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When to Make the Sensory Social: Registering in Face-to-Face Openings

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This article analyzes naturally occurring video-recorded openings during which participants make the sensory social through the action of registering – calling joint attention to a selected, publicly perceivable referent so others shift their sensory attention to it. It examines sequence-initial actions that register referents for which a participant is regarded as responsible. Findings demonstrate a systematic preference organization which observably guides when and how people initiate registering sequences sensitive to ownership of, and displayed stance toward, the target referent. Analysis shows how registering an owned referent achieves intersubjectivity and puts involved participants' face, affiliation, and social relationship on the line. A video abstract is available at <https://youtu.be/rNL70vawG3o>

Keywords: joint attention, noticing, intersubjectivity, multi-modal conversation analysis, video, openings, preference, face, self

INTRODUCTION

Human experience is grounded in its shared nature (Moore and Dunham 1995). To “construct and coordinate the shared social realities that comprise everyday life” (Bruner 1995:11–12), we must be able to establish joint attention and intersubjectivity, knowing together that we are attending to and understanding the meaning of the same referent (Carpenter and Liebal 2011:159–60; Goffman 1967:34; Scheff 2005:156–57, 160–61; Tomasello 1995). This article examines a basic and pervasive communicative action through which people establish joint attention and intersubjectivity: the action of *registering*. *Registering* refers to the linguistic and embodied ways that people interacting face-to-face¹ call joint attention to a selected publicly perceivable referent so copresent others shift their attention to it (Pillet-Shore 2017, 2018a; Schegloff 2007). Through this action, interactional coparticipants invoke a

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present, personal perceptual experience so they may immediately share it, thereby making the sensory social.

An opportune site for (producing and examining) the social action of registering is the opening phase of face-to-face interaction, since the beginning of a copresent encounter is a time of heightened exposure to novel sensory stimuli and heightened self- and other- awareness and attentiveness (Pillet-Shore 2008, 2018a). During openings, participants observably display that they are monitoring for diverse and distributed manifestations of the self (cf. Scheff 2005:147–49), including presentation of participants' bodies (e.g., how persons look, smell, sound) as well as participants' self-extensions, like living quarters (e.g., how a person's residence looks and smells; Pillet-Shore 2017, 2018a; Schegloff 2007:86–88) and other beings for whom one is regarded as responsible (e.g., pets, young children; Pillet-Shore 2017, 2018a). Based on a conversation analytic (CA) examination of naturally occurring video-recorded openings, this article examines sequence-initial registering actions, closely analyzing when people choose to audibly point to a publicly perceivable referent, including visible, audible, palpable, and olfactible features² of the setting and its participants (Pillet-Shore 2018a).

Excerpts 1 and 2 exemplify this article's focal phenomenon (with an arrow -> pointing to the sequence-initial registering utterance, and bold indicating actions constituting the larger registering sequence).³ In Excerpt 1, Jill is entering her friend Gina's apartment. While still at the door's threshold (Figure 1a), Jill delivers a registering utterance starting at line 6:

Excerpt 1

```
01          ((Gina opening locked/opaque door))
02 Gina:    Hell:a[w::?
03 Jill:    [Hi:ee=
04 Jef:    =Hello:,
05 Jill:    Wahs::p. ((Gina splaying arms toward Jill))
```



Figure 1a

```
+figure 1a
06 Jill: -> Mm::=It smells+ so go:od in he[re.
07 Gina:    ((Gina, Jill hugging))          [Welcom:e,
```


+figure 2c

08 Sally: -> .hh f{Your+hair lo(h)oks s(h)o:
 09 c(h)u(h)::t(h)e [hheh ((Sally touching Mom's hair))
 10 Mom: [You like it?
 11 Sally: .hh °Yeah.° ((Mom, Sally hugging))
 12 Mom: It's not really that- °I-° No one's no:ting
 13 it.=I [don't think,
 14 Sally: [What do you me:an.=It was so: lo:ng
 15 [last time I saw you.
 16 Mom: [Well, actually dad noticed it.=I guess that's
 17 a plus.=Right,
 18 Sally: M- It was really long >last time I sa:w you<=Me:mber
 19 [I said that?<
 20 Mom: [But I was like *wo:rking with people yestaday=They
 21 didn't even say anyth+ing. ((*Mom touches her own hair))
 style="text-align: center;">+figure 2d

22 Sally: M#mm.
 23 Mom: I was like fmaybe I don't look different,

Excerpt 2 thus shows how Sally's action of calling attention to a visible and palpable referent engenders a joint multi-sensorial experience⁴ (cf. Leichy 1975; Mondada 2012, 2019). Furthermore, this sequence shows a participant's use of the vernacular metalinguistic term "noticing" (line 12; see "Background") to refer to the action that this article terms *registering*, evidencing participants' orientation to the importance of this social action being done—or not done (lines 12–23) between incumbents of certain relationship categories (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005; e.g., mother–adult daughter [lines 8–15; 18–19], husband–wife [lines 16–17], and co-workers [lines 20–21]) who may be treated as accountable for performing this action in everyday encounters.

Background

Much of the research on joint attention has been conducted in laboratory settings,⁵ primarily focusing upon human infants' abilities to follow an adult's eye gaze to an inanimate object (e.g., Carpenter and Liebal 2011; Moore and Dunham 1995). Noting that these psychological studies take "as unproblematic how parties coordinate their actions in the first place such that a joint attention event is achieved, and moreover, achieved for a particular social purpose," Kidwell and Zimmerman (2007:594) examine episodes of video-recorded, naturally occurring interaction within infant–toddler daycare centers, explicating how children aged 1–2¹/₂ years coordinate joint attention to an object.

