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Children's Knowledge-in-Interaction

Studies in Conversation Analysis

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For the Goodwins, whose work provides a foundation for the collection that follows. And because Candy and Chuck are adored, admired and beloved by those of us fortunate enough to know them.

Foreword

The exciting contribution of this book is that children's perspectives and displays of their knowledge are understood through a lens that observes their everyday practices, in situ. In the studies reported here, the children are not being invited to report or give an account to an interested researcher about their everyday learning lives. Rather, the children are observed as they go about their everyday interactions with family, peers and educators. These activities would be happening regardless of whether the researcher was present or not, and captures what participants did and how they did it, and with whom and, alongside all this, the accomplishments of knowledge underpinned through all these interactions.

In childhood studies in recent times, there has been an overwhelming awareness and recognition of the value of children's participation. Many studies set out to explore children's perspectives, with recent understandings residing within theoretical standpoints that value children's contributions, and with an emphasis on children's views being heard. Often undertaken within the paradigm known as the new studies of childhood, many of these studies have sought to ask children their perspectives on matters that are of concern to them or that involve them in some way as participants. Some studies have explored, for example, children's views on play in educational settings, classroom rules and practices, and how children would like to be regarded. Other studies go further to seek children's views and participation in research practices that involve children as researchers exploring aspects of their own practices. In these studies, the underlying agenda is to seek children and young people's views on matters in which they are key stakeholders.

Within the field of childhood studies, an often-used method is that of the interview, where children are invited to proffer their views and their stance on matters of interest to the researchers. At other times, views are elicited through analysing children's understandings displayed through artefacts, such as drawings and photographs, or through surveys or activities where children are brought into researcher-designed spaces to undertake researcher-designed activities, or to respond to interviewer questions, or to complete a diagram or task set by the researcher. These studies that ask children about their perspectives, or manipulate

the everyday environment in some way, offer important insights into how children (and researchers) view the world and how children respond to researcher agendas. What this approach does not give us, though, is insights into how children participate in their everyday lives as they unfold moment by moment, whether the researcher is present or not.

Taken together, the chapters in this book constitute a recalibration of the field of childhood studies. The research presented here is an interesting and powerful collection that builds on the early work of the 1970s, when the field of sociological studies of children and the earliest programme of childhood studies were established. Particularly significant within this period was the work of early ethnomethodologists, including Matthew Speier and Robert Mackay. In many ways, the collection returns to this early project of making visible children's lives—as they are lived. This book's re-establishment of observational understandings is an exciting and provoking moment for the field of childhood studies.

Each chapter in this book presents a rigorous analysis of children's everyday lives. We want to know how children accomplish their everyday interactions as they undertake them, moment-by-moment, so we observe how their interactions unfold in real-time, and how they make meaning at that time in terms of what is happening. Although the contexts vary across home and school settings, what is constant is the close attention given to what participants say and do. An analytic focus on the sequences of interaction as they unfold displays how participants respond to each other, as they make sense of each other and their social worlds. Using the observational method, we see firsthand their displays of knowledge and interaction, and gain understandings of their perspectives. Technological advancements mean that video recordings of children's interactions are now a well-established method, making it possible to revisit the recordings to study children's practices closely. Technological and methodological advances in transcription make it possible to more accurately represent real-life activity.

What this book shows is that children's knowledge construction is not only about academic concepts, such as numeracy, literacy and physics. Although individual chapters do explore these aspects of cognitive learning, this book is firmly embedded in the realization that all knowledge work is accomplished within social contexts. Children work within contexts where social interactions and cultural understandings and practices are central to knowledge attainment. Knowledge-in-action cannot divorce the 'knowledge' aspect from the 'social' aspect as each is intricately intertwined and codependent.

April 2016   Susan Danby
                                                  Queensland University of Technology

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Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions used throughout this book follow the original work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). For further details of transcription, see Jefferson (2004); Gardner (2001) and Hepburn and Bolden (2012).

.	Falling intonation
,	Slightly rising or continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
¿	Intonation that rises more than a comma but less than a question mark
::	Lengthened syllable
↓	Sharp fall in pitch
↑	Sharp rise in pitch
[ ]	Overlapping talk
( )	Unintelligible stretch
(0.5)	Length of silence in tenths of a second
> <	Increase in tempo, rushed stretch of talk
< >	Slower tempo
hh	Audible outbreath
.hh	Audible inbreath
° °	Talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk
(( ))	Description of accompanying behaviour
→	Points to a phenomenon of particular interest, to be discussed by the author

Additional Notation

Abbreviations for interlinear gloss

COP	Copula
DIM	Diminutive
IMP	Imperative form
IP	Interactional particle
IT	Various forms of interactional tokens
NEG	Negative form
ONM	Onomatopoeic word/expression
PAST	Past form
POL	Polite form
POT	Potential
Q	Question marker
SBJ	Subject marker
TOP	Topic marker
CONJ	Conjecture

Symbols for digital devices

iPa	iPad
iPh	iPhone
iPac	iPad screen
iPhc	iPhone screen
☜→	Focus of gaze (e.g. to screen, another participant or camera)
☞▪▪▪▪▪	Pointing (e.g. to screen or another participant)
◊▪▪▪▪▪	Tapping touch pad/screen
⌐B	Swiping touch screen to trace part of a letter
I'm	Bolded turns indicate talk by participants
dee::	Italicized turns indicate speech by technologies

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Amanda Bateman currently works at the University of Waikato, New Zealand, as a Senior Lecturer in early childhood education. She has led various research projects where she uses conversation analysis to explore peer–peer relationships and teacher–child interactions and is currently working on a project investigating children's storytelling in early childhood through to primary school. Amanda is publishing from her projects, including her book *Conversation Analysis and Early Childhood Education: The Co-Production of Knowledge and Relationships.* Contact abateman@waikato.ac.nz

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Contributors

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Chapter 1
Children's Knowledge-in-Interaction: An Introduction

Amanda Bateman and Amelia Church

Studies in Conversation Analysis

Understanding what children know and how they display knowledge is at the centre of education. Interactions with young children are not only central to learning in early childhood settings and schools, as interactions with parents, siblings, families and friends are the fundamental site for children's learning about how to be in the world. We—the editors and authors in this collection—are most interested in *how* it is that children manage to navigate their social lives, including the classroom, and how they and others respond to their demonstrable knowledge of the world. The title of this collection *Children's knowledge-in-interaction* captures our preoccupation with understanding what children know by paying close attention to the turn-by-turn, unfolding and collaborative, nature of talk. The illumination of intersubjectivity provided by talk-in-interaction is why we are all drawn to the methodology and method of conversation analysis in our research.

Many chapters in this book were presented at the Australasian Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (AIEMCA) conference in November 2014 hosted at The University of Waikato, New Zealand, and the International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA) in June 2014 hosted by the University of California Los Angeles. In 2014, these international conversation analysis conferences showed an increased uptake in childhood studies and the European Early Childhood Education Research Association (EECERA) conference, one of the largest international conferences in early childhood education, also hosted a number of presentations of research in a first-ever symposium using

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conversation analysis 'examining preschool and home through social interaction'; the authors of which are included in this volume. During these conferences it became apparent that the use of conversation analysis to explore the interactions of children has grown in interest significantly in recent years.

With the study of conversation analysis being more than 50 years old, it is inspiring to see such research uptake regarding the everyday ways in which children's knowledge is on display, building on Sacks' own interest in children's interactions, including in games and with adults, and membership categorization (Sacks 1995). The increased uptake in research that synthesises ethnomethodology (EM), conversation analysis (CA) and membership categorisation analysis (MCA) in studies of childhood is well worth celebrating, and making available to students, scholars and practitioners across disciplines.

As such, this book adds to collections on children's competence from Hutchby and Moran-Ellis (1998), children's development and interactions from Gardner and Forrester (2010), children's disputes from Danby and Theobald (2012) and the new journal *Research on Children and Social Interaction*, edited by Carly Butler. Building on these volumes, and the work of many other scholars concerned with the lives of children, this collection aims to document ways in which children's interactions with a range of interlocutors in their everyday settings demonstrates their knowledge and competencies. The collection of research draws on children living in a range of countries including Australia, Sweden, Bangladesh, New Zealand, Japan and England, and offers opportunities to see how knowledge-in-interaction is co-produced in a range of languages, in home and in educational settings. To this end we aim to provide insights into the competencies and capacities of young children with a specific focus on how they engage in interactions as knowledgeable members.

Children as Knowledgeable

Research in the sociology of childhood, phenomenology, and children's rights is necessarily concerned with understanding the world from the child's point of view. In childhood research more broadly there is growing recognition that children's knowledge and social competencies have been grossly underestimated (Smith 2014). Applying an ethnomethodological perspective to children's everyday interactions with others in various places, we begin to see how children demonstrate their knowledge in the co-production of everyday life. Research in conversation analysis motivated by understanding children's lives, and how they learn to manage these lives, implicitly orients to children as knowledgeable and capable agents. In this collection of studies that range from pre-natal to early adolescence, we are not theorizing childhood, or advocating a particular stance, but rather showing that, through the careful and detailed analysis provided by the method of conversation analysis, we are able to make visible how children demonstrate their understandings.

Introductions to conversation analysis are well provided for elsewhere (e.g., Sidnell 2010; Sidnell and Stivers 2012; Silverman 1998), and for readers unfamiliar with this tradition of research, each chapter in this collection provides an introduction to what CA can achieve. The transparency of conversation analysis, that 'others could look at what I studied and make what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me' (Sacks 1984, p. 26), is ideal for novice students or scholars from other fields, because evidence is drawn from what is said (verbal utterances), how this is done (paralinguistic features of talk such as gesture, eye gaze and so on), and how people respond (i.e., what happens next). Data-driven analysis, made possible through close transcription of video recorded observations, encourages analysts to pay attention to what participants attend to, enabling us to focus on what children do, rather than what we *think* they do, or what we *think* they think or feel. Most importantly, the sequential organisation of talk (see Schegloff 2007), allows us to see the sense that speakers make of one another, providing a window into what speakers know, and how this knowledge is treated by participants.

The work included in this book demonstrates how children's knowledge is made observable in everyday mundane routines, through playful interactions with peers, siblings and adults. Exploring children's competent displays of knowledge in such everyday activities challenges the common understanding that children only engage in knowledge exchange when teaching is the explicit focus. Our perspective mirrors the view of Goodwin (2016, in press), that every society is faced with the task of making new and competent members, where pedagogy is seen as embedded in everyday social life to achieve this end. The mutual orientation of participants shown in naturally occurring data can be observable as pedagogy in situ. By exploring how such activities are organised, direct implications for future practice can be considered.

In an era where knowledge and learning are considered evident in formal 'tasks', the authors of this collected volume provide important insights into how knowledge and learning are co-produced—when, where and with whom—during everyday interactions. Such an analytic focus highlights children's in situ competences and investigates how knowledge is displayed in routine everyday interactions, in educational institutions and beyond. These understandings show how knowledge is locally managed by the participants, and what sorts of knowledge exchange are made relevant in particular contexts, and in different settings with a range of participants.

Knowledge-in-Interaction

When Garfinkel introduced 'Studies in Ethnomethodology' (1967), he described how everyday life is accomplished through practical actions. He showed that, 'such practices consist of an endless, on-going, contingent accomplishment…the practices are done by parties to those settings whose skill with, knowledge of, and

entitlement to the detailed work of that accomplishment-whose competence-they obstinately depend upon, recognise, use and take for granted' (p. 1). This approach to the study of human interaction observes knowledge as a socially constructed, salient phenomenon observable in mundane activity. Through an ethnomethodological approach to everyday social situations in various contexts, the interactions of members can be explored to reveal how it is that they make sense of their world, and make their understanding observable in competent and capable ways.

Throughout the book, authors provide examples of everyday interactions involving children where knowledge exchange is made visible through using the methodology of conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis. There has been much written about knowledge, epistemics and pedagogical interaction, all immeasurably useful to teacher education and the study of human understanding. A conversation analysis approach makes it possible to show what speakers know and how they display that in the interaction. Turns at talk demonstrate or orient to a more knowledgable (K+) or less knowledgeable (K−) status (Heritage 2012a). The ongoing interaction can be seen as developing a trajectory of building knowledge (Heritage 2012b). Rather than try to offer a comprehensive overview of epistemics here in this introductory chapter, we leave it to each author to situate their research in relation to knowledge-in-interaction, and to show how relative knowledge is indexed by children, peers, family members and teachers. In applying conversation analysis to the study of children's interactions, the moments where knowledge-in-interaction and learning occur is on display. The importance of understanding the turn-by-turn actions reveals how knowledge exchange is co-produced through sequential and mutual orientation, and offers insight into how 'quality' interactions are constructed in everyday life.

We have purposefully avoided discussion of *learning*-in-interaction, as these internal processes are not best accounted for by the observational nature of conversation analysis, even though it has been argued that CA is 'actually more cognitive (more honestly concerned with the mental worlds of participants) than most rival theories of discourse analysis' (Levinson 2006: 86; for discussion of how CA accounts for learning in classroom interaction see Gardner 2012). Scholars of conversation have shown how turn design orients to what speakers and listeners might be expected to know, and the organization of talk (pre-sequences, for example) provides an in-built check and balance for the epistemic stance and status of participants in interaction (see the collection of studies in Stivers et al. 2011). In other words, we can see what speakers know through their contributions to the ongoing talk, and how the interaction itself provides the locus for learning. This approach is particularly helpful in understanding very young children's knowledge-in-interaction.

Increasingly, research in childhood education and care is concerned with the process of learning, the 'how' of high quality interactions rather than the structural quality of early learning environments (Tayler 2015). That is, although structural elements of ratios, teacher qualification, physical resources and so forth still matter for children's learning, more important is that the interactions between children and teachers, and among peers, provide opportunities for learning, and furthermore

provide evidence of what children know and how they arrive at this knowledge. In pedagogical situations, where interactions are intentionally 'educational', it is essential to understand the detailed turn-by-turn structure of the interaction prior to any kind of intentional content 'teaching' such as the dissemination of information around scientific or mathematical (for example) concepts. The verbal and non-verbal embodied actions that feature in knowledge-in-interaction reflect the speaker's stance, and also provide insight into broader social orders. For example, assessments are not merely descriptions of the social world, but constitute social actions and stances that are often responded to, aligned with, or contested in meaningful ways (see Burdelski and Morita, this collection). Without a basic understanding of how knowledge is disseminated in everyday contexts in detailed ways, possibilities of employing such conversational practices to 'teach' specific content is limited.

Readers familiar with conversation analysis will be interested in how authors use single case or multiple extracts as evidence of knowledge-in-interaction. Those whose primary interest is in child development will see that, by paying close attention to how children participate in ongoing activities, we see what children are able to achieve, and also their understanding of social activities, moral order, and how speakers show to others their stance, knowledge and orientation to content, concepts and ways of doing. Moreover, the collection of studies in this book illustrates that learning is a continuous process, and that children's parents, siblings, extended family and peers are key participants in the collaborative action of detailing and developing knowledge.

The aim, then, of this collection is to illustrate knowledge as constructed by and developed through social interaction. The chapters, collectively, detail the practices in family, school and friendship groups that support children to develop and display their knowledge of the world. An observation of the features of interaction that constitute knowledge co-production across these different contexts offers a better understanding of cross-context 'occasioned knowledge exploration' (Goodwin 2007). The research demonstrates how teachers and children engage in interactions in educational institutions, and also how children demonstrate similar knowledge competency outside of these institutions.

Organisation of the Book

The first part of this collection presents a range of studies within the institutional setting of education in the early years. Although all chapters in this book deal with knowledge-in-interaction, Chaps. 2 to 11 are studies of interaction in educational settings, from early childhood education and care (ECEC) settings and the first years of primary school, namely pre-school programs for three and four-year-old children in the year prior to formal schooling, to teenage children'. The second

part of the collection looks at knowledge-in-interaction with children and their peers and family members. The flow of the chapters reveal a picture of what knowledge-in-interaction looks like, in mundane everyday interaction in many places, with different people and at different stages of life.

Knowledge-in-Interaction with Children and Teachers

Chapter 2 of this collection begins the investigation into teacher-child interactions through exploring epistemic trajectories in classrooms in Australia. In this chapter, Rod Gardner and Ilana Mushin develop their work with young indigenous children, showing the importance of non-verbal cues in classrooms. In their data, they show that gaze provides an indication of engagement, to demonstrate that children visibly orienting to the teacher increases the likelihood of them understanding instructions and successfully completing tasks. This analysis provides valuable insights into the learning actions of students who are often at risk of educational disadvantage, and contributes more broadly to our understanding of how teachers might track comprehension.

Chapter 3 by Sara Dalgren demonstrates how children skilfully use their bodies on a seesaw, an apparatus they serendipitously found on a daily neighbourhood walk with their teacher in Sweden. The author attends to how the teacher guides the children into considering the mathematical concept of equilibrium during their attempts to even out the weight distribution around the apparatus. We see how such spontaneous occurrences work to co-produce a pedagogical moment, and an orientation to curriculum content, in ways that are meaningful to the participants at that time and in that place.

Sandy Houen and colleagues further develop the theme of claiming a spontaneous pedagogical moment in Chap. 4 where the affordances of a Web search in an Australian classroom are discussed. This study highlights how the teacher scaffolds the children through the Web search, using questions, directives and affordances of thinking time, to give them opportunities to display their knowledge. In a world where digital technologies are becoming more prolific in the search for knowledge in classrooms, this chapter offers a timely insight into how teachers and children utilise the Internet to demonstrate and expand their knowledge repertoire.

The way in which children's demonstrations of knowledge are evident in early childhood settings in Australia are discussed in Chap. 5. In this chapter Caroline Cohrsson and Amelia Church offer insight into how sequences of talk around mathematical problems build on previous utterances to unpack knowledge about mathematical concepts, and show that previous sequences of talk are also attended to, demonstrating the sequential nature of knowledge co-construction. Findings in this chapter emphasise the importance of paying close attention to intentional teaching in the third turn, and highlighting for practitioners the concept development made possible in attuned responses to children.

Chapter 6 moves the reader to New Zealand, where Amanda Bateman and Margaret Carr explore the systematic ways in which storytelling is achieved in a kindergarten. The chapter details how storytelling is managed by the teacher and children through attending to a linear storytelling structure where stories feature a beginning, a middle, and an end. Here we see that although a multi-unit turn is somewhat problematic for children when starting to engage in storytelling in this situation, they competently take up opportunities to expand their tellings through teacher prompts and their orientation to shell objects.

In Chap. 7 we move from specific knowledge around literacy and numeracy practices detailed in the earlier chapters to children's knowledge-in-interaction of moral practices. Maryanne Theobald and Susan Danby illuminate how the co-production of cultural knowledge between children and teachers is "done" in the school playground. This chapter adds to our understanding of how social orders are being negotiated and accomplished locally, in situ, at school, and outside the classroom. The authors show how the phenomena of telling on someone, or 'tattling'—generally looked upon as an undesirable action—can actually function as a resource through which the participants co-produce cultural knowledge and social order. In other words, 'telling' is not a categorically negatively weighted activity, but rather that culture itself is situated in these practices and the social status of children is enacted and enforced in these exchanges.

In Chap. 8, the moral knowledge of young children is further detailed by Mats Andrén and Asta Cekaite where they discuss how laughter is attended to by teachers and children in pre-school in Sweden. Through attending to laughter as being problematic in disrupting teaching and disciplinary actions with the teacher, and through teasing with a peer, the authors demonstrate how children learn about social and moral conduct through experiencing such situations, ultimately co-producing socialisation in collaborative ways.

The centrality of socialisation in educational settings is demonstrated further in an exploration of the moral work observed in a primary school in Sweden in Chap. 9. Ann-Carita Evaldsson examines how moral orders are locally constructed by children and teachers following an incident in the playground when a child's 'Pokémon' cards have gone missing. The analysis shows how descriptions and counter-descriptions of children as 'thief' and 'victim', and 'witness' and 'false accuser' are produced as accounts for the incident progress. This work considers knowledge as understanding of the moral order for the purpose of describing one's own or another's actions.

We continue to examine interactions outside the classroom in children's pre-schools in Sweden in Chap. 10. Polly Björk-Willén explores the management of transitioning children from parents to teachers in the pre-school hall setting, and how this environment works as part of the transition from home to pre-school. The work of teachers and parents within this space is discussed with attention to how they use language knowledge to aid the transition, particularly in contexts where the conversations flow between home languages and the language spoken in the pre-school.

Chapter 11 attends also to the use of bilingualism in educational situations, through the study of how poetry is taught to primary school children in Bangladesh. Here Rizwan-ul Huq and colleagues reveal how gesture, melodic prosody and the textbook are all important aspects for the progression of the teaching activity. The ways in which the children engage with these resources demonstrates how the activity is co-produced as a collaborative one with mutual orientation by children and teachers.

Knowledge-in-Interaction with Families and Friends

In the second part of the collection, we consider how learning is constructed in the home, with families and with peers. In Chap. 12, in what may well be the first neo-natal conversation analytic study, Akira Takada and Michie Kawashima show how an unborn sibling contributes to shifting frameworks and locally organised relationships in the family in Japan. To date, little attention (for exceptions, see Anna Filippi, Mardi Kidwell, and Anthony Wootton) has been given to very young children's interactional competencies. As such, this chapter makes a distinct contribution by illustrating toddlers' capacities to ratify a non-present participant, accounting for both temporality and spatial positioning.

Chapter 13 offers more research with families in Japan, where young children's initial assessments are shown to have multiple functions. In this chapter Matthew Burdelski and Emi Morita demonstrate how children use assessments in different ways to express shared enjoyment, displeasure, requests for assistance, self commentary and so on. The extracts are positioned in such a way in the discussion as to illuminate the children's ability to use assessment that invites collaboration or, alternatively, used as an 'out-loud' which is explicitly *not* designed for a recipient. In doing so, the linguistic and socio-cultural competencies of very young children and their ability to engage others in interaction around a subject topic is revealed.

An exploration of what it means to 'know' and children's understanding of the use of the word 'know' are discussed in Chap. 14 where Mike Forrester reveals how the development in a child's understanding around the word 'know' is evident in interaction. Through tracking how one child in England uses the word 'know' over a long period of time with her parents, insight is offered into how the concept of 'knowing' develops in everyday interactions.

In Chap. 15, Anna Filipi details the organisation of early storytelling, and shows the collaborative work of establishing a framework, in her words 'to set up the conditions for establishing recipiency'. The components of this particular narrative sequence—newsworthiness, an event for the family, and the typical features of birthday celebrations—show how storytelling is a collaborative event. Furthermore, this chapter shines a light on the competencies of all participants, thereby

addressing limitations of existing evidence, which overwhelmingly documents how adults support children's narrative competence, with less attention given to the progressive competence of very young children.

