Miriam Berg's folksong collection:
http://folksongcollector.com/sixpence.html

Here is a link to a wonderful performance:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qzFaR_61qK8

Here are other variants
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4mE64VikuTc
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iz0J_6nc8hM
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75Jzxkoa6w8

5. "Kansas City"
"Kansas City" is a song from the musical *Oklahoma!* (Rodgers & Hammerstein II, 1943). The song includes the lyrics:
Everything's up to date in Kansas City
They gone about as fer as they can go
They went an' built a skyscraper seven stories high
About as high as a buildin' orta grow.
(Rodgers & Hammerstein II, 1943)

More lyrics can be found on this website:
http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/o/oscar_hammerstein/kansas_city.html

There are many performances publicly available, including these two:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M6pmZE1Qtyw
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_x_67fXtqM

6. "Old McDonald"
"Old McDonald" is a children's song and nursery rhyme about a farmer McDonald and the animals on his farm. Each verse features a different animal and the sound that it makes. Here are two example verses:

Old MacDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o
And on that farm he had a cow e-i-e-i-o
With a moo moo here
And a moo moo there
Here a moo, there a moo

Everywhere a moo moo
Old MacDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o

Old MacDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o
And on that farm he had a duck e-i-e-i-o
With a quack quack here
And a quack quack there
Here a quack, quack
Everywhere a quack quack
Old MacDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o

There are versions on these websites:
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsTvKD4COLg
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z26DWJKwBHU
> http://www.kidsongs.com/lyrics/old-macdonald-had-a-farm.html

7. "R.P.I. was R.P.I. When Union Was a Pup"

Cray (1992) provides the following lyrics sung to the tune of another "bawdy song" learned at university titled "The Cardinals Be Damned."

> R.P.I. was R.P.I. when Union was a pup.
> And R.P.I. will be R.P.I. when Union's busted up.
> And any Union son of a bitch we catch within our walls,
> We'll nail him up against the wall and castrates his balls.
> (p. 335)

8. "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"

"She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain" is often categorized as a children's song. Sandburg (1972, p. 372) notes that the song is based on "[a]n old-time negro spiritual When the Chariot Comes." There are many versions to this song. The following is an excerpt from a longer version provided by Best & Best (1948/1955):

> She'll be comin' 'round the mountain, when she comes.
> She'll be comin' 'round the mountain, when she comes.
> She'll be comin' 'round the mountain, blowin' steam off like a fountain,
> She'll be comin' 'round the mountain, when she comes.
>
> She'll be ridin' six white horses, when she comes, (etc.)
> She'll be wearin' pink pajamas, when she comes, (etc.)
> Oh, we'll all go out to meet her, when she comes (repeat)
> (p. 5)

See these websites for video recordings and more lyrics:
> http://bussongs.com/songs/shell-be-comin-round-the-mountain.php
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6l_2iN54Qg
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17AiiU1q5Bg

http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/n/neil_young/shell_be_comin_round_the_mountain.html

9. "There's a Meeting Here Tonight"

"There's a Meeting Here Tonight" is a folk song. The Limeliters are known for a version of the song. Here is a portion of their lyrics.

> Some come to dance
> Some come to play
> Some merely come to pass time away
> Some come to laugh
> Their voices do ring
> But as for me I come for to sing
>
> 'Cause there's a meetin' here tonight
> There's a meetin' here tonight
> I know you by your friendly face
> There's a meetin' here tonight
> (The Limeliters, 1961)

Performances of different versions can be viewed on these websites:

> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MMoPZd-4Fq8
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ACVFsTVEaDM
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9OFrKSg6zHU

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

```
ta[lk         brackets signify simultaneous talk in overlap
  [talk
talk=         equal signs indicate latching, talk with no discernible
gap
    =talk
ta-           a dash indicates a cut-off
(1.0)         numbers in parentheses signal timed gaps
(.)           a period in parentheses signals a gap < 0.2 seconds
.             a period indicates a 'final' falling intonation
?             a question mark shows rising intonation
,             a comma indicates a continuing intonation
↑ or ↓        up and down arrows indicate higher or lower pitch, such as
              a shift in pitch register
↘             a downward diagonal arrow indicates sharply falling
              intonation
ta:lk         underlining followed by a colon indicates rising then
              falling pitch contour within a word
ta:lk         an underlined colon indicates rising pitch contour
ta:lk         colons indicate prolonging of the preceding sound
talk          underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or
              emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch
TALK          caps indicate especially loud talk
°talk°        degree signs indicate decreased loudness
♫             a musical note indicates singing
hh           multiple "h"s indicates audible aspiration, e.g. breathing,
              laughter
.hh           multiple "h"s preceded by a period indicates audible
              inhalation
((sniff))     double parentheses mark non-verbal sounds
{ }           brackets mark non-verbal movements such as gaze, standing-up
(talk)        all or part of an utterance in parentheses indicates the
              transcriber's uncertainty at what was said but represents a
              likely possibility
(xxx)         "xxx" or empty parentheses indicate speech unintelligible
              to the transcriber
```

APPENDIX C

DATA EXCERPTS

The following data excerpts are presented in in chronological order.

[9-2011 "Turkey vulture"]
Dan and Morgan are eating breakfast at table. Earlier, they had seen a turkey vulture in the back garden and taken a photo of it.

```
1.   DA:      mmm[mmmmmmm]
2.   MO:         [let's s]ee what the bird book says about the
3.            turkey vulture[s]. {walks out of camera view}
4.   DA:                    [y]eah. (0.3)
5.            ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
6.            {looking ahead with coffee mug in front of mouth}
7.        ♫ oh turkey vulture oh turkey vulture
8.            (1.2) {looks up and back down}
9.        ♫ how I like to see the turkey vulture
10.           (2.0)
11.       ♫ oh don't you really really think {looks to Morgan}
12.           (1.1)
13.       ♫ that we should see the turkey vulture
14.           (0.4)
15.  MO:      {sits at table with book} huh hih ((sniff)) (.)
16.  DA:      (°a drink / don't you think°)
17.  MO:      hh (0.8) don't go out if you're not feeling well hh
18.           (2.5) {Dan looks at Morgan and opens mouth}
19.  DA:      wh(h)at? (.)
20.  MO:      heh huh hah [ha .hh hih huh hih hih hih huh hahahahaha
21.  DA:                  [.hhh HA HA .hhhhhh (H)o(h)k(h)ay .hhhh
22.           (h)I (h)w[(h)on't .hhhhhh] uh huh uh huh .hhh
23.  MO:               [.hh hih hih hih]
24.           (0.5)
25.  DA:   ♫ {looking away} oh turkey vulture
26.           (0.7) {Morgan looking in book}
27.  MO:     ↑woah there it i::s {turns book to Dan; he looks at it}
28.           {She reads to him from book.}
```

[9-2011 "Turkey vulture wing span"]
```
1.    MO:     it ha:s it's size is twenty six to thirty two
2.            inches .hh with up to a 6 foot win:d span.
3.            (0.5)
4.    DA:     win:g span?
5.    MO:     win:g span.
6.            (0.5)
7.    MO:     .hh ummm (.) it's a large bird with obvious red
8.            head and legs
```

[9-2011 "Sockie wokies"]
The participants are out of view. Morgan is helping Dan get dressed in preparation for a shopping expedition.
```
1.    MO:     o(.)kay here's some un(.)der(.)wea:r (1.5)
2.            and some sockie wokies?
```

```
3.            (0.5)
4.   DA:      ((modified "The Fireman's Band))
5.         ♫ oh sockie wokies oh sockie wokies
6.            (0.9)
7.         ♫ how I like some sockie wokies
8.            (0.5)
9.   MO:      mm[hm]
10.  DA:    ♫  [oh] don't [you  really really] think
11.  MO:                  [hh heh heh heh heh]
12.           (1.3)
13.  DA:    ♫ to have sockie wokies (1.0) to wear upon my feet
14.  MO:      hh
15.           (0.3)
16.  DA:      ↑HA HA (0.6) that song didn't wanna come out (.)
17.           but it ca[me out.]
18.  MO:               [uh yeah] eh [it sort] of came out.
19.  DA:                            [heh heh]
20.           heh heh heh
```

[9-2011 "Jakey Jabs" & "Sleeping vulture"]
Previous talk is inaudible and off camera. Morgan has been helping Dan dress in preparation for shopping.

```
1.   DA:      where are we going now (we're going [to xxx]
2.   MO:                                         [we're going] to
3.           (1.3) go down (0.3) to (0.9) Jake Jabs's place=
4.   DA:      =oh we a:re (0.6) ↑all the way to ↑jake ↑jab[s?]
5.   MO:                                                  [ye]ah
6.   DA:      that's [down at]
7.   MO:             [ (xxx) ] have a look at (.) chai:rs
8.   DA:      wow
9.           (0.7)
10.  MO:      because the one that we have (1.2) i:s: (.) low
11.           (0.7)
12.  DA:      mmm yes (like a xxx)
13.           (0.3)
14.  MO:      yeah (0.8) and so we'll just see: whether (.) there (.)
15.           are (0.5) more comfortable: (0.4) or (0.4) y'know ones
16.           with a higher ba:ck or (0.7) or something that might
17.           (0.6) suit you better
18.           (0.3)
19.  DA:      oh.
20.           (7.5)
21.           ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
22.        ♫ oh jakey jabs oh jakey jabs
23.  MO:      °hih °hih
24.           (1.2) yeah (0.6) hhh (0.3) let's take our cameras (0.6)
25.           in case there are any (1.3) wildlife (any wildlife
26.           around)=
27.  DA:      =any vultures ho ho ho (4.0)
28.           ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
29.        ♫ oh don't you really really think
30.           (2.7)
31.        ♫ vultures should stay asleep
32.           (0.9)
33.  MO:      ha ha ha ha .hh heh ha ha ha hih .hh
```

```
34.          oh hh (0.5) ↑↘poo::r poo:r vulture hh
35.  DA:    heh heh heh hah
36.          (2.2)
37.  MO:    no it cleans up the roadkill hh
38.          (0.5)
39.  DA:    yeah (2.0) they (0.5) provide a (.) a useful service
40.          (0.3)
41.  MO:    yeah, (.) they're carrion cr- um (0.6) eaters rather
42.          than: killers (.) they don't hunt
```