There is ample interaction analytic literature investigating recorded encounters in which adult participants call joint attention to a publicly perceivable referent. The many contributions to this body of work, however, use different terms to refer to what is apparently the same (or at least very similar and overlapping) underlying social action. In addition to CA work's use of the term *registering* (Hoey 2018; Pillet-Shore 2017, 2018a; Schegloff 2007:82–88; Steensig 2015), other extant terms



Figure 4a

Figure 4b

Figure 4c

03 Ann: -> ↑**There she is**, ((*Ann shifts gaze up to arriving Hal)).
 04 Hal: Hello:.,= ((Mel, Mik shift gaze to arriving Hal))
 05 Mel: =He:y. Haley,
 06 Mik: [+**HE:y**,=**There she i:s**.
 +figure 4c

During Mike’s utterance at line 2 (*Figure 4b), Ann shifts her gaze up toward the arriving newcomer Haley — an apparent initial sighting (Pillet-Shore 2018a) that directly precedes line 3, and occasions her coparticipants to suddenly shift their gaze and joint attention to follow Ann’s gaze to her selected, publicly perceivable referent (Figure 4c). It is plausible that Ann’s “noticing” Haley’s arrival, because she visibly appears to have just spotted an other-regarding referent, and audibly uses discovery prosody (cf. Goodwin 1979). At the same time, it is also plausible that Ann’s “announcing” Haley’s arrival, since she does not display a change-of-state in knowledge (Heritage 1984:286–87) or use a reaction token (Wilkinson and Kitinger 2006), and she uses a third-person reference form to refer to the arriver, addressing her utterance to already-present and situated others.

While Excerpts 3 and 4 illustrate why this article does not use the vernacular metalinguistic terms *noticing* and *announcing*, what *is* clear from these excerpts — and all of my cases — is that this article’s target action *registers* the referent, causing other participants to observably shift their sensory attention to it. Thus, this article uses the term *registering* to name the basic underlying social action for what it is apparently designed to do — to call joint attention to and achieve intersubjectivity over a selected publicly perceivable referent (rather than varying the name of the action depending upon what the referent is, or which participant does it).

Like Schegloff (2007), this article analyzes people registering referents affiliated to or identified with (at least) one of the participants, which I will call *owned referents*.⁷ This is distinctive from most other extant work, which predominantly examines unowned referents (for review, see Keevallik 2018). At the same time, this article fills a gap in Schegloff’s work. When discussing “occasions on which someone has a new article of clothing, a new hairstyle, a new object in, or arrangement of, living quarters, etc., which is not registered by an interactional co-participant,” Schegloff admitted he had “no taped instances” “at hand” (Schegloff 2007:86), noting that his comments were meant “to stimulate” subsequent “inquiry” (Schegloff 2007:88). But no study has yet investigated or demonstrated Schegloff’s (2007:82) aforementioned claim about a possible preference organization (Pillet-Shore 2017) operative during registering sequences. This article fills this gap.

After describing the data and method for this research, this article provides the first detailed empirical investigation of naturally occurring video-recorded sequences of copresent openings in which participants register owned referents. Focusing on sequence-initial actions, analysis demonstrates a systematic structural preference organization which observably guides when and how people initiate registering sequences sensitive to ownership of, and displayed stance toward, the target referent. This preference organization is evidenced across four subsections showing four key findings: (1) nonowners produce *registering* “yours” actions early and straightforwardly when displaying a clear positive stance toward the target referent, treating it as praisable; (2) owners produce *registering* “mine” actions early and straightforwardly when displaying a clear negative stance toward the target referent, treating it as criticizable; (3) owners delay their registering utterances, and design them to be neutral/nonvalenced, when targeting praisable referents; and (4) when nonowners design their registering utterances to be neutral/nonvalenced — delaying/withholding a stance-display — owners of the target referent regularly account for it, treating it as criticizable. This article’s “Findings” section concludes with a deviant case analysis in which a participant produces a sequence-initial registering action in a way that apparently departs from other collected cases — an exceptional case that still shows evidence of participants’ orientation to the normativity of this preference organization.

DATA AND METHOD

This study is part of a larger project in which I am examining how people open face-to-face interaction as newcomers arrive to a variety of residential and institutional settings (Pillet-Shore 2008, 2010, 2018a). I collected a data corpus involving over 435 residential encounters (e.g., friends, family, roommates coming home or coming over) and 96 workplace encounters (e.g., in schools, break rooms, restaurants, salons, gyms) with the informed consent of participants, and I anonymized all participant identifiers. My analysis of over 107 hours of naturally occurring video-recorded data yielded 542 copresent openings between English-speaking persons (on the west and east coasts of the United States) coming together to socialize and/or do work. Using the methods of conversation analysis (CA), I examined all registering sequences that occur in my corpus. I developed the details of my analysis for this article by closely examining 75 registering sequences occurring within the first 60-seconds of a participant’s arrival.⁸ Transcripts follow CA conventions (using the system developed by Gail Jefferson) and, when IRB-permitted, include video frame figures showing key visible conduct.

FINDINGS

Selecting How, What, and When to Register

Registering is one way of making reference in interaction. As with other referential actions (cf. Enfield 2013), registering involves selection of *what to register* from

among a vast number of perceivable, registerable stimuli; *how to register* from among a variety of different possible multi-modal (linguistic and embodied) methods; and *when to register*.

Regarding *how to register*, sequence-initial registering actions can be done through various design formats. For example, participants can design their registering utterances with or without evidential verbs (Chafe and Nichols 1986), as positive or negative observations (cf. Schegloff 1988), with or without reaction tokens (cf. Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006), as primarily lexicalized or embodied (e.g., directed gaze + laughter/object showing), with declarative or interrogative grammar, and with or without explicating a positive(+) or negative(-) stance toward the referent (see analysis of Excerpts 5–9 and 12–15 below). And using multiple modalities, participants can register in a way that displays a clear (positive, humorous, negative) stance toward the target referent, including positive(+) or negative(-) lexical descriptors and assessments (e.g., [+] “so cute” in Excerpts 2 and 5; [-] “Ew” and “Gross” in Excerpt 16), and audiovisual embodied resources (e.g., enacting a positive stance by incorporating “large” prosodic features — such as sound lengthening, smiling, and higher pitch — which Pillet-Shore 2012:383, 387] shows to audibly and visibly connote approval and praise).

Regarding *what to register*: people can register referents that are either owned or unowned. An unowned referent is not affiliated to any of the participants — it’s an impersonal referent for which no participant is regarded as responsible (e.g., the weather).⁹ But as mentioned earlier, this article analyzes people registering owned referents — referents for which a participant *is* regarded as responsible. In naturally occurring encounters where participants orient to the setting as belonging to someone, *me* and *mine* are mingled (Lancaster and Foddy 1988).¹⁰ Thus, this section examines cases of people calling joint attention to publicly perceivable manifestations of the self, including not only how participants look (including hairstyle, clothing), smell, and sound, but also cases of people registering participants’ self-extensions, like living/working/traveling quarters (e.g., how a person’s residence, office, or car looks and smells), chosen or prepared offerings to fellow participants (e.g., gifts, foods), and other beings for whom one is regarded as responsible (e.g., how pets or young children look).