Further exploration of sharing stories in the home is discussed in Chap. 16, which explores how such literacy practices can be embedded in the everyday family routine of mealtime. In this chapter Gillian Busch reveals how discussion during mealtime of a child's book purchase joins together home and school literacy practices in spontaneous ways. What is revealed is the ways in which family members, including the child's sibling, interact around the task, and the competent contribution the child makes to selecting and ordering a book, while also managing mealtime.

Continuing the exploration of interaction in the home with siblings, Chap. 17 specifically focuses on how knowledge is collaboratively produced by siblings around digital technologies in Australia. Brooke Scriven observes how two young children use an iPhone and an iPad while engaging with an alphabet application (App), and how the objects afford opportunities for the older sibling to pass on her knowledge to the younger regarding early literacy practices.

Chapter 18 extends ethnomethodological research of digital literacies by providing an account of social media use by 11–13 year-old children in New Zealand. Justin Canty provides an extended account of how the categories of 'friend' and 'cyberbully' are positioned in relation to one another, invoked by children as epistemic and moral claims to authority. The analysis shows how children position each other in recounting perceptions of a past event, which illustrates knowledge-in-interaction to be a contested as well as collaborative achieved sequence of actions.

In the final chapter, we return to the study of sibling interaction where Johanna Rendle-Short identifies the knowledge-in-interaction displayed in a collaborative endeavour between a child with Asperger's Syndrome and his younger brother. Chapter 19 demonstrates how embodied actions are deployed as effective and appropriate responses in knowledge management, and that interactional activities are not limited to (verbal) talk. The analysis identifies some differences between the child with ASD diagnosis and neurotypical sibling, aligning with the model of social differences in people with ASD diagnosis rather than deficits. Through unpacking the interaction in detail, Rendle-Short demonstrates the competencies of both children in engaging in the task, offering new insights into how children with Asperger's Syndrome socially interact in competent ways.

Concluding Comment

As childhood studies academics we are in constant awe of how children manage the worlds in which they live. We do research with children because we want to understand more about what it means to be a child in an often unpredictable and adult-centric world. Sociological studies tell us that children have been, and often

still are perceived as vulnerable and in need of protection, but we also know that children are often more competent than we assume. So *how* is it that children are demonstrating their competencies in their everyday interactions with others? Through exploring this '*how*' the authors of this collected volume clearly demonstrate the ways in which children manage various situations in knowledgeable ways. By engaging with this research, we as adults can learn more about how best to support children whilst also respecting the knowledge that they own, and recognise the various contributions that children can bring to a situation. We now invite you to explore for yourself just how competent children are through the analysis of children's knowledge-in-interaction that is shared in each chapter of this book. The authors provide a compelling account of the competent ways that children demonstrate their knowledge, where each chapter introduces a unique context of people, places and objects available to children to reveal their knowledge in fascinating ways.

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Chapter 2
Epistemic Trajectories in the Classroom: How Children Respond in Informing Sequences

Rod Gardner and Ilana Mushin

Introduction

In this chapter we examine the ways in which children in two primary school classes respond to teacher informing turns, and the evidence this provides for engagement with learning. Teachers' informings can be factually telling the students some curriculum content directly, or they can be procedural informings telling the students how to practically accomplish some task. Informing turns, particularly factual informings, appear to be much less frequent in classrooms that have been studied than question turns, notably in Initiation-Response-Follow-up/Evaluation (IRF/E) sequences. One feature of informing turns is that they are less likely to elicit verbal responses than questions, therefore making it more of a challenge to track learners' displays of understanding and orientation to learning. In this study we investigate children's embodied responses to the teachers' informing turns, in particular gaze and body orientation, and ask how this might predict their successful uptake of curriculum learning. By examining the ways in which knowledge is displayed (or not) over the course of a lesson we are able to track the *epistemic trajectories* of children providing insights into how they engage with what the teacher says.

Conversation Analytic approaches to the study of knowledge in social interaction focus largely on the ways in which the epistemic status of participants (i.e. what they know or do not know) is made manifest in social interaction, and on any changes in their epistemic status, for example through choice of response tokens (e.g. Heritage 1984; Gardner 2007), or question formats (e.g. Raymond 2003). They have also focused on how asymmetries between participants shape trajectories

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of talk (e.g. Heritage and Raymond 2005); and how rights and obligations to knowledge are interactionally managed (e.g. Stivers et al. 2011).

People never stop acquiring or appraising knowledge throughout their lives, so not only must people constantly manage their relative knowledge statuses, and the stances they take towards that knowledge when interacting with others (e.g. Heritage 2012, 2013), but they must also manage the fact that knowledge will change over time both for themselves and others. Evidence for the directions such *epistemic trajectories* may take, both within and across interactional events can be drawn from a wide range of actions, from statements of expertise or ignorance ('*I know that/I didn't know that*'), to requests for of clarification and repair ('*I'm not sure I've understood that*'), to facial expressions of puzzlement or realization. People may also elicit demonstrations of changes in others' epistemic status by actions such as direct questioning ('*Do you understand what just happened*?', *Have you seen the latest Star Wars movie?*') or requests for epistemic updates ('*Tell me what you know about X*'). Epistemic trajectories may also be implicit in the course of action that a person may take, such as if I offer you a piece of cake if you say you are hungry, or if I notice your plate is empty.

Of all the possible resources for both checking and revealing epistemic status in others, *questions* have received the most attention in the CA literature. Questions are an action type that strongly mobilises a response (Stivers and Rossano 2010) which is itself a demonstration of epistemic status and stance (e.g. Heritage 2012). As questions and their responses have been viewed as an optimal talk-centred resource for displaying epistemic trajectories, there has been less focus on the ways in which other kinds of actions might mobilise responses that display epistemic status and stance, and how these are deployed and formatted not only in talk, but also in embodied actions. Informings are one kind of action that, like questions, seem optimal for epistemic displays, as they are a claim to knowledge by the speaker that he or she assumes the recipient does not share. If the speaker is unsure of the epistemic status of the recipient with respect to some information, they may preface the informing with pre-announcements (Terasaki 1976), to avoid telling someone something they already know (A: *Hey we got good news.* B: *What's the good news*). Information that turns out to be new knowledge for the recipient may be responded to with a newsmarker such as 'Oh' (Heritage 1984) (A: *Who.* B: *Tom.* A: *Oh.*). The avoidance of informing people of that which they already know may account for the relative rarity of unprefaced informings as initiating actions. However, since responses to informings are just as much displays of epistemic status as responses to questions, a fully rounded study of epistemic trajectories must go beyond the focus on questions and their responses to examine other kinds of action sequences.

Classrooms are a locus for the study of epistemic trajectories because they are an institutional setting whose key focus is on the acquisition and demonstration of knowledge by children. As such they have been quite extensively studied within CA (e.g. Hellermann 2003; Heritage and Heritage 2013; Hosoda and Aline 2013; Lee 2006, 2007; Macbeth 2003; Mehan 1979; Waring 2008, 2009, 2012; Zemel and Koschmann 2011). Classroom teachers must design and place their turns not

only in ways that both ensure that the appropriate knowledge (e.g. curriculum knowledge) is made available and accessible, but also provide opportunities for students to display their epistemic status (which may or may not correspond with acquisition of knowledge) in order to progress the lesson.

One well studied prevalent classroom sequence type is the initiation–response–feedback/follow-up (IRF) (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992) or initiation-response-evaluation (Mehan 1979) sequence. In IRF sequences it is the teacher who overwhelmingly produces the initiation, and the most regular initiation is in the form of a question, while one or more students produces the response, typically an answer. The teacher then follows-up in third position, using it to accept, reject or assess the response or prompt for a revision of it. As Lee (2007) has noted, rather than seeing this position as one in which the teacher is merely exercising control and power, one can view the follow-up as pivotal to teaching and learning, as this is the position where the teacher can decide what happens next in the lesson, and base this decision on the nature of the students' responses (see also Cohrssen and Church, this volume).

The explanation for why teacher questions are so prevalent as initiations in an IRF sequence matches the reasons cited above for why questions are more common action types for eliciting displays of epistemic status—they are suited to the initiation phase of the IRF sequence, as they are designed to find out what students know, and furthermore answers often provide evidence of understanding or lack of understanding, or the ability to produce sought for information. The ways in which sequences unfold when the teacher tells the students the information directly through an informing—rather than seeking it from them through a question—have been much less extensively studied (but see Gardner and Mushin 2013; Koole 2010). This may be because teachers directly informing students of the content of the learning occurs much less frequently in classrooms than questioning them (Gardner and Mushin 2013).[1] Telling students how to do an activity—'procedural' rather than 'factual' informings—are on the other hand relatively common in the classrooms we have examined. Responses to informing are typically acknowledgements, which are much less reliable than many answers for demonstrating that something has been understood. An acknowledgement does not *demonstrate* understanding in the way that an answer to a question does; it merely claims it (Sacks 1992), in the sense that by just saying 'yes', for example, there is no evidence in the utterance that the student actually knows the answer. Furthermore, perceptible responses may be non-verbal or even non-existent. Thus when teachers simply tell students the learning content, rather than asking them questions about it, they have much less information about where to take the lesson next. Children do however respond to teacher informings both verbally and nonverbally, and teachers may accompany informings with actions that promote displays of engagement and understanding by children.

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[1]This may be a phenomenon more prevalent in 'western' classrooms, as we have been told anecdotally that in many Chinese, Japanese and Korean classrooms, for example, teachers 'tell' the students the curriculum content much more regularly.

In this paper we show how children's responses to informings can provide evidence for changes in epistemic status by focusing on the actions, both verbal and non-verbal, of children in a year 2 and a year 3 maths class.[2] We focus first on responses to the teacher informing the class about the topic of the lesson, and then on responses to the teacher informing the class about how to do an upcoming task a 'procedural informing'. By 'response' we do not just mean the immediate response to the teacher's turn but rather all ways that children subsequently designed their actions in relation to the teacher's informing. By focusing on everything a child does after the teacher produces an informing, we are able to track the *epistemic trajectory* of the child—to what extent a child has shown engagement with the classroom activity, and therefore engagement with learning.

Our Study

Our data come from an Australian Indigenous School in a remote community in Queensland, where we recorded two cohorts over their first three years of school during normal classroom lessons.[3] Classes were video-recorded from two angles to capture orientation, movement and other embodied behaviours, and each child wore a voice recorder so that it was possible hear each child, even when the classrooms were noisy and/or the children were speaking very quietly.

The video recording from different angles makes it possible to examine not only how the children verbally respond (or not) to teacher informings, but also the ways that embodied actions such as direction of eye gaze, body posture, facial expression form part of the body of evidence that teachers have available to assess the epistemic trajectories of the children in the class. For example, Kidwell (2011) was able to show that very young children (about 1–2 years old) already use gaze by themselves and by caregivers as a resource for ascertaining who knows what, evidence that they recognise that joint attention is a precondition to mutual knowing, and that getting other people to look can be a strategy for the child to make sure that others know what they know (see also Kidwell and Zimmerman

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[2]What we have shown in this chapter is an analysis of two 'single cases'. It is in the nature of CA 'single case analysis' studies, based on fifty years of CA work, to assume that talk is 'organized and orderly', and a single case can 'testify to the relevance of the single occasion as the locus of order' (Schegloff 1987:102). Therefore, we can draw inferences from the observations in these two lessons to classroom practices more generally, but of course future work may reveal differences from what we have found here.

[3]The data was collected as part of an Australia Research Council Linkage Project Grant 'Clearing the path towards literacy and numeracy: Language for learning in Indigenous schooling.' (LP100200406). The children largely speak an 'Aboriginal English' variety, while the teachers, who are non-indigenous, speak 'Standard Australian English' in this data, but it is not clear whether the differences in language variety are a factor in what we observe about epistemic trajectories (see Gardner and Mushin 2011 for more about the impact of language differences on schooling in these kinds of Indigenous communities).

2006, 2007; Filipi 2009 for earlier work on gaze and joint attention in interactions involving very young children).

By examining the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of each individual child both during and after teacher informings we are able to follow the epistemic trajectory of each child to see who has demonstrated a knowing (K+) status with respect to the informing, who in the class demonstrates an unknowing (K−) status, and who does not give clear indications of either knowing or not knowing. Central to our findings is the embodied evidence of not only attending to the teacher as she does her informing, but also engaging with the teacher's unfolding turn. Evidence of knowing or not knowing can be seen in the ways in which children then are able to demonstrate (usually verbally) that they know the curriculum content of the teacher's informing.

As noted above, Gardner and Mushin (2013) found that teachers in the classes we recorded used more questions than informings, consistent with the notion that children's responses to questions provide a useful site for tracking epistemic status. In that study we found that teachers did use factual informings sometimes, but only when questioning had not been effective. We recognised that teachers used procedural informings in those classes, but we did not examine them closely.

The pedagogical approaches taken by the teachers we observed in Gardner and Mushin (2013) did not particularly favour teacher informings. However, there are pedagogical frameworks where informings are prioritised as a means for teachers to explicitly target what the aims of lessons are, and what children should be learning. One of these is 'Explicit Instruction', developed and promoted by the Melbourne-based teacher John Fleming, following principles of 'direct instruction' (e.g. Rowe 2006; Archer and Hughes 2011). 'Explicit Instruction' requires teachers to express directly what they are going to be teaching children in a lesson prior to beginning the learning activities themselves. That is, the framework requires teachers to tell students directly and explicitly what they will be learning.

The school in which we conducted this study implemented Explicit Instruction as a key pedagogical framework across year levels in the final year of our data collection. The two classes we have examined for this chapter come from Explicit Instruction classes. In both classes the teachers begin by explaining first what the aim of the lesson with regard to curriculum content will be ('We are learning to'—WALT), and what the children should be able to demonstrate in order to show that they have learned the curriculum content ('What I'm looking for'—WILF). This is followed by a teacher demonstration of the curriculum content (the 'I do' phase), activities where the teacher draws on the participation of students to demonstrate what they know of the curriculum content (the 'we do' phase) and then an opportunity for children to demonstrate independent of teacher prompts what they know of the curriculum content (the 'you do' phase). Since the 'you do' phase requires children to independently perform a task, this phase is prefaced with information on what children will have to do to perform the task successfully.

The next two examples follow the epistemic trajectories of children in two maths classes where teachers employ the Explicit Instruction framework. Both classes are taken from term 3 of the school year, by which stage children were very familiar

with the terminology and activity formats of Explicit Instruction. First we examine the introductory phase (presentation of WALT and WILF) in a year 3 class. In the next section we focus on where the teacher provides information on how to do the 'you do' phase of the lesson in a year 2 class. In the following section we summarise how we have found that children do or do not demonstrate epistemic status in response to teacher informings.

Example 1 Responding to the introductory phase of the lesson

The first class we examine involves the teaching of clock time—here transposing analogue time to digital time. At the start of the lesson, the teacher has already written the WALT and WILF on the smartboard at the front of the class as follows:

WALT:	Write digital time	
WILF:	1.	You can identify the hour
	2.	You can count the minutes
		(count in 5's then 1's)

The teacher stands in front of the smartboard with all children's desks facing the smartboard. The WALT and WILF are also written on a white board on the right hand wall of the classroom (at the end of the arrow showing Malcolm's gaze direction in Fig. 1). In addition to the visual aids for the WALT and WILF, the teacher also informs the students of what the WALT and WILF of this class will be. This is illustrated in Extract 1. Figure 1 is a snapshot of about line 20 in Extract 1 identifying the gaze direction of four of the children (Samuel, Nathalee, Malcolm and Jeffrey).

Fig. 1 Gaze direction in Extract 1

(1) 130909:Yr3:S2:Pt1c:20

```
 1   T-Mary:   We're lea:rning to:¿[ (0.4)
                   points to WALT on smartboard
 2             <wri:te (0.3) digidal  (0.3) ti::me.>
                  ↑               ↑               ↑

                   points to each word on the SB
 3             >c'n you say ^that for me?<
 4             (0.4)
 5   T-Mary:   [<Wri[::te[ di:g[idal: ti[::me.>=
 6   Samuel:   [<Wri[::te[ digi[dal:: ti[::me.>
 7   Jara:     [<Wri[::te[ ^di:[gidal ˘t[i::me.>
 8   Nathalee:    [°<Wr[i:te [digidal [ti::me.>°
 9   Malcolm :        [°Writ[e digida[l^ti::me¿
10   T-Mary:   >So yih ^acshally haff tuh wride it
11             down.=
12   T-Mary:   ^This is whad I'm looking fo:r.=^is
                      points to WILF on SB
13             that fi:rst;=you're going to¿=
                       points to 'you' on SB
14   Samuel:   =^You:: ˘c[a::n
                 reading SB
15   T-Mary:            [i[:d::en:[tify:¿
                         points to word on SB
16   Malcolm:           [°^you: [can (.) fy°
                         reading SB, gazing at T
17   Jara:                     [difie:d,
                                reading SB, gazing
                                at T
18             (0.3)
19   Samuel:   You [can dessi[fy,
                 reading SB, gazing at T
20   T-Mary:       [thee:    [hou[:uh.
                   ↑          ↑

                   points to each word on SB
21   Malcolm:                  [°hour.°
22             (0.3)
23   T-Mary:   [The hou:r is thuh¿] (0.[3) [sho:rt ]=
24   Samuel:   [ ° d u : : : : h ° ]    [°'o[u:uh,° ]
                     the                  hour
                   reading SB, gazing at T
25   T-Mary:   =[˘ha:n:d.
26   Nathalee: [°sho:rt ha:nd,
27   Samuel:   [Y[ou: ca[n;
28   Malcolm:  [°[oo: ([    )°
```

At the start of this extract, the teacher points to the WALT on the smartboard, first to the acronym 'WALT' as she says, 'We're lea:rning to:¿', then to each word in turns as she says slowly and rhythmically, 'write (0.3) digidal (0.3) ti:: me.>'. Note that the WALT is presented as a factual informing, in simple declarative form describing what it is the children are going to learn in this lesson. Next she elicits a choral response, asking the children to say with her 'write digital time'. If they do this successfully, that is evidence that they have at least heard and can reproduce the lesson's learning objective. The initial informing is thus coupled with a question designed to elicit the children's epistemic status. Only four of the twelve children in the class—Samuel, Jara, Nathalee and Malcolm—respond. The teacher does not attempt to elicit responses from the other eight children, and we cannot be sure that she has registered who has responded and who has not. However, the choral response is an opportunity to have students actively demonstrate that they are at least engaged.

The design of the WILF as an informing is similar to that of the WALT. After explicitly mentioning the WILF in line 12 ('This is what I am looking for') she then tells the students what demonstrations of understanding are required. This information is procedural rather than factual as it outlines the steps that students will take. In this particular lesson they will first 'identify the hour' (line 20). She points to each of the three words 'identify the hour' as she says them. The teacher follows up with a factual informing 'the hour is the (0.3) short hand' providing more information on how an hour is to be identified.

Here the teacher has not repeated her request for children to verbally repeat the WILF, but the same four children who responded to the WALT continue to verbally respond. First, Samuel reads directly from the smartboard and says 'you can' in line 14 even before the teacher begins, and then, this time lagging behind the teacher, says (again) 'you can' and adds 'dessify' in line 19, and 'the hour' in line 24. Despite problems with the word 'identify', he is demonstrating his engagement by reading along. Two other children similarly read along, Malcolm saying in line 16 'you can fy' (attempting to catch up with the teacher, so dropping 'iden'), and then 'hour' in line 21. Jara repeats only part of what the teacher says, 'dified', in line 17, while Nathalee joins in with 'short hand' only at the end in line 26.

So we have two practices in the extract through which work can be done to try to ensure that an informing turn is heard and potentially understood. The first is teacher driven: the choral repetition of the informing. The second is learner driven: reading along or repeating what the teacher is saying. By participating in these two practices, the four children are manifestly demonstrating their engagement.

Even though '[c]lassroom communities are engaged in the work of talking through a subject in such a way that it can be learned' (Sharrock and Anderson 1982:171), being engaged with the learning occurs not only through verbal participation. Similarly, while the three turn IRF sequences are sites that display

achievements of understanding in a classroom (Macbeth 2011), engagement and understanding can be silent, and indeed on occasion also invisible. Notions such as engagement, awareness, attention, intention, noticing, and indeed learning (cf. Potter 2006) have been largely associated with psychological investigations of the mind, but these are phenomena that occur in actual, local situations, and most frequently in and through interaction, such as in classrooms. As Drew (2005) notes, 'cognitive states manifestly come to the interactional surface, although they are not overtly expressed' (p. 170; see also Noordzij et al. 2009). It is worth therefore exploring non-verbal behaviours for clues to the presence of those cognitive states.

We have closely observed the non-verbal behaviours of four of the children to see the extent to which these may provide evidence of their epistemic status. The gaze direction of these children at about line 20 of Extract 1 is depicted in Fig. 1. Three of these children, Samuel, Malcolm and Nathalee, also engaged verbally during Extract 1 (Jara is not clearly seen in the video so we have not tracked her gaze). We also include a child who did not verbally respond, Jeffrey.

First, we consider Malcolm. Recall that the WALT and the WILF were displayed on the electronic smartboard in front of the children, as well as on a sheet of paper on the whiteboard to the right of the children, visible to all. Immediately before this extract begins, Malcolm looks at the smartboard, and then to his right to where the same words are on the whiteboard, and as the teacher says, 'We're learning to write digital time', he shifts his gaze, but not his head, back to the smartboard, and as she goes on to invite them to join in the choral repetition, he turns to his right to the whiteboard and back again, and throughout the rest of this extract he shifts his gaze between the whiteboard, the smartboard and the teacher, as he also reads along and repeats. So there are strong indications that Malcolm is engaged not just through his verbal responses, but also through his gaze, head position and posture. Samuel is another child who, like Malcolm, is showing signs of being engaged with the activity. He shows some similar behaviours to Malcolm, such as actively shifting gaze between the whiteboard, the smartboard and the teacher, but recall he is also one of the children who is verbally engaged, including reading the WILF from the whiteboard as the teacher is using different words. Other children hold their gaze on the teacher and the smartboard, but it is these two who are most active in responding with gaze shift and head turning as the teacher is telling them of the lesson objectives.

We turn now to Nathalee. She joins in the choral repetition, albeit later than the other children who have responded. There is also evidence of her engagement in her non-verbal behaviour. At the beginning of this extract, like Samuel and Malcolm, her gaze shifts from the smartboard to the whiteboard and back again, but for a shorter time span than the two boys, and she ends up fixing her gaze on the smartboard as she joins in the choral response speaking quietly. As the teacher says, 'So yih ^acshally haff tuh wride it down', Nathalee's gaze turns to a small object on

her desk, which she starts playing with, and she continues to fiddle with it through to the end of this extract. However, right at the end she repeats the teacher's 'short hand', which demonstrates that she is still listening.