[9-2011 "Plug it in"]
They are getting ready to go to the store. Previous talk was about the store, Jake Jabs,
and vultures.

```
1.   MO:    why's (the) camera: blinking
2.          (0.3)
3.   RF:    u:m because it's almost out of batteries.
4.   MO:    oh o[kay    ]
5.   RF:        [I shoul]d prolly just turn it u- (.) upstairs and
6.          plug it in
7.   DA:    oh [plug i]t in
8.   MO:       [yeah  ]
9.          (0.3)
10.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
11.      ♫ oh plug it in [oh plug it in]
12.  MO:                 [heh heh heh heh] hih hih .hh hih
13.  RF:    [hhhh          ]
14.  DA:  ♫ [oh isn't Roy] nice
15.  MO:    hh hih [hih hih heh ha]
16.  DA:  ♫        [to plug it in ]
17.          (0.6)
18.      ♫ oh don't you really really think
19.  MO:    hih
20.          (0.4)
21.  DA:  ♫ (that you should plug the phone in)
```

[9-2011 "Raccoon"]

```
1.   DA:    ((reading newspaper)) ↑oh. (0.9) ↑oh dear. (5.0)
2.          a raccoon bilt- (0.3) bit a man (0.6) while he was
3.          having dinner at the harvest house
4.          (.)
5.   MO:    yeah. hh (0.5) that's [the o]:ne (.)
6.   DA:                         [(xxx)]
7.   MO:    i- it used to be the (.) harvest house [down th]ere
8.   DA:                                           [yeah]
```

[10-2011 "Ostrich feather"]

```
1.   DA:    hello roy.
2.          (.)
3.   RF:    hello::
4.          (0.4)
5.   DA:    did you see these flowers? that they gave me.
6.          (0.3)
7.   RF:    I di:d, I saw them when they dropped em off.
8.          (0.6)
```

```
 9. MO:     mmmhmm
10.         (0.3)
11. DA:     they're beautiful. (4.1) and there's: a really
12.         really soft fur- fern (0.8) it's absolutely gorgeous
13.         it's so soft. (0.4) have you felt it yet?=
14. MO:     =mmmhmm
15.         (0.3)
16. RF:     is it real?
17.         (0.4)
18. DA:     ↑oh ↑ye[a:h]
19. MO:         [it's] an ostrich feather.
20.         (0.3)
21. RF:     oh. ↑huh.
22.         (.)
23. MO:     mmm.
24.         (0.3)
25. DA: -> it's gorgeous it's so s[oft.
26. MO:                           [yeah
27.         (0.4)
28. DA:     and fluffy.
```

[10-2011 "Brick red"]

```
 1. DA:     did you say you went to costco?
 2.         (0.5)
 3. MO:     mm-↑hmm.
 4.         (0.6)
 5. DA:     (n) I didn't go?
 6.         (1.0)
 7. MO:     well cause I was just picking up a few thi:ngs.
 8.         (0.7)
 9. DA:     ↘o:h.
10.         (3.0)
11. MO:     ((Reading page number))°three: °one °↓fou:r (0.9)↑o:.
12.         (2.5)
13. DA:     and you called to me and I didn't wake up?
14.         (1.2)
15. MO:     no, (.) I asked you if you were ready for your lunch
16.         (.) at one sta:ge and you said well, (.) in a little
17.         while.
18.         (0.4)
19. DA:     I ↑di:d. (.) can't remember any [of that.]
20. MO:                                     [(yep)   ]
21.         (1.8)
22.         ↑o:ka:y
23.         (26.8) {Morgan looks at the book while Dan eats}
24.         ((reading from book)) (xxx) (1.3) oh it says it's
25.         got a year round range. in our (.) part of the
26.         world? (12.3) if it's north of the border (.) then
27.         it goes up there in the spring but migrates down
28.         (0.5) further south. (0.7) and some of them go to
29.         mexico. (25.3)so the juvenile robin's got a very
30.         spotty breast (1.6) and the female's smaller and
31.         she's more russet. (1.0) a:nd the regular male robin
32.         has got brick red underparts
33.         (1.9) {Morgan is still looking at the book}
```

```
34.  DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
35.         ♫ oh brick red (0.4) oh brick red
36.  MO:    mmhmm. (0.3) {She is closing book and putting it
37.         down} not underpants underpa:rts.
38.         (2.8)
39.  DA:    I don't think they wear p[ants.
40.  MO:                            [khheh heh ha ha .hh
41.         (1.1)
42.  DA:    how are you morgan?
43.  MO:    I'm doing fi:ne (°actually)
44.         (2.6)
45.  DA:    I didn't go to costco (1.2) I didn't have a peanut
46.         buster parf[ait ]
47.  MO:               [well] tomorrow you go to see the vampire.
48.         (2.2)
49.  DA:    they're going to take a blood sample,
50.         (0.6)
51.  MO:    yea:h they'll take an armful so you need to go
52.         somewhere to put it (0.5) back in (.)
53.         [(similar to)] what they took out.
54.  DA:    [o::h.        ]
55.         (1.6)
56.  MO:    mm::. (4.9) so you could go tomorrow if you so
57.         desired. or you could (0.7) {She gets up from table
58.         and starts walking away} go get a: gelato.
59.         (1.8)
60.  DA:    I think I'll go to (.) costco first and then get a
61.         [gelato]
62.  MO:    [heh ha] ha ha (.) that's right
```

[3-2014 "Blinky light"]

```
1.   DA:    am I still in focus?
2.          (1.2)
3.   RF:    yes.
4.          (4.5)
5.   RF:    .hh it's not showing that it's charging. oh wait
6.          maybe that's what that blinky light means.
7.          (1.8)
8.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
9.          ♫ oh blinky light oh blinky light (1.0)
10.         ♫ I'm all charged up because of the blinky light
11.  MO:    ♫ oh (.) turn it on
12.         heh hih hh
13.         (0.4)
14.  DA:    ♫ oh don't you really really think
15.  MO:    ((voiceless laughing)) .hh
16.  DA:    ♫ that we should have (0.4) another drink (1.4)
17.         ♫ the firemen's band the firemen's band
18.  MO:    °hih ((sniff)) (0.8) hhh heh hih (0.4) hih (1.0) .hh
19.         [((quiet laughing))                                ]
20.  DA:    [no one's ever let me sing that song all the way]
21.         through be[fore.]
22.  RF:              [.hh ] wha- [what is that s]ong
23.  MO:                          [ (oh really)  ]
24.  RF:    for- (.) from because I was trying to look that so:ng
25.         up a:ctually, .hh [and I    ]
```

```
26. DA:                [it was a] fraternity song.=
27. RF:    =but I loo- I tried to look it up I- I looked up the
28.        firemen's ba:nd and I even looked up some of the
29.        lyrics and I couldn't find it.
30.        (1.4)
31. DA:    oh it's u::h it's uh a fraternity song. .hh and we
32.        a[ctually] saw the words in that (.)
33. MO:     [°yeah  ]
34. DA:    book [that you] have.
35. MO:         [yeah    ]
36.        yeah. I've go:t (.) [a book that ]
37. DA:                        [((coughing))]
38. MO:    is:: fraternity::, (1.5) uh songs for fraternity
39.        outings from the nineteen thirties.
40.        (2.8)
41. DA:    so I'm really old b- R(h)oy it's from the n(h)ineteen
42.        th(h)irties [ha ha ha]
43. RF:                [tssshaaa]
```

[3-2014 "The Fireman's Band"]
They have been talking about old songs and decided to look up lyrics for the Fireman's Band in a songbook.

```
1.  MO:    {looking in song book} oka::y. (2.1) drinking so::ngs
2.         hh a hundred=
3.  DA:    ((unmodified "The Fireman's Band")) {looking ahead}
4.      ♫ =the firemen's band the firemen's band
5.         (0.9)
6.      ♫ here's my heart and here's my hand
7.         (1.2)
8.      ♫ oh don't you rea:lly rea:lly think
9.         (1.0)
10.     ♫ that we should ha:ve (0.3) another drink
11.        (1.7)
12.        {looks to RF} there, that's the firemen's band.
13. RF:    {nods}
14. MO:    {still looking in book} °he °would °remember °that
15.        °one.
```

They continue to look at book, talk about other songs, and eventually find the Fireman's Band

[3-2014 "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"]

```
1.  MO:    but (.) I think I bought this: (.) in sixty five when
2.         I (.) was in bangor the first time.=
3.  DA:    ↘OH (0.3) WO:W. (.)
4.  MO:    yeah,
5.         (0.4)
6.  DA:    wow.=
7.  MO:    = >and let's< see: I- (.) I [think it's]
8.  DA:                                [beautiful ] songs I mean
9.  MO:    OH the songs are fabulous
10.        (0.4)
11. MO:    it [was a] dollar ninety fi:ve originally
12. RF:       [(xxx)]
13. MO:    and I paid a quarter for it
```

```
14.          (3.5)
15. RF:      seems out[rageous.]
16. MO:               [and some]one had written in it camptown
17.          races page thirty eight (.) s- u:h (0.3) she'll (1.0)
18.          she'll coming I guess that's she'll be coming around
19.          the mountain page five and aunt rhody page nineteen,
20.          .hh so I think it probly belo:nged to like a girl
21.          scout leader
22. RF:      oh yeah,
23.          (1.0)
24. MO:      u::m (0.4) but (.) it was the eighth printing was may
25.          nineteen sixty. {She closes the book}
26.          (0.8)
27. DA:      ((modified "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain"))
28.       ♫ she'll be coming around the corner when she comes
29.          {Dan's eyes flash to RF who is looking around corner
30.          of wall,out of view of camera}
31.          (1.0)
32.       ♫ she'[ll be driving six white horses]
33. MO:         [so    that   was   (.)    PRIN]TED SIXTY FOUR
34.          YEARS ago that book. (.) {She picks up and looks at
35.          her phone}
36. DA:    ♫ she'll be driving six white horses=
37.        ♫ she'll be driving six white horses
38.          (0.7)
39.        ♫ she'll be driving six white horses when she comes
40.        ♫ °bum °bum °bum °bum=
41. MO:      =yeah. {without looking up from her phone}
```

[3-2014 "Apple"]
There is an apple computer, a bowl of fruit, and a camera on the table. Previous talk is about something Morgan is reading on her phone. Morgan is still using her phone.

```
1.  DA:      someone took a bite outta that apple.
2.           (1.6)
3.  MO:      mmm:
4.           {1.25 minute gap during which Morgan continues to
5.           use phone and Dan looks at objects in front of him.
6.           There is also a short exchange about a phone message.
7.           Dan looks back up toward the camera and computer.}
8.  DA:      there's a camera looking down at me.
9.           (1.4)
10. MO:      ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
11.       ♫ there's a camera looking down heh hih
12.       ♫ there's a camera looking down .hhh
13.          (0.7)
14. DA:    ♫ there's an apple with a bite out of it
15. MO:      heh hih
16.          (1.7)
17.       ♫ there's a cam[era looking]
18. RF:                   [there is?  ]
19. MO:    ♫ dow[n:::      ]
20. DA:        [yeah right] on the cover of your (0.3) computer
21. RF:      hhh
22. MO:      [(huh huh huh ha huh .hh huh huh]
23. DA:      [hh °heh .hh °huh °heh °heh     ][°uh °hih    ]
24. RF:                                       [you're right]
```

```
25.  DA:      .hh ha [ha ha ha ha ha .hh huh .hh  ]
26.  MO:            [°woa:h huh heh I need to put] my glasses on
27.           for tha:t ↑o:h (0.8) and it's the right way up .hh
28.  DA:      yes
29.           (2.9)
30.  MO:      mm.
31.           ((5 minutes of unrelated talk))
32.  DA:      if someone takes a bite outta your apple you should
33.           get it for free
```
Following talk is about the dishes.