Regarding *when to register*: Broadly, people can register during different phases of interaction, including openings, closings, and in between (at places of possible sequence completion, including as a way of resolving a lapse in conversation; Hoey 2018). This section focuses on registering during openings, since this constitutes the majority of cases in my data set.¹¹ More specifically, this section demonstrates that people time and design their sequence-initial registering actions in a systematic way constituting a structural preference organization — regular properties of turn and sequence construction through which participants manage courses of action that either promote or undermine social solidarity (Heritage 1984; Pillet-Shore 2017; Schegloff 2007).

TABLE 1. Preference Organization When Registering an Owned Publicly Perceivable Referent

	DISPLAYING (+)STANCE: PRAISING	DISPLAYING (-)STANCE: CRITICIZING
REGISTERING "YOURS"	preferred	dispreferred
REGISTERING "MINE"	dispreferred	preferred

When to Register an Owned Referent: A Structural Preference Organization

Choosing to register an owned referent observably puts "face" (participants' interdependent, public images of self; Brown and Levinson 1987; Goffman 1967), "affiliation" (participants' continually updated displays of being "with" or "against" one another; Sidnell 2010), and thus the relationship of involved participants on the line. Empirically examining the theoretical notions of face-preservation and face-threat, CA work on "preference organization" elucidates how people systematically time and design their actions when there are alternative relevant actions possible (Heritage 1984; Pillet-Shore 2017; Schegloff 2007). This section demonstrates that sequence-initial registering actions can be done along a preference continuum, either: (i) sooner, with "preferred" design — close to initial perceptual exposure (Schegloff 2007:86) and at the earliest moment in the interaction when that registering action may be initially relevantly performed (cf. Pillet-Shore 2018a) — and straightforwardly (without mitigation, qualification, account, uncertainty); or (ii) later, with "dispreferred" design — delayed relative to points in the interaction when that registering action might otherwise have been initially relevantly performed (Pillet-Shore 2017; cf. Robinson and Bolden 2010:503).

The ensuing analysis shows that participants produce and understand sequence-initial registering actions guided by the structural preference organization outlined in Table 1, which is sensitive to ownership ("yours," "mine") of, and displayed stance (e.g., positive[+], negative[-]) toward, the target referent.¹² Each of the next four subsections demonstrates one cell in Table 1.

Registering "Yours" and Displaying a (+)Stance

Participants design registering "yours" actions as preferred when displaying a clear positive stance toward the target referent, treating it as praisable. In other words, nonowners regularly register referents straightforwardly and at the earliest moment in the interaction when that registering action may be initially relevantly performed as a way of enacting a positive stance toward that referent. This preference is observable when nonowners register a target referent on their recipient's body or in their recipient's personal territory.

We can see this preferred design in Excerpt 5 as Alec is entering his friend Linda's apartment. While still at the door's threshold (Figure 5a), Alec does a registering

“yours” action about a referent (on Linda’s shirt) toward which he displays a positive stance at line 4:

Excerpt 5

01 ((Linda opening opaque door))
 02 Linda: =*He_llo:::?? ((*Linda and Alec enter mutual gaze))
 03 Alec: [Hi: the:re,=It was open
 04 -> downstairs- [= <Oh my gosh.>=Yer tee shirt fis so: +cute,=
 05 Linda: [Oh good. +figure 5a



Figure 5a



Figure 5b Alec’s referent

06 Daisy: =fI know=[I said that tuh last time I saw th#et?=
 07 Linda: [Oh my lucky kitty? ((patting her shirt))

Just after greeting Linda and accounting for how he got through the locked gate downstairs (lines 2–4), Alec registers his visual perception of Linda’s T-shirt, which features a maneki-neko (lucky kitty) graphic (Figure 5b). Alec indexes his realization of the referent through his “<Oh my gosh.>” reaction token (Wilkinson and Kitinger 2006), rushing to explicate his target referent (“=Yer tee shirt”) and then display a clear positive stance toward it by smiling as he gazes at it and delivers his praising assessment (Pomerantz 1984) of it as “so: cute.” Alec uses his registering as a vehicle for complimenting Linda as the owner of the referent (Pillet-Shore 2015a). As Alec says the positive descriptor “cute,” Linda gazes down (Figure 5a) to her own chest, subsequently patting the graphic on her shirt as she delivers her utterance at line 7. Excerpt 5 thus shows Alec designing his *registering yours* action as preferred, timing it to start at the earliest relevant moment in the emergent encounter (Pillet-Shore 2018a) and *as close as possible* to his apparent initial perceptual exposure to the referent (Schegloff 2007:86). Furthermore, Alec designs his utterance straightforwardly — without mitigation, qualification, account, or uncertainty.

This preferred design is also exemplified in Excerpts 1 and 2, which both show participants doing a registering “yours” action while displaying a positive stance: in Excerpt 1 Jill assesses her target referent with the positive descriptor “so go:od”;

and in Excerpt 2 Sally displays a clear positive stance toward her target referent using multiple modalities, producing her sequence-initial registering utterance with “large” prosodic features (e.g., smiling, interpolated laughter, sound lengthening, and higher pitch; Pillet-Shore 2012) and including the positive descriptor “s(h)o: c(h)u(h)::t(h)e.” Excerpts 1 and 2 also show participants timing their registering actions to start at the earliest relevant moment in the emergent encounter – while still at or near the door’s threshold and just after greetings – and very close to initial perceptual exposure. Furthermore, Excerpts 1, 2 and 5 show nonowners producing their sequence-initial registering utterances with preferred design features, delivering them straightforwardly. And in each case, the nonowner uses the registering action as a vehicle for achieving a particular social–relational purpose: *complimenting* the owner of the referent to enact and maintain incumbency in a more intimate relationship category (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005), both achieving and renewing the close, affiliative character of that relationship by demonstrating other-attentiveness and other-involvement during the opening phase of their encounter (Pillet-Shore 2008, 2018b).