We turn now to Jeffrey. Throughout this extract his gaze is on the whiteboard. In other words, one might think that he is following, though he is not actively changing his gaze direction or posture as Malcolm and Samuel did. He also does not join in the choral responses, nor does he read along aloud. In fact he is talking very softly to himself throughout the teacher's explanation of the WALT, saying things that appear to have nothing to do with what is going on, such as, 'Are you come, can come', 'you don't want to my party', and 'you can't' (which might actually be understood as his comment on 'You can write digital time' on the smartboard). This self-talk on things unrelated to the classroom activity is likely to make it difficult for him to follow what the teacher is saying. Next, during the WILF explanation, he sits silently gazing at the whiteboard with his hands on his head, so there are few clues as to whether he is in fact paying attention.

All four children display a range of non-verbal behaviours during this extract, which might provide us with clues about being engaged and paying attention during this phase of the lesson.[4] One of the other children, Keegan, is slumped on his desk and appears to be asleep, and is thus showing the least signs of engagement of any of the children in the class.[5] However, later in the lesson he sits up and does answer questions about the time and joins in choral responses, so the question remains, is there any way we can determine whether these kinds of attention/non-attention behaviours, what one might call their 'orientation to learning', during a phase when the teacher is providing information about the lesson have consequences for successful participation in the activity? After all, it is possible that Keegan already knew how to tell the time, so he did not need to attend to the WALT and WILF in order to participate in the lesson. We have gathered some evidence from embodied as well as verbal behaviours that Samuel, Jara, Malcolm and to a lesser extent Nathalee showed signs of engaging in the lesson, and that Keegan and probably Jeffrey were less engaged. However, while we have established these behaviours as potentially indicative of orientation to learning, we cannot be sure that what we have observed is firm evidence that their attention behaviour has led to understanding, or potentially learning. To explore the question of whether these attention behaviours do in fact indicate greater uptake of the information the teacher is providing, we turn to a year two class where children's responses to teacher procedural informings show not only engagement but also epistemic status.

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[4]We can only make claims in this chapter about children who show verbal and embodied behaviours that appear to indicate engagement. It may well be, of course, that the children who were not exhibiting these behaviours were in fact listening and learning. Investigating children who are not vocally or visibly engaged will need to be the focus of future research.

[5]Keegan is hidden behind Malcolm, so he is not labeled in Fig. 1.

Example 2: Reponses to procedural informing

This example concerns a year 2 maths class focused on the language used for spatial location (e.g. prepositions like 'on, under, above'). These prepositions are first taught in the Prep year curriculum, so it is assumed that the children know them, but in this class they are being asked to use them to show their understanding of space using the template 'the [noun] is [location word] the [noun]'. This class follows the same Explicit Instruction format as the previous example: announcement of the WALT and WILF, followed by 'I do', 'we do', 'you do' phases. In this case, the WALT is 'use the language of location', and the 'WILF' is 'I'm looking for you to create a treasure map that uses location words'.

We focus here on the 'you do' phase of this class. The activity the children are directed to do independently requires them to work in pairs. Prior to assigning pairs, children first had to draw various symbols on their maps (e.g. love-heart, lightning bolt), and then when they moved to the pair work, they exchanged maps with their partners, and were required to describe the location of these symbols on their partner's map in relation to another symbol, using the template they had practised earlier in the lesson, e.g. 'My sun is above the island'. The 'you do' task therefore provides a direct opportunity for children to demonstrate their understanding of the WILF.

Between the announcement of the WALT and WILF and the assignment of the pair work, the teacher had spent a few minutes showing them her treasure map on the smartboard, and demonstrated the template, as in 'I've put my sun below the boat'. This was the 'I do' phase of the lesson, in which the teacher demonstrates the object of the lesson for the class. They then practiced this by following the teacher's instructions to walk to a location in the classroom, for example '[Name], can you please go and sit underneath your table'. The next practice phase was a return to the smartboard, with the teacher moving objects around her map, then making a true or false statement about where she had placed the object, as in 'the love heart is next to the mountain', with the children then saying 'Yes' or 'No'. This is part of the 'we do' phase of the lesson in which the children are actively involved, but still under the guidance of the teacher. Next, the children have their own treasure maps, on which they draw a range of objects. So by the time they started the pair work, the children had had quite extensive practice of describing location and spatial relations using these prepositions. Just before they begin their individual work of drawing objects on the treasure map, they hear for the first time the instructions for the pair work that will follow. They will hear these instructions again five minutes later after they have drawn on their maps. This first set of instructions can be seen in Extract 2.

(2) 130508-Yr2-S2-Pt2b:12'26"

```
1    T-Stacey:   Pud it s::omewhe:re¿=on your ^map.=bicuz
2                Beli:nda:¿
3                (1.3)
4    T-Stacey:   I:'m g'nna put you with >˘someb'dy e:lse¿
5                (0.2) >f'r exa:mple ^I'm g'nna say-
6                B'linda;=^c'n you ˘sit o:n thuh
7                ma:t with Titania:.
8                (0.5)
9    T-Stacey:   An' then ^Tita:nia:¿^ (0.4) is g'nna look
10               at Beli:nda's map an' sa:y;=°a:a:hh thu:h
11               l:i:ghtning bo:lt,=˘w's: n:ex: to: thuh
12               pi:rate ship.
13               (0.9)
14   T-Stacey:   o::r  (1.2) it c'd be::; (.) <^thuh
15               sta::r, (0.3) i:s un:de:r thuh mou:ntin:.>
16               (0.6)
17   T-Stacey:   <°'n:° so::::¿> (0.6) I hope you try
18               ^rea:lly ha:rd; ˘so I c'n put yo::u,
19               (0.2) with one uh your frie:n:ds. ^he:y¿
20               (0.7)
21   T-Stacey:   ^Al:righ-^ c'n you please put those
22               ^symbols ·hhh <somewhere on your map-.>
23               (2.3)
```

We briefly describe the behaviour of six of the children during Extract 2. Three of them, Belinda, Seamus and Harrison, complete the pair work task successfully, while the other three, Alex, Nicola and Spencer, don't. Figure 2 shows the orientation of these children at about line 17 of Extract 2 where we can see Belinda, Seamus and Harrison looking straight ahead at the teacher while Alex, Nicola and Spencer look elsewhere.

During this extract, Nicola is playing with the lapel mike that she is wearing for the recording, though she does glance up to look at Belinda when she hears the teacher say her name (line 2) and then to the teacher. A little later she also glances behind her at the teacher aide. Alex, meanwhile, is looking at the camera to his right, then looks down at his right hand, which is resting on his desk, sliding it back and forth slowly. Another boy, Spencer, is showing signs of wandering attention:

Fig. 2 Gaze direction in Extract 2 (line 17)

he looks to his left, then briefly to the front at the teacher, then to his right. He also tilts his desk backwards and forwards, but does intermittently look at the teacher. These three children are showing few visual (or verbal) signs of paying attention during these instructions, as they are not responding verbally, nor are they showing gaze or body posture behaviours that show their orientation to the teacher's verbal instructions. Indeed, their embodied behaviours suggest their attention is not on the task, but elsewhere. As we shall see below, there is a correspondence between their lack of attention behaviours, and their lack of success in performing the task later.

Three other children are showing different behaviours. Belinda, just before this extract, had been sitting with the teacher aide and watching her drawing something on her map. When she hears her name mentioned (line 2), she looks up at the teacher and continues watching her throughout the extract. Seamus is yawning at the start of the extract, but then looks at the teacher and across to Belinda when her name is mentioned in line 2. He leans back slightly, and gazes continuously at the teacher throughout the extract. At the beginning of the extract, Harrison is looking at the teacher with his chin resting on his hand, though he does glance briefly to his right at a camera, but then he continues looking at the teacher throughout. So Belinda, Seamus and Harrison are showing more attention behaviour through their gaze than Nicola, Alex and Spencer. After this first set of instructions, the children work individually to draw the objects on their treasure maps.

The next phase of the lesson is the pair work in which they swap maps and describe where objects are located on each other's map using the template sentence. They hear the instructions for a second time immediately after they have finished drawing objects on their maps. These instructions are presented in Extract 3.

(3) 130508-Yr2-S2-Pt3a:53:3′56″

```
1   T-Stacey:    <No:w;=Bre:tt;=an' ^Larry:¿> (0.4) are
2                going to_show each other their ma:p.
3                (0.8)
4   T-Stacey:    So Larry;=c'n ^you give your map tih Bre:tt?
5                (0.4)
6   T-Stacey:    An' Brett;=c'n you give your map tih La:rry?
7                (0.5)
8   Spencer:     °Rubber deh¿°
9                (0.7)
10  Zafira:      °Whah::t.°
11               (0.5)
12  T-Stacey:    The:n theh genna take tu:r:ns; (.) �‿an'
13               theh genna sa:::y; (0.5) <Thuh li:ghting
14               bo::lt,=is_abo::ve: (.) thuh pi:rate ship.>
15               (0.8)
16  T-Stacey:    ^Things like that.
17               (0.5)
18  T-Stacey:    Okay;=^c'n you wa:lk,^=an' go sit nex' tih
19               your frien:d °
```


Fig. 3 Gaze direction in Extract 3

Lines 4 and 6 are one crucial part of these instructions, as the teacher tells Larry and Brett (see Fig. 3) to give each other their maps with two mirrored utterances, 'So Larry, can you give your map to Brett, and Brett, can you give your map to Larry'. If the children don't follow this, they won't be able to engage in the task, unless they had been listening to the teacher in lines 9 and 10 in Extract 2, when she said, 'and then Titania is going to look at Belinda's map'. The second crucial component of these instructions comes in lines 12–16, when the teacher reiterates that they should take turns to use their 'locations' template ('The [noun] is [location word] the [noun]'), and she provides an example, 'Thuh li:ghtning bo::lt, = is abo:: ve: (.) thuh pi:rate ship'.

We now examine the non-verbal 'attention' behaviour of the same six children as we did for Extract 2: the three 'attending' children, Belinda, Harrison and Seamus, and the three 'non-attending' children, Alex, Spencer and Nicola. This is depicted in Fig. 3. Nicola is largely hidden by Harrison on one camera, so we show a screen shot from the other camera in Fig. 4, where it can be seen that she is leaning back not far from horizontally in her chair, and is looking to her left, away from the teacher and Brett and Larry. It can also be seen that she is holding her microphone to her lips, and just after this screen shot she turned her head and gaze towards the teacher on 'can' ('Larry, c'n you give your map…'). She appears to continue to gaze in that direction, but fully slumped back in her chair, so while there appears to be some engagement, it is not full. As can be seen in Fig. 3 Alex has his body twisted to his right in the direction of the teacher and Brett and Larry, while he chews on his finger. He continues watching until the word 'tih' in the utterance in line 4, 'c'n ^you give your map tih Bre:tt?', when he turns his head sharply further

Fig. 4 Nicola's gaze direction in Extract 3

right in the direction of Harrison. This shift in gaze is away from the focus point of the lesson at this point, namely the demonstration with Brett and Larry about how to do the upcoming task. Alex continues to gaze fixedly towards Harrison to the end of this instruction sequence, and not towards Brett and Larry, so there is evidence that he is not fully attentive or engaged. Indeed, he continues staring in that direction even after the other children have stood up and started moving to their partner.

Spencer is drawing on his map up to the second mention of 'Larry' in line 6, when he glances up briefly and shoots a glance at Brett and Larry, but he then turns to Zafira sitting on his left (behind Seamus) and asks softly to borrow her rubber, 'Rubber deh¿,' (line 8), she first says 'Whah::t.', then passes it to him, and he begins rubbing something out. He doesn't look up again until the second 'walk' in line 18, so his attention appears to be on rubbing something out, rather than to these instructions. Previous research on split attention ('multitasking') shows that it is not possible to engage in a complex task requiring attention, such as drawing on a map, and simultaneously pay full attention to another task, such as listening to quite complex instructions (Pashler 1994; see also Levy and Gardner 2012 for a CA perspective on multitasking).

We now consider the other three children whose embodied actions pointed to more attention during the instruction—Belinda, Seamus, Harrison. Belinda is closely watching the demonstration in front of her, hands on head, she looks down at her own map, then up again at the teacher, only momentarily glancing away at one point. Seamus switches between watching Larry and Brett and looking at the teacher throughout the demonstration and instructions, so is closely watching what is going on throughout. Harrison is watching throughout these instructions, even when someone opens the door of the classroom towards the end.

We now turn to see which of these children accomplished the pair work task successfully, because this would be evidence not only that they were engaged in the activity but also that they had understood it. The first group, Harrison, Seamus and Belinda, is the one that showed the embodied attention behaviour. Harrison and Seamus worked in one pair, while Belinda was paired with Titania, who was not one of the children whose behaviour was described above. These two pairs demonstrated during the pair work that they knew what was required in the task. Nicola, Alex and Spencer were the three children we focused on who did not show embodied attention behaviour, and they ended up working in a group of three due to the uneven number of children in the class. They were unable to do the task without appealing to the teacher for help. We do not report on the other three pairs in the class, except to say that they were not among the more successful, nor the less successful pairs in the execution of the task.

Two of the pairs complied successfully with the task requirements: Belinda and Titania, and Seamus and Harrison. Belinda spent some time at the beginning of the pair work time instructing Titania what she needed to do, 'Cuesta say duh symbol dat under duh stuff… Duh love 'eart wha'? (0.4) ^whad i's un˜duh.' (*You have to say the symbol that's under the stuff…The love heart, what it's under*). After that both girls demonstrate that they can use the appropriate location language to describe the orientation of objects depicted on the maps.

(4) 130508:Yr2:Pt3a:BelTit:119

```
1                   (1.5)
2      Titania:     Mah (-b)ra::r under m- (0.8) my: boa:t.
3                   (1.2)
4      Belinda:     <My::: (0.5) a- (0.6) uh- (.) my:: (0.5)
5                   s::un: (0.9) i::s (0.3) abo:ve thuh
6                   i:sla:nd.>
7                   (2.1)
8      Titania:     <M:y::::; (0.3) s:u:n: (0.2) un:: (0.3) aoh;
9                   (0.3) ^ne:k- (.) to:: ˘du:h (0.2) t:ree::.>
10                  (0.9)
11     Belinda:     ^<My::: (0.3) (ʻoov ʻe:r) (.) uh is (0.2)
12                  b'lo::w du:h- (0.9) boa:t-h>
13                  (2.8)
14     Titania:     <M:y::: (1.1) TLK (0.2) smi:ly fa:ce (.)
15                  un::˘de:r (.) da::(t) (1.1) su:n:.>
16     Belinda:     <s::wo:rd.>
17                  (0.5)
18     Titania:     <bo::rd-t.>
19                  (0.5)
```

Seamus and Harrison also showed that they had understood what was required in the task successfully, as can be seen in Extract 5.

(5) 130508:Yr2:Pt3b:SeaMal:50

```
1    Harrison:    nDa:::h (0.7) l:igh:t^ning::¿ ˘i:s:;
2                 [  (0.6)  ]o:n:- (.) n- a:bo:ve¿ [thu::h=
3    Seamus:      [Da:h   su]n:¿                 [E:re.
4    Harrison:    =tr:a:ck(0.3)khh:.
5                 (1.1)
6    Harrison:    >Das u:h (0.2) sun:.
7                 (0.7)
8    Seamus:      Da:h ^sun: [(0.2) uh ˘bi:lo:w] du:h=
9    Harrison:               [(bilo:w   abo:ve)]
10   Seamus:      =^lightnin'?
11                (0.5)
12   Seamus:      Ah what ne?=˘a:h.
13   Harrison:    Da m:ou:n˘ti:n, (1.0) da mou::tin; (0.3)
14   Seamus:      Da[:h: ^su:n:¿ (1.6) bilo:w, (0.4) da::h=
15   Harrison:      [E:re.
16   Seamus:      =mou::ntin::.
17                (1.9)
```

Seamus and Harrison demonstrate in this extract that they were able to suc-
cessfully follow the task instructions. As can be seen in lines 1–2/4 and lines 13/15
(Harrison) and lines 8/10 and 14/16 (Seamus), they were able to produce the
required sentences using each other's treasure map. Seamus did have some diffi-
culties in identifying some objects on Harrison's map in line 3 ('dah sun?') and line
12 ('ah what ne?'), but Harrison was able to elucidate in line 6 ('Das uh sun') and
line 13 ('da mountin').

In contrast to Belinda, Seamus and Harrison, Spencer and Alex are confused
about what they have to do, as can be seen in Extract 6. They begin by working as a
pair, before they are joined by Nicola and the teacher a little later.

(6) 130508:Yr2:Pt3b:SpeAleNic:27

```
 1  Spencer:    W'afta co:py:.
 2              (1.2)
 3  Spencer:    Dis:¿
 4              (1.1)
 5  Spencer:    Da ding:.
 6              (0.6)
 7  Spencer:    ^Dis ˇyou:r.
 8              (0.9)
 9  Spencer:    ^Wha's ˇdat un:.
10              (10.7)
11  Spencer:    Miss: ^wha'- we 'ave tih ˇdo:.
12              (0.2)
13  T-Stacey:   You: work with: y'>partner<¿=Uh'll come over
14              in jest a second (there).
15              (4.3)
16  T-Stacey:   ˇAl^ri::gh'?
17              (2.0)
```

The first sign of confusion in this extract is when Spencer claims that they have to copy, which is not something the teacher has mentioned in either of the two sets

Fig. 5 Extract 7

of instructions (Extracts 2 and 3). He and Alex are making no progress—Alex is saying nothing at all—when after a long gap of over ten seconds in line 10, Spencer appeals to the teacher to tell them what they have to do. When she comes to their table a few seconds later, she calls over Nicola who doesn't have a partner, and demonstrates with her what they are supposed to do, as can be seen in Extract 7. Figure 5 depicts the orientation of these children at about line 12 of Extract 7.

(7) 130508:Yr2:Pt3b:SpeAleNic:64

```
1    T-Stacey:    Okay. ^Watch ˇus. Okay¿
2                 (1.0)
3    T-Stacey:    Now ^I'm giving Nicola my trea:sure
4                 map¿=an' she:'s giving me he:rs¿
5                 (0.7)
6    T-Stacey:    Now uh'm g'nna have a loo:k?
7                 (0.8)
8    T-Stacey:    An' <I:'m g'nna sa:y:; (1.3) thuh lo:ve
9                 heart¿= is ne:x' to thuh tree:.>
10                (0.3)
11   Alex:        °°(Pa::ge two)°°=
12   T-Stacey:    =>Alrigh'-< () ^where's my ˇlove heart.
13                (1.0)
14   Nicola:      <°Nea:::u:h; (0.5) nex:' tuh duh tree:::.°
15                (0.4)
16   T-Stacey:    <I:t's>
17                (0.6)
18   Nicola:      °nex:' to duh mou:ntai:n.°
19                (0.2)
```

By calling on the teacher for help, Alex and Spencer have shown they have not understood the task, whereas with Nicola the evidence is equivocal. So what we have is a high correspondence between successful engagement with the task and visible signs of attention during the instructions, and also a high correspondence between failure to engage in the task with lack of visible signs of attention, or even evidence of lack of attention, when the teacher provided the procedural informings.

Like factual informings, procedural informings are actions that pass information from speaker to listener, and in terms of knowledge transfer they are K+ to K−. There are no verbal responses to any of the instruction turns in the location words lesson, but what we have shown is that by examining non-verbal, visible signs of attention, we can trace the epistemic trajectory from instructions to the task activity itself and show that the students in this class who showed those visible signs were the ones who managed to engage in the task, and thereby demonstrate both that they know what to do and, in this case, that they know how to use location language

appropriately. Those students who showed a lack of visible signs of engagement were unable to engage in the task, making it difficult for the teacher to ascertain whether the children understood not only what was required of them in performing the task, but also the curriculum content—using location words.

Conclusion

Teachers need evidence in order to monitor how children in their classes are learning. One important source of evidence is students' answers to their questions, as answers often show how a child has understood the object of learning at a particular point in the lesson, and this information is regularly used by teachers to determine the next step in the lesson's learning trajectory. This useful feature of pedagogic question-answer sequences (and more widely the IRF) perhaps explains the overall prevalence of teacher questions in classes, as well as their predominance in research on epistemics and learning in the classroom. In this chapter we have considered the epistemic complement of questions, namely the informing sequence, in which the flow of information is from the teacher to the student, rather than the teacher seeking information from the student (albeit information that the teacher already knows).

CA work on classroom epistemics, the flow of information, student displays of understanding, and ultimately the attempt to investigate learning in interaction has made some considerable headway in the last fifteen years or so (e.g. Kasper 2006; Lee and Hellermann 2014; Macbeth 2003, 2011; Markee 2000; Markee and Kunitz 2015 among others). Most of this work has focused on verbal actions, and in particular IRF sequences and small group interactions. It is important, however, if we are to achieve a better of understanding of the work of classrooms to achieve understanding and learning, that more attention be paid to non-verbal behaviours; after all, much and maybe most of the time students are not talking in the classroom. In this chapter we have shown one way in which a close analysis of the embodied behaviours of gaze and body posture might give us clues to shifts in student's epistemic status and evidence for understanding, particularly in their non-verbal responses to teachers' informing turns. CA as a method with its focus on the fine details of interaction is well-suited to studying epistemic trajectories in the classroom.

One reason for the reported relative scarcity of direct informing turns in classrooms is that the response to informing turns is typically less revealing of students' current knowledge than answers, and thus provides the teacher with less information on which to decide where to take a lesson next, if that decision is to be based on the immediate learning needs of the student. This study has shown some of the ways in which children's responses, both verbal and non-verbal, can provide evidence of their attention to or their understanding or lack of understanding of the information that is provided by the teacher through turns formatted as explicit informing turns. Firstly, we have seen that in these classes the teacher has some resources to monitor uptake by, for example, asking for choral repetitions of the

information that she has provided, which is evidence that the students have at least heard the turn's information, though of course not necessarily understood.

Students themselves sometimes reveal their uptake, for example by shadowing the informing talk of the teacher through quietly talking along with her, or in some cases, if written material is available, by reading along. The study has also considered non-vocalised responses by students including the direction of eye gaze, head movements, posture, or on the other hand non-attendance to what the teacher is doing, for example fiddling with objects on their desks, drawing on a worksheet while the teacher is talking, or gazing away from the teacher at something else happening in the classroom. A key finding of this study is that we were able to establish from eye gaze, head movement and posture that some children were oriented visually and kinaesthetically to the teacher (one could say, were showing signs of attention), while others were oriented to something else occurring in the classroom, either in front of them on their desks or elsewhere. By examining a map task activity that followed teacher instructions, it was apparent that the first set of students, those exhibiting apparent attention behaviours, were able to complete the task successfully, while the second set were not.

One implication from this study is that the 'non-attending' students are likely to engage in the lesson better if the teacher is able to spend time before issuing the instructions to ensure that the attention of all the students is harnessed. Gaze behaviour and body orientation are two clues that teachers can use—and effective teachers almost certainly do use these. Explicit Instruction or some form of it has been introduced to many schools in Queensland and beyond, so it is important to investigate how explicit or direct instruction is or is not effective in teaching the curriculum, as this is something of a departure from the more traditional classroom (at least in many Western educational settings) dominated by teacher-driven questions in which the curriculum is largely elicited from students. It needs to be shown how teachers can monitor the moment by moment attention and learning behaviours of students during explicit, direct informing instruction, and whether such teaching is as effective as question led teaching, which has its roots at least as far back as Socrates in Ancient Greece. This study is a contribution to that goal.