[3-2014 "Dabble"]
They had been taking about slip trailing, a method of decorating ceramics. Dan started ceramics as a hobby after retirement.

```
1.   DA:      {looks up from his dinner plate to a vase with
2.            slip trailing, back to his plate, and then to a card
3.            that Morgan described earlier as a picture made to
4.            look like pottery with slip trailing}
5.            that's slip trailing
6.   MO:      mmm-hmm (.) yeah I guess you put it into a bag (.)
7.   DA:      yes
8.   MO:      um (.) with a nozzle
9.   DA:      yep [(that's right)]
10.  MO:          [and then squirt] it out to make the outline
11.           of your picture
12.  DA:      mmm-hmm (.) yep (.)
              ((non-topical intervening talk about their meal))
13.  DA:      {looking at Meg's bowl} boy she's good isn't Meg's
14.  MO:      mmm-hmm ye[p
15.  DA:                [good
16.  MO:      yeah tha:t's quite artistic
17.  DA:      yeah (.) {starts to get up, stops and looks up at
18.           vase} I tried to make a (.) piece(s) with slip
19.           trailing but I couldn't do it
20.  MO:      mmm-hmm
21.  DA:      it was too hard {gets up from table}
22.  MO:      well (.) yeah cause not only do you hafta squeeze the
23.           bag you hafta (.) ai:m it squeeze it just at the (.)
24.           y'know at the right pressure
25.  DA:      has to be the right consistency [I coul]d never get it
26.  MO:                                       [yea:h]
27.  MO:      but you hafta mo:ve your hands
28.  DA:      yeah
29.  MO:      um (.) and just synchronize them all otherwise you
30.           end up with a wiggly li:ne or one that breaks because
31.           you've moved your hand back too quickly (.)
32.  DA:      I thought the toughest part was get the right
33.           consistency in (.) of the gla:ze
34.  MO:      mmm-hmm (.)
35.  DA:      {blowing nose} that's what I could never do (.)
36.           (you're either) too hard or too soft
37.  MO:      mmm-hmm
38.  DA:      {blowing nose}  (hard to get just right) (.) it's
39.           ve:ry hard to get it just right for m[e
40.  MO:                                            [mmm-hmm] well that's
```

```
41.            the first part of it but actually apply:ing it is a
42.            lot harder than you'd think
43. DA:        oh it's very hard [[(I could never do it)
44. MO:                         [cause you hafta] squeeze and move
45.            your ha:nd
46. DA:        yeah I I tried it uhh
47. MO:        mmm-hmm
48. DA:        and I did it but
49. MO:        mmm-hmm
50. DA:        not successfully
51. MO:        mmm-hmm (.)
52. DA:        {walking back to chair}
53. MO:        but Meg didn't um didn't attempt to color it
54. MO:        no (.)
55. MO:        that would be difficult I think (.) and really she's only
56.            got three (.) enclosed areas that she could of uhm colored
57. DA:        mmm
58. MO:        y'know the the lea:ves (.)
59. DA:        yes (.)
60. MO:        [(oh Elara)]
61. DA:        [(xxx)]
62. MO:        oh sorry (what)
63. DA:        like that one up there I mean
64. MO:        mmm-hmm
65. DA:        the people who do that they've been doing it for
66.            [a lifetime]
67. MO:        [ooh]      yeah
68. DA:        [it's a life's work]
69. MO:        [((laughs))]       ((laughs)) yeah it takes years to
70.            y'know feel totally competent [in  ]
71. DA:                                      [yeah]
72. MO:        the techniques to learn all the pattern:s and
73. MO:        [all the textures that you need]
74. DA:        [boy I tell you I couldn't do i]t (.) I literally
75.            couldn't do it
76. MO:        mmm-hmm (1.5) with practice (3.5) like everything
77.            else it's practice practice practice
78. DA:        yeah but if: f:or a person who it's not their
79.            business y'know [already] retired heh hih
80.                            [mmmhmm ]
81. DA:        [huh huh huh huh]
82. MO:        [huh huh hih hih] hih hih ((sniff))
83. DA:        there aren't many years left to practice=
84. MO:        =mmm-hmm
85.            (3.8)
86. MO:        yeah and if you're just dabbling (0.5) (to g-)
87.            (0.8)
88. DA:        yeah
89.            (0.4)
90. MO:        y- y- you can't spend that time
91.            (0.6)
92. DA:        ((modified "Old McDonald"))
93.         ♫ a dabble here and a dabble there=
94.         ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
95.         ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble
96.            (2.5)
97. MO:        hih hih hih ((sniff)) hih (.)
```

```
 98. DA:    I won't say the rest of it
 99.        (0.6)
100. MO:    oh go on huh hih hih
101. DA:  ♫ old mcdonald had a farm
102.        (0.3)
103.      ♫ e-i-e-i-o
104.        (3.4)
105. MO:    what did that got to- to do with pottery (.)
106.        heh hih [hih
107. DA:  ♫      [with a dabble dabble here=
108.      ♫ and a dabble dabble there=
109.      ♫ here a dabble there a dabble=
110.      ♫ everywhere a dabble dabble .hh
111.      ♫ old mcdonald had a farm
112.        (2.8)
113.      ♫ and on this farm he had a pottery lab
114.        (.)
115.      ♫ [e-i-e-i-o]
116. MO:    [huh huh hih hih] hih hih hih (0.6) ((sniff)) hih
117. DA:    {smile] .hh hh .hh {Cough} (.) hhmmm (.)
```

[3-2014 Radar]

```
  1.   MO:    did you get birds migrating over there. (1.1)
  2.          was that where you looked at the the tweets and
  3.          the chirps and, (1.7) [the ((xxx))
  4.   DA:                         [you know] ((xxx)) I
  5.          don't- I remember (1.6) that looking for those
  6.          things. but I can't remember where it was.
  7.   MO:    mmhmm. (5.4) cause that: um (.) there was a
  8.          fellow (0.3) who (1.1) was an ornithologist.
  9.          (1.8) I think he was at the university of
 10.          Illinois. (1.6) North- was it Northman?
 11.   DA:    I can't remember.
 12.   MO:    oh okay. .hh um (0.4) cause I think there was
 13.          one person that (.) uh collaborated with you,
 14.          (0.4) i:n (0.3) um identifying the types of
 15.          birds that went over the radar. (0.5) um (2.1)
 16.          because you'd have these flights of birds at
 17.          night and you'd have microphones out. (0.5)
 18.          because the birds would communicate. (1.4) [umm
 19.   DA:                                               [mmm
 20.          (0.7)
 21.   MO:    as they were flying o[ver in a]
 22.   DA:                        [yeah
 23.   MO:    flock, (.) a:nd you were getting um (0.7) um
 24.          (0.7) bounced signals. [off the
 25.   DA:                          [mmmhmm
 26.   MO:    birds. (0.4) and you were trying to (.) be able
 27.          to distinguish between (.) large birds and
 28.          little birds.
 29.   DA:    mmm I can't remember.
 30.   MO:    yeah
 31.   DA:    that's funny it's all, (.) vague to me now I
 32.   MO:    yeah,
 33.   DA:    I think I tried to forget it as quick
 34.          [as possible.]
```

```
35.  MO:    [uh huh huh heh hih] .hhh .hhh yeah cause you
36.           en- started as a geologist, (.) and then you
37.           went into solar physics, (.) and then
38.           ionospheric physics. (.) and then you ended up
39.           as a radar ornithologist.
40.  DA:    °o:h ((shakes head))
41.  MO:    hh HA heh ha ha ha °hih °hih .hh hmm
```

 [3-2014 "No more meetings"]
It's after 11 pm, and he has just finished a late meal. Earlier conversation has been about the day, his meal, and feeling tired.

```
1.   DA:    o::h↓ deary deary Morgan.
2.           (0.3)
3.   MO:    mmmhmm? {she turns her head and gaze to him}
4.           (0.8)
5.   DA:    mmm. (0.9) I'm gonna try to get up. {Starts moving}
6.           (0.3)
7.   MO:    mmhmm. (2.2) [well you have no meetings to go to.  ]
8.   DA:               [{Dan stops moving and attends to her}]
9.           {Dan shakes his head}
10.  MO:    nothing to do.
11.          (0.9)
12.  DA:    no meetings? {gazing at her with raised eyebrows}
13.          (0.8)
14.  MO:    no meetings.
15.          (5.2) {He has sifted gaze down with a "thinking face" –
16.          licking and pinching together lips}
17.  DA:    what's that song there's a meeting here to[night?]
18.  MO:                                             [heh  ] (.)
19.          hih heh yeah. .hh heh hih
20.  DA:    {He starts moving again, preparing to stand}
21.  MO:    ((unmodified "There's a Meeting Here Tonight"))
22.      ♫ th(h)ere's a meeting here tonight .hh
23.          {Dan halts his moving-to-stand trajectory}
24.      ♫ I could see by your friendly face=
25.      ♫ there's a meeting here tonight
26.          (2.3)
27.  DA:  ♫ oh there's a MEETING HERE TONIGHT .HH
28.      ♫ THERE'S A MEETING HERE TONIGHT
29.          (0.4)
30.          THERE'S A LOT OF DRIVE IN THAT [SONG]
31.  MO:                                   [hh  ]
32.  DA:    {Starts moving again}
33.  MO:    (h)OH TH(h)ERE REALLY IS, .hh YOU COULD USE IT FOR ANY
34.          SORT OF GET TOGETH[ER. ]
35.  DA:                      [yep.] {Stands all the way up}
36.  MO:    mm
37.  DA:    .hh
```

[3-2014 "Kansas City 1"]
```
1.   MO:    {putting away dictionary} but (.) that's the (.)
2.           british system that the (0.4) [british]
3.   DA:                                   [oh it a] british
4.   MO:    that's a [british]
5.   DA:            [british]
```

```
6.   MO:   hh heh d(h)icti(h)onar(h)y s(h)o °hih .hh BU:T I:T'S
7.         an up to date one it's a twenty well it's a twentieth
8.         century dictionary so it's not quite up to date
9.         {She looks ahead and takes a drink}
10.  DA:   we'll have to go to kansas city for the most recent one.
11.  MO:   rea:l[ly?]
12.  DA:        [ye ]s
13.        ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
14.      ♫ everything's up to date in kansas city.=
15.  MO:   =hh [hih heh heh ha heh] °hih
16.  DA:       [.hh khhh heh       ]
17.      ♫ THEY'VE GONE ABOUT AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO:.
18.  MO:   ((sniff))
19.        (0.6)
20.  DA:   I love that son[g. (xxx)  ]
21.  MO:                  [(mm i- i-)]
22.  DA:   in fact I like that whole musical. it was rea:lly had
23.        a l[ot of]
24.  MO:      [mmhmm]
25.        (1.5)
26.  DA:   umph to it.
27.  MO:   umph y(h)eah hah
28.        [hah huh (°huh °huh)                     ]
29.  DA:   [it really did. I mean they really went.]
30.  MO:   .hh hh heh heh hih hih .hh and kansas city is in
31.  MO:   oklahoma isn't it [(uh)]
32.  DA:                     [no. ] kansas city is between (0.3)
33.        missouri and the end of missouri
34.        (1.0)
35.  MO:   o:h oka:y.
36.  DA:   and kansas.
37.        (0.6)
38.  MO:   yeah I- yeah it is.
39.        (1.8)
40.  DA:   I think most of it is in uh mis[souri ]
41.  MO:                                  [no kan]sas city's in
42.        missou:ri yeah.=
43.  DA:   =yeah. (.)
44.  MO:   yeah,
45.  DA:   most of it's in missouri I think just a little bit on
46.        the other [side of the] river.
47.  MO:             [mmhmmm.     ]
48.        (0.3)
49.  DA:   or something.=
50.  MO:   =gee: I wonder if they'll do a putin an:d go and claim
51.        their territory back.
52.  DA:   {shakes head}
53.  MO:   ha ha ha {book falls off table} woops
54.        (0.7)
55.        [hh]
56.  DA:   ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
57.      ♫ [everyth]ing's up to date in kansas city
58.        (1.5)
59.      ♫ they're gone about as far as they can go:=
60.  MO:   =mmhmm
61.  DA:   that was a lovey- [lovely musical.] I really like it.
62.  MO:                     [hh °hih °hih    ]
```

```
63. DA:    [oklahoma was the name of the musical.]
64. MO:    [heh ha ha ha ha .hh              ] yeah (0.3)
65.        that's about as much (.) as I know of it a[s w(h)ell.]
66. DA:                                              [yea:h.    ]
67.        (0.9)
68. DA:    ((throat clear)) it was (y'know) [really nice songs.]
69. MO:                                     [((singing tune))   ]
70.        ((singing tune)) [((singing tune))     ]
71. DA:                     [they had really nice] rhythms.=
72. MO:    =mmhmm. (1.0) ↑we:ll there was a lot of danci:ng
73.        together with the music.
74. DA:    yeah, that's what made it
75.        (0.3)
76. MO:    mm[hm]
77. DA:      [su]ch a wonderful (.) musi[cal. ]
78. MO:                                 [yeah.]
```

[4-2014 "Trip to Kansas City"]
The previous talk has been about preparation for an upcoming trip.

```
1.  MO:    so: hh we're all up to date with the: um (.) with the
2.         statements now they're all printed out.
3.         (6.6) {He nods and she nods back.}
4.  DA:    it means we can take a trip to kansas city
5.         (0.6)
6.  MO:    rea:lly? why is tha:t?
7.  DA:    ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
8.       ♬ everything's up to date in kansas ci[ty]
9.  MO:                                          [hh] hih heh hih
10.        ((unmodified "Kansas City"))
11.      ♬ .hh they've gone about as far as they can g[o]
12. DA:  ♬                                             [GO]::
13.        (0.6)
14.        that's a really nice song=
15. MO:    =mhmm
16.        (1.8)
17. DA:    that fellow who wrote that ↑really was clever.
18.        (0.5)
19. MO:    was that a rogers and hammer[stein or  ]
20. DA:                                [I think so]
21. MO:    a lerner and loewe one of the (.) the (.) the (.)
22.        the [two ]
23. DA:        [yeah]
24.        (0.4)
25. MO:    uh partnerships yeah. ((sniff))
26.        (3.5)
27. MO:    ↘mmm. (3.3) if they could see us now hh th(h)ey'd
28.        have to update that hah .hh=
29. DA:    =it was good in it's day
30. MO:    mmhmm (0.6) I'm sure even the farmers have got
31.        everything computerized now=
32. DA:    =°mhmm
33.        (2.4)
34. MO:    °mmm
```

[4-2014 "Wuzzle"]
The previous talk has been about his pills and the meal that Dan is starting to eat.
Morgan is getting more things from the kitchen.

```
1.    MO:    {comes back into room} oh there was another wuzzle
2.           today hh (.) one of these word puzzles
3.           (2.7) {She starts writing down the wuzzle}
4.    DA:    ((modified "Old McDonald"))
5.         ♫ wuzzle here and a wuzzle there
6.         ♫ here a wuzzle there a wuzzle
7.         ♫ old mc (0.5) donald liked his ↓wuzzles=
8.    MO:    =mhmm?
9.           (1.0)
10.   DA:  ♫ e-i-e-i-o
11.         (0.9)
12.        ♫ and I don't like wuzzles very much
13.         (0.9)
14.   MO:    you're good you're pretty good at them,
15.           {She finishes writing the wuzzle and puts away
16.           the pen}
17.           (0.5)
18.   DA:    we:ll, {eating}
19.   MO:    {She holds wuzzle facing Dan and walks toward him}
20.   DA:    {He looks up from eating and notices the wuzzle. He
21.           maintains eye contact on it while chewing.}
22.           (10.0)
23.   MO:    you have to look at position::s a:n:d uh yeah.
24.           (1.4)
25.           the positions of the words.
26.           (6.7)
27.           jay o bee, (0.4) i:: apostrophe em, (0.3) jay o bee.
28.           (1.3)
29.   DA:    jay o bee is job.
30.           (0.3)
31.   MO:    ye[ah   ]
32.   DA:      [and I]'m=
33.   MO:    =how many, (0.5) how many. (.)jay o bees are there.=
34.   DA:    =two.
35.           (0.5)
36.   MO:    so::
37.   DA:    i-
38.   MO:    it['s] plural.
39.   DA:      [m-]
40.           (1.2)
41.   MO:    and where's the I::'m.
42.           (1.2)
43.   DA:    in the middle.
44.           (0.3)
45.   MO:    yeah,
46.           (4.7)
47.   MO:    or in between,
48.           (0.5)
49.   DA:    mmm. (1.0) I'm in [betwee:n jobs.
50.                           [{He looks up at her from paper}
51.           yo[u told me, you told me.]  {looks down at 2ⁿᵈ told}
52.   MO:      [yeah th(h)at's r(h)i(h)]ght .hh [I'm betwee:n ]
53.   DA:                                       [you: told me.]
```

```
54. MO:    jobs [huh ha: hahahaha    ] ha ↑°hih .hh heh hih .hh
55. DA:         [you:: told me that one.]
56.        (1.1)
57. MO:    {She had moved the paper away at yeah and put it on
58.        the table at jobs in line 52. She then walked away
59.        from the table. She is now out of view of camera}
60.        that was fairly straight fo:rward [actually.]
61. DA:                                      [mmhmm    ]
62.        (0.3)
63. DA:    it wa:s.
64.        {just over 16 minutes of talk on the meal and other
65.        topics}
66. DA:    so that means I'm between jobs.
67.        (0.8)
68. MO:    yes.
69.        (0.4)
70. DA:    ((clears throat)) (1.3) that is: funny.
71. MO:    huh hih heh hih heh heh .hh
72.        {Dan goes back to eating and Morgan uses her phone.}
```
The Following talk is about her computer.

[4-2014 "Soft seat"]
They are about to start a meal. Dan is sitting in his chair.
```
1.  MO:    hh there you go. so you're sitting on a soft seat,
2.         (0.8)
3.  DA:    ((modified "I've Got Sixpence"))
4.      ♫ I've got a soft seat
5.         (.)
6.      ♫ jolly jolly soft seat
7.         (0.7)
8.      ♫ I've got a soft seat
9.        (0.4)
10.     ♫ to last me all my days
11.        (1.5)
12. MO:    uhhuh. hh
13.        (1.6)
14. DA:  ♫ I've got tup-pence to send home to my wife (.)
15.     ♫ poor wife (.)
16. MO:    mmhmm.
17.        (0.3)
18. DA:    °heh
19. MO:    I would require a little mo:re than [a tuppence.]
20. DA:                                        [↘o::::h.   ]
21. DA:    that's all I've got, [I've just got six pence all]
22. MO:                         [hh ha ha ha                ]
23. DA:    together.=
24. MO:    {putting food down} .hh
25.        th(h)ere you go. (.) the:re i:s, [sa:lad.      ]
26. DA:  ♫ ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
27.                                         [tuppence to s]pend
28. MO:    {closing curtains}
29.        [this: is::: uh::        ]
30. DA:  ♫ [and tuppence °to °lend]
31.     ♫ °and °tuppence [°to °send °home °to °my °wife]
32. MO:                   [pasta:: with                 ]
33.        roasted vege:s.
```

```
34.           (0.4)
35.   DA:     pasta with roasted veges.=
36.   MO:     =y:es:. hh (1.0) {walks away to kitchen} u::m. and
37.           I'll (0.3) get your some
38.           root↑beer.
39.           (0.7)
40.   DA:     o:::h.
```

[4-2014 "Put down song"]
The phone has just started ringing, and it has interrupted their talk about medical tests.

```
1.            ((phone rings))
2.    DA:     boy [that's] loud
3.    MO:         [wo:ah ]
4.            {looks at caller id on phone} ar pee i.
5.            ((phone rings))
6.    DA:     no thank you ar pee i.
7.            ((phone rings))
8.    MO:     {gets up and walks toward another room to put phone
9.            away} no I signed up again on the do not call list
10.           so after thirty one da:ys we shouldn't get any calls.
11.           (6.1)
12.   MO:     {walks back into room} mmm.
13.           (2.6)
14.   DA:     ((unmodified college song)) {looking straight ahead}
15.      ♬ old ar pee i was ar pee i when union was a pup
16.           (2.0)
17.           {looks up to Morgan, smiling} heh heh heh
18.   MO:     hih heh .hh [that's a] put down s[ong hih heh huh]
19.   DA:                 [.hhh    ]             [yes it is .hh  ]
20.           {looks down, then looks forward and lifts head as he
21.           sings}
22.      ♬ old ar pee i was ar pee i when union was a pup
23.           (0.8)
24.   MO:     {sits down} mmhmm.
25.   DA:     {Dan looks at Morgan and nods}
26.           (2.0)
27.   DA:     hh hih heh [(it's interesting)]
28.   MO:                [was there any more to it] [than that?]
29.   DA:                                           [I- I'm    ]
30.           [sure there was but I can't remember.]
31.   MO:     [hih heh ha ha: ha ha] hih heh h[a  ]
32.   DA:                                     [it's] been awhi:le.
33.   MO:     .hh hih heh l[e:   ]t me do a search on that one
34.   DA:                  [(xxx)]
35.   MO:     and see if I can find you any (.) more (0.4) words
36.           to that song. (3.7) {typing into cell phone browser}
37.           < ar pee i.> (0.7) oh it's changed it to rip. it
38.           doesn't like ar pee i. ((sniff)) <ar pee i (1.0)
39.           wa:s (0.3) ar pee i (0.6) when (1.4) u:nion (0.9)
40.           was a (0.6) pup.> (0.3) let's see: ha hah
41.   DA:     [(xxx)  ]
42.   MO:     [.hh whether] jeeves knows anything about that.
43.   DA:     hh (0.8) never heard of it.
44.           (3.5)
45.   MO:     {reading from cell phone} no:: it's gone straight
46.           into unions. (0.4) progressive union party, (0.8)
```

```
47.           national scandal claimed the unions.
48.           (1.4)
49.  DA:      .hh hh HA HA ha ha .hh (0.4) .hh
50.           (6.3)
51.  DA:      isn't [(the/there)
52.  MO:            [uddhav Thackeray (.)ar pee i's athavale (1.8)
53.           show strength in mumbai (.) rally. (1.1) I think
54.           that must be an indian: hh hih heh hih (.)
55.           p(h)ar(h)ty heh hih .hh °heh (4.2) o:h (.) I've got
56.           something for (0.9) rensselaer
57.  DA:      oh good.
58.           (2.7)
59.  MO:      oh r ar pee i (0.3) sometimes stands for the
60.           republican party of iowa.
61.           (0.6)
62.  DA:      hhh °huh (0.4) ha [HA]
63.  MO:                        [OH] WO:W (.) a major college
64.           hockey upset .hh was over shadowed by a massive
65.           hockey broil. (0.5) braw:l.
66.           (1.6)
67.           ↓o:h ↓ri:ght it was the ar pee i union mayor's cup
68.           rivalry.
69.           (15.7)
70.  DA:      I don't remember that, that must have happened after
71.           my time.
72.  MO:      yeah. (.) o:h I've lost it.
73.           (10.2)
74.           no: it (2.2) it was the twenty sixth of january
75.           this yea:r.
76.  DA:      oh.
77.  MO:      a major college hockey upset was overshadowed by a
78.           massive college hockey braw:l. .hh after unranked
79.           rensselaer knocked off number three union two to one
80.           .hh in the second annual mayor's cup game at the
81.           times union center in albany on saturday .hh a fight
82.           br- broke out between the rival tea:ms. .hh the
83.           fracas began as time expired with ar pee i players
84.           skating onto the ice .hh to celebrate their upset
85.           win over a regional rival .hh amid the confusion (.)
86.           union coach rick bennett went for ar pee i coach
87.           seth appert .hh this was an ↓embarrassment ↓for
88.           ↓both ↓schoo:ls. wrote sken- ken schott of the daily
89.           gazette .hh both coaches profusely apologized in
90.           their respective postgame press conferences .hh they
91.           apologized to everyone under the sun and I ↑do
92.           believe they were very since:re.
93.  DA:      hheh hih hih hih [ha ha ha ha ha .hh HA HA .hh ha ha
94.  MO:                       [hih ha ha su:re. ha ha ha .hh haha
95.  DA:      [.hh]
96.  MO:      [hih] .hh .hh o::h dea:r so:.
97.           (1.9)
98.           o:ka:ay um so::, (0.5) the:y must not sing that same
99.           chant [now.]
100. DA:            [no:.]
```

[4-2014 "Lunchy pills"]
The video just started as Dan was talking about happy hour.
```
 1.   MO:    u:m I'll get your lunch pills.
 2.          (0.7)
 3.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's band"))
 4.        ♫ oh lunchy pills oh lunchy pills
 5.          (0.7) {picks up fork and starts to get bite ready}
 6.          boy this looks like a good lunch morgan.
 7.   MO:    ye:s, it's barbeque chicken,
 8.   DA:    mmm.
 9.   MO:    ((sniff)) (0.9) with: (0.6) coleslaw:w,
10.          {She puts pills by Dan}
11.   DA:    a lot of coleslaw.
12.          (0.5)
13.   MO:    a:nd um (0.4) potato ↑salad.
14.   DA:    y[eah     ]
15.   MO:     [which i]s unusual they don't do that very often.
16.   DA:    no.
17.          (0.9)
18.   MO:    no: (.) a- and I've got my smoothy
19.          (2.1) {He points to animals on lazy susan then
20.          sweeps down hand to pick up pills}
21.          these are really [pretty morgan thank you]
22.   MO:                     [hhh heh hah           ] .hh
```
The following talk is about the animals.

[5-2014 "Green faced cat"]
He has intermittently been spinning animals and talking about his favorites.
Immediately previous talk about extended family.
```
 1.   DA:    {looking at animals on lazy susan, starts to spin them}
 2.          these are so: cute morgan.
 3.          (0.4)
 4.   MO:    {looks at animals} mmhmm.
 5.   DA:    heh hih heh .hh hh {briefly pauses spinning animals to
 6.          look at the cat} even the cat is cute.
 7.          (2.3)
 8.   MO:    it's sca:ry hh I mean it's a cat with a gree:n face.
 9.          (0.9)
10.   DA:    {stops spinning the animals to look at the cat}
11.          ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
12.        ♫ oh green faced cat
13.          (0.3)
14.        ♫ oh green faced cat=
15.          =there's a lot of black and yellow and red on it too,
16.          (0.9)
17.   MO:    mmhmm.
18.          (0.6)
19.   DA:    it's more bluish to me, well the ears inside the ears
20.          are bluish (.)for sure  {spins animals again}
21.          (0.3)
22.   MO:    mmhmm.
23.          (3.2)
24.          {Dan stops spinning the animals and moves gaze from
25.          animals to Morgan and then back at animals.}
26.   DA:    {Reverses spin of animals so the cat faces Morgan}
```

```
27.          you think [that's green    ]
28.  MO:              [no it's abs-    ] {leans closer to cat and
29.          gazes at it} yeah that's gree:n.
30.          {Dan looks up at Morgan and back down}
31.          (1.0)
32.  DA:     I don't [(think it)     ]
33.  MO:             [there's         ] blue:. {points around cat's
34.          face with pen} (0.4) around the si:de and blue around
35.          there but the inside of the ears {Dan spins the
36.          animals so that the cat faces him. Morgan sits back up}
37.          and above the (.) eye:s (0.6) that's gree:n.
38.          (4.7)  {Dan leans closer to the cat and gazes at it.}
39.  DA:     it's only green above the eyes.
40.          (1.6)
41.  MO:     [mmm.]
42.  DA:     [it's] blue below the eyes.
43.          (0.5)
44.  MO:     yep.
45.          (0.6)
46.          and round the sides of its face.
47.          (1.3)
48.  DA:     there's the darker blue there yeah,
49.  MO:     yeah.=
50.  DA:     =there's different shades of blue,
51.  MO:     mmhmm.
```

[5-2014 "Whimsical"]
They are both gazing at the animal figurines on the lazy susan as Dan spins it. The
previous talk has been about the cat figurine, and they continue with that here.

```
1.   MO:     well he's got a sort of scow:ly face so I guess he's
2.           not getting anywhere with the bi:rds.
3.   DA:     no.
4.           (2.8){Dan stops spinning so that the llamas face Morgan}
5.           the llamas have very pretty birds i- i- um: faces.
6.           {Dan spins the animals again}
7.   MO:     mmhmm.
8.   DA:     especially the little one. it's a very pr[etty f]ace
9.   MO:                                             [yeah. ]
10.          (0.6)
11.  MO:     we::ll they're desi:gned to be very whimsical.
12.  DA:     ((modified "Old McDonald"))
13.      ♫ oh a whimsical here and a whimsical there. (.)
14.          {Stops spinning animals so the llamas face him}
15.          especially the little one.
16.  MO:     mmhm[mmm.      ]
17.  DA:         [the other] one is whimsical but the little one
18.          {jiggles lazy susan so the animals shake} is really (.)
19.          whimsical.=
20.  MO:     =mmhmm.
21.          (1.5)
22.          you can tell by the swoo:sh in its fu:r. .hh that it's
23.          moving around. it scampers around a lot.
24.          {Dan spins animals again} (4.1)
25.  DA:     well they are interesting morgan.
26.          (1.7)
```

```
27.  MO:     mm↑hmm.
28.          {Dan shifts gaze from animals to Morgan. She nods. He
29.          looks back down at animals.}
```

[5-2014 "Pills"]

Dan emptied the cup of pills into his hand 1.5 minutes ago. They have just finished joking about what sounds fish might make based on their names. Morgan stepped into the next room.

```
1.   DA:    {looking down at pills in his hand}
2.          ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
3.       ♬ >°I've °got< (0.6) pills in my hand
4.          (0.3)
5.       ♬ pills in my hand
6.          (0.6)
7.          ((uncertain tune))
8.       ♬ I've got five pills in my hand
9.       ♬ man oh man
10.         (4.1) {Dan puts pills into mouth. Morgan walks into
11.         room. Dan shifts gaze to her as she starts singing.}
12.  MO:    ((no recognizable tune))
13.      ♬ two little ones and (.) three big ones
14.         (0.3) {Dan nods. He is holding pills in mouth.}
15.      ♬ four of one shape and one of another
16.         {Dan nods. Morgan sits down.}
17.         (1.8) hh (1.1)
18.         {Dan picks up glass. He starts to gaze at and
19.         to spin animals on lazy susan. Morgan lifts her glass
20.         towards Dan.}
21.         oh chee:rs [hh   ]
22.  DA:               [mm:m.]
23.         (0.6)
24.  MO:    ((sniff)) (0.4) yeah
25.         {She starts drinking. Then Dan drinks too and swallows
26.         the pills.}
27.         (7.7)
28.         °mmhmm.
29.         (0.5)
30.  DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
31.      ♬ did toucan take his pills
32.         (.)
33.      ♬ did toucan take his pills
34.         (0.6)
35.      ♬ hi ho the merry band
36.         (0.4)
37.         °hah
```

They launch into talk about the lazy susan and the animals on it.

5-2014 "The cat without the tail" & "The camera and cat"]

They have been talking about the cat figurine. Morgan picks up the cat. Dan gazes at Morgan and cat.

```
1.   DA:    but uh
2.          (1.3)
3.   MO:    {pulls the tail off of the cat} yeah. and its
```

```
4.              (0.3)
5.   DA:    oh the tail can move [arou:nd. ]
6.   MO:                         [tail come]s out yeah.
7.              (2.0)
8.   DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
9.         ♫ the cat without [the tail]
10.  MO:                      [oh it's ] made by jesus sosa calvo.
11.            (1.9) tilcajete in oaxaca. (9.1) .hh but there are
12.            teeny weeny little (0.4) dots on the face there (0.8)
13.            and each of those have to have been- (.) has to have
14.            been put on by (0.8) by hand it must be a very very
15.            fine silver pen.(2.0) that made a::ll the little dots
16.            and around the edges of the ears as well. (2.2) it's a
17.            lot w- and there's all these little white spots all
18.            over it each of those has to be put on by hand.=
19.  DA:    =yeah.
20.            (4.5)
21.  MO:    °mmhmm
22.            (1.3)
23.  DA:    yeah it looks like quite [an operation.]
24.  MO                              [woo: hhh     ]
25.            {Morgan puts cat back on the lazy susan. Dan shifts
26.            gaze to the cat.}
27.            (0.5)
28.  MO:    s:ca:ry cat. [((sniff))]
29.  DA:                 [yes.     ]
30.            (0.4)
31.  MO:    not a scared cat but a scary cat. ((sniff)) (3.0) mhmm.
32.            {Dan adjusts position of cat on the lazy susan and
33.            spins the animals until the cat faces the camera.}
34.          (6.5)
35.  DA:    there. (0.6)
36.          ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
37.        ♫ the camera can see the cat.
38.            (0.4)
39.        ♫ the [camera can see ] the cat
40.  MO:          [hhh heh hih hih]
41.            (0.5)
42.  DA: ♫ hi ho {Dan glances at Morgan} the derry oh
43.          {Dan looks back to the animals.}
44.        ♫ the camera can see the cat
45.          ((uncertain tune))
46.        ♫ bum bum boom bum (1.3) bum bum bum bu:m
47.            (1.2)
48.        ♫ bum bum bum BUM BUM BUM BUM
49.          ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
50.        ♫ happy is the day
51.          (2.0) {Dan moves gaze to Morgan.}
52.          I don't li:ne up for my pay. (0.3) actually I never
53.          di:d.
```

[5-2014 "Gusto"]
They are eating lunch. Dan is eating a meal delivered by meals-on-wheels, and Morgan is drinking a smoothie. They have just finished talking about traffic, and there has been a brief lapse in the conversation.

```
1.   DA:    I'm slowing down Morgan. (0.5) getting full.
2.   MO:    mmm?
3.          (9.1)
4.          ((sniff)) well you've attacked that with gusto.
5.   DA:    ((closed mouth laugh))
6.          (4.6)
7.   DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
8.      ♫ gusto gusto give me your answer true
9.          (1.3)
10.  MO:    mmhmm
11.         (5.5)
12.  DA:  ♫ I'm half crazy over eating with you {looks to morgan}
13.         (1.7)
14.  MO:  ♫ well that's very kind of you
15.         (0.5)
16.  DA:    °huh °huh
17.         {they go back to eating for 28.0 second}
18.  DA:    ((unmodified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
19.      ♫ if you can't afford a carriage
20.      ♫ there will be no marriage
21.      ♫ for I'll be switched if I get hitched
22.      ♫ on a bicycle built for two
23.         (2.0) {she is drinking through a straw loudly}
24.  MO:    mmhmm. (3.4) {She continues drinking} mmhmm. (1.4)
25.         ((sniff))
26.         (5.2)
27.  DA:    she sh[ould (xxx)        ]
28.  MO:          [so you sa:y that] you say that was it
29.         um: (0.7) tom david junior's sister who sang those
30.         (1.1) on your school bus (1.3) you said that there
31.         was a girl on [the]
32.  DA:                  [oh ]
33.  MO:    school bus who came up with all these parodies
34.         (0.6) of nursery rhymes (.) rather naughty versions=
35.  DA:    =yeah (0.6) she read them from a letter that someone
36.         had sent her.
37.         (0.5)
38.  MO:    o:h okay.
39.         (4.4)
40.  MO:    was it tom david's: (.) older sis[ter ]
41.  DA:                                     [it c]ould have
42.         been I- I'm [not ] sure.
43.  MO:               [yeah]
44.         (0.5)
45.  DA:    (or) (1.7) I'm not sure it doesn't sound like her.
46.         (0.5)
47.  MO:    mhm (2.7) yeah she must have been a rebel.
48.  DA:    ((burp)) (.)
49.  MO:    if uh huh (.) heh heh heh .hh given what her
50.         f(h)ather was l(h)ike (0.3) huh heh (.)
51.         [heh °hih °hih]
52.  DA:    [no I- I-     ] I don't think it was sandy (.) was
53.         sandy was her name=
54.  MO:    =mmm
55.         (1.1)
56.  DA:    I think it was a (1.7) the s:ister of another (1.1)
57.         fellow who lived down on the corner (1.6) on the far
```

```
58.          street let's see
59.          (8.1) {He does a thinking face then starts eating}
60.  MO:     on avenue a
61.          (0.9)
62.  DA:     {He doesn't stop eating} mmm {he pulls eyebrows
63.          down with barely perceptible nod}
64.          (26.4) {He continues eating while she looks around
65.          and scratches her arm}
66.  MO:     no I'm sure there're a lot of them (.)
67.          [you know the]
68.  DA:     [oh       y]eah=
69.  MO:     =the old mother hubbard one
70.          (3.3) {He nods}
71.  DA:     it's pretty benign
72.  MO:     hh heh hah (.) uh hah °hih .hh you- you remember
73.          that one [though don't you]
74.  DA:              [I do            ]
75.          (0.3)
76.  MO:     yeah
77.          (2.1)
78.  MO:     old mother hubbard w[ent  to the cupboard]
79.  DA:                         [went to the cupboard] to find
up
80.          her daughter a dress .hh but the cupboard was
81.          bare .hh and so is her daughter I guess.
82.  MO:     mmhmm hih ok(h)ay heh hih=
83.  DA:     =you see it's not- [it's not very bad]
84.  MO:                        [.hh heh heh .hh  ] no.
85.          (1.2)
86.  MO:     mmhmm.
87.          (3.0)
88.  MO:     yeah, one that (0.) I remember that people used to
89.          say was mary had a little lamb (0.6) .hh she had it
90.          with mint sauce .hh and everywhere that mary went
91.          the lamb went too of course
92.          (10.9) {Morgan smiles and Dan looks ahead}
93.  DA:     the one I remem[ber is mary had a li]ttle
94.  MO:                    [hm heh hah heh ha ha]
95.  DA:     lamb the doctor nearly fainted [.hh hh hh hh   ]
96.  MO:                                    [heh ha ha ha ha]
97.  MO:     .hh (h)ok(h)a(h)y heh
98.  DA:     °huh °huh
99.  MO:     .hh (.) uh huh hih .hh
100. DA:     °huh °huh
101. MO:     mmm
102.         (18.3){He keeps eating. She looks at him
103.         and around}
104. DA:     some teenagers have an imaginative minds.
105. MO:     mmhmm
```

He is still eating for another 10 minutes after the "Gusto" song. After the end of this excerpt, they continue to talk about parody songs and about his upcoming dentist appointment.

[5-2014 "Toothbrush"]

```
1.   DA:     well morgan I think I should (1.1) call it a minute.
2.           (.)
```

```
 3.   MO:    oh okay. (.) well, (0.4) tha:t's pretty good there
 4.          wasn't anything there that you didn't like.=
 5.   DA:    =no there wasn't.
 6.          (0.3)
 7.   MO:    mmhmm. .hh
 8.          (2.3) {He starts moving to get up from chair}
 9.   MO:    [yeah          ]
10.   DA:    [I'm supposed to] get up and get dressed now
11.   MO:    well why don't you clean your teeth
12.          firs[t and the:]n
13.   DA:        [oh okay    ]
14.   MO:    um (.) you know if the: (.) toothbrush dribbles it
15.          won't dribble on your shirt.
16.   DA:    ↑↘o:h (0.3) ↑ok[ay]
17.   MO:                   [↑o]
18.          (0.3)
19.          ↑yeah
20.   DA:    hhuh
21.          (1.2) {standing up}
22.          ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
23.        ♬ toothbrush toothbrush give me your answer true
24.          (0.5)
25.        ♬ I'm half crazy if I'm not brushing you
26.          (.)
27.   MO:    ((sniff)) (.) mm↑hmm
28.          (.)
29.   DA:  ♬ it won't be a stylish brushing
30.          (1.0)
31.        ♬ because I'm (.)
32.          pretty late for
33.          (0.5)
34.   MO:    hh heh hah .hh (0.3) you really ought to be rushing
35.   DA:    hah th(h)at's very good morgan
36.   MO:    hh ha ha okay .hh hh {She gets up}
37.   DA:    (xxx) brush brush
```

[7-2014 "Toucan with a red beak" & "Toucan looking right at you"]
This is the start of the video. Dan is sitting and Morgan is coming into the room. Dan looks at Morgan coming into room then down at animals on the lazy susan.

```
 1.   MO:    [hhhhh    ]
 2.   DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
 3.        ♬ [toucan] toucan give me your answer true
 4.          (.)
 5.        ♬ I'm half crazy over the red beak in you
 6.          (1.4) {Looks at Morgan as she starts to speak}
 7.   MO:    o:h very (0.8) heh very colorful. .h[hh  heh heh]
 8.   DA:                                        [heh heh heh]
 9.          {looks back down at animals}
10.   MO:    hih °hih .hh
11.          (0.4)
12.   MO:    ↑oh dear I've (0.4) um I think I've bumped tho:se (.)
13.          arou:nd the other day. don't .hh don't swing it too::
14.          fast otherwise the birds will fly away.
15.          (0.4)
16.   DA:    ↘o::h that would be a shame.
```

```
17.          (0.3)
18. MO:      mmm,
19. DA:      especially don't want the bud- ducky to lea:ve. (0.9)
20.          or the flower.
21.          (0.5)
22. MO:      no:.
23.          (1.1)
24. DA:      when I see that flower I just remember (1.2) good time
25.          I had at the pottery lab.
26. MO:      °mmhmm.
27.          (1.7)
28. DA:      I wasn't very good.=
29. MO:      =yeah, y-you made that here in bangor.
30.          (0.3)
31. DA:      [yeah       xxx]
32. MO:      [or   (0.3) or] was that dow:n (.) at (0.3) the art
33.          museum. (0.3) ((sniff))
34. DA:      [no I made that I made that.]
35. MO:      [at the class that you took.]
36.          (2.4)
37. MO:      yeah.
38.          (0.5)
39. DA:      I've forgotten about- did I take a cla:ss down in dover?
40. MO:      yea:h. (1.2) yeah that was the first one you too:k.
41.          (0.7)
42. DA:      [I've forgotten all about it.]
43. MO:      [we went dow:n              ] to the a:rt i- to the
44.          (.) art museum. (.) then you found out that (.) they
45.          (0.7) had classes there.
46.          (1.1)
47. DA:      wo:w. (1.2) fancy schmancy.
48.          (0.4)
49. MO:      yea:h. (3.2) yeah you ma:de (.) tha::t u:m (.) u:m
50.          (0.7) like totem po:le.  {Dan looks at Morgan}
51.          (1.2)
52. DA:      oh yeah. (0.8) yeah I remember that [now. ]
53. MO:                                         [mmm:.]
54.          (0.4)
55. DA:      yeah.=
56. MO:      =↑yeah.
57.          (0.5)
58. DA:      that was fu[n].
59. MO:                 [a]nd did you make that flu:te or- or did
60.          someone else give you that?
61.          (0.8)
62. DA:      I think else gave me tha[t]. {looks at, spins animals}
63. MO:                              [y]eah (.) I (.) d- didn't
64.          think that was one that you made.
65.          (2.0)
66. DA:      the flute goes ↑toot ↑toot
67.          (0.4)
68. MO:      mmhmm.
69.          (2.3)
70. DA:      ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
71.      ♫ toucan toucan (.) he's {Dan stops spinning animals so
72.          the toucan faces Morgan, and he gazes up at her.}
```

```
73.           lookin right at you {He looks back down at animals.}
74.           (0.4)
75. MO:    mm[hmm]
76. DA:  ♫  [I'm] half crazy (0.6) over the toucan and you
77. MO:    ↓mmmm.
78.           (2.6)
79. DA:    the toucan's got a red face.
80.           (0.7)
81. MO:    ↘mmmmm. (0.4) <I:: don't trust that rakish looking
82.          touc[an.>]
83. DA:         [no:.]
84.           the other one looks quite mild.
85. MO:    mmhmm?
86.           (1.2)
87. DA:    but the red one °here °with °the (1.3) head turned
88.           around that (0.3) t[oucan ]          [is up to no good.]
89. MO:                          [mmhmm.] (.) .hh [I love it's wing]s
90.           that are slotted in [to that side.]
91. DA:                          [:oh yea:h.   ] yeah that is
92.           (0.3)
93. MO:    mmhmm.
94. DA:    hh that is nice.
95. MO:    (°xxx)[( °xxx)   ]
96. DA:          [it's well] thought out that [desig]n.
97. MO:                                       [yeah.]
98.           (2.4)
99. DA:    I imagine (0.7) some fellow makes just one part and
100.          (0.5) does it all day long for day after day
101.          [after day.]
102.MO:    [mmhmm.     ]
103.          (0.4)
104.          there must be thousands of those around the world.
105.          (0.3)
106.DA:    yes.
107.          (1.0)
108.MO:    the only thing that I k- know that we own that comes
109.          from uruguay except for the two llamas.
110.          (1.0)
111.DA:    mmm.
112.          (3.2)
113.MO:    mmmm. () uh.
114.          (0.3)
115.DA:    I think this: llamas very (0.5) pretty.
116.          (0.4)
117.MO:    mm[hmm.     ]
118.DA:      [they have] very [cute expressions. ]
119.MO:                       [they're very appea]ling.
120.DA:    yes.
121.MO:    they're wh<u>i</u>msical.
122.          (0.3)
123.DA:    yes they are.
124.MO:    mmhmm.
```

[7-2014 "Toucan comes around again"]
This is three minutes after previous excerpt. The immediately previous talk has been
about a teapot, a family member who gave it to them, and the Boston Tea Party.

```
1.   MO:    mmm=
2.   DA:    {He is looking at animals and spinning the lazy susan.
3.          He moves it until the two toucans face Morgan}
4.          ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
5.        ♫ =toucan toucan
6.   MO:    o:h they've come around again.
7.          (4.4)
8.   DA:    actually there- there's lots of pretty things on this
9.          tray.=
10.  MO:    =mmhmm: (0.5) ((sniff))
11.         (0.4)
12.  DA:    the toucans and the llamas (1.9) the ducky and the
13.         rooster (1.2) and the ↑beautiful ↑flower.
14.         (0.4)
15.  MO:    a::nd ap- a- apart from your beautiful flow:er (.)
16.         and the metal (0.3) u:m (0.8) and the metal duck
17.         [that v]ery artistic (.) duck
18.  DA:    [mmhmm.]
19.  DA:    yes.
20.  MO:    u::m (0.4) all the others came from thrift stores.
21.         (0.6)
22.  DA:    o::h. (1.7) where did [that (xxx)      ]
23.  MO:                          [that little that] little duck
24.         probably cost (0.7) as much as all the others put
25.         together c[ause I bough]t it from a museum shop hh
26.  DA:              [o::h.       ]
27.  DA:    o[::h deary well you gotta support the museums.]
28.  MO:    [ha heh ha ha ha ha              you have to sup]port
29.         the museum yeah ((sniff))(1.1) yeah I didn't regret it
30.         (5.2)
31.  DA:    it's rather cute it's
32.         (1.7)
33.  MO:    it's very appealing,[it's got that]
34.  DA:                        [it i:s.      ]
35.  MO:    upturned bea[k.     ]
36.  DA:                [it doe-] it doe[s (yep)]
37.  MO:                               [so it's] almost like a
38.         dis- i- like a- a cartoon character. (0.8) you know
39.         donald duck an::d (.) huey dewey (.) lou:ie and
40.         stew:ie an::d all the rest of em. (0.5)
41.  DA:    mmm.
```

[7-2014 "9:19 am"]
Dan has just left the room and gone to another room that has a talking clock (TC).
Morgan continues to look at the coins. She will be going to the gym soon.

```
1.   DA:    I'm going to: lie dow[n]
2.   MO:                         [o]:ka:y (0.3)
3.          see ya l[ater.]
4.          {Dan activates the talking clock in another room.}
5.   TC:          [it's n]ine nineteen a em
6.          (0.3)
7.   DA:    ((modified "Farmer in the Dell"))
8.        ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
9.          (.) {Dan walks closer to Morgan.}
10.       ♫ it's nine nineteen a em
11.  MO:    I had better go:: and huff and puff,
```

```
12.          (1.2)
13. DA:   oh deary.
```

[7-2014 "Ducky"]
The video starts. Dan is looking at and spinning animals on lazy susan. Morgan comes into view to sit down.

```
1.  DA:   ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
2.      ♫ ducky ducky give me your answer true
3.          (0.5)
4.  MO:   mm[hm]
5.  DA: ♫   [I']m half crazy about the quack quack in you=
6.          {flashes gaze to Morgan and back to animals}
7.  MO:   =mm to be woken up by y(h)ou, .hh {Dan gazes at her}
8.          (0.3)
9.  DA:   {closes eyes and turns head forward}
10.         ↑oo ↑quack ↑qu[ack]{smiles and shifts gaze to pills}
11. MO:                 [hhh]h heh ha ha .hh ↓o::h.
```

The following talk is about his medications.

[7-2014 "Carrots and peas"]
They have been talking about Morgan's to-do-list and about the meal Dan is eating.

```
1.  DA:   it's a good meal morgan.
2.  MO:   mm:m (.)↑good. (0.3) .hh ↑yeah it's tasty: th[e:   ]
3.  DA:                                               [yeah.]
4.  MO:   hungarian goulash (0.6) I think it has paprika in it
5.        um (1.2) and [then it comes]
6.  DA:                [celery        ]
7.  MO:   with (.) noodles.= oh it has celery? (.) ↑o[:h ↓o]kay.
8.  DA:                                              [mhmm.]
9.          (0.9)
10. MO:   veges that they've put in with the noodles (0.3) um
11.       with the (0.6) sauce (2.2) and then you've got the
12.       carrots and pea:s.
13. DA:   {Stops eating and shifts gaze from main dish to bowl
14.       with carrots and peas}
15.       ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
16.     ♫ oh ca[rrots and p]eas
17. MO:        [and some    ]
18. DA:   {starts to move bowl of carrots and peas closer}
19.     ♫ and carrots and peas=
20.       =actually the carrots and peas are good.
21.         (0.3)
22. MO:   mmhmm.
23.         (0.6)
24. DA:   they're something I really like.
25. MO:   mmm ↑good
```


[7-2014 "Heavy toucan"]
The previous talk was about getting ready for an upcoming trip. Dan has just stopped spinning the animals on the lazy susan. It is now rotating slightly backwards, and they are both gazing at it. Dan flashes gaze at Morgan when she starts to speak and then back to the animals.

```
1.   MO:     wo::w (0.3) it
2.           (1.6)
3.   DA:     °it's °going °backwar[ds      ]
4.   MO:                          [the hea]vy bi:rd I think that
5.           onyx one (.) is the heaviest (2.6) and so it's
6.           <rotating the turntable.>
7.           (1.7)
8.   DA:     {picks up the chicken} that's pretty heavy (2.2)
9.           {picks up the large llama} ↑o::h that's hea[vy]
10.  MO:                                                 [hh]uh huh
11.          huh .hh {Dan spins the animals}
12.  MO:     .hh bu:t the onyx is very very very heavy
13.          (0.7) {He stops spinning the animal when the onyx
14.          toucan faces him. He picks up the toucan}
15.  DA:     ↘O:H oh y(h)es you're ri(h)ght .hh the o[nxy is]
16.  MO:                                             [mmhmm ]
17.  DA:     very very heav[y  ]
18.  MO:                   [yea]h.
19.          (2.0) {Dan spins the animals}
20.  DA:     the ducky's not very heavy=
21.  MO:     =so I don't think the table is horizontal
22.          (2.6) {He wiggles the lazy susan}
23.  DA:     no
24.          (0.4)
25.  MO:     it's tilted (.) to the w[est]
26.  DA:                             [yes] (.)
27.  MO:     [down to the we]st
28.  DA:     [it's tilted   ]
29.          (4.2) {He spins the animals again}
30.  MO:     either that or the turntable (.) is not <completely>
31.          horizontal.
32.          (0.7)
33.  DA:     no it may not be
34.          (2.9) {He spins it then stops to wiggle it}
35.          [look at it wiggle]
36.  MO:     [it's   not    fa]r off I don't get d[izzy (or)    ]
37.  DA:                                          [(look at it)]
38.  MO:     uh hih
39.  DA:     look at it wiggle
40.  MO:     o:h. {She has her glasses off and is rubbing an eye.}
41.          (1.0){He stops wiggling, starts turning the lazy susan}
42.  DA:     that's quite a (0.8) quite a wiggle to it
43.          (1.4)
44.  MO:     °mmhmm {Still rubbing eye}
45.          (0.3)
46.  DA:     ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
47.      ♫ toucan toucan give me your answer true .hh
48.      ♫ I'm half crazy over the weight of you
49.          (0.8) {She is rubbing her eyes. He is spinning and
50.          looking at lazy susan.}
51.  MO:     mmm
52.          (5.8) {She is still rubbing eyes then looking at her
53.          fingers. He continues spinning, looking at lazy susan}
54.  DA:     I can't make any sense out of the rest of it
55.  MO:     mmhmm.
56.          {They both look the animals as he spins the lazy susan}
```

The following talk is about the cuteness of the llamas and plans for the trip.

[7-2014 "Blueberries"]
The previous talk was about getting ready for an upcoming trip. Morgan is writing an email on her phone about a meal plan for their trip. She does not look up from her phone in this excerpt. Dan is eating breakfast.

```
1.   DA:    ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
2.          ♫ blueberries blueberries
3.          (1.8)
4.          ♫ give me your answer true
5.          (0.3)
6.   MO:    m:::hm
7.   DA:  ♫ I'm half crazy (0.3) for the cereal on you
8.          (11.6) {He continues eating}
9.          ♫ it won't be a stylish (.) meal
10.         (.)
11.         ♫ I can't afford a coors
12.         (3.9)
13.         ♫ but you'll taste sweet
14.         (5.4)
15.         ♫ on some ice cream and (0.3) cookies
16.         hih hih heh heh {He flashes gaze to Morgan}
17.  MO:    mmm [mmhmm mm hih    ]
18.  DA:        [I don't know .hh] °heh °hih .hh
19.         {Dan goes back to eating, and Morgan continues using
20.         her phone.}
```

Dan attempts two times to re-launch focused talk, but Morgan only minimally responds. They resume joint interaction after nearly 2 minutes when she is finished with her email.

[7-2014 "No pence" & "Black beans"]
```
1.   DA:    {sitting down for meal.}
2.          ((unmodified "I've Got Sixpence"))
3.          ♫ °I °got °tuppence to spend
4.          ♫ and no pence to lend .hhh
5.          (0.4)
6.   MO:    {turns on light} [↑woops there you go.] hh
7.   DA:  ♫                  [and no pence        ]
8.          ♫ to send home to my wife
9.          (0.3) {Morgan walks over with meal. Dan looks at her}
10.         ♫ poo:r °wife
11.  MO:    well that is terrible {starts to close window shades
12.         behind Dan} but at least she has credit ca:rds.
13.         (1.4)  {Dan turns head straight ahead}
14.  DA:    pardon? {blinks slowly and keeps mouth open}
15.  MO:    hh heh hih ha ha ha hih ha .hhh  {walks away}
16.  DA:    {shifts gaze to meal} °heh
17.  MO:    (>°If °you're<) not even going to send her twopence,(.)
18.         she:=
19.  DA:    =hh=
20.  MO:    =better get out the pla:stic.
21.         (2.4)
22.  DA:    o:h deary.=
23.  MO:    you can't live on twopence you know.
```

```
24.          (0.3)
25. DA:      {shifts gaze from meal to Morgan.} you can't?
26. MO:      no:. hh (1.2) ((sighs))
27.          (5.5) {Morgan gets food from microwave in other room}
28. DA:      {shifts gaze back to meal and eats.
29.          He gets a forkful of beans.}
30.          ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
31.       ♫ black beans black beans give me your answer true
32.          (.)
33. MO:      {still in other room} uh hhh
34. DA:    ♫ I'm half crazy over the protein in you
35.          {He eats the bite of beans.}
36.          (8.0) {He eats. Morgan into room with her meal}
37. MO:      well I heated up your fish from lunch and it sort of
38.          exploded.
39. DA:      o:h I'm sor[ry.]
40. MO:               [.hh] hahahaha (0.4) .h[hh       ]
41. DA:                                      [I hope it]'s goo:d.
42. MO:      oh yeah (0.5) it- it's just all the coating on it uh
43.          (1.1)
44. DA:      wow
45. MO:      sort of (.) splatters off as it cooked
46. DA:      it was trying to swim [away and couldn't make it]
47. MO:                            [hh ha ha              ] haha
48.          didn't- definitely didn't make it
49. DA:      heh [heh heh heh]
50. MO:          [hah hah heh] .hh oh dear heh (1.9) I've got a
51.          plate full of (.)  breadcrumbs or something.
52.          (1.8)
53. DA:      boy this is good Morgan.=
54. MO:      =yeah
55. DA:      thank yo[u]
56. MO:              [o]kay (1.1) well at least (.) you didn't get
57.          the fish.
58. DA:      that's right.
59.          (0.6)
60. MO:      mmhmm
61.          (4.5) {They eat.}
62. DA:      mmm beans and (1.0) different kinds of beans and
63.          carrots=
64. MO:      =mmhmm
65.          (1.8)
66. DA       and squash and potatoes
67.          (0.6)
68. MO:      mmhmm
69.          (1.0)
70. DA:      B:EA:NS {shows her a bean on his fork}
71.          (0.9)
72. MO:      mmhmhm
```

They eat and the following talk is about his shirt.

[7-2014 "Costco"]
They have been talking about preparations for an upcoming trip, and Morgan has a long list of things to do on the table in front of her.
```
1.          {Dan is looking at the meal he is eating. Morgan shifts
```

```
2.              her gaze to him as she starts speaking.}
3.    MO:     hh ↘so hh I was going to get you:r passport photo
4.            taken today.
5.            (0.3)
6.    DA:     o:h.
7.    MO:     we'll have to do that tomorrow. (2.1) o:r whenever.
8.            {She looks away from him and at her nails}
9.            (1.2)
10.   DA:     °mmm.
11.           (1.1)
12.   MO:     you know we've got {Dan shifts gaze to her} three (.)
13.           working  {She looks back to him} da:ys {Dan nods} (1.2)
14.           before we lea:ve but (0.8) i- ya know we can fit it in
15.           somewhere around all the other jobs.
16.           (9.2) {Morgan looks down at the table. Dan looks
17.           straight ahead and at meal.}
18.   DA:     {Dan's eyes flash to photo envelope that has Costco
19.           written on the cover} we get those at the costco do we?
20.           (0.8)
21.   MO:     ↑oh that would be an idea, (5.7) {writes on to do list}
22.           yeah.
23.           (4.8)
24.   DA:     thank you for the mea[l morgan      ]
25.   MO:                          [that gives you] {She is looking
26.           back at him}(1.3) an excuse to go there
27.           (0.7){She continues looking at him. He smiles but
28.           doesn't shift his gaze from the plate.}
29.   MO:     hh heh ha ha [ha  ]
30.   DA:                  [°heh]
31.   MO:     °heh°heh .hhh m[m].
32.   DA:     ((modified "Bicycle Built for Two"))
33.       ♫              [c]ostco costco give me your answer true
34.           {She looks away from him}
35.           (4.9)
36.           {Dan looks at Morgan just before she starts singing}
37.   MO:  ♫ dan just wants to have a hotdog (.) from you
38.   DA:     {nods}
```

Dan goes on to talk about some bowls on the table.

[9-2014 "Santa Fe"]
They are going to Santa Fe tomorrow. The immediately previous talk was about his
meal.

```
1.    DA:     I'm all outta things to say. {shifts gaze to Morgan
2.            at the end of his turn}
3.            (1.6)
4.    MO:     ↑oh (0.3) okay. (0.7) well you can start thinking
5.            about going to santa fe
6.            (0.8)
7.    DA:     ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
8.        ♫ .hh oh santa fe old santa fe
9.            (1.2)
10.       ♫ how I love my santa fe=
11.   MO:     =mm ↑hmm ↑hmm {quick nod up}
```

```
12.          (0.3)
13.  DA:   ♬ oh don't you really really think
14.          (0.7)
15.        ♬ that we should take (0.3) a trip to santa fe I thin[k ]
16.  MO:                                                         [hh]
17.          huh hah (h)oh good[y goody heh]
18.  DA:                       [hhhh  hhhh ]
19.  MO:     hah hah
20.  DA:     heh .hh[h heh heh]
21.  MO:           [.hh heh  ] heh heh .hh
22.  DA:     oh dear[y].
23.  MO:            [o]o[oh dear.]
24.  DA:               [fool you] didn't I.=
25.  MO:     =oh y[es definitely did          ]{She moves to stand}
26.  DA:         [you weren't sure what I was] gonna sa[y.]
27.  MO:                                              [y-] yeah,
28.          (0.6)
29.  DA:     oh the elephant and [the (xxx) ]
30.  MO:                         [that was a] new variant on the
31.          theme.= {She stands up.}
32.  DA:     =yes. (.)
33.  MO:     uh[hhh          ]
34.  DA:       [the elephant] and that camel really are nice
35.  MO:     o:[ka:y          ]
36.  DA:       [and that camel]'s got such a wonderful saddle on it.
37.          (0.4)
38.  MO:     yeah.
```

The following talk is about planning for the next part of the day and the video ends.

[9-2014 "Amendment 68"]
They closed talk about animals 20 seconds ago. A political ad for Amendment 68 is on
tv in the background. Both are looking at animals on the lazy susan.

```
1.   TV:    please join me and vote yes on sixty eight.
2.          (1.1)
3.   DA:    ((modified "The Fireman's Band"))
4.        ♬ oh sixty eight oh sixty eight
5.          (1.7)
6.          .hh (.) it's an amendment to the state {their gaze
7.          meets} constitution.
8.          (0.7)
9.   MO:    mmhmm. (1.2) allowing an out of state casino (.) to
10.         (.) come in and operate (here) .hh they're trying to
11.         sweeten the deal (0.3) by giving a percentage of
12.         earnings [to an e- e-    ]
13.  DA:            [to the schools.]
14.  MO:    an education fund bu:t .hh um (1.4) all the other
15.         casinos:: are (0.3) heavily campaigning against it.
16.         (0.7)
17.  DA:    yeah.
```

They talk more about casinos then the video ends.