We can also see this preferred design in Excerpt 6, which is distinctive (from Excerpts 1, 2, and 5) in showing a nonowner delivering a registering utterance composed of multiple turn-construction units (TCUs). In Excerpt 6, arriving guest Jess is entering the apartment of three peer–friends when she does a registering “yours” action, audibly pointing to her perception of Bri’s change in hairstyle since the last time they saw one another. About 1-second after she first gazes toward seated Bri (Figure 6a), Jess does a double-take (Figure 6b) as she produces her sequence-initial registering utterance starting at line 4:

Excerpt 6

```
01 Jess: h[eh heh ((Jess gazing to Bri; Bri waving to Jess))
02 Bri:  [↑H[iee:::=
03 Kay:  [↑Hi+:::=
           +figure 6a
```



Figure 6a

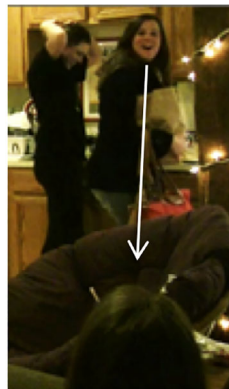


Figure 6b

When people open an interaction, they (re)constitute their social relationship (Pillet-Shore 2008, 2012, 2018a:215, Pillet-Shore 2018b; Schegloff 1986). And one important activity associated with incumbency in more intimate relationships (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005) is demonstrating that one is monitoring for changes in one’s recipient, relying on their shared history. Excerpts 2, 6, 7, and 9 show participants doing a registering “yours” action to show that they have detected a change in their recipient since their last encounter, thereby actively displaying other-attentiveness and doing “being in a closer relationship.”¹³

Registering “Mine” and Displaying a (-)Stance

Participants design *registering* “mine” actions as preferred when displaying a clear negative stance toward the target referent, treating it as *criticizable* (Pillet-Shore 2015b, 2016). In other words, owners regularly register referents straightforwardly and at the earliest moment in the interaction when that registering action may be initially relevantly performed as a way of enacting a negative stance toward that referent. This preference is observable when owners register a target referent on or about their own bodies or in their own personal territories—a referent that, though not being newly encountered by that speaker/owner, is newly perceptible to coparticipants.¹⁴

We can see this preferred design in Excerpt 10. Shortly after arriving to her friends’ apartment, Hailey (H), who is wearing shorts, registers a referent on her own body, toward which she displays a negative, humorous stance at line 9–11:

Excerpt 10

```
01 H: fHey Georgy, =
02 G: °Hey° Hailey,
03 H: .hh hhohh! Ohh m(h)y(hh) g(h)od< ((sitting down))
04 H: I’m dying: ((leaning forward, hugging bag on lap))
05 A: Squeeze in with George and Kay. ((to L, pointing to couch
06 on opposite side of room))
07 L: O::h. (.) Y#eah,=Well:, (.) ((H’s hands rubbing her shins))
```



Figure 10a



Figure 10b

```
08 A: Yeah=n+We:ll, ((H’s hands rubbing her shins))
+figure 10a
09 H: -> °Also *my legs are s(h)o= ((*reaching in bag on lap))
```

10 =goddamn hairy I gotta fp(h)ut ^the(h)se=
 11 =[o(h)n(hh)° ((^holding up pants just lifted out of bag))
 12 A: [hah hh hah .hhh! Yer just with us=It d(h)oesn't
 13 m(h)att(h)er huh hah .hhh!
 14 L?: huh [heh
 15 A: [George doesn't [care::,
 16 H: [Geo:rge.=Come feel these.[hhh
 17 A: [heh hih=
 18 L: [(Look at) mine ((L lifting legs to display shins))
 19 A: =[hih [heh heh ()
 20 G: [What?
 21 L: ↓Oh: Fe#el m#i:~ne. ((L touching her own shin)).
 +figure 10b

During the utterances at line 7–8, Hailey touches her own legs (Figure 10a), the apparent moment of her locally initial perceptual exposure to the (personally palpable) target referent (cf. Leichty 1975). Then, starting at line 9 Hailey calls her coparticipants' attention to her legs as being “s(h)o goddamn hairy,” a registering that also does humorous self-criticizing/self-deprecating by using sotto voce delivery (Lerner 2013:96; treating this as an embarrassing matter; cf. Scheff 2005), audible smiling, interpolated laughter, and the negatively valenced impropriety “goddamn” (cf. Jefferson et al. 1987:160) which displays her frustration toward the referent. She times her delivery of this utterance as close as possible (given others' talk) to her apparent perception of feeling her “hairy” legs, and produces this utterance with preferred design, delivering it straightforwardly (without mitigation). Hailey thus preemptively registers a visible, and possibly palpable referent on her body that could have been registered by others, and uses infiltrating laughter to invite them to laugh with her, transforming a potential for criticism-by-other into an interactional opportunity for affiliation around a self-criticism (Pillet-Shore 2006). Moreover, Excerpt 10 (like Excerpt 2) shows how Hailey's action of registering a possibly visible and palpable referent occasions a joint multi-sensorial experience: while no one else touches Hailey's legs, at line 16 Hailey mock invites George (the lone man in the room) to “Come feel these,” and Lisa responds (at lines 18 and 21) by displaying and touching her own shin (Figure 10b), thereby affiliating with Hailey and accepting her invitation into intimacy (cf. Jefferson et al. 1987) by claiming to also have hairy legs. Through this sequence, the participants talk and act (particularly at lines 9–11, 12–13, 21) in a way that is “recognizably bound” (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005:153) with a close relationship category.

Excerpt 11 also exemplifies this preferred registering “mine” design. Emma's welcoming her Dad into her new single-occupant apartment after recently relocating from a smaller, run-down apartment. After invoking the reason for their encounter (Dad seeing her new residence for the first time) at line 8 by registering the entire space (and Dad positively assesses it at line 11), Emma starts an utterance comparing this place to the last, but then self-repairs at line 13 to register a visible, potentially criticizable referent:

Excerpt 11

01 ((Emma opening opaque door))
 02 Dad: [He::y
 03 Emma: [He]lo:ç
 04 (1.0)/((Dad/Emma move into hug))
 05 Dad: >How are ya< honey?=(Dad, Emma hugging))
 06 Emma: =hhhHi(hh) ((breathy))
 07 (1.0)/((Dad pats, rubs Emma's back as they hug))
 08 Emma: .hh hh *So this is i:t.hh= (*hug disengage; Emma turns
 09 away from Dad, gesturing with right hand toward
 10 inner apartment))
 11 Dad: =Very ni:ce,
 12 Emma: .hh Ye:ah(h).=It's hh much bigger than .hh
 13 -> >last wa-<=*It's ptch! <ve:ry ((*Dad, Emma gaze to couch))
 14 messy[:,>=This=
 15 Dad: [Yea:h
 16 Emma: =is[:,(.) kinda- fYeah=°Well.° .hhh
 17 Dad: [f↓No::

Emma displays a negative stance toward her target referent by prosodically producing her utterance at lines 13–14 as a concession (cf. Barth-Weingarten 2003), registering her apartment's appearance using the negative descriptor “<ve:ry messy:,>” — a criticizable referent, particularly by a parent (Dad) to an adult child (Emma). Emma times her registering to coincide with Dad's initial gaze toward her visibly untidy couch, apparently using it not only to self-deprecate but also — and more importantly — to *preempt* her Dad from possibly registering this criticizable referent first (cf. Pillet-Shore 2015c), thereby explicitly acknowledging as valid, and even agreeing with, her Dad's presumed critical point of view. And Emma produces this registering utterance with preferred design features, delivering it straightforwardly. Through their actions at lines 13–17, Emma and Dad tacitly collaborate to produce a registering sequence in which a potential for criticism-by-other becomes an opportunity for affiliation around a self-criticism (cf. Pillet-Shore 2016), achieving shared, concurrent smiling (lines 16–17) as they re-constitute their intimate social relationship (as close family members, and as father–adult daughter).

This section thus shows that an owner of a criticizable referent can initiate a registering sequence as a vehicle for both *self-deprecating* and *preempting criticism* from a fellow participant.

Registering “Mine” and Displaying a Neutral Stance: (+)Stance Implicative

When owners of a praisable referent initiate a registering sequence, they observably delay this action relative to points in the interaction when they might otherwise have initially relevantly performed it (Pillet-Shore 2017; cf. Robinson and Bolden 2010:503), thereby treating this action as dispreferred. Furthermore, they routinely design their sequence-initial registering utterances so they are specifically neutral/nonvalenced, thus allowing a nonowner to be first to articulate a (positive) stance toward the target referent.

These dispreferred design features are exemplified in Excerpt 12. After waking up on Saturday morning, 12-year-old Layla enters her living room (at line 3) to find her neighbor and nanny Addison playing a board game with her younger sister Sue. Layla's had a hair cut in the week since she has last seen Addison. As Layla first becomes visible (Figure 12a), she runs both of her hands through her hair, displaying its freshly cut ends. After briefly gazing up at Layla to greet her at line 4, Addison returns her gaze down to the game. About 44-seconds later, after Layla's sat down on the floor to watch the others play, she once again touches her hair at lines 12 and 13 as she addresses her talk at line 14 to Addison. But it's not until line 27 that Layla explicitly registers the change to her hair, exactly 60-seconds after she has established copresence with Addison:

Excerpt 12

01 Su: One,=two,= ((Su tapping pawn on game board))
 02 Su: =thr[ee,= ((Su, Ad gazing down at *Sorry!* game board))
 03 La: [Hi: ((Layla audibly entering room from off screen))
 04 Su: =fou:r*¿= ((*Ad shifts gaze up to Layla))
 05 Ad: =↑Hi:,* ((*Ad returns gaze down to board game)).
 06 Su: Five,=six,=seven:-
 07 (0.2)/((Su placing pawn; Layla enters frame))
 08 La: .nhh!+ (**Layla runs hands through her hair, displays ends**)
 +figure 12a



Figure 12a

09 (0.5)
 10 Su: you:r turn, ((to Ad; Ad starts moving pawn))
 11 (0.8)/((Su shifts gaze to Layla; Ad gazing down to game))
 ... ((41-sec omitted; Ad explains camera to Layla, continues
 ... playing board game with Su))
 12 Su: t(h)ome*work. (**(*Layla bringing hands to her hair)**)
 13 [**(Layla runs hands through her hair, displaying ends)**]
 14 La: [I: don't think you're gonna wanna turn this in,
 15 Su: [I °°(got s::ix)°°.
 16 Ad: hhh [hm hm
 17 La: [hh .hh=
 18 Su: =One,=two,=th[ree,=four >blah=blah< blah,=
 19 Ad: [hh Yihknow,
 20 Su: =five six seven:: ((Su moving pawn))
 21 Ad: °This is something- This is something=
 22 Ad: =*el[s:e.° ((*Ad reaches for card on game board))
 23 La: [hh!

```

24 Su:   hih hih hih .hh!
25       (.)/(Ad places card down onto game board))
26       Eleven,= ((Ad gazing down at game board))
27 La:  -> =I cho:pped my hai:r.hh*
28       (.)/(*Ad shifting gaze from board game to Layla)
29 Ad:   It looks so go:od ((Ad/Layla in mutual gaze))

```

Layla observably delays her registering utterance relative to Addison’s initial perceptual exposure (as early as line 4; Schegloff 2007:86) and relative to earlier points in the opening phase when Addison might have relevantly registered her hair cut. During this time, Layla displays the freshly cut ends of her hair twice (lines 8, 12–13), apparently to enhance the opportunity for Addison to do the preferred alternative (of registering “yours” while displaying a [+]stance). Moreover, in the way that Layla designs her sequence-initial registering utterance at line 27, she specifically avoids articulating a valenced-stance toward her own hair, allowing her recipient Addison to be first to articulate a positive stance toward the target referent (through her positive descriptor “so go:od”) at line 29.¹⁵

We can see a similar pattern in Excerpt 13. Dave has arrived to his neighbor Kiki’s house for a holiday party 40-seconds before line 1. After Kiki’s small dog Bailey (a miniature poodle) puts his front paws up on Dave’s side (line 1), Dave attends to the dog, lifting and hugging him as he addresses him by his nickname “Bay leaf” (line 2):

Excerpt 13

```

01       ((dog Bailey puts front paws up on Dav’s side))
02 Dav:   Awo:h,=Good heavens Bay leaf ((Dav lifts Bailey))
03 Kik:   =nhhm!
04 Cla:   hhhh!
05 Dav:   [Come (on/here)= ((Dav hugging Bailey))
06 Ale:   [Bay leaf,=
07 Cla:   =O:h B(h)ay lea[f?
08 Kik:  ->           [Look.=He’s dre:ssed up.
09 Cla:   [Aw:, ((Kiki pointing to Bailey’s collar))
10 Kik:   [Did you notice his outfit?=
11 Dav:   =Uh- Di:d I. Why do you think I’m holding him.=
12 Kik:   =Lookit.=
13 Cla:   =hhhhhhh!
14       ((Cla claps twice))
15 Dav:   Hoping [someone will take my picture.
16 Kik:   [Bailey loves (him).

```

Though the dog’s action at line 1 initially attracts Dave’s attention, Kiki’s actions starting at line 8 register a more refined referent: how she has adorned her dog. Kiki’s utterance at line 8 is a directive (“Look”) followed by a formulation of the dog (“He”) as “dre:ssed up” which, though connoting the wearing of a costume and/or formal attire, stops short of including a descriptor or assessment. Thus

Kiki designs her registering utterances so they are specifically neutral/nonvalenced (describing without assessing) and omit explicit reference to herself as the person responsible for adorning the dog (she does not say, e.g., “Look how I dressed him”). At line 10, Kiki also formulates the action she’s now asking Dave to do as one that he could (and perhaps should) have already done (at least cognitively, if not socially). She thereby registers his failure to register the dog’s “outfit” (cf. Schegloff 2007:86).¹⁶ By line 8, Kiki has allowed 46-seconds to elapse since Dave’s arrival, time during which Dave has attended to her dog several times (and yet has not interactionally registered his outfit). Thus, Kiki observably delays her registering, evidence of her orientation to this action as relatively dispreferred.¹⁷

This section thus shows that, when an owner of a referent initiates a registering sequence with an utterance designed to be neutral/nonvalenced, participants are likely to infer that the owner is *fishing for a recipient’s positive stance-display* toward that target referent.

Registering “Yours” and Displaying a Neutral Stance: (–)Stance Implicative

When nonowners of a criticizable referent initiate a registering sequence, they routinely design their sequence-initial registering utterances to be neutral/nonvalenced. Though we have already seen cases of speakers uncoupling their registering action TCU from their stance-displaying action TCU (Excerpts 6–9 showed nonowners first registering the target referent in a lexically nonvalenced way, and then rushing-through the next TRP to explicitly articulate a *positive* stance toward it), Excerpts 14–15 below show nonowners doing a neutral/nonvalenced registering TCU as a stand-alone action (choosing to *not* rush-through the next TRP to start a next TCU, and withholding/delaying a lexicalized stance-display). And in each case, the owner of the target referent treats it as criticizable, using their next turn to account for it.

In Excerpt 14, moments after arriving to her home and greeting her daughter’s friend Elsa, Mom shifts her attention to greeting her college-aged daughter Kelly, who’s visiting home before leaving with Elsa for a Spring Break trip to Florida. As Mom walks toward Kelly, she lowers her gaze from her daughter’s face to her chest (Figure 14a), embodying a registering action as she delivers a quiet neutral/nonvalenced utterance (line 2) that registers her entire daughter as referent. Over 1-second elapses between the end of Mom’s utterance at line 2 and the start of her utterance at line 6, time during which she does not start a next TCU to lexicalize a stance-display toward her target referent:

Excerpt 14

01 (0.5) / ((Mom approaches Kel, gazing to Kel’s chest))
 02 Mom: -> ‘**Look at +chyou:::**’ ((Mom plays arms))
 +figure 14a



Figure 14a

Figure 14b

```

03      (1.0)/((Mom and Kel hugging))=
04      =pwtch!= ((Mom's kiss on Kel's cheek sound))
05      =(Mom squeezes Kel tighter during hug))=
06 Mom:   =Don't go any ta:nner,+
                                +figure 14b
07 Kel:  *Mom it's fake.=It's spray.= ((*hug disengage))
08 Els:  =Why [would you spray tan before we go.
09 Mom:  [Oh.
10 Kel:  So I will be ta(h)nhh

```

Through her utterance at line 6, Mom issues a directive that constitutes an implied registering and criticism of how tan Kelly's skin looks, thereby performing an action treated as appropriate given the rights and obligations of the mother–daughter relationship categories (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005). This encounter occurs in late-winter in the Northeastern United States, and Mom's manifest concern is that her daughter looks (too) tan as a result of exposure to ultraviolet (UV) rays from tanning salon lamps, which increase the risk of skin cancer. From the moment of initial perceptual exposure, Mom delays making this specific referent explicit, and she also avoids articulating a negative stance toward this referent, both of which show her orientation to her actions as dispreferred and face-threatening. And Kelly responds by providing an account (line 7) for the target referent (her skin color) which displays her orientation to, and aims to assuage, her Mom's implied concern ("It's spray" conveys that her tan is not from UV rays). At line 8, Elsa delivers a *why*-type interrogative (Robinson and Bolden 2010) that solicits further account from Kelly, thereby continuing a criticizing sequence.

Excerpt 15 further exemplifies this pattern. As Jane (J) arrives to her friends' apartment, her already-present and situated roommate and closest friend Alice (A) initiates a registering sequence at line 4 with a turn composed of a reaction token and an explication of her target referent, thereby registering Jane's all-gray outfit through a lexically neutral/nonvalenced utterance. Kate then echoes Alice's registering by defining it (line 5) in a nonvalenced way, and all participants smile and laugh, using their actions to tease and criticize Jane for her monochromatic clothing (cf. Haugh 2017), thereby enacting incumbency in a close peer friend relationship (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005).

case analysis. Shortly after entering his friends' apartment, Greg initiates a registering sequence starting at line 8:

Excerpt 16

```

01          ((Ali opening locked, opaque door))
02 Ali:    [He:llo:,,=
03 Greg:   [Hello,
04 Greg:   =>How co:me we don't have broomball tonight.=
05          ((Greg standing in ajar doorway))
06 Lis:    =Hi:e::[: ,
07 Ali:    [It's tuhmorrow.= ((Ali sits on couch))
08 Greg:-> =This room smells:. ((Greg closing door))
09 Ali:    Wha(h)t?=-
10 Greg:   =E:W:+:.-.nhh! ((sniff))
          +figure 16a

```



Figure 16a

```

11          (0.2)/((Greg walking from door to window))
12 Greg:   Open a window.
13 Lis:    °Yeah=will you¿°
14 Greg:   Gross. ((Greg at window, opening it))
15 Greg:   .hh [Ih-
16 Ali:    [°Oh my god<=That's bad.= [If- (I can't smell)
17 Greg:    [Smells like Tyler's room.
18 Ali:    hhh! fWh(h)[at?
19 Lis:    [I don't (even) know what it i: [s.
20 Greg:    [((throat clear))
21 Ali:    O:h no:.=That's bad.hh
22 Greg:   E::[w. ((Greg opening 2nd window))
23 Lis:    [°Did Kayla puke yesterday?°

```

With his declarative, “This room smells,” Greg registers his sensorial experience of perceiving an olfactible referent. While he does not use a clear assessment (e.g., “smells bad” or “stinks”), his use of the verb “smells” idiomatically connotes an unpleasant odor—a criticizable and complainable referent (Pillet-Shore 2015b, 2016). Moreover, as an arriving visitor to his friends’ residence, Greg is a nonowner of this referent. And yet, rather than designing his registering “yours”

action as dispreferred (by delaying it, and/or producing it non-straightforwardly with mitigation, qualification, or uncertainty), he delivers it early (close to apparent initial perceptual exposure) and straightforwardly, in effect doing a face-threatening/dispreferred action with preferred design (Pillet-Shore 2017).

Resident Ali responds at line 9 with an “open” class repair initiator (Drew 1997), treating Greg’s preceding action — which constituted an abrupt topic shift — as problematic, but leaves unclear if the problem is one of hearing, understanding, or affiliation. Based on coparticipants’ next actions and Ali’s similar utterance at line 18, however, it becomes clear that it’s a problem of affiliation. At line 10, Greg displays a clear negative stance toward his target referent (through his “E:W:” — a dedicated negative stance-display that he renews through his utterances at lines 14 and 22), treating it as not only criticizable but also complainable (Pillet-Shore 2015b, 2016). By then audibly sniffing, moving toward the apartment’s windows as he delivers the directive at line 12, and opening two windows (at lines 14 and 22), Greg moves to remedy the complainable smell.

Given the structural preference organization outlined in Table 1, how can we explain Greg’s registering actions in Excerpt 16? First, olfactory fatigue (a case of sensory adaptation)¹⁸ is apparently at work: the residents’ subsequent talk (line 16–23 and beyond) reveals that after their prolonged exposure to this odor they are unable to detect it, thus precluding the possibility that they could preemptively register (or remedy) the smell. Greg’s registering actions may thus be articulating a trouble relevant to his recipients, formulating it as a shared adversity/witnessing (cf. Sacks 1992 I:236–246). Second, the target referent in this case is communal: four college students share this apartment, thus creating a diffusion of responsibility around who owns the criticizable referent (see line 23).¹⁹ And third and perhaps most importantly, these participants orient to one another as incumbents in a very relaxed, close relationship: ethnographically, we know that Greg is a frequent visitor to this residence, a familiarity he embodies through his entitled (nondeferential) action of opening his friends’ windows. Thus Excerpt 16 shows how people can use registering actions to display a high degree of social closeness and intimacy: when participants orient to one another as having an unguarded and highly familiar relationship — the strength of which they treat in situ as able to withstand the momentary strain posed by a face-threatening action — they may not only perform a dispreferred action, but may do so with relatively preferred design. Indeed, as suggested by Pillet-Shore (2017), this may be one of a larger class of activities permitted, but not necessarily expected, between persons who are incumbents of intimate relationships — a way of doing “being intimate” (cf. Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005) that transcends registering sequences to include many other social action sequences (e.g., how recipients of polar questions can perform dispreferred responding actions in the preferred design format; Pillet-Shore 2017:37). So it seems Excerpt 16 is an exception that still proves the rule.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has provided the first detailed empirical investigation of naturally occurring video-recorded face-to-face openings during which participants do the action of *registering* — calling joint attention to a selected, publicly perceivable referent so others shift their sensory attention to it. Through this action, interactional coparticipants make the sensory social by invoking a present, personal perceptual experience so they may immediately share it. Complementing modern social psychology and symbolic interaction scholarship, this article shows how interactants use the action of registering not only to achieve “joint attention” (shared awareness of the same referent at the same time; e.g., Bruner 1995; Tomasello and Farrar 1986), but also to achieve “intersubjectivity” and “attunement” (Scheff 2005), sharing a common understanding of the meaning and value that they are attributing to that referent. Closely analyzing sequence-initial actions that register owned referents (for which a participant is regarded as responsible), this study has elucidated a systematic structural preference organization that observably guides when and how people initiate registering sequences sensitive to ownership of, and displayed stance toward, the target referent.

This article has shown evidence of this preference organization through four key findings. First, analysis revealed that nonowners register praisable referents early and straightforwardly (preferred design) — a key method for doing a sequence-initial complimenting action (cf. Pillet-Shore 2015a). Second, data demonstrated that owners register criticizable referents early and straightforwardly (preferred design) — a key method for doing a sequence-initial self-deprecating action that can work to preempt another’s criticism/complaint (cf. Pillet-Shore 2015b, 2017). Third, this article showed that owners delay their registering utterances (dispreferred design), and design them to be neutral/nonvalenced, when targeting praisable referents — actions to which fellow participants are likely to orient as fishing for a another’s positive stance-display toward the target referent. And fourth, this study demonstrated that, when nonowners design their registering utterances to be neutral/nonvalenced — delaying/withholding a stance-display (dispreferred design) — owners regularly account for the target referent; thus, participants orient to a nonowner’s neutral/nonvalenced registering as implicitly criticizing the referent and its owner.

These findings connect to interactionist discussions of “intersubjectivity,” which observe that we humans “spend much of our lives living in the minds of others,” and “our self-feelings are dependent on other people” (Scheff 2005:156). This article has examined moments during copresent interaction when participants topicalize and manage not only how they and theirs *look, smell, sound, and feel*, but also deal with others’ displayed stances toward and “judgments” of those sensory perceptions, which interactionist scholarship tells us “gives rise to real and intensely powerful emotions” (Scheff 2005:147).

We've seen that people use *registering an owned referent* as a vehicle for doing other stance-implicative actions, including complimenting, self-deprecating to preempt a fellow participant's potential criticism, fishing for another's praise, or implicitly criticizing a fellow participant. Analysis has shown that and how participants use the *timing* of the registering vehicle to partially constitute (along with concomitant lexical, prosodic, and embodied stance-displays), and make recognizable, which other action they are doing through it. Courtesy of the complementarity built into the preference organization outlined in Table 1, people can tacitly collaborate to produce "preferred" registering sequences that support social solidarity. Through their choices to produce actions that either promote or undermine social solidarity during openings, interactants partially (re)constitute and enact their social relationships, calibrating the degree of intimacy or distance and "social connectedness" (Scheff 2005:151) between them.

By concluding with a deviant case analysis, this article showed that people can, of course, depart from the structural preference organization outlined in Table 1. But when they do, their actions are inference-rich and accountable, engendering fellow participants to wonder "Why that now?" (Schegloff 2007:2; Schegloff and Sacks 1973:299), which can lead to negative inferences and a threat to their bond (Scheff 2005:151). Indeed, this deviant case still showed evidence of participants' orientation to the normativity of this preference organization, further illuminating how choosing to register an owned referent puts involved participants' face, affiliation, and social relationship on the line.

The findings of this research contribute to several bodies of work, including interactionist and sensory studies exploring multi-sensorality in interaction (e.g., Leichty 1975; Mondada 2019) to describe how people make their sense perceptions relevant and accountable to fellow participants. Moreover, this article complements and extends CA work on preference organization (Heritage 1984; Pillet-Shore 2017; Schegloff 2007), particularly of sequence-initiating actions (for review, see Pillet-Shore 2017). This article also advances the social scientific literature on joint attention (e.g., Moore and Dunham 1995), the achievement of intersubjectivity (e.g., Heritage 1984:254–256; Scheff 2005), and the openings of interactions (Pillet-Shore 2018a). By registering owned referents during conversational openings, participants do not only move to solve the practical problem of topic initiation (what to talk about early in an emergent encounter); they also — and perhaps more importantly — move to achieve and renew the character of their social relationships.

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NOTES

1. Registering is not confined to face-to-face interaction. Among others, Drew and Chilton (2000) and Schegloff (2007) mention registering (or vernacularly, "noticing" — see the section entitled "Background") actions in their analyses of recorded telephone conversations.
2. People are more likely to register tasteable referents outside of the opening phase of interaction, often mid-encounter (e.g., while cooking, eating, drinking; see Højlund 2015; Vannini et al. 2010).
3. Data in this article also use an exclamation point "!" following an abruptly punctuated sound, an asterisk "*" to indicate onset of visible conduct described inside double parentheses "((*))" and a plus "+" to denote the moment in the transcript that a video frame grab figure occurs.
4. Excerpt 10 is another exemplification of a registering sequence occasioning a joint multisensorial experience.
5. The New Iowa School of Symbolic Interaction (e.g., Miller et al. 1975; Miller 2011: 343–44) also conducted laboratory studies to explore "the opening phase of social acts" and how "reciprocally acknowledged attention" is established.
6. Among these studies, Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) is distinctive in not analyzing naturally occurring recorded interactions, but rather examining recordings of college student dyads in a lab experiment, finding that participants initiated topics using what they termed "setting talk" — referring to an element of the immediate laboratory environment. I do not use the term "setting talk" because in my data set the action of registering does not necessitate talk; people can use directed gaze, a deictic gesture, and/or laughter to initiate registering; and registering is not limited to referents tethered to the setting — participants call attention to publicly perceivable features of the setting and participants in the same sequential and overall structural position.
7. Though worthy of study, a focus on how participants negotiate and display referent (non-)ownership during their interactions is beyond the scope of this article.
8. While most arrivals in my data set show participants entering from outside into an interior space, a few cases show arrivers entering a common room after waking from sleep in a nearby bedroom.
9. Excerpt A shows Willow registering an unowned referent at line 1:

Excerpt A

```
01 W: -> => fAt least < *you get tuh vi:ew:?= ((*W gazes/gestures
02     first to R, then to window; returns gaze to R;
03     R's gaze follows W's gesture to window, then returns to W))
04 R:   =fUh hu: [h?=fThis is very nic:e.
05 W:   [fOf tuh mount(h)ains?=hih hih hih huh
```

By registering the view through the window (which is related to the weather, and is treated as out of participants' accountable control) of the university's borrowed meeting room (it's not Willow's personal office), Willow registers an unowned referent (constituting recipient Robin as a beneficiary).

10. This article's findings empirically demonstrate several authors' claims that the self is distributed and heterogeneous. For example, an assertion made by James (1890, 291, as cited in Lancaster

and Foddy 1988) highlights the difficulty in distinguishing between me and mine: “In its widest possible sense, a man’s *self* is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works.”

11. My data set includes non-opening cases of registering, analysis of which shows participants to produce and understand sequence-initial registering actions consistent with the structural preference organization outlined in Table 1.
12. Though it’s possible to register in a lexically neutral/nonvalenced way (without explicating a clear +/- stance toward the target referent, e.g., “Look at you:”; “Oh wo_w.=Look at that.”; “You sat in the barber’s chair this weekend”), nonvalenced registering utterances are a regular part of dispreferred design, both when registering “mine” (see Excerpts 12–13) and when registering “yours” (see Excerpts 14–15).
13. This observation also applies to, and yields additional insights about, Excerpts 12 and 14 (and may also apply to Excerpts 13 and Note 17’s Excerpt B).
14. Reconsidering Excerpt 3, Ryan’s registering at line 7 may be a case of registering “ours” with preferred design, displaying either a neutral/nonvalenced stance, or a (–)stance (if participants orient to a bug on their residential ceiling as criticizable, implying a lack of cleanliness or posing a nuisance).
15. See also Excerpt 11–line 8 and Excerpt 13–line 8. I have found that this preference organization of registering an owned referent also applies outside of the opening phase of interaction, during “ongoing states of incipient talk” (Schegloff 2007; Schegloff and Sacks 1973).
16. Dave designs his response at line 11 to sound playfully indignant, treating it as obvious that he has not only “noticed,” but is already responding to and acting upon that “noticing” by showing affection to the dog.
17. Excerpt B shows the very next guest to arrive to Kiki’s house for this same holiday party. Tellingly, this arriver (Deanne) registers how Kiki’s dog Bailey is adorned very early and straightforwardly, starting at line 5 while still at the door’s threshold:

Excerpt B

```
01      ((knock knock knock))/((Dea at Kiki’s ajar front door))
02 Kik:  ↑A: :H.
03      (0.5)/((dog Bailey runs to Dea at door))
04 Dea:  Oh hi Bailey¿=Hi: :ee. Hi:hih(you) hih hih=
05      ->=Goodness that’s so cute¿=Looket shyer ne:cklace.=
06 Dea:  =heh heh heh He’s so festive. ((gazing to Kiki))
```

So this next arriver does the more preferred *registering* “yours” while displaying a (+)stance action (using positive descriptors/assessments and praising prosody) with preferred design (consistent with Excerpts 1, 2 and 5–8).

18. *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, “Olfactory fatigue,” (retrieved June 20, 2017), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olfactory_fatigue.
19. Both Excerpts 3 and 16 show participants registering a target referent that is oriented to as shared or communal, which likely influences the preference organization of their actions; this merits further study.

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