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Chapter 3
Questions and Answers, A Seesaw and Embodied Action: How a Preschool Teacher and Children Accomplish Educational Practice

Sara Dalgren

Introduction

In the educational practice of the Swedish preschool, teaching and learning often take place in everyday activities and are intertwined with play and care. This chapter examines how this educational practice is accomplished by a Swedish preschool teacher and three children in interaction. More specifically, the present chapter shows how complex physical concepts are incorporated into early childhood education through a playful seesaw activity. In the analysis of the video-recorded activity, this chapter demonstrates how question-answer sequences function as important interactional and educational resources for the participants when they organize their interaction. Through question-answer sequences, vis-á-vis a seesaw and embodied action, it becomes possible for the preschool teacher to capture and direct the children's attention towards physical phenomena, in line with the curriculum, as well as create a shared experience of these physical phenomena in playful practice. Thus, this chapter displays how teaching and learning are intertwined with play, in situ, in preschool practice.

Question-Answer Sequences

Adjacency Pairs

In earlier research that draws on an ethnomethodological and a conversation analytical approach, it has been shown how question-answer sequences can function as

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a central interactional resource in conversation in institutional contexts (Freed and Ehrlich 2010; Gardner 2013). Question-answer sequences are one of the more frequent adjacency pairs, a central element in the turn taking machinery. The structure of an adjacency pair is normative and the action of questioning is identified as a first pair part that demands a second pair part, that is the action of answering (Heritage 1984; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Sidnell 2010). Question-answer sequences normative nature is confirmed by deviant cases. When a question does not receive an answer the participants in the interaction orient to the normative nature of the adjacency pair by, for an example, repeating the question, marking the lack of a response as problematic (Heritage 1984). Adjacency pairs can in this way be understood as paired actions where two actions go together. Accordingly, questions could be said to function as an interactional resource for participants in social interaction since a questioner can generate interplay with an intended answerer simply because a question asked demands an answer (Schegloff 2007).

Question-Answer Sequences in Educational Settings

In the 1960- and 1970s, research showed that the character of teacher-student interaction is dominated by a particular sequential conversational pattern (Bellack et al. 1966; Mehan 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). This conversational pattern consists of a teacher initiated question, a student answer and a teacher response where the student answer is evaluated and the pattern is called IRF (Initiative-Response-Feedback) or IRE (Initiation-Reply-Evaluation). According to Mehan (1979), the organization of interaction in the classroom is through the IRE-sequences, jointly accomplished by teachers and students in a turn-allocation machinery which produces and maintains a local educational order.

It has also been shown how question-answer sequences in educational settings can function as both interactional and educational resources. Macbeth (2000) illuminates how teachers can make the contents of the curriculum publicly accessible to the students by using questions and Koshik (2005, 2010) demonstrates how teachers use questions to encourage students to correct incorrect texts. Likewise, teachers can take on the responsibility for students' understanding of initiated questions by reformulating their questions in order to elicit correct answers instead of evaluating them as incorrect (Zemel and Koschmann 2011).

In the preschool context Björk-Willén and Cromdal (2009) have shown how question-answer sequences can function as an interactional and educational resource when preschool children, in their play, enact educational activities which at other times are led by teachers. Björk-Willén (2008) has also demonstrated how preschool teachers' questions function as an interactional method for the preschool

teachers to accomplish multilingual preschool practice. Further, Bateman (2013) has elucidated how teaching and learning is accomplished in preschool through question-answer sequences. For example, Bateman makes evident that a preschool teacher's repetition of children's answers produces a demonstration of the preschool teacher listening to and confirming the child's answer without evaluating it as correct or incorrect.

The Research

The video data that is analyzed in this chapter is taken from my Ph.D.-project in three Swedish preschools. The project's overarching aim is to illustrate how the interaction between the participating preschool teachers and children is organized sequentially and also how this interaction accomplishes educational practice. A total of approximately 20 h of video footage was recorded during everyday activities within these sites. The data was generated in two phases and the recordings being used in this chapter were recorded in the first one. During six days for the period of two months one preschool teacher in two of the preschools was "shadowed" and video-recorded in her interaction with different children. Both video and audio was collected with the same hand held video recorder. In this chapter, four excerpts from one of the video-recorded activities are analyzed, offering a detailed single case analysis in order to "develop a richer understanding of an existing phenomenon within its extended local context" (Waring 2009, s. 801). The interactions between the teacher and children in this single case shed light on the function of question-answer sequences which were apparent throughout many of the video-recorded activities. That is, how these sequences functioned as interactional as well as educational resources and how teaching and learning could be intertwined with play through them.

Ethical Considerations

In the present project, ethical considerations are taken into account in relation to Swedish rules and have been conducted continuously and cautiously. The study has been approved by the Swedish Local Ethical Review Board. Also, the headmasters, preschool teachers and parents have all given their informed consent in writing. All names on persons and places are fictitious in order to maintain the participants' anonymity. In Sweden, it is the parents that give the formal, written, consent whenever children under the age of 15 participate in research projects. However, the children are supposed to be informed about the project in any way possible.

Several researchers have pointed out that, informally, it is a researcher's responsibility to get consent also from children under the ahe of 15 and that this process should go on continuously during the whole project (Aarsand and Forsberg 2010; Danby and Farrell 2005; Dockett et al. 2009; Heath et al. 2010). Thus, to be able to get the children's consent continuously, I told the children (age 3–5) about the project and asked if they would allow me to video record them. I also told the children that they could tell me 'no' at any time. Furthermore, I was particularly observant of the children's body language (especially with the youngest children, age 1–3) in order to continuously interpret expressions of consent or non-consent (Dockett et al. 2009).

How Spontaneous Learnables Get Accomplished Through Questions and Answers; A Seesaw and Embodied Action

In the following activity Malin, a preschool teacher, and Lukas, Pelle and Elias, 4–5 year old children, are interacting. On the day of the video-recorded activity, Malin and the children went on a walk outside before lunch and on their way back to preschool, they stopped in a park because the children wanted to seesaw. In the activity, both the preschool teacher and the children are orienting to the movement of the seesaw, or primarily to its non-movement. In the analysis of the forthcoming four excerpts, the analytical gaze is particularly focused towards how the social interaction is organized through question-answer sequences and what function these serve in the activity.

Excerpt 1a

```
 1 PELLE:   ((sits on the left side of the seesaw))
 2 MALIN:   ((hangs on and pushes the right side of the
 3          seesaw down))
 4          eh eh åhJ:::::A:::::H:::::
 5 PELLE:   ((swings up)) wow
 6 LUKAS:   ((goes to sit on the side of the seesaw
 7          that Malin has pushed down))
 8 MALIN:   ((is letting go of the seesaw and backs
 9          away from it))
10 LUKAS:   nu ((swings up)) i::i:oho
           now
```

```
11 SEESAW:   ((almost stops))
12 LUKAS:    ((sits at the top of the seesaw))
13 PELLE:    ((sits at the bottom of the seesaw))
14 MALIN:-> hur göra nu då. (0.9) ((looks at Lukas
            how to do now then1
15          first and then at Pelle))
```



```
16 PELLE:    ((tries to kick the seesaw up but it falls
17           back down))
18 LUKAS:    [((laughter))]
19 MALIN:    [va?=         ]
             wha
20 PELLE:    =du får ju hjälpa till [lite=        ]
             you2 have to help a little
21 LUKAS:                           [((laughter))]
22 MALIN:    =jasså de tycker du= ((goes to stand behind
             so you think so
23           Lukas))
24 LUKAS:    =ja: ((laughter))
             yes
25 MALIN:    ((pushes the seesaw down, at Lukas' side))
```

[1] When translating into English the intention has been to preserve the formulation of the utterance in Swedish. The English can in that way sound grammatically incorrect.

[2] "Du" in Swedish means you in singular, and "ni" means you in plural. In this excerpt, all you are in singular.

In the beginning of the excerpt Malin, the preschool teacher, is accompanying her pushing down the seesaw with a powerful "eh eh åhJ::::::A:::::H:::::" (lines 2–4). Through this combination of embodied action and sound, Malin is showing that pushing the seesaw down demands force. Pelle, who is sitting on the left side of the seesaw, swings up when Malin is pushing the right side down and is commenting on this with a "wow" (for discussions of children's assessments see Burdeleski and Morita, Chap. 13 this volume). When Malin is pushing down the right side of the seesaw, Lukas is able to seat himself there. When Lukas is sitting on the seesaw, Malin lets go of it and backs away. Lukas immediately says "now" and then swings

up (line 10). During this sequence, Malin, Pelle and Lukas are orienting towards two things, the movement of the seesaw and each other. The movement of the seesaw is made relevant through verbal comments by all three of the participants. In this way it could be said that the preschool teacher and the two children are opening up for a mutual understanding of the activity itself—now we are seesawing.

After that, something happens that affects the activity. The seesaw almost stops with Lukas at the top and Pelle at the bottom and the children thus encounter a problem. Malin notices this and immediately asks the question "how to do now then" (line 14), looks at Lukas first and then at Pelle, not allocating the turn to anyone in particular and is in that way opening up opportunity for either one of them to answer. Pelle is trying to kick the seesaw up even though it is falling back down, and this could be offered as an answer to Malin's question in embodied action. Malin does not handle Pelle's action as an answer, but is instead working towards a verbal answer with saying "wha",[1] with rising pitch (line 19) and is in that way showing how she is orienting to the normative nature of the sequential implication of a question (Heritage 1984). Pelle then latches on immediately and answers "you have to help a little" (line 20), indicating that it will take some effort from Malin to solve the problem with the immobile seesaw. Malin, who has been standing still, away from the seesaw, then begins to move and walks towards Lukas while at the same time responding with "so you think so" (line 22). With here response, Malin could either be orienting to Pelle's answer as somewhat non-preferred or to his epistemic state. Another interpretation is that her utterance is displaying a certain jocular undertone, tongue-in-cheek. Malin is responding to Pelle but it is not Pelle who takes the next turn, but Lukas. Lukas says "yes" and is in that way aligning with Pelle over the idea that the movement of the seesaw is a collaborative project (line 24). After this Malin is standing and pushing the seesaw, on Lukas' side, down for a while to get it moving.

Accordingly, in this excerpt, we can see how the movement or the non-movement of the seesaw strongly influences the social interaction. Pelle is not able to kick the seesaw moving and initially Malin only observes this problem and does not do anything physical to help. Instead she is asking Lukas and Pelle "how to do now then" and is in that way attending to the problem with the seesaw's non-movement, without further specifying the nature of the problem or offering any solution. It is argued here that the action of questioning is functioning as a specific resource to Malin in the interaction with the children in this activity. By asking "how to do now then" it is the question's normative nature, demanding an answer, which is leading Malin to be able to capture the children's attention as well as

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[1]The Swedish word "va?" is a very common word that is hard to translate into English. "Va?" in Swedish is often used whenever problems of hearing occur (in order to initiate a repair) and could in that way be translated into a huh. However, "va?" is also used frequently when a question does not receive any (verbal) answer, which is the case here, and I have therefore translated it to a wha.

directing it towards physical phenomena in the ongoing activity. In this excerpt it is the equilibrium of the seesaw, or balance and weight, that Malin directs the children's attention towards with the use of a question. "How to do" directs the focus at the activity itself, to seesaw, and "now then" identifies and directs the attention towards the problem with the seesaw not moving. That Malin is able to capture and direct Pelle's attention is shown in his response "you have to help a little". In this answer Pelle is showing that he has understood that Malin's question is about exactly how they are going to get the seesaw moving again. That Malin also is able to catch and direct Lukas' attention is shown in his response "yes" after Malin's "so you think". Lukas is in that way showing that he, like Pelle, sees the problem with the seesaw not moving and that the best solution is the one that Pelle has suggested, that Malin helps. When Malin is orienting to the immobility of the seesaw with only a question about how to solve the problem, and not giving an answer, it could be described as a strategy to stimulate the children's independent problem solving, giving them the autonomy to address the problem themselves.

Altogether, we can see how a question-answer sequence can function as an educational resource since it gets the participants in the activity to explore a spontaneous learnable, something that is "interactively established as relevant to become a shared pedagogical focus" (Majlesi and Broth 2012). Through the question-answer sequence, in relation to the non-movement of the seesaw, it becomes possible for the participants to become aware of, direct their attention towards, and, so to speak, talk the physical phenomenon of equilibrium into being. In that way, the preschool teacher and the children also mobilize the problem that will subsequently be attended to in the following excerpts.

Putting the Principle of Lever into Practice and Showing the Moral Order of Preschool

After seesawing for almost two minutes with the help of Malin who is pushing the seesaw down, Pelle and Lukas are joined by their friend Elias, who earlier sat alone on a rocking horse. Pelle and Lukas remain seated in the same places as before and Elias sits down on the same side as Lukas. Malin holds the right side of the seesaw down, like she did in the earlier excerpt, where Lukas already is seated and Elias is able to sit down.

Excerpt 1b

```
 1 MALIN:    ((holds the right side of the seesaw down))
 2 ELIAS:    ((sits down facing Lukas on the same side
 3           as him, holds on to the handle of the
 4           seesaw))
 5 MALIN:    ((is letting go of the seesaw and walks
 6           away from it, then stands still looking
 7           at Lukas and Elias))
 8 SEESAW:   ((is almost standing still with Pelle at
 9           the top and Lukas and Elias at the bottom))
```

```
10 MALIN:-> hur gör vi nu rå. ((looks at Pelle and then
          how do we do now then
11           at Lukas)) (0.9)
12           [va   ] ((looks at Elias))
             wha
13 LUKAS:    [öööeh] Pelle=
14 MALIN:-> =va var re som vart problemet nu.=
              what was it that became the problem now
15           ((looks at Lukas))
16 PELLE:    =E ELIAS=
17 MALIN:    ((looks at Pelle)) =e Elias problemet (0.7)
                                 is Elias the problem
18           NE::J
             no
19           ((looks at Elias, then at Pelle)) (3.1)
20       -> varför vart de så här nu rå.
             why did it go like this now
21           ((looks at Lukas, then at Pelle, then at
22           Lukas again)) (1.6) va?
                                    wha
23           (0.9)
24 PELLE:    men de e för tu:ngt °då=°
             but it is too heavy then
25 MALIN:    ((looks at Pelle)) =e de för tu:ngt då.
                                 is it too heavy then
26           ((walks towards Pelle))
```

After having helped Elias so he could take a seat, Malin, as she did at the beginning of the activity, lets go of the seesaw, backs away and observes what happens. The seesaw remains almost still with Lukas and Elias at the bottom and Pelle at the top and Malin asks "how do we do now then" (line 10). As in the first excerpt, there is no verbal answer right away so Malin is once again orienting to the question's expected answer (Heritage 1984) when she says "wha". Similar to Excerpt 1a, Malin does not allocate the next turn to any particular child, since she is looking at Pelle first, then at Lukas and then at Elias, but leaves it open for any of them to answer. When the teacher leaves a turn allocation space open like this, she is giving an opportunity for the children to offer their hypothesis about the situation and their possible problem solving ideas. Malin then gets an answer from Lukas, he says "Pelle" with emphasis (line 13). This attempt to answer is ignored by Malin who thereafter is reformulating her question to "what was it that became the problem now" (line 14). By this reformulation the question's focus is changed from the more general "now" to being directed towards something more specific that "became the problem now". Here, the non-movement of the seesaw is for the first time explicitly spelled out and described as a problem. Malin is at the same time also allocating the next turn to Lukas, since she is only looking at him. In spite of this, Pelle is loudly giving the answer "E Elias" (line 16). Malin then redirects her gaze and looks at Pelle and asks "is Elias the problem" (line 17). After a short pause Malin answers her own question, with clear emphasis, "no" at the same time as she also directs her gaze at Elias.

If we take a closer look at lines 14–18, we can see that this sequence clearly follows a pattern that could be called IRE (initiation, reply, evaluation). A question is initiated and a reply is given followed by an evaluation of that reply (Mehan 1979). The reply that is given is explicitly handled as an incorrect answer in Malin's evaluation. What happens in this sequence is interesting since it shows and expresses how the moral order of preschool, which is to not regard separate, and named individuals as a problem, overrides the pedagogic concerns with the principle of lever in the activity. Pelle is in fact right in stating that the weight of Elias could be what brings about the seesaw not moving. Since Malin explicitly is handling this answer as not correct, orienting to the importance of not making Elias "the problem", this results in a wrong revise of the laws of mechanics, implicitly saying that it is not the weight of Elias that makes the seesaw immobile.

Malin attends to Pelle's answer as incorrect with her "no", and directs her gaze again at Pelle. After a three seconds pause, Malin reformulates the question once more to "why did it go like this now" (line 20). Thereafter, she directs her gaze at Lukas, then at Pelle, then at Lukas again. Just as before the question is asked to more than one child, but it is Pelle who once again, after Malins "wha" which shows that her question demands an answer, responds with "but it is too heavy then" (line 24). Malin then recycles and confirms Pelle's answer with "is it too heavy then", the falling pitch indicating that it is not an actual question, and starts walking towards him (lines 25–26).

Also in this excerpt we can see how question-answer sequences are functioning as an educational resource for the participants in the seesaw activity. With the help

of these sequences one child's attention is captured and directed towards the movement and balance of the seesaw, and thus the principle of lever. In this excerpt we can also see that the topic evolves with the help of the questions and Pelle is for the first time naming the physical phenomena weight. Through doing this he is showing that he understands that the balance and the equilibrium of the seesaw has something to do precisely with weight. Malin's use of questions could in that way be described as a way of encouraging Pelle to produce certain knowledge, instead of her conveying it (cf., Koshik 2005). The questions that Malin asks could be said to have known answers. According to Macbeth (2000), this type of question is central when teachers attempt to make the knowledge that they are teaching about visible to the children. In that way, the teachers can make curricula contents publicly accessible and easier to learn (ibid.). Malin's repeating of Pelle's conclusion that "it is too heavy", produces a demonstration of her listening to him and confirming his answer without evaluating it as correct or incorrect (Bateman 2013). It also leads to her being able to show the institutional norm to the children. To talk about weight is accepted, but to talk about children as problems is not accepted, even though the statements here actually account for the same reason of why the seesaw is immobile.

Change in Participation

In Excerpt 1c the participants keep on directing their attention towards, as well as experiencing, the equilibrium problem.

Excerpt 1c

```
1 MALIN:    ((pushes the seesaw down)) de e nästan så
                                        it is almost as
2           man skulle kunna tro (1.2)
            if you could expect
3 PELLE:    (      [                       ]   )
4 MALIN:    ((sits down on the same side of the seesaw
5           as Pelle, facing him))
6 SEESAW:   ((stops with Pelle and Malin at the
7           bottom))
```

```
 8 LUKAS:          [KOLLA NU KAN VI KOLLA.] ((sits at the
                    look now we can look
 9               top of the seesaw))
10 MALIN:   ((turns backwards and looks up at Lukas ))
11               (1.5) nu rå. ((tries to kick the seesaw
                        now then
12               up)) e:h e:h ((the seesaw does not move))
13 L,P,E:   ((coupled laughter))
14 MALIN:   de går ju nte (3.8) ((gets off the seesaw
             this ain't working
15               which then swings up and goes to stand
16               behind Pelle))
17 PELLE:   ((swings up))
18 MALIN:   ((pushes the seesaw down))
19 L,P,E:   ((coupled laughter))
20 LUKAS:    sätt dej (va ji) (5.5)
             you⁴ sit
21 MALIN:   ((goes to sit on the same side of the
22               seesaw as Lukas and Elias))
```



```
23 PELLE:    ne men å:h
              but no
24 MALIN:   ((tries to kick the seesaw up)) eh eh ((the
25               seesaw does not move)) de går ju inte här
                                        this will not do
26               heller ((gets off the seesaw))
              either
27 L,P,E:   ((coupled laughter))
28 MALIN:   ((stands behind Pelle and pushes the
29       -> seesaw)) varför inte då:=
                      why not then
```

```
30 PELLE:    =di därför di e för tung=
             yi because yi are too heavy
31 MALIN:    =e ja för tung=
             am I too heavy
32 PELLE:    =ja du e vuxen
             ye you're an adult
33 MALIN:    jaha=
             aha
34 PELLE:    =ja e större än (du här uppe)
             I'm bigger then (you up here)
35 MALIN:    ((long sigh))
```

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[4] In this excerpt, all *you* are in singular.

Malin has been standing pushing the seesaw for almost ten seconds when she says "it is almost as if you could expect" (lines 1–2). Immediately after this, she goes to sit down on the same side of the seesaw as Pelle, which leads to the seesaw not moving. Lukas who is now sitting at the top of the seesaw is commenting on this by shouting out "look now we can look" (line 8). Malin turns around to look at Lukas, but turns back facing Pelle again and tries to kick the seesaw up while saying "now then" (lines 10–11). Malin is accompanying her kicking with the verbal "eh eh" and these sounds together with the kicking shows how getting the seesaw to move demands force. Nevertheless, the seesaw does not move so Malin gets off and says "this ain't working" (line 14). After that she goes to stand behind Pelle again and pushes the seesaw down to get it moving.

What happens next is that Lukas shows how he has understood that something happens with the equilibrium of the seesaw if weight is distributed along the axes of the seesaw. Lukas says "you sit" (line 20). Malin instantly follows Lukas' request and goes to sit down, but this time on the same side of the seesaw as Lukas and Elias. Pelle then says, with a slight tone of resignation in his voice, "but no" (line 23) and Malin begins to try to kick the immobile seesaw up. Pelle's utterance could be interpreted as if he is showing an understanding of what is going to happen when Malin sits down on the same side of the seesaw which is down, that it is not going to support the movement of the seesaw. Malin then continues to try to kick the seesaw moving, with the verbal accompaniment "eh eh" (line 24). When the seesaw does not move, Malin gets off and says "this will not do either", with emphasis on "either", and all of the children laugh. Malin continues with the question "why not then" (line 29).

Thus, we have to wait until line 29 for Malin to ask a question. However, the previous lines could be understood as a preparatory work by Malin before she asks

her question. When Malin is sitting down on the seesaw, using her own body as a weight, and tries to kick the seesaw up and also verbally accompanies and comments on this action, she is concretely demonstrating how weight is affecting the equilibrium of the seesaw as well as letting the children experience this physically. Then, after that, she asks the children a question about it. What happens next differs from the two earlier excerpts. Instead of a short pause and a work by Malin to get an answer to her question, Pelle instantly latches on and replies with "yi because yi are too heavy" (line 30).

This change in Pelle's participation confirms the earlier interpretation of Pelle's possible understanding of how Malin's placement and weight next to Lukas and Elias will affect the equilibrium of and the movement of the seesaw. Malin does not have to work to get an answer to her question, this time it is not even a short pause before the reply, as Pelle latches on immediately. When Pelle gives his response to Malin's question, his answer contains the same concept as earlier, heavy. Malin then continues with "am I too heavy", which directly links to the concept of the weights effect on the equilibrium of the seesaw (line 31). Malin's repetition of Pelle's response could also be described as a way for her to confirm Pelle's answer and demonstrate that she listens, without evaluating it as correct or incorrect (cf., Bateman 2013). Pelle latches on once again when he says "ye you're an adult" and he is in that way showing that he associates the adult body with a certain weight which in this case affects the equilibrium of the seesaw in particular. Malin does not handle this neither like a correct nor an incorrect answer, but gives it the status as a working hypothesis with her "aha" and thereafter sighs a long sigh which illustratively strengthens the statement about it being Malin's fault since she is an adult that brings about the seesaw not moving (lines 33 and 35). Thus, in Excerpt 1c, the question-answer sequence functions as a resource to make the talk-in-interaction focus upon the physical phenomena weight and its effect on the equilibrium of the seesaw.

Using Children's Bodies to Distribute Weight Along the Axes of the Seesaw

During the approximately seven seconds that has passed between Excerpts 1c and 1d, Malin has been standing and pushing the seesaw down to get it to move. The following excerpt then begins with Malin giving a suggestion to Pelle. Malin is introducing something new in the activity, bodies' placements on the seesaw and how this affects the equilibrium of the seesaw.

Excerpt 1d

```
 1 MALIN:    ((stands behind Pelle and pushes the seesaw
 2           down)) om du sätter dej lite längre upp här
                 if you⁵ sit a bit further up here
 3           ((points at the edge of the seesaw, behind
 4           Pelle))
```



```
 5 PELLE:    ((looks at Malin and moves backwards)) ↑m
 6           (0.7)
 7 MALIN:->  va kommer å hända då.
                 what will happen then
 8 PELLE:    ja ramla av (1.5)
                 I fall off
 9 MALIN:    ((pushes the seesaw))
10 LUKAS:    gylö (1.4) ö[ö↑::::::]
11 ELIAS:               [ö↑::::::]
12 PELLE:    ((bounces up when his side of the seesaw
13           swings up))
14 MALIN:    o:
15 PELLE:    hoppa ja hoppa f↑ram ((moves backwards))
                 bounce I bounced forward
16           (1.7)
17 MALIN:    ((walks towards Lukas and Elias)) och om
                                                and if
18           (0.5) Lukas
19           flyttar lite längre bak
                 moves a bit further back
20 LUKAS:    a ((moves backwards))
                 ye
21 MALIN:    och Elias flyttar fram s så mycket han kan
                 and if Elias moves forward a as much as he can
22           ((is standing still next to the seesaw,
23           looking at Elias)) (1.2)
24 ELIAS:    ((moves forward))
25 SEESAW:   ((does not move))
26 LUKAS:    oj då
                 oh oh
```

```
27 ELIAS:    oj då (1.2)
             oh oh
28 MALIN:    ((goes to stand behind Elias)) om Elias
                                             if Elias
29           kommer hitåt ((grabs Elias from behind))
             comes this way
30           (1.5)
31 ELIAS:    ((moves back towards Malin))
32 MALIN:    om Lukas flyttar så l↑ångt fram som möjligt
             if Lukas moves as much forward as possible
33           ((pulls Elias backwards)) (0.8)
```



```
34 ELIAS:    ((is letting go of the handle of the
35           seesaw))
36 LUKAS:    ((moves forward))
37 SEESAW:   ((starts to move))
38 MALIN:    ((is holding on to Elias from behind))
39     -> va händer då tror ni (0.6)
             what happens then do you⁶think
40 ELIAS:    ((grabs the handle of the seesaw))
41 MALIN:    ja håller i dej Elias (1.1)
             I'll hold you⁷ Elias
42 ELIAS:    ((is letting go of the handle of the
43           seesaw))
44 MALIN:    ((pulls Elias backwards))
45 SEESAW:   ((moves))
46 PELLE:    min pinne:=
             my stick
47 MALIN:    =>ja håller ren<
             I'll hold it
48 SEESAW:   ((stops with Pelle at the bottom and Lukas
49           and Elias at the top))
```

```
50 MALIN:   ((is holding Elias from behind, looks at
51            Lukas))
52        -> va hände nu rå varför vart de så.
             what happend now then why did it go like that
53 LUKAS:   ((looks at Malin)) ja vet inte (1.2)
                                  I don't know
54 PELLE:   därför du håller i Elias
             because you8're holding Elias
55 MALIN:   ((looks at Pelle, is letting go of Elias)
56          ne men ja håller bara i så de inte ska
             no but I'm only holding so it won't
57          ramla >de va re enda<
             fall that's the only thing
```

---

5 Singular.
6 Plural.
7 Singular.
8 Singular.

In the beginning of this excerpt, Malin is pointing at the edge of the seesaw behind Pelle and says "if you sit a bit further up here" (lines 1–4). Pelle accepts the proposal with an "m" and he moves backwards (line 5). Malin continues with the question "what will happen then" (line 7). Pelle gives the answer "I fall off" which is completely logical since Malin is pointing furthest out at the edge of the seesaw, almost in the air. Malin does neither confirm nor reject Pelle's answer. Then, with the help from Malin, the seesaw moves rather heavily, which is commented on verbally by both Lukas and Elias in overlap, Pelle and Malin (lines 9–15). What happens next is that Pelle moves backwards again and Malin leaves her place next to Pelle and starts walking towards Lukas and Elias. At the same time she says "and if Lukas moves a bit further back" and Lukas responds with a "ye" and moves backwards (lines 17–20). Malin then says "and if Elias moves forward a as much as he can" and looks at and stops next to Elias. Here, several semiotic resources are being enhanced in the way that they are being combined (Goodwin 2000). Separately, the arrangement of the children's bodily positions, Malin's verbal

utterances and the movement of the seesaw constitute only a part of what is being communicated in the problem solving activity, it is together that these resources get their meaning (ibid.). Lukas' and Elias' movements have now adjusted the equilibrium of the seesaw and the center of gravity is now on their side and the seesaw is not moving. Lukas and thereafter Elias are commenting on this fact with one "oh oh" each (lines 26–27). Malin goes to stand behind Elias to be able to grab him from behind and then continues to instruct the children to move their bodies (lines 28–32). She says "if Elias comes this way" and Elias moves backwards. Malin then says "if Lukas moves as much forward as possible" at the same time as she pulls Elias, who is letting go of the handle of the seesaw, further back and Lukas moves forward. Malin's act of arranging the children's bodily positions here could be compared with an embodied action in directives, called shepherding (Cekaite 2010). With the action of shepherding, an adult physically steers a child's locomotion, aiming at both "controlling and scaffolding the child's body movement as a goal-oriented action that is indispensable to accomplishment of the directive" (Cekaite 2010, p. 2). Thus, through maneuvering the children's bodies in a shepherding way, Malin can scaffold the children in their joint problem solving activity.

Once again something is happening with the equilibrium of the seesaw. At the same time as Lukas is following Malin's request to move forward, the seesaw starts to move. And here, on line 39, Malin asks the question "what happens then do you think". That question, which could be understood as part of, or a progression of, the work with formulating a working hypothesis, does not receive an answer. What happens instead is that Elias quickly grabs the handle in front of him again (perhaps because he's afraid of not holding on to the handle) and moves a bit forward. Malin responds to this with the comment "I'll hold you Elias" as if she wants to insure him that there's no need for him to worry. Elias then lets go of the handle again and allows Malin to pull him backwards (which could be interpreted as a confirmation of the assumption above). The seesaw now moves, but stops once again when Lukas and Elias get to the top and Pelle gets to the bottom. Malin who is standing behind Elias looks at Lukas and asks "what happened now then why did it go like that" (line 52). Lukas looks at Malin and answers "I don't know" which does not bring about any explanation from Malin. Instead, Pelle after a short pause responds with "because you're holding Elias" (line 54). When Pelle replies, Malin turns towards him and looks at him and then she handles his answer as an incorrect working hypothesis by saying "no but I'm only holding so it won't fall that's the only thing".

This final excerpt is the last that focuses on the equilibrium of the seesaw in the activity. What differs in this excerpt, in comparison with the earlier Excerpts 1a–1c, is that this excerpt not only includes question-answer sequences, but also instructions where the children's bodies are attended to as resources in the exploration of weight management. The actions of moving the children could be described as a preparation for, and an extension of Malin's questions, where gesture accompanied the verbal action of talking about weight distribution. Here it is instructions and the children's bodies and movements of them that work to address the problem of how to move the seesaw through weight distribution on the axis of the seesaw. This

procedure offers answers to Malin's questions, not being expressed verbally, but shown in embodied actions. These embodied actions could then be regarded as the physical phenomena of equilibrium put into practice. Through this procedure Malin is able to give the children embodied signs or clues to the answers to her questions, and ways of solving the problem. For example, she is moving the children to exhibit the principles of balance and lever while placing her question right after the move has generated a change in equilibrium (line 52). Thus, in the interaction here, both teacher and children work together in a collaborative problem solving exercise.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have aimed to illuminate, in detail, the function of question-answer sequences in the interactional accomplishment of educational practice in an everyday activity in a Swedish preschool. I have directed my analytical gaze specifically towards how these sequences are functioning as resources when the participants are organizing their interaction. Altogether I would argue that the question-answer sequences in the four excerpts are functioning as interactional as well as educational resources in the interaction to, in multiple and different ways, capture and direct the participant's attention towards different curricula contents, like the physical phenomena weight, force, balance and equilibrium. These rather complex concepts, are here incorporated into early childhood education through a playful activity. The analyses also show how the participants not only direct their attention towards these physical phenomena, but also "*unpack*" *them and put them into practice*. Thus, through the question-answer sequences, together with the non-movement of the seesaw, as well as with embodied action, *spontanous learnables* (Majlesi and Broth 2012) becomes possible to explore and experience for the participants in a joyful way. Malin is preparing for her questions by showing that it takes a certain force to get the seesaw moving and by using her own and the children's bodies to distribute weight on the axis of the seesaw. The questions are produced from and focus on the movements of the seesaw, or rather when it is not moving, and the answers should contain something about the physical phenomena of present interest. In that way, it could be said that Malin through the question-answer sequences, in coordination with the children's embodied experience of the non-movement of the seesaw, methodically is accomplishing *embedded teaching* (Tate et al. 2005). This teaching approach, that can be contrasted with direct instruction, "involves incorporating teaching strategies into everyday activities (e.g., play) or routines (e.g., diapering)" (Tate et al. 2005, s. 206). The transcript and the analysis show how Malin, Pelle, Lukas and Elias, step by step, response after response, are accomplishing an interactional and educational work managing complex concepts in an everyday playful experience.

The participants in the interaction of an everyday preschool activity, partly organized through question-answer sequences, are in that way talking about as well as experiencing relations that are relevant for the laws of equilibrium. The children

participate in the interaction in different ways, and it is mostly Pelle who verbally answers Malin's questions. However, the organization of the interaction through question-answer sequences offers all of the children, no matter the character of their participation, to orient their attention to spontaneous learnables about complex physical phenomena like weight, force, balance and equilibrium in joyful ways.

This is also something that could be elaborated on further if we take a look at *implications for practice*. In Swedish preschool pedagogy, play, learning and care are intertwined and this early childhood education is often practiced in recurrent everyday actities, as above (cf. Ekström 2007; Jonsson 2011, 2013; Pramling Samuelsson and Asplund Carlsson 2008). Further, in the educational practice of preschool, it could be said that one crucial condition is the social interaction between preschool teachers and children. Even though, *what specifically happens* in this interaction can be taken for granted and, so to speak, pass unnoticed for preschool teachers. This chapter's analyses of *how* the interaction between a pre-school teacher and three children in an everyday activity is organized, accomplished and maintained could thus function as a tool for preschool teachers' discussions about embedded teaching (Tate et al. 2005) and spontaneous learnables (Majlesi and Broth 2012), as well as for their actions in a play-based preschool practice.

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Chapter 4
Web Searching as a Context to Build on Young Children's Displayed Knowledge

Sandra Houen, Susan Danby, Ann Farrell and Karen Thorpe

Introduction

Educational practices are built around supporting children's knowledge construction. Children's displays of knowledge, as well as their prior experiences and interests, are resources for teachers to draw on to facilitate opportunities for children to build new knowledge across curriculum and social aspects of classroom life. Children bring to the classroom their experiences from everyday life from both outside and within the classroom, and they display varying knowledge of and skills in Web searching and other digital technologies. The practices of digital technologies present a relatively new pedagogical space for early childhood teachers who are faced with decisions about how to integrate them in ways that align with

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the key tenets of early childhood education. This chapter investigates a single episode where two young children and their teacher conduct a Web search. We consider how social interactions facilitate children's knowledge building when engaged in Web searching. The analysis shows that the teacher draws upon a range of interactional resources to (1) provide children with opportunities to display their knowledge, and (2) incorporate this displayed knowledge into the unfolding interaction to promote opportunities to engage with new knowledge about the search topic, and the process of performing a Web search. This chapter aims to support teachers' understanding of the interactional strategies that build on children's displayed knowledge in order to provide opportunities to engage with new knowledge.

Knowledge Within Interaction

All interactions involve displays of knowledge. The knowledge states of individual interactants is labelled by Heritage (2012a) as their "epistemic status" (p. 4). When two or more people interact, their epistemic status is revealed through their epistemic stance. Epistemic stances are relational (Heritage 2012a) in that interactants work to construct shared meaning by navigating and considering each other's epistemic stance within the interaction. Epistemic stance "is managed through the designs of turns at talk" (p. 6). Considered as the social distribution of knowledge (Heritage 2012b), interactants use resources such as talk and multimodal actions (e.g., gesture) to orient to the "knowledge states" of other interactants (Heritage 2012b, p. 373). This orientation to others' knowledge states helps interactants align with one rule of conversation, which is, "don't tell others what they already know" (Silverman 1998, p. 5).

The degree to which knowledge differs among interactants can be considered along an epistemic gradient (Heritage and Raymond 2012; Heritage 2012a). As pointed out by Heritage (2012a), interactants can be "more knowledgeable [k+] or less knowledgeable [k−]" (p. 4) than each other, and the degree to which their knowledge differs can vary considerably. Participants manage this knowledge asymmetry via the epistemic stance each displays during the moment-by-moment turns at talk.

In the classroom, the underlying agenda is one of teaching and learning, with knowledge an important consideration for these practices. While teachers are generally considered to be more knowledgeable than students (k+) and students to have less knowledge than the teacher (k−) (Gardner and Mushin 2013; Heritage 2012a; Kääntä 2014; Stivers et al. 2011), as in mundane interaction, epistemic stance is navigated during the unfolding turns at talk within teacher-child

interactions. In an effort to gather the epistemic stance of students, teachers often question to call for displays of knowledge from students. Teachers overwhelmingly rely on questions to which they already know the answer (McHoul 1978; Mehan 1979b). These "known information" questions (Mehan 1979a, p. 285) are used to request (or 'test') students' knowledge, and can be implemented through a variety of turn designs.

In a study of question-answer sequences in whole class primary school (3rd grade) instructional activities, Margutti (2007) investigated utterances that achieve questioning. She identified four questioning patterns that teachers used to prompt displays of knowledge: "yes-no, alternative, wh- questions, and … the eliciting completion device" (p. 313). Along similar lines to the findings of Margutti (2007), Houen et al. (in press) investigated early childhood teachers' designs of requests for factual knowledge. They found three main interactional resources were utilised by the teacher to call for displays of knowledge from students. These are: (i) 'wh' questions, (ii) 'yes/no' questions and (iii) 'I wonder…' prefaced declaratives. When teachers question, a response from the student is the logical next action.

Students respond to teachers' requests by displaying their knowledge, or lack of it. Requests that are unproblematic for students show students responding quickly, with responses aligning to the question design, whereas problematic requests are dealt with in similar ways to everyday conversations. In research focusing on students' (aged 12 or 13 years) and their responses to teachers' explanations of mathematical problems, Koole (2010) highlights understanding and knowing as very different interactional phenomena. Displays of understanding are shown through a claim made by the student whereas student displays of knowledge are revealed through some sort of demonstration.

After students respond to teachers' questions, teachers during their next turn at talk, labelled the *third turn*, subsequently manage the displayed knowledge in order to create shared understanding, and accomplish action that can lead to new knowledge. This third turn was identified by Mehan (1979b) when he found that teachers evaluate students' answers to their questions. He labelled the recurring pattern of these instructional sequences as the Initiation, Response, Evaluation (IRE) sequence: The initiation (I), usually a question from the teacher; the response (R), an answer from the student; and the evaluation (E) from the teacher involves an assessment of the student's response. This third turn has subsequently been investigated extensively by others who have proposed alternative but similar labels to the evaluation phase (cf. Baker 1991; Heap 1991; Lee 2007; Lemke 1990; Sinclair and Coulthard 1992).

The IRE findings were investigated further in Baker's (1991) study in a first grade classroom. This study found, that reading lessons consisted of triadic sequences of talk that consisted of: Initiation (usually via a question from the teacher), Response (from the student) and Feedback (from the teacher). A more

recent study by Lee (2007) shows that a teacher's third turn is dependent on the in situ interaction, and is based on contingencies: "the third turn carries out the contingent task of responding to and acting on the prior turns while moving interaction forward" (p. 1204). In other words, the teacher's third turn at talk takes into consideration the student's response to the teacher's initiation. Bateman (2013) cautions a prescriptive 'one size fits all' approach regarding a teacher's third turn. She highlights the importance of the social context of teacher-child interactions so that teachers can listen to and respond authentically to children's contributions. In relation to displays of knowledge, teachers may assess information proffered by the students, provide feedback, engage in discussion, and use student-displayed knowledge as the footing to construct new knowledge (Houen et al. (in press); Margutti 2007; Sahin and Kulm 2008).

The focus of this chapter is to investigate how teacher-child interactions support the accomplishment of a Web search. We consider how social interactions facilitate children's knowledge building about the process of Web searching, as well as the search topic. Implications arising from the findings of this study contribute new research understandings of teachers' pedagogical practices in knowledge building and Web searching.

The Research Study

This study draws upon data collected within a larger study that investigated children's Web searching in an early years classroom. The setting was a preparatory classroom, in an inner city state primary school in Brisbane, Australia. The preparatory year is a non-compulsory first year of full-time school. There were 17 children in the class aged 5–6 years and twelve provided consent to participate in this study. The study video recorded the children as they engaged in independent and small group work, including when they had access to the computers over the course of one week (for a period of approximately 1.5–2.0 h per day). In total, there were eight hours of video recordings of children and teaching staff as they engaged in searching for information using the search engine, *Google*.

This chapter focuses on a single case, a 12 min video-recorded episode that shows the interactions of a teacher and two children. The selected case was of a video recording that captured the process of an entire Web search—from teacher-child discussion to establish a search topic based on the interests of the children, through to completion of the Web search about the topic. The children and teacher negotiated and decided upon the search topic 'what do tadpoles eat'. A single case analyses enables the rigorous application of conversation analysis

principles to identify the social order within a single episode (Liddicoat 2007; Schegloff 1987).

The study drew on the methodological approaches of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. Together, these approaches investigate how members create shared meaning in their everyday social experiences (Garfinkel 1967) by a focus on the sequential features of talk to show how it is organised and produced as part of a social process co-constructed by interactants (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008). In this case, these analytic tools had a particular focus on how the children and teacher co-constructed shared meaning, displayed current knowledge and provided opportunities to engage with new knowledge.

Video recordings of naturally occurring social interactions can be viewed and reviewed, allowing for fine grained transcription and analysis (Pomerantz and Fehr 1997). The selected episode was transcribed using Jeffersonian notation (Jefferson 2004; see list of conventions at the front of the book). This method of transcription captures the fine detail of verbal and non-verbal features of talk such as gaze, gestures, utterances, pauses, intonation and emphasis (Psathas 1995). This methodological approach affords close observation of the unfolding interactional work of members in situ in order to describe actual practices. Teachers in their daily work do not have the time to examine their own interactions in such a fine grained way, and rarely do they have opportunities to see other teachers at work. Analysis of this kind illuminates details of what happens in classrooms and can influence practice. In these respects, such analysis serves as a valuable resource for teachers.

Teacher-Child Interaction During a Web Search

We show two extracts from a single episode where the teacher and two children engage with displays of knowledge, to reveal knowledge and to incorporate the displayed knowledge into the unfolding interaction. In the first extract, approximately three minutes after the teacher (Susie) has initiated a discussion with Ethan and Harry about what they would like to search for in their next Web search. The teacher positions the children with some knowledge about Web searching and early literacy skills as she uses Web searching and literacy terms such as 'click on' and 'words' without her providing an explanation of those terms, as one might if the epistemic stance was one where the teacher thought that the children did not know these terms. We see both the teacher and children orient to knowledge building as the basis to perform a search.

Extract 1—"A Lack of Knowledge to Find a Search Subject"

```
607    SUSIE Exactly. that was endangered, now¿ what are
608          we going to sea:rch no:w what did you deci:de
609          you wanted to look for?
610          (1.4)
611    Ethan um (.) what eats a crocodile¿
612          (0.8)
613    SUSIE A ↑crocodi:le (.) interesting question (.) I
614          see up here though um what did you search
615          here
616    Ethan Um wha:t do:: hermit crabs eat and what and
617          what does um (0.4) (dolphins) eat
618    SUSIE Well did you find out,
619    Ethan Um ye:s (.) we found out. ((Ethan nods yes))
620    SUSIE Yeah but I wanna know because I was (speaking
621          and) helping with the other children=
622    Ethan =I do:nt remember,
623          (2.0)
624    SUSIE Well there's a lot of words lo::t of wo:rds
625          up here that say dolphin could we click onto
626          some of tho:se and have a look
627    Harry Susie I'd like to
628    Ethan ((Ethan stands up and points at the screen))
629    SUSIE Which one
630    Ethan That one
631    SUSIE [Okay]
632    Harry [Susie I'd like] to find out what would um
633          what eats what do tadpoles eat (cause I don't
634          really know)
635    SUSIE What do tadpoles eat (.)  good questio:n=
636    Ethan =tadpoles we don't know
637    SUSIE Well do you want to do a search for tadpoles
638          (food)
639    Ethan Oh what(.) if we sear:ch what do blue whales
640          eat=
641    Harry =Oh:[:::::]
642    SUSIE     [We:ll] you've got [at the top      ]
643    Harry                        [blue whales  eat]
644          sharks
645    SUSIE what eats dolphins
646    Harry Blue Whales eat sharks
647    SUSIE Which one are we going to go:: with
648          (0.6)
649    Harry Tadpoles I'm wanna do tadpoles (Ethan (.))
650    Ethan What (.) do (0.4) >what do< puppies eat
651    SUSIE Puppies
652    Harry       (um no puppies don't)=
```

```
653   SUSIE =Smelly socks, (0.4) slippers,(.) al
654       so::rts of things=
655   Ethan =((shakes head and grins at Susie))=
656   SUSIE  =okay Harry you sta::rt
```

In the opening turns, the teacher asks about what the next search topic will be. The teacher initiates two 'wh' questions (607–609), designed to request information from the children regarding a future search subject. By consulting children about the next search subject, rather than informing them about the process of Web searching, the teacher has positioned the children with some knowledge of Web searching (K+). Ethan responds by proffering the search question, "what eats a crocodile?" (611). Here, he displays his knowledge that Web searching is about seeking information. In this instance, however, the subject suggested of "what eats a crocodile" is treated by the teacher as problematic. She next works to change the focus of the conversation, which she does by referring to a previous search (613–615). This diversion is successful (616–626), when the focus becomes the recalling of information from the previous search, and not on deciding on a new topic to search. During this diversion, Susie uses a combination of questions and directives as she introduces a pedagogic focus on literacy (624–626). By using specific early literacy terms such as 'words' and digital literacy strategies such as 'click onto some of those', without explanation, the teacher has treated Ethan and Harry with knowledge. There were no signs of interactional trouble with the use of these terms, which displayed the children's knowledge of these terms.

Harry initiates a turn to talk (627) and re-diverts to the teacher's initial question (607, 608) regarding a future search topic. He suggests a new one and provides a justification (632–634). He proposes the new search subject of "what tadpoles eat" (633) and says, "cause I don't really know" (633–634), for why he wants to search what tadpoles eat. His justification based on his lack of knowledge warrants a search to be undertaken, and aligns to the classroom agenda of knowledge building. Susie and Ethan orient to Harry's new search question: Susie assesses the question, labelling it a "good one" (635), and Ethan supports Harry's stance about their wanting to find out more because they do not have this actual knowledge (636). Here both Harry and Ethan agree that the topic of what tadpoles eat is something that they do not know about.

After the teacher provided the interactional space for the children to contribute ideas and suggestions, the teacher agrees that the topic of what tadpoles eat is a "good one" (635). It now seems that a search topic has been agreed upon. This agreement, however, is yet to be confirmed by all interactants. When Susie seeks agreement by explicitly asking, "well do you want to do a search for tadpoles (food)" (637–638), a yes/no question which calls for a yes or no in response. Ethan

suggests a new topic to search (639–640). At this point, therefore, the search topic is still not yet agreed upon.

The 'toing and froing' nature of this sequence continues with Ethan suggesting an additional topic of "what blue whales eat" (639–640). In trying to bring inter-actants to a decision, Susie offers the children a choice (647) asking, "which one are we going to go with". Harry repeats tadpoles (649), the subject that both he and Ethan had agreed that they did not know about. Ethan does not orient to the choices at hand but instead offers yet another search topic of "what puppies eat" (650). The focus now is on managing various suggestions. While Harry maintains his preferred search topic of what tadpoles eat, Ethan has a range of suggestions. Harry informs Ethan that "blue whales eat sharks" (646) and Susie uses humour to tell Ethan that puppies eat smelly socks and slippers, along with other things (653–654). As Corsaro and Molinari (2005) found, humour is a teacher strategy that works to lighten the interaction and here, the upshot of Susie's response is that it is designed not to be taken seriously. Ethan's response, a shake of his head and a grin at Susie, displays his appreciation, and that he knows that humour is being used here.

Harry and Susie provide answers to Ethan's questions (643–644, 653–654). Harry's response displays his knowledge that blue whales eat sharks (643–644), which works to complete the question-answer adjacency pair initiated by Ethan's question, "what do blue whales eat?" (639–640). Susie's turn, however, provides a humorous answer (653–654) to Ethan's proposed search about what puppies eat (650). At the same time, Susie's response suggests that the answer to this query is already known, and thus discounted as being a question for consideration. Both Harry's and Susie's turns at talk render Ethan's questions as answered and therefore excludes them as possible future search topics.

After Susie works to gain consensus regarding the next search topic, she now closes the discussion and directs Harry to start (656). She gives the 'go ahead' for the search on what do tadpoles eat, a topic that both Harry and Ethan had agreed that they did not know about. In this way, there was an orientation by the teacher to finding a search query that might provide new knowledge and therefore possibly new learning. After deciding on the new search topic, Susie's directive moves the children's focus to entering the search query.

In Extract 2, Susie and the two children orient to entering the search question into the search engine *Google*. Susie affords the children opportunities to display their knowledge about entering the search term and how she modifies her inter-actions in very strategic ways to cater for the children's displayed knowledge in order to scaffold and provide opportunities to develop new knowledge.

Extract 2—"Opportunities to Display Knowledge and Build New Knowledge"

```
664   Harry U::m °>I don't know<° I could (press it
665   the:re)
666   SUSIE Yeah=
667   Ethan =(you have to get rid of it)
668   SUSIE Beg your pa:rdon Ethan
669   Ethan have to get rid of those words
670   SUSIE Ri:ght
671        (3.0)((Harry manipulating mouse))
672   Harry Trying to get (rid of that)((pointing at
673        screen))
674   SUSIE Aa::h=
675   Harry =We can (.) we can do something else (I'll
676        show you what) we can do::
677   SUSIE what
678   Harry You you there's actually a button you can
679        pre:ss which (.) which u:m  (.) which which
680        you can ty:pe different wo::rds
681   SUSIE (Well how?) (.) come o::n
682   Harry U:m=
683   SUSIE =Mister clever beans I wanna see how you ↑do:
684        this
685        (3.0)
686        (Harry gazes at Susie who is smiling at him))
687   SUSIE I (could see) Harry looking to do some
688        backspacing befo::re (see where the cursor
689        is) it's up at the front of the words
690        (2.0)
691        would you like a clue?
692        (1.0)
693   Harry ((nods head))
694   Harry We could pre:ss (.) we could press the
695        (letters)and they'd come up here and we what
696        (.) >what does that< sa:y
697   SUSIE what do:: crabs ea::t (.) that's that one
698        but you wanted-=
699   Harry (yeah we wanted)-=
700   SUSIE =so
701   Harry we wanted to do tadpole
702   SUSIE O:ka::y (.) so (sort it out) >what shall we
703        do<=
```

```
656    SUSIE okay Harry you sta::rt
657          (1.6)((Harry sits upright and looks at key-
658          board))
659    Harry (xxxxx)
660    SUSIE Now (.) if you click on (one of tho:se)
661          they're all the ones to do with (dolphins)
662          where you going to wri- where you going to
663          ty:pe in?
```

Susie, the teacher directs Harry to start (656), revealing her orientation to his search suggestion, rather than to Ethan's proposed search query. The open directive to start was issued without any specific instructions, and works to provide an opportunity for Harry to make decisions, and display his knowledge, about how he will go about entering the new search question. Harry is once again positioned with knowledge (k+); knowledge about entering search terms and also with knowledge about writing, including phonemic awareness. In his attempt to start, Harry sits upright and looks at the computer. After almost 2 s of silence, which could be interpreted as him having trouble, we see the teacher narrow the focus through questioning, to possibly locate the cause of Harry's trouble. She asks about where he is going to type the question (660–663). Harry responds, at first with a thinking token, 'um', followed by an 'I don't know' (664). This "I don't know" may work as a thinking space, reveal Harry's lack of knowledge (something that the teacher could build on during the unfolding interaction), or a way to project that he is unsure his forthcoming answer is correct. In a continued turn he makes a suggestion (664). As he points to the screen, he proposes "I could press it there" (664). In this way, he presents himself as someone who is willing to attempt a solution, that is, to use a trial and error approach that may work. His suggestion points to the classroom atmosphere collaboratively constructed by the co-interactants. Susie (666) accepts Harry's suggestion, and Ethan initiates a turn that displays his knowledge (667) about how to modify a previous search question.

At first Ethan's suggestion is not heard by the teacher. She repairs, asking Ethan what he had said (668). Ethan slightly modifies his previous suggestion (669) from "you have to get rid of it" (667) to "have to get rid of those words" (669). Ethan's suggestion is positively assessed by the teacher (670). Mehan (1979b) points out that teachers often invite other students to help "supply a correct reply" (p. 57) and, in this instance as well Ethan's guidance is supported by the teacher. Evident here is how the teacher values both children's input to create an environment where additional displays of knowledge, ideas and suggestions are demonstrably approved and appreciated.

Harry does not take up Ethan's suggestion. Instead, Harry initiates a turn that informs others that he is trying to get 'rid of that' (672–673). Although Harry is yet to action getting, 'rid of that' (672–673), Susie acknowledges Harry's idea in line 674. He verbalises that there is something else they can do (675–676) and offers to show them. Susie continues to follow Harry's lead, asking "what" (677), which gives the 'go ahead' to Harry to show an alternative solution. Harry points to the

Google search box, looks at the teacher, and explains that "there's actually a button you can press" to be able to type in different words (678–680). At this point, while Harry has introduced the idea of a button to press, he has not located the specific button. His general proposal to push a button suggests that he is aware of 'a' possible strategy, although he may not know exactly which button to press. He therefore displays that he has some knowledge that search terms can be modified but may not have an understanding (Koole 2010) of what he needs to do to complete the modification of the search term.

At this point, he may be 'fishing' for someone to provide some guidance or to tell 'their side' as to the specific button. Pomerantz (1980) investigated the indirect ways in which people ask for help. She shows how 'tellings' can be elicitations for help, as a way of drawing from the recipient what they know regarding the speaker's telling. Susie's response, "Well how? (.) come o::n" (681) serves as a question that 'does challenging" rather than guidance as to which button to press. In issuing a challenge to Harry, Susie may be 'doing pedagogical work' of encouraging him to have a go, that is, to take a chance. Susie's challenge prompts Harry to explore his alternative ways of altering the search question, to which he orients.

Harry uses the thinking token "um" (682), which works to delay his next action and give him time to respond. Susie treats Harry's "Um" as having trouble in answering (or remembering), when she offers a friendly challenge, smiling at him and calling him, "Mr. Clever Beans" and follows with, "I want to see how you do this" (683–684). After a pause of 3 s during which time Harry looks at the keyboard, Susie voices her observation of what Harry had been doing beforehand (687–689). She notes that he had been backspacing and now the cursor was at the front of the words. After Susie's observation there is a two second pause, during which Harry looks at the computer screen, possibly to orient to the cursor's location. While the teacher's observation was an indirect clue for what Harry could do, she now asks explicitly if he would like a clue (691). She follows with a very direct instruction that supports him to find the cursor on the screen and locate the words that need to be modified to change the search stem. Harry nods to accept Susie's offer of a clue.

The pedagogical work of scaffolding displayed by the teacher throughout this sequence begins by positioning Harry with knowledge (k+). As the interaction unfolds, Harry displays that he required support. The teacher was able to slightly modify her interaction via an implicit clue; that is by verbalising Harry's action of looking to do some backspacing (687–689). This noticing reinforced Harry's action as being 'on the right track'. When the indirect clue did not solve the problem, Susie upgraded and explicitly asked Harry if he'd like a clue (691). Before her help can be given, he first suggests that they could press letters (694–695), and then asks about what the screen says (696). Susie responds, reading from the screen, "*what do crabs eat* but you wanted-" (697). After agreeing that they have found the search box, Susie poses a prompt about next actions (700), which is about how to change a search query. Before completing her turn Harry, in overlap with the teacher, displays agreement that they wanted a different word. He demonstrates his knowledge about the topic change. He agrees that they wanted to search tadpoles (701). In this

way, Susie scaffolds Harry's approach to modify a search by drawing on Harry's knowledge. The interaction continues with Susie, Ethan and Harry working to now modify a previously entered search term to the new search term 'what do tadpoles eat'.

Discussion

Classroom interactions orient to the underlying agenda of knowledge construction. This was shown in Extract one, when we saw that opportunities to engage with new knowledge about a specific topic was justified as a good reason to perform a search. Additionally, the teacher's interactional strategies oriented towards displays of knowledge.

Displaying Knowledge

When negotiating a future search topic, the teacher used the interactional resources of directives, questions, and the affordance of thinking time. Susie frequently employed questions (lines 608, 614–615, 618, 624–25, 629, 647, 658–659, 672, 676) in first position of an adjacency pair. These questions were used to seek displays of knowledge from the children. Furthermore, although not used as frequently as questions, the teacher incorporated general directives (rather than specific step by step instructions) into the interaction. For example, when the teacher directed Harry to "start" (656) (entering the search topic), she provided no guidance as to how to enter the search topic. The general directive positioned the child with knowledge (k+), although how much knowledge he actually had was only be revealed during the unfolding interaction. The relevant next action from the child then, was to demonstrate his knowledge or understanding (Koole 2010) of entering the search (or not). After calling for a display of knowledge, the next interactional strategy used by both the teacher and children was the affordance of time.

Enabling Time

The teacher provided an interactional space for children to display their knowledge. As a consequence, there were silences within the interaction that were longer than the maxim of approximately one second, which in mundane talk is known to indicate interactional trouble (Jefferson 1989). In this interaction, rarely were the silences indicators of interactional trouble, rather they meant that the children needed more time to complete their actions to display knowledge and understanding

(see also Cohrssen et al. 2014). Interactants oriented to the context of the silence. As well, they oriented to contingences associated with the children's displayed knowledge.

Acting on Contingences: Incorporating Children's Displayed Knowledge into the Interaction

When the children displayed their knowledge during the search, the teacher accommodated this knowledge into her next turns. These findings align with Lee's (2007) notion that teachers orient to contingences during their third turn at talk. During the interaction, the teacher positioned children with knowledge (k+). She used questions and directives to initiate calls to display knowledge. When the children's displays indicated that they did not know the answer to the teacher's request, the teacher modified her question design and offered clues strategically. Instead of taking over or rushing to solve problems for the children straight away she first provided indirect clues (e.g., I could see Harry looking to do some backspacing before, (see where the cursor is) it's up at the front of the words (687–689). Indirect clues afforded the children opportunities to try out some possible ideas, and to solve the problems themselves by utilising their existing knowledge. If the difficulty persisted, a direct clue was offered. Figure 1 shows an example of how the teacher gradually narrowed her interactions from positioning the child with knowledge to managing the displayed knowledge in implicit and then direct ways.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the teacher's pedagogical work can be labelled as scaffolding (Vygotsky 1978). The upshot of this strategy was that the teacher was able to modify her interactions so that children were afforded

Some knowledge
- Harry   There's actually a <u>but</u>ton you can pre:ss which you can type dif<u>fer</u>ent words
- SUSIE   Well how? Come on Mister Clever Beans I want to see how you do this

Indirect clue
- SUSIE   I (could see) Harry looking to do some <u>back</u>spacing before (see where the cursor is) it's up at the front of the words

Direct clue
- SUSIE   *what <u>do::</u> <u>crabs</u> ea::t* (.) that's that one but you wanted
- Harry   we wanted to do tadpole

Fig. 1 Managing displayed knowledge through interaction

opportunities to build new knowledge at points in time that were meaningful and pertinent to the children.

The interactional resources of directives, questions and thinking time shown in the above two extracts were used by the teacher consistently throughout the entire Web search.

Conclusion

There is an emerging body of research that explores the in situ interactions of children engaged in Web searching (cf. Danby et al. 2016; Davidson et al. 2014; Spink et al. 2010; Theobald et al. 2016). The methodological approach afforded close observation of the moment-by-moment work of the teacher and children in order to describe actual practices. Teachers in their daily work may not have the time to examine their own interactions in such a fine grained detail way, and rarely do they have opportunities to see other teachers at work. Analysis of this kind can illuminate for teachers what happens in classrooms, can prompt critical reflection and can inform future practice.

This chapter has revealed how the teacher regarded the children as competent by positioning them with knowledge (k+) rather than without knowledge (k−). The interactional resources of directives, questions and thinking time prompted children's displays of knowledge, and provided the interactional space and time to reveal their knowledge. The teacher incorporated the children's displayed knowledge into the unfolding interaction as the basis on which to engage with possible new knowledge about the search topic, as well as the process of Web searching. The analysis shows that the highly valued teaching strategies and interactional resources of questioning and enabling thinking time are applicable to the context of Web searching in early childhood classrooms—a relatively new pedagogical space for teachers.

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Chapter 5
Mathematics Knowledge in Early Childhood: Intentional Teaching in the Third Turn

Caroline Cohrssen and Amelia Church

Introduction

Research that focuses on the quality of interactions in early childhood settings has shown the importance of attuned responses to facilitate children's learning. This chapter details the practices of teachers designed to provide opportunities for children to demonstrate, explore and extend their mathematics knowledge. In other words, what intentional teaching looks like, and how it can be achieved in practice. Video-recorded observations of play-based numeracy activities across six early childhood education settings illustrate opportunities for learning and the importance of teacher talk, which is both evaluative and productive in facilitating participation of children with varying competencies.

Conversation analysis of teacher-child interactions demonstrates the *how* of play-based mathematics learning and teaching, and the findings show how children's knowledge of numeracy can be elicited and extended through attuned interactions. The main aim of this chapter is to show that detailed analysis makes relevant for practitioners the actual practices, rather than categories of actions, that inform high quality interactions in early childhood education.

The recent early childhood education reform agenda in Australia has seen increasing focus on the quality of early childhood education and care (ECEC), and on the importance of educators employing a range of pedagogical strategies in order to support children's learning. The National Quality Framework (NQF, ACECQA 2011) has provided a context for educators across states and service provision—as young children participate in a range of program types—to attend to the quality of

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early learning experiences. The Early Years Learning Framework for Australia (EYLF; DEEWR 2009)—a central element of the quality reforms—guides practice principles and learning outcomes for children prior to school. Yet the framework does not detail practices and pedagogy which enable the documented learning outcomes for children. Increasingly, researchers are looking beyond the quality of provision (e.g. teacher qualifications, room resources, educator-child ratios) to focus on *the quality of process*—the relational elements of learning and teaching and the interactions that support children's development.

This shines the spotlight on teaching practice: the extent to which educators are intentional in the design and delivery of early childhood education and care programs. This intentionality or pedagogy is defined in the EYLF as:

> **Intentional teaching**: involves educators being deliberate, purposeful and thoughtful in their decisions and actions. Intentional teaching is the opposite of teaching by rote or continuing with traditions simply because things have 'always' been done that way. (DEEWR 2009, p. 45)

This definition highlights that historically there has been some resistance to the construct of direct teaching in ECEC; and that the notion of intentional teaching continues to engender images of formal instruction in the minds of some ECEC teachers. The work for researchers is to show how intentional teaching supports learning in play-based programs, and does not preclude the playful exploration of concept development with young children. Along with 'deliberate, purposeful and thoughtful' decisions regarding the selection of books, toys, art materials and other resources made by educators to follow children's interests, so too should educators' conversations with children deliberately and purposefully support sustained engagement and deeper thinking.

This chapter details the practices of teaching which enable children to demonstrate, explore and extend their mathematics knowledge by intentionally employing interactional strategies that prompt children to extend their responses to questions. Teachers change the nature of the interaction from question-and-answer interrogations to back-and-forth conversations that encourage thinking about, and demonstrable knowledge-in-interaction in relation to the focal mathematical concepts. This chapter highlights the interactions surrounding intentional teaching and what this looks like in practice: in short the 'business of teaching'. Intentional teaching is a matter of debate for education in the early years and good quality examples that step out how this is achieved are timely.

Mathematics Talk in Early Childhood Education and Care

Studies show that educators may be uncertain about what mathematical concepts to teach and how to facilitate this learning through play (e.g. Warren et al. 2011). Supporting children's numeracy skills and teaching mathematical concepts through play is likely to differ markedly from educators' personal experiences of

mathematics teaching and learning which may have been more formal and characterized by an emphasis on 'getting it right' rather than for example, problem-solving, estimating and checking. Educators' uncertainty is further complicated by variability in their attitudes towards intentionally teaching mathematics in early childhood at all (Aubrey 1996; Brown 2005; Lee and Ginsburg 2007; Kalder and Lesik 2011). Even those individuals who agree that supporting mathematical thinking in early childhood is important may feel discomfort at doing this (Bates et al. 2011, 2013) and many early childhood educators are likely to require support in reframing their thinking (Yelland and Kilderry 2010).

Provision of resources is not the pressing concern. As observed by Whitin and Whitin, "mathematics does not teach itself" (2003, p. 39). No amount of cubes, counters or puzzles will resolve teacher anxiety, because hesitation lies mainly in the teaching itself; the construct, but moreover, how to explain these concepts to children. Accessible language for talking about mathematical concepts provides support. Educators' responsive conversations with children are important vehicles for learning as they enable educators to join children's play to 'stimulate their thinking and enrich their learning' (DEEWR 2009, p. 15). As such, research into the practices themselves, the how of the interaction itself, becomes a professional learning resource for teachers, to see how mathematics can be taught in a play-based program.

Understanding Talk in Early Childhood Classrooms

Studies of classroom discourse in early childhood education and care (ECEC) often focus on the relationship between educators and children, and with their families. This stems from the importance of attachment (see Rolfe 2004), and a principle of responsive and respectful practice (Gerber et al. 2007; Hamre and Pianta 2001). Children's voice in their own learning environments is also prominent in research, due to necessary consideration of children's rights (e.g. Mentha et al. 2015), and the methods used in the sociology of childhood which recognizes children as experts of their own lives, and competent participants in the research process (see Corsaro 2014; James and Prout 1997).

Otherwise, analytic approaches look to studies of classroom discourse more generally, for example, Mehan's (1979) conceptualisation of the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) as a common practice in classrooms, and as such, an analytic framework. Siraj-Blatchford (2009, p. 77) summarises that this type of learning sequence has also been described as "distributed cognitions" (Salomon 1993), in terms of the pedagogy of "guided participation" (Rogoff et al. 1993), and as "scaffolding" (Wood et al. 1976). Similar examples of participation and interaction also characterise "dialogic teaching" (Alexander 2004), "dialogic enquiry" (Wells 1999), "interthinking" (Mercer 2000, p. 141), and "mutualist and dialectical pedagogy" (Bruner 1996, p. 57).

Yet these types of approaches to classroom discourse, essentially aligned with speech act theory (Austin 1962), attribute moves to utterances in classroom inter-action, overlooking the multiplicity of the work of each utterance in the ongoing talk. There is not room here to adequately review research and practice of teacher talk in ECEC, but it is worth noting that much work focuses on what the teacher does, with less attention—outside of CA—given to the collaborative and contingent nature of talk-in-interaction (see Gardner 2012, for review). Research in the quality of ECEC provision is increasingly interested in how we measure or understand the quality of interactions (e.g. Cabell et al. 2013). The affordances of CA, specifically the analytic attention given to sequences of interaction (see Schegloff 2007), pro-vides a method to detail how educators achieve high quality practice.

Turning Attention to 'What Happens Next'

The third turn in a sequence of classroom talk has always been of interest in learning interactions (see Markee and Seo 2009; Gardner 2012). But, classifying the pedagogy of the third turn as a type of function—i.e. evaluation—fails to illustrate that more than one thing is being done in this third turn—the teacher can provide a contingent response that acknowledges the prior turn, modifies the prior content, *and* projects the next relevant action in the sequence. As noted by Lee (2007) 'teachers come to terms with far more local and immediate contingencies than what is projected by blanket terms such as 'evaluation' or 'feedback', and that many analytic approaches to classroom discourse are 'based on the functional regularities of the third turn abstracted into categories' (p. 1205).

As such, children's understanding of the question or prompt—both in terms of content and task (i.e. the set of possible responses)—displays to the teacher chil-dren's understanding of the question in the first instance (i.e. did the child orient to the intent of the question) and their understanding of the concept (i.e. was it the *right* answer). Although, as noted by Mushin et al. (2013), any problems of understanding are not easily attributed to either difficulties with the concept or the way in which the teacher put the question. Regardless, assessment of learning becomes a moment-by-moment activity situated in the interaction: what children say (and how they say it) is indicative of what they know.

To practice intentional teaching we need to be looking for evidence of children's understanding of the concept, not simply their orientation to the prior question. Mondada (2011, p. 543) makes this neat summary of the affordances of the sequential organization of talk for seeing understanding:

> In his Lectures, Sacks distinguishes between *claiming* and *demonstrating*
> understanding, on the basis of the following (invented) example:
>
> (Sacks 1992:II:141)

1 A: where are you staying
2 B: Pacific Palisades
3a A: oh at the west side of town
vs
3b A: oh Pacific Palisades

Whereas in 3a, by re-describing the location given by B, A displays that he recognizes the place referred to, in 3b, by merely repeating it, A does not. In the former case, he demonstrates understanding, in the latter case he just claims it. In this sense, the repetition is equivocal, whereas the reformulation of the location is not—even when it provides for the evidence of a misunder standing (such as in 3c: ''oh in the center of town'', which can then be repaired in the next turn). Thus, Sacks answers the question of ''how understanding is shown'' (1992:II:140), by pointing to the fact that participants make available different forms of understanding by performing some kind of operation on the previous turn. In these cases, participants ''do showing understanding,'' as they can do ''questioning'' or ''answering'' in conversation (1992:I:141).

The point we want to emphasise here is that the categorization of the action of the third turn is less useful than what the third turn demonstrably orients to. Because we are interested in how it is that teachers can look to build on evidence of children's understanding, it is the next-positionedness of talk—that one turn occurs after another (Sacks et al. 1974)—that allows for teachers to acknowledge understanding demonstrated by the child in the secon-turn position *and* project the next most relevant extension of the sequence (see Bateman 2013).

Educators need evidence of children's existing knowledge to extend or scaffold learning opportunities, best understood in terms of the 'zone of proximal development' (Vygotsky 1978). Although CA, cannot speak to 'thinking' per se (although see the argument put forward by Levinson 2006) we can observe the product of the child's cognitive achievement. The data excerpts we have selected for this chapter are designed to illustrate that children's knowledge or understanding is on display in the sequences of talk. Paying close attention to the *what* and *how* of children's contributions to the ongoing activity provide the immediate resources for practitioners. In this chapter we are concerned with the projected activity made possible by the third turn.

Scholars in conversation analysis need no convincing to pay attention to extended sequences of interaction to understand the turn-by-turn accomplishment of child-teacher talk, but we are motivated to share this type of analysis with researchers, students and practitioners in early childhood education and care. For those readers most interested in high quality learning interactions for young children, we aim to detail how this quality can be achieved in the context of play-based mathematics activities.

The Data

The extracts that appear in the following discussion were collected as part of a larger study focusing on the quality of early childhood education and care in Australia. The project had approval from The University of Melbourne Human

Research Ethics Committee, and teachers were invited to participate in the study and parents provided informed consent for their children. Assent was sought from the children after introductions to the researcher and an explanation of why the video camera was there. Children and teachers were reminded they could request the video recording to stop at anytime during data collection. Having established that mathematics pedagogy presents particular challenges in ECEC (Cohrssen et al. 2013), conversation analysis was used as one method in the study to detail the practices of effective teaching in small groups using a set of play-based mathematics activities.

Extracts of the dataset have appeared elsewhere (see Cohrssen et al. 2014a, b) to illustrate the importance of pausing to allow children to time to consider then respond in learning interactions. For the purposes of this chapter, a single extended sequence is used to demonstrate opportunities for teaching afforded in the third turn (see Schefloff 1987, for discussion of the analytic merit of single case analysis). A corpora of examples is needed to provide evidence of institutional practices, but in this chapter we are looking to demonstrate how conversation analysis can provide insights of praxis in ECEC, as Stokoe has done successfully in professional training elsewhere (e.g. Stokoe 2014). So, for the purposes of this chapter, we will illustrate the possibilities of teaching in the third turn with extracts from a 25-minute mathematics activity with one teacher and eight four-year-old children.

The children are seated on a mat on the floor, facing a whiteboard on which the teacher is adding small square photographs of each child to bars on a graph measuring their favourite option in each of the categories (see Fig. 1). The angle of the video recording makes it difficult sometimes to identify which of the eight children is speaking (the children are sitting on the floor, in two rows of four children, with the teacher standing at the whiteboard adding 'votes' to the graph). Where the individual child is unidentifiable, the speaker is marked in the transcripts as C?. Where the children provide a choral response this is marked as CCC. Transcription conventions follow original CA conventions set out by Sacks et al. (1974), and are summarized in the preface of this book.

The children are clearly enjoying the activity, maintaining focus on the task, and providing an animated, choral 'yes!' in reply to the teacher's question, "shall we do another one?" In fact, this activity is so popular that the teacher runs a graphing activity in the morning for one group of children and a second graphing activity in the afternoon for a different group of children in the class to ensure that everyone has a turn. In this particular morning's activity, the children have determined which is their favourite sea creature; the clown fish is more popular (seven votes) than the starfish (1 vote), and 'no one likes poor old jellyfish' (zero votes). Prior to the extract below, each child has been asked which is their favourite colour—from the options available on the (horizontal axis of the) graph—yellow, green or blue. To avoid repeating the 'voting', a record is written on the whiteboard by the teacher (visible in the lower right hand corner of Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 The teacher stands at whiteboard adding children's votes to the graph

Extract 1 begins (line 288) at the point in the activity when each of the children has voted for their favourite colour, and only Andrew's selection remains. Once Andrew provides his choice ('green'), the teacher then moves to summarize the data provided in the graph.

Extract 1

```
288   T:     sometimes we like what our friends like,
289          don' we¿ (0.8) An:dre:w ((holding up his
290          photograph))
291   AND:   green.
292   T:     green for An:dre::w; fabulous. ((adds
293          photograph to bar graph)) (0:8) so which
294          colours do the same amount of people like?
295          there's some colours the same=[they've got
296          the same]
297   CCC:   [blue an' green]
298   CCC:   [yellow]
299          (0:9)
300   T:     yip. an how many people like it?
301          (1:5)
302          >how many people like green?< ((points to
303          graph))
304   CCC:   one
305   T:     >an how many people like blue?< ((points to
306          graph))
307   Children (chorus):one
```

The teacher requires the children to attend to the numerosity of the sets (how many votes for each category: blue, green or yellow) and in this extract, draws their

attention to the concept of equivalence, sets that have the same numerosity ('so which colours do the same amount of people like?' lines 293–295). To arrive at an accurate answer, it is necessary to consider the 'how many' question for each of the sets and to problem-solve using notions of more than, less than and the same as, in order to arrive at a solution. Several children provide the correct response of blue and green, although one child responds with 'yellow' (the most salient category, as it has the most votes). The teacher's affirmative ('yep') orients to the first answers provided, that is, blue and green, and follows up with a question about the value of these same votes ('and how many people like it?' at line 300). No response is forthcoming from the children (a considerable delay marked at line 301). The question, however, did not provide a collective pronoun for the colours (i.e. 'them') rather the singular 'it', so it is possible that the delay marks some difficulty in interpreting the teacher's question. The teacher moves to deconstruct the question, returning to items visible to the children: 'how many people like green' (several children respond 'one', line 304), immediately followed by 'and how many like blue? (line 305). This underscores that both sets have the same value: 'one'; and also shows us the teacher's ability to adapt to the immediately prior demonstration of (mis)understanding.

The teacher moves on (extract 2 below) to ask all children how many liked yellow (line 308). The pause that follows the teacher's question indicates that children are counting the individual photographs lined above the colour yellow; this is evidently the assumption made by the teacher as she re-directs children's attention to the vertical axis of the graph where the number scale is provided (in units of one).

Extract 2

```
308    T:     >an how many people like yellow?<
309           (1:9)
310    CCC:   er:::::
311           (0:3)
312    T:     look at the number up here ((points to
313           vertical axis on graph))
314    CCC:   six
315    T:     six. that's how the graph works_ it tells
316           you the num:ber ((gesture)) so you don't
317           have to keep counting all the time. you c'n
318           jus look at the num:ber,
319           (0:9)
320    T:     so which was the most pop:ular?
321    CCC:   yellow
322    T:     great. (0:7) an' then these ones were the
323           same ((gesture)) weren't they? ((gesture))
324           <one vote each.>
325    C:     the same. no zero.
326    T:     no zero; you're right;
```

In the third turn in this extract, the teacher directs the children to 'look at the number up here' (line 312), while pointing at the vertical axis to provide a hint.

Several children then provide the second pair part 'six' (line 314) to the first pair part question 'and how many people liked yellow' (line 308). The teacher immediately repeats 'six' as the correct answer (i.e., falling intonation). But importantly she then recasts the content by drawing attention to the properties of the graph 'that's how the graph works—it tells you the number so you don't have to keep counting all the time, you can just look at the number' (lines 315–318). This extension of the third turn not only defines the properties of the graph, but does so in a way that orients to the children's own embodied action. Some of the children were counting the number of votes (slight head nods indicating the tagging of each photograph with a count as their eye gaze moved up the number of photographs above the category yellow), and the teacher has made explicit that the value on the vertical axis provides a solution to the process the children were already engaged in. The teacher has made the explanation sequentially relevant, rather than simply explaining the properties of the graph removed from the context of the practice of counting.

In the next question, 'so which was the most popular?' (line 320), the teacher re-frames the earlier question ('and how many people liked yellow?', line 308), to revisit the numerosity of the set (i.e., 'six'). The teacher similarly reinforces the equivalency of the other two categories of blue and green: 'and then these one's were the same, weren't they, one vote each' (lines 322–324).

Earlier in the activity, prior to extract reported here, the children had voted for their favourite sea creature, the final tally was seven votes for fish, one vote for star fish, but 'nobody voted for the jellyfish'; a fact the teacher drew attention to by commenting that the 'jellyfish got *zero*, didn't it'. This is made relevant by Theo (line 325), as he repeats the teacher's summary that green and blue had 'the same' number of votes (line 325), then makes the observation that all categories had at least one vote, that there is 'no zero' (line 325) in this round of the activity. When the children were voting for sea creatures, no one voted for the category of jellyfish, so it had zero votes; in this round, all categories (colours) had at least one vote, and Theo makes the observation that this time around there was 'no zero' (line 325). Interestingly, this provides evidence that the children see continuity in the task, that at least some of the children are able to transfer findings from one activity to the next, to use their prior learning in evaluating the task at hand.

An extended sequence follows (not shown here) where the children decide which three animals they will include as one of three options to vote for (because Zach has asked for the next round to be animals). There is some discussion about animals belonging to different groups, but eventually the children decide on fox, bear and zebra as the categories available for this next round of voting. We return to the activity with the teacher asking the first of the eight children which animal she will choose.

```
404   T:     so. (1:1) Odeassa. (0:6) what will you
405          choose.
406   ODE:   fox.
407   T:     fox. ((adds photograph to bar graph))
408          (3:0)
409   THE:   one
410          (0:5)
411   T:     okay; one; ((points to graph))
412          you're=righ', one¿
413   T:     Nicola, what will you choose?
414          (1:7)
415   NIC:   ofox.o
416   T:     fo::::x¿ ((adds Nicola's photograph to bar
417          graph)) (1:7) how many for fox?
418   CCC:   otwo, two,o
```

Theo labels 'one' (line 409) as the teacher adds Odessa's photograph to the column for fox on the graph. The teacher acknowledges Theo's commentary 'one, you're right, one' (line 411–412) before moving on to ask Nicola 'what [animal] will you choose?' (line 413). The teacher focuses the children's attention on the numerical properties of the graph once she has added Nicola's vote 'how many for fox?', which the children readily identify as 'two'. The sequence continues (extract 4 below) with the teacher asking Susie then Edwina which animal has their vote.

```
419   T:     o:kay:: Su::sie.
420          (1:3)
421   SUS:   be::ar.
422   T:     ahh g=good work; (0:7) bear. where are you.
423          yeah I love bears.((adds Susie's photograph
424          to bar graph))[(1:8) teddy bears
425          especially.]
426   C?:                 [but not, not he:re;]
427          (0:9)
428   T:     ↑a::nd, Edwina?
429          (2:6)
430   EDW:   um:, fox.
431   T:     fox.
432          (3:0) ((adds photograph to bar graph))
433   T:     how many for the fox now?
434          (0:3)
435   CCC:   three!
436   T:     three. so how many more:::: (0:5) like the
437          fox ((gesture)) than the be:::ar? how many
438          more? (1:1)
439   CCC:   three
440   T:     yeah, there's three, (0:4) an we've got
441          one, (0:8) how many more people like the
442          fox than the bear. (1:7) ((gesture))
```

```
443   C?:   °one°
444   C?:   °three°
445   T:    two more ((nods)) >it's a bit tricky, that
446         question, isn't it¿< two more people (1:1)
447         like the bear, than like the fox. (1:6) see
448         that? ((touching columns)) there's two
449         more; two ex:stra. (1:0)
450   CCC:  ((children talking amogst themselves, not
451         intelligible in video recording))
452   T:    o:kay:::. now let's get=onto the boy:::::s.
453         (0.9) whadayathink, An:dre::w? ((waves
454         photograph at him)) (0:8)
455   AND:  fox.
```

Susie chooses a bear (line 421), and Edwina, like many of her friends, opts for the fox (line 430). The teacher draws attention to the shifting values as measured on the graph 'how many for the fox *now*' (line 433). Children confidently (with negligible delay and animated tone) respond correctly that there are now three votes for the fox (line 435). The ease with which children identify the value 'three' is a precursor to the teacher's subsequent question, a question notably adjunct to the third turn acknowledgement of the children's correct response. This adjunct question poses the comparative value as the problem to resolve: 'so how many more like the fox than the bear?' (lines 436–438), where the teacher points to the column of votes on the graph as she says 'fox'. The teacher extends (line 436) and places emphasis on the word 'more' (line 436) to draw attention to this concept. She provides a partial repeat of the focal part of the question in the turn closing: 'how many more?' (line 438). As noted by Mushin et al. (2013), careful choice of language and the use of reformulations is important where children 'are required to demonstrate their understanding, or lack of understanding, of a particular mathematical concept' (p. 416).

The teacher provides multiple purposeful pauses reducing the pace of the talk (lines 436–442). Nonetheless, the children's response is markedly different to the prior choral response, as individual candidate answers are quietly offered, the children proposing the numerosity of the two sets, 'one' (line 443) and 'three' (line 444). The teacher's subsequent turn is slightly in overlap as she provides the second pair part answer to her own question, 'two more' (line 445). The reason the teacher moves so quickly to answer her own question is made explicit in her elaboration 'it's a bit tricky, that question isn't it' (line 445–446). The teacher has in-the-moment responded not to the answers provided by the children, but directly to the children's displayed difficulty in understanding the problem posed (i.e. evident in the erroneous 'one' and 'three'). The teacher expands her evaluation of the question (i.e. of the first rather than second turn positions in the question and answer sequence), by pointing

to the graph and stating 'two more people like the bear than like the fox' (misplacing the two categories in the spoken utterance but pointing to the salient categories on the graph). In any event, in pointing to the graph, the teacher draws attention to the relative difference in the two columns: 'there's two more, two extra' (line 448–449). We will return to this point in the discussion that follows.

The teacher continues to ask the remaining four boys, by name, animal they would like to choose.

```
452   T:    o:kay:::. now let's get=onto the boy:::::s.
453         (0.9) whadayathink, An:dre::w? ((waves
454         photograph at him)) (0:8)
455   AND:  fox.
456   T:    fox. (2:3) there's that wicked fox a:gain.
457         ((adds photograph to bar graph))
458   T:    Ro:bbie:,
459         (1:7)
460   ROB:  hmm:::
461   T:    wha=do you think? don't worry about what
462         your friends think, wha=do you think? (1:3)
463         bear? ((nods)) yeah. (1:1) bear's=a ( : )
464         nice an cuddly, (1:0) the toy ones; ((adds
465         Robbie's photograph to bar graph))
466         (3:3)
467   T:    ((holds up a photograph)) Zach_
468         (0:6)
469   ZAC:  bea::::r_
470         (0:4)
471   T:    bea::::r_ ((adds Zach's photograph to bar
472         graph)) (0:9) o:kay:::: how many people
473         left to ask?
474         (1:3)
475   T:    ((points to photograph beneath bar graph))
476   C?:   [Theo!]
477   T:    [one-] how many- what do you like, Theo?
478         (1:4)
479   THE:  ↑fo::x,
480   T:    ↑fo::x, ((nods)) ((adds Theos's photograph
481         to bar graph)) here we go; o:kay:: how many
482         for the fox::::;
```

In asking the remaining children to add their vote to the graph, the teacher takes the opportunity pose another questions; 'how many people left to ask' (lines 472–473). Once Theo has cast the final vote ('fox') the teacher moves directly to ask the children about the sum total for each category.

```
479   THE:  ↑fo::x,
480   T:    ↑fo::x, ((nods)) ((adds Theos's photograph
481         to bar graph)) here we go; o:kay:: how many
482         for the fox:::;
483   CCC:  five. five.
484   T:    how many for the bear::;
485   CCC:  three. three.
486   T:    how many for the ze:bra;
487   CCC:  ze:ro! zero.
488   T:    ze:↓ro. c'n we see:: now:: (1:0) ((points
489         to graph)) there's five (0:3) an' three
490         (0:3)
491   C?:   °two zebras°
492   T:    how many more people ((gesture)) liked the
493         um (1:4) fox, because if I drew a li::ne if
494         I had a line across he:re ((gesture))
495         (2:1) you could then- you might see how
496         many mo:re ((points)) people like the fox_
497   CCC:  two::::.
498   T:    two::::. that's it. excellent. two more
499         people liked the fox than liked the bear.
500         (2:2)
501   T:    wow, you've done so well, have you had
502         enough of doin' the graph?
503   C?:   n[o!
504   C?:    [no.]
505   C?:    [no:.]
506   T:    o:kay. well. what will we do now::¿ one
507         more ti::me¿
508   C?:   do mu:si:cal in:stru:ments.
509   T:    musical instruments. ((nods)) o:kay.
510         ((smiles)) hhh.
```

The teacher asks how many votes for each animal in turn: the children easily identify that the final total is five votes for the fox, three votes for the bear, and zero for the zebra. (Although it's not clear which child produces the sotto voce 'two zebras', nor what this child is attending to—in any event this is not taken up by the teacher.) Having established the score for each item, the teacher repeats a question from earlier in the activity: 'how many more people liked the fox?' This, however, is not treated as a transition relevant place (see Clayman 2013) providing an opportunity for children to respond, because the teacher moves immediately to expand 'because if I drew a line, if I had a line across here, you could then, you might see how many more like the fox…' (lines 493–496). With this expansion the teacher is moving her finger across the whiteboard, horizontally, between the fox (five votes) and the bear (three votes). Two more photographs of children in one column than the other become visually salient, and the children are able to correctly identify 'two' more votes for the fox.

Much is revealed about the intentional teaching in the expanded question (lines 492–496). The teacher has built on an earlier sequence (lines 436–438) where

requiring the children to use the graph to solve a subtraction problem was beyond children's immediate understanding—although we cannot know from the evidence available if this difficulty was related to the question or the concept. As noted by Mushin et al. (2013, p. 430), 'the success of many reformulations indicates that the precise wording of questions and instructions by teachers has an important impact on students' capacity to demonstrate understanding'.

The problem in Extract 5 required the children to determine and apply an appropriate strategy to calculate the difference between the number of votes for the fox and the number of votes for the bear and in a second step, to state which category had received more votes. The teacher's in-the-moment assessment is an example of her ability to address this issue directly by providing context for the question itself when re-visiting the same task. She used the visually salient difference between the two sets of numbers to support children's recognition of 'more than', a more challenging concept than which category has 'the most' as earlier in the activity. *Here* is the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978), and an illustration of the teacher's ability to *elaborate* the sequence to not only make possible an attainable answer, but also to extend opportunities for learning.

The teacher models the problem solving for the children, using both talk and gesture: drawing children's attention to the difference in the height of two columns and counting the units that constitute that difference is one way to arrive at a solution to the problem. Sensitive to the children's initial difficulties in attaining the correct answer (lines 445–449), the teacher nonetheless persists with this teaching opportunity (lines 492–496). This demonstrates that she anticipated difficulties for the children, evident in the reformulation of the earlier question and mapping her language with actions to provide both a visual demonstration and verbal explanation. This time, there is a choral response with no delay, as children provide the correct answer: 'two' (line 497).

Conclusion

What we have aimed to do in this chapter, with a single extract of talk-in-interaction between one teacher and eight four-year-old children is demonstrate how all participants orient to the sequential organization of classroom talk, that each turn not only builds on the previous turn but the prior sequence. Children and teachers make relevant the prior content of the discussion as a way of demonstrating understanding and developing knowledge-in-interaction. Answers—as sequentially relevant next actions (see Schegloff 2007 for detailing of adjacency pairs)—demonstrate, often times explicitly, children's understanding of the numerosity of sets and comparative numerical values.

The suite of play-based mathematics activities resolved the educator's uncertainty regarding the *what* gap which the EYLF (DEEWR 2009) does not specify.

The primary point of our analysis has been to demonstrate the *how* of high quality interactions and our analytic focus was thus on sequences of activities and the contiguous work of the third turn—one which is designed for the immediately prior turn *and* the projected sequence of action—allows us to pay closer attention to the work of teachers' intentional responses to contributions made by children.

We pointed out specific strategies employed by the educator that resulted in children's sustained engagement with the task at hand. These included responding to children's demonstrated misunderstanding by deconstructing the question, encouraging children to articulate their thinking and consequently to rehearse mathematical language, providing hints and at times, new information to expand children's knowledge. Measures of the quality of interactions in early learning environments show that this type of expansion does not happen very often in early learning environments (see Tayler et al. 2013).

Essentially in this chapter we have sought to demonstrate how the moment-by-moment collaborative action of children and teacher talking during learning activities affords evidence of children's understanding of concepts. Cognitively challenging conversations are defined not only by more complex or abstract topics, they inevitably provide opportunities to *elaborate* explanations, or series of questions and answers (Massey 2004). Demands of the early childhood educators are such that close reflective practice—in real time—is not often feasible. Research data, however, such as the content of each chapter in this book, provide insights which are immediately accessible to practitioners—demonstrating the *how* of extending learning in the third turn in sequences of learning interactions.

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Chapter 6
Pursuing a Telling: Managing a Multi-unit Turn in Children's Storytelling

Amanda Bateman and Margaret Carr

This chapter discusses findings from a research project exploring young children's storytelling expertise. The aim of the project was to understand more fully how conditions for this aspect of literacy learning are, and could be, supported within early education settings. During our filming of everyday storytelling activities in a New Zealand kindergarten, we found that one of the ways in which the teachers and children engaged in purposeful storytelling episodes was through the use of *storytelling shells*. In these episodes the children and teacher used seashells with pictures attached to prompt storytelling ideas, providing an opportunity for each child to take a turn at telling a story and practise their storytelling skills.

Excerpts from these storytelling shells episodes are transcribed and analysed here using conversation analysis (CA) to explore how the storytelling process unfolded in systematic and social ways, highlighting the interactive nature of their telling. In this setting the teachers and children co-produced their stories in a linear trajectory, privileging this format of storytelling. The linearity of the storytelling episodes was indicated in the ways that the children managed their story beginnings and endings with narrative strategies involving the utterances 'once upon a time' and 'the end'. The progression of the storytelling was a collaborative project involving joint-attention where the teacher is observed *pursuing a telling* with verbal and non-verbal prompts, using strategies such as requesting the story, pauses and the affordances of the seashell objects, all of which are taken up by the children. The implications for practice are discussed with regard to how teachers can scaffold children's storytelling practices.

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Children's Narrative Practices

The research in this chapter was initiated to explore the literacy and narrative experiences of a group of children in New Zealand over a three year period, spanning from kindergarten through to the early years of primary school. As children's narrative competence is linked to later literacy learning outcomes at school (Chetty et al. 2011; Morgan et al. 2015; Reese et al. 2010; Suggate et al. 2012) it was deemed important to investigate what experiences and resources encourage narrative competence in the early years. It was also an opportunity to explore what kinds of narrative and literacy were taking place in different educational institutions, and how children engage in such experiences. Not only does prior research reveal the importance of narrative and literacy for children's future prospects and the value of mindful and open-ended educational experiences (Carr 2014), the New Zealand early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki*, includes 'experience with creating stories' as a learning outcome (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1996, p. 78). Along with this national need to understand children's narratives further for educational purposes, there is also a call in academia from CA peers to further investigate how stories are 'begun and ended, how characters are introduced into a storytelling, how recipients figure out what they should or could be making of a storytelling, and how storytelling practices are used in institutional settings' (Mandelbaum 2013, p. 506). This chapter aims to make some contribution to the work being done to explore these storytelling practices.

Storytelling in Early Childhood Education

Narrative skills feature prominently in children's later literacy in American and New Zealand research (Griffin et al. 2004; Reese et al. 2010). For instance, Elaine Reese et al. (2010) demonstrated that the quality of children's oral narrative expression in the first two years of reading instruction uniquely predicted their later reading, over and above the role of their vocabulary knowledge and decoding skill. Children's narrative capabilities, however, are developing in the early childhood years, well before school entry (Snow et al. 1998; Reese and Newcombe 2007), so we have become interested in discovering what supports children to story-tell in early childhood, and how these discoveries can inform the practice in early childhood settings and school. The writing and research of Vivian Gussin Paley is relevant to this project; she commented of her early years' literacy programme: "It was when I asked the children to dictate their stories and bring them back to life again on a stage that the connection between play and analytical thinking became clear" (2004, p. 10). The opportunities that preschool teachers can provide for young children to explore storytelling are then important to research, as linear storytelling or display texts 'are cognitively demanding in that they require attention to the unity and plan of the narrative. Each condition, action, thought, and feeling of

a protagonist is interrelated into a thematic pattern and a temporal and logical trajectory of events' (Ochs and Capps 2002, p. 61).

Spontaneous storytelling interactions between young children and their peers and family members are also challenging for children and can often involve story recipients jointly telling the story in non-linear ways (Ochs and Capps 2002). The structurally different ways in which stories can be told is discussed by Heath (1985, p. 185) where one of two communities in America told linear stories with a beginning a middle and an end while the other had 'little chronicity; they move from event to event with numerous interspersions of evaluation of the story characters'. What was evident in both communities though was that storytelling provided cognitive and collaborative challenge, an opportunity to display verbal competence, and was an enjoyable activity.

In our research we have begun to recognise some key affordances for storytelling in early childhood education settings, and this chapter will highlight some of these. Teachers in the early childhood centre were providing a number of ready-to-hand resources that they could access themselves. These included: a drawing table (always well equipped and centrally placed), a book binder (which the children had learned to use without assistance from an adult), and—the site for this paper—a set of 'story shells', used as a storying strategy, usually initiated by a teacher.

Storytelling and Conversation Analysis

The exploration of storytelling using conversation analysis offers insight into *how* the story is told rather than *what* the story itself is about (Mandelbaum 2013). CA reveals how everyday interactions are established through the order of turn taking; these interactions are relatively ordered where the systematic structure of conversation usually involves one person speaking at a time and they are ordinarily entitled to one 'unit' of talk (Sacks et al. 1974). The sequential way in which interactions are produced are identified through adjacency pairs where a first pair part (FPP) utterance from one person initiates an interaction from another person in the form of second pair part (SPP) utterance (Sacks et al. 1974). Each of these turns of talk involves a single utterance, which is directly related to the prior person's talk and builds on it through orienting to some specific feature of that utterance. In the case of storytelling, the conversational turn shapes are somewhat different to this usual turn-taking pattern, as the teller holds the floor with multiple utterances where 'stories go on over more than a single turn of talk, or a single utterance' (Sacks 1992b, p. 18).

The majority of research exploring storytelling using conversation analysis investigates everyday storytelling in informal and spontaneous situations where they occur naturally in situations (for example: Goodwin 1984, 1990, 2006, 2015; Jefferson 1978; Lerner 1992; Sacks 1986; Stivers 2008; Theobald 2015; Theobald and Reynolds 2015). The influential early work around storytelling suggested that there is a particular structure to a storytelling interaction that the storytelling participants systematically work through, including announcements that mark the beginning of a story (Sacks 1986) and delicate shifts from one story to another

(Jefferson 1978). The ways in which participants collaboratively tell and receive stories have also been discussed where storytelling is acknowledged as a social activity, produced and organised in very systematic ways (Lerner 1992).

When considering the features of a multi-unit turn Sacks' (1986) paper on storytelling in ordinary conversation explores how the storyteller orients to places in her reporting of news about a gunman. Sacks suggests that these 'place-indexical terms' (p. 131) work to make connections in the story, as a kind of 'binding technique that could be, for example, massively contrasted with temporal narrative features ('and then', 'before that', after that', etc.), where you get stories held together by temporal terms' (p. 132). Within the following storytellings we can see that our four-year-olds are beginning to practise the use of such temporal terms to make a connected story, where the pictures on each shell are attended to in ways that make connections.

More recently, the turn-taking structure of a storytelling sequence has been discussed with a focus on the specific structures of the collaborative nature of storytelling and turn allocation spaces within (Goodwin 2015). Goodwin reveals that storytelling sequences include:

- *Short story preface* (*the teller's turn*)
- *Hearer requests a story—'what happened'* (*the recipient's turn*)
- *Extended multi-unit telling* (*the teller's extended turn*)
- *Climax* (*multi-party participation*).

Through exploring the systematic progression of a storytelling in such detail, the social collaboration needed for it to proceed becomes visible. Although the teller may suggest the beginning of a story through their 'short story preface' the hearer or story recipient has to agree that this is a good place for the story through their 'request' before the teller can go ahead with their subsequent extended turn at talk. The teller is then entitled to more than one unit of talk whilst the receiver of the story marks their understanding that a story is being told by their 'passing up of the opportunity to take turns' (Mandelbaum 2013, p. 493). Further research investigating young children's storytelling competence in their spontaneous tellings with peers reveals the complexities around the systematic co-production of such interactions through the combined use of talk, bodily positioning and gesture (Theobald 2015) and the social stance and group membership organisation evoked through second stories that outdo the first (Theobald and Reynolds 2015).

The ways in which these extended multi-unit turns at talk involved in spontaneous storytelling are managed in everyday conversations is very complex, as Jefferson (1978) explains:

> 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.
>
> (Jefferson 1978, p. 220)

The systematic processes of spontaneous storytelling outlined by Jefferson (1978) shows that a teller is accountable to their story recipients for making their story relevant in situ and that it is told at the right time within the turn-taking sequences of the ongoing talk. In relation to children's talk (from a CA perspective) it is suggested that children have restricted rights to talk and that they find ways around such restrictions through specific conversational strategies such as by asking 'guess what', as the recipient is required to reply with 'what', returning the conversational turn back to the child and allowing them another turn at talk (Sacks 1992a). The complexities tied to inserting a spontaneous story in the 'correct' place coupled with having restricted rights to speak implies that the insertion of a storytelling in everyday interactions are a complex matter indeed for young children.

The Research

Participants and Procedure:

Following ethical approval, 6 children in North Island and 6 in South Island New Zealand were invited into the project. The children were selected on the basis that their 5th birthday took place between January and June 2015 so that they were of a similar age and would all progress to school at a similar time; an even as possible gender distribution was also aimed for. The children were video and audio recorded using a wireless Bluetooth microphone during their everyday interactions in their early education kindergarten setting for one hour each during one day in March for the first round of data collection. During our filming in the North Island site one literacy practice involved the use of *storytelling shells*. To investigate this type of literacy practice further, the storytelling shells episodes were transcribed using conversation analysis transcription conventions, and initial 'noticings' were documented.

The Storytelling Shells:

The storytelling shells are seashells that had been collected by one of the teachers. The teacher attached small pictures onto the shells including characters such as pirates, princesses and animals, and objects such as a star, a birthday cake and an erupting volcano etc.; pictures were randomly chosen whenever the teachers found a sticker that would fit onto a shell. The shells were kept in a box within reach of the children so that the children could access them whenever they wanted to. To begin a storytelling episode using the seashells, the shells were gently emptied out of their box onto a low table-top (see Fig. 1) and children were invited by the kindergarten teachers to join in with the activity with no obligation to be involved if they preferred not to be. We noticed that the storytelling shell activity was a moveable feast with children coming and going as they pleased; some children requested to tell a story multiple times and some chose to listen rather than to tell. This activity was engaged in frequently; in each instance a linear approach to storytelling was observable where time and attention was given to how to start and end a story with such phrases as 'Once upon a time' and 'The end'.

Fig. 1 The storytelling shells

More experienced children who had been attending the kindergarten for a long time were often well versed in the art of storytelling and frequently informally modelled storytelling using the shells for the less experienced or less confident children. During the first year of videoing our children (2014) we noticed that the children who were the 'listeners' when we first began the study were keen to participate and contribute a story by the end of the year. One of the older kindergarten children, Ava, often demonstrated her enjoyment of storytelling and is observed modelling a storytelling shells activity in our first transcript, Excerpt 1.

Pursuing a Telling

In relation to the recipient's role in storytelling, Goodwin's 'hearer requests a story' can be linked to the work of Pomerantz (1984) who suggests that the lack of an adequate response to an initiating action in everyday conversation may prompt the pursuit of a response. This suggests a three turn sequence where (1) speaker A asserts a conversational action (2) speaker B responds (3) speaker A prompts for a more adequate response. This conversational structure of pursuing a response is also visible in early childhood education where teachers often ask children many questions as a way of prompting possibility thinking and encouraging children to hypothesise (Bateman 2013). Teacher initiation of a question or topic followed by a child's response and the teacher's evaluation of that response has been acknowledged in the field of education as an IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) sequence and holds a similar structure to Pomerantzs' 'pursuit of a response' sequence. The ways in which children manage a multi-unit turn when a teacher is pursuing their telling to progress a storyline in early childhood education is now discussed.

Excerpt 1: Modelling a multi-unit telling

In this telling the kindergarten (four-year-old) child Ava can be seen managing her extended multi-unit telling very competently in her turn allocation space, once prompted to start by the teacher Kate.

```
47 Kate:   ↓the::y look very cool ↑e::↓ggs ↑right
48         how's your story going to go::↓=
49 Ava:    =Once ↑upon a time↓ there was a ↑little girl↓ and
50         she was slee:ping .hhh and then the ↓Ea↑ter bunny
51         came and gived her ↑two e↓ggs .hhh one day she woke
52         up and then she saw these .hhh two: little eggs in
53         her backya↑::rd .hhh then she went to the backyard
54         and found the eggs .hhh and took them insi:: ↑de↓
55         .hhh and then (1.6) and then she opended the eggs
56         and found cho::↑colate::↓ ((looks up at the
57         teacher))
```

Ava begins her storytelling by signalling its start to the present children and teacher with 'once upon a time' (line 49) followed by an immediate introduction to one of the primary protagonists, 'a little girl'. Once the story has been initiated and a character introduced, Ava progresses her storyline by identifying an activity that the character engages in, introducing a second character and giving them an action, also including some objects for the actions to be accomplished around. Ava organises her multi-unit telling with the use of 'then' or 'and then' several times to connect her single unit utterances around these characters, actions and objects, demonstrating a systematic sequence and progression of ideas where each idea builds on the next. Not only are these 'temporal narrative features' (Sacks 1986, p. 132) observable in the progression of the story, but also the use of 'temporal terms' are present through her Easter-indexical connectors. Ava competently demonstrates her knowledge around how to tell a story throughout this interaction.

The pictures that were attached to the shells provided characters and objects that Ava could include in her story, but the actions of the characters needed to be decided independently in the sequencing and progression of her story. Ava's multi-unit telling here is managed by her talk about the activities that the shell characters are engaged in, not just by reciting the pictures on the shells in random ways. This requires the use of creative thinking skills in order to provide a story that not only makes sense through valid connections between characters, places, objects and actions, but the story also has to be made interesting to capture the attention of the story recipients. In this way the children are creating a story that is not only utilizing the shell pictures, but is also recipient-designed to make it interesting and capture the attention of the story partners. Storytelling is a complex activity.

Excerpt 2: The systematic use of the shells

One of the interesting ways in which the children used the storytelling shells was the systematic order that they placed the shells in. When a child chose their shell

characters, they would line them up in the order that the storytelling would unfold, often adding another shell to the end of the line when a new character or object was required (Fig. 2). This was not an action that the teacher suggested during our filming and seemed to be a storytelling strategy that had developed over time. The following excerpt, with a kindergarten child Sienna and the teacher Kate, demonstrates how the shells were used in systematic ways.

```
634 Sienna: °mm::°
635         (2.1) ((Sienna smiles at Kate and rubs her hands
636         together))
637 Kate:   you can use another shell ↑too ↓if you ↑wa::n↓ted
638         to in your story ((points at shells))
639 Sienna:(9.0) ((moves her hand across the table and picks
640         a shell with a tiger picture on it))
641 Kate:   °.hhh the ti::ger:: (1.2) ↑cool°
642         (3.7)
643 Sienna:((Places the shell in the line with her others))
644         then the tiger came to eat the:: egg- (0.7)
645         ((points to egg shell)) ↑one ↓egg up
646         (0.3)
647 Kate:   ↑o::ne ↓egg (0.3) woa=what happened to the ↑other
648         ↓egg ((the shell picture shows 2 eggs))
649         (1.2)
650 Sienna: ↑he ↓ate that one ((points to the lion shell then
651         to the egg shell))
652 Kate:   °.hhh: my goodness me°
```

In this storytelling sequence Sienna has hesitated in telling her story even though she has shells in front of her; it is her first time telling a story using the storytelling shells. The pause (line 635) and possibly the knowledge that this is Sienna's first

Fig. 2 Sequencing the shells in an orderly way

time at using the shells, is responded to by Kate who ends the silence by suggesting that Sienna use another shell. Sienna's next turn involves her taking up Kate's suggestion as she reaches out for another a shell with a tiger picture on it. Once Sienna has positioned her shell at the end of her shell line she begins to extend on her story, adding the tiger character into her telling. As she does so she not only makes reference to the shell items that she has chosen (a tiger and Easter eggs), but she also joins them through citing an activity, that the tiger '*came to eat* the egg' (line 645). In doing so Sienna demonstrates her willingness to engage in a linear storytelling activity with the available props and audience members. This prompts further discussion from Kate who makes reference to the inconsistency between Sienna's use of a singular 'egg' when the picture has two eggs, prompting Sienna to introduce a new character, the lion, as the culprit ("he ate one").

During this interaction the systematic use of the storytelling shells in the progression of the story becomes visually noticeable. When there were silences in Sienna's telling Kate's suggestion of adding a shell helped Sienna to continue, where the introduction of a new character afforded her more to talk about.

This orderly use of the shells demonstrates how this regular format and these objects provided affordances for children to systematically follow a visual storyline to support their oral storytelling. This lining up of shells could be thought of as a type of pre-sequence to the storytelling where the selection of characters and objects that will be involved in the story are made clearly visible to the teller and the audience prior to the oral telling. That the children subsequently follow their chosen pattern of storyline could suggest a possible insight into their thought process when putting these lines of shells together, even though the children do not verbally suggest any storyline during this process. As Goodwin (2015) suggests, it is the hearer's request for the story that prompts the subsequent telling and offers further affordance for a storytelling. McNamee (2005) writes about a different format for storytelling, set out in the writing of Vivian Gussin Paley. Relevant to the story shells as an affordance is McNamee's description of the popular characters that (USA) school children in her research adopted for their stories. They included princes, dragons, bad boys, and guns (as well as some regular items like cars and animals). The story shells in this kindergarten also included similar items where the shells also afforded one of the elements that Bruner describes as an 'engine' for the story to proceed: Trouble. (Bruner 2002). Bruner suggests that Trouble is an element of a story that introduces drama, interrupts the storyline and makes a story exciting and interesting, as Sienna did when she introduced the lion in her Easter egg story.

Starting a Storytelling

The following excerpts now demonstrate the techniques used by teachers to support children in multi-unit tellings, and the children's responses. Here, the younger children who have not had as much practice at using the storytelling shells are observed using a single-unit turn followed by long pauses that the teacher responds

to with prompts of 'keep going', nods of the head and by offering more shells. To explore the episodes in a logical way we will begin with story beginnings.

Excerpt 3: Story beginnings

```
218 Kate:   who can start us with=what are the words that
219          we  can  start  our  stories  off  with=what  can  we
220          sa::y::=
221 Alex:          =>°Sophia°<=
222          ((his hand darts out and he offers Sophia a shell
223           that he had previously taken))
224 Kate:                     =when we start a sto:ry:
225          ((Sophia doesn't take the shell. Alexander holds it
226          on the table in front of Sophia. Kate takes the
227          shell from his hand and places it back with the
228          other shells on the table))
229           (1.0)
230 Kate:   what can we say when we start a story um: (0.2)
231          Alexan:der what do you:: thi::nk
232          (2.2)
233 Alex:   ((selects another shell and holds it in both hands
234          looking at it))
235 Kate:   what abou:::t
236          (0.4)((turns her head to look at Isla and Sienna))
237          once upon a ↑ti::me
238          (0.8)((turns to look back at Sophia))
239          or:::: a lo:::ng ti::me ago::
240          (1.0)((turns back to Isla and Sienna))
241          or:::((turns back to Sophia, Samuel and Alexander))
242          we could just start the story by saying (.)
243          ↑once there was a (0.6) whatever you've cho:↓sen
244          (1.1) what do you thi:nk
245 Soph:   °once there was a pi::rate°
246 Kate:   once there was a pi::rate  . o::h oka:y that sounds
247          a good start to your story kee:p go:ing
248          (3.0)
249  Kate:  once there was a pirate and what did the
250          pirate do::
251          (2.9)((Isla and Sienna lean forward over the table
252          towards Sophia))
253 Soph:   >he=he< found an i::sland
```

Here the early childhood teacher Kate initiates the storytelling activity by talking about possible ways to start a story, initially asking who could start a story and then drawing attention to the 'words' to be used and what the children can 'say'. Through asking questions with a known answer the teacher models a type of Initiation Response Evaluation (IRE) sequence where she subsequently evaluates the answers offered (Freebody and Freiburg 2000). Alexander immediately replies, latching quickly on to the end of Kate's sentence to respond to Kate's initial question 'who can start us' (line 218), as he elects Sophia both verbally and with gesture as he hands her a shell. Rather than responding to Alexander's election of Sophia, Kate

continues her focus on what the children can 'say' to start a story (line 230) and then directly offers Alexander the floor to answer this. Alexander responds by selecting a shell and looking at it, demonstrating his knowledge regarding the systematic way that stories are started in this situation through the activity of selecting specific shells.

In her next actions (lines 235–244), Kate introduces some narrative strategies for the children to mark their story beginnings, ensuring that she is offering these strategies inclusively to all of the children who are gathered around the table with gesture, as her gaze connects with all of the children's present (Filipi 2009; Kidwell 2005). As she introduces these story-beginning strategies to the children, Kate offers several turn-allocation spaces where a child could self-select to join in, but these spaces are not taken up and so Kate continues. Kate then offers the floor in a more direct way as she asks 'what do you think' (line 244) with her gaze in the direction of Sophia, Alexander and Samuel. Sophia then responds to Kate by taking up the final story-beginning strategy suggested by Kate 'once there was' and adds her chosen character, 'a pirate' (line 245). Sophia uses a very quiet voice to begin her story, and Kate encourages her to progress the story further by requesting to hear more (Goodwin 2015), pursuing a telling. Kate does this in several ways, by repeating her utterance (lines 246 and 249) not in a formulation or grammatical restructuring (Schegloff 2007) but in a direct quote with similar prosody. This demonstrates Kate's acknowledgement and receipt of Sophia's contribution whilst avoiding a premature assessment of the response, a pedagogical move that affords minimal disruption and maximum support for the ongoing talk (Bateman 2013; Peräkylä 2005).

However, Kate's turn is subsequently met with a significant pause. Pauses during conversations between teachers and young children have been found to scaffold teaching and learning episodes around specific concepts (Cohrssen et al. 2014; Bateman 2013). In early childhood education teachers often ask questions that are not immediately responded to, leaving a pause in the flow of the conversation. Analysis reveals that these pauses afford an opportunity for children to think and formulate a response. This finding builds on early research in teacher education where pauses were acknowledged as an important part of the pedagogical process in allowing time to think, and were used in promoting teaching techniques such as 'wait time' in science education (Rowe 1986) and 'pause, prompt, praise' in literacy teaching (McNaughton et al. 1981).

Kate follows this pause by self-selecting to take another turn at talk, which she does in the shape of a prompt to elicit more information 'what did the pirate do' (line 249–250). In order to progress the story further Sophia has to imaginatively suggest what activity her pirate character could possibly be involved into make the story interesting for her audience, and in her next turn she says that her pirate 'found an island' (line 253). Here, Sophia uses the narