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## Adult's feedback to children's multimodal productions: scaffolding the primacy of spoken language

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As children under two years old are not yet fluent users of spoken language, other more iconic, embodied and situated semiotic means are likely to be meaningful to adults when interacting with them. Adults often reformulate multimodal cues (like gaze, facial expressions, gestures and mundane actions) into spoken forms and thus shape them into patterns that are compatible with the adult language system. Adult feedback to children's multimodal productions thus has a regulatory function and socializes children to the specific features of their cultural community's language. As children progressively master language, priority is given to verbal resources as adults provide spoken feedback that function as repairs (Forrester, 2008).

Drawing on an ethnographic study of longitudinal adult-child interactions filmed at home, we analyze how adults *highlight* (Goodwin 2018) their transmission of the spoken code in their interpretations and reformulations of their children's actions and gestures. Through detailed analyses of excerpts of our data, this study illustrates how adults foreground speech as the primary vehicle to *language* their experience. In the process, children learn to inhibit their capacity for rich syncretic embodied communication but they also learn to adapt to adults and appropriate the forms of expression specific to their surrounding cultural community.

Our analyses illustrate the role of the adult feedback and of child addressed speech. The adults are "doing being ordinary" scaffolding adults (Sacks 1992, Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2021) by providing spoken recasts of the children's behaviors. By actively responding to their children, by co-constructing meaning with them, the adults are empowering and positioning them as a co-speaker. However, the adults continually resort to sedimented practices in which speech is the primary symbolic interactive modality and thus scaffold their children as apprentice-speakers into becoming thriving members of their socio-cultural and linguistic community.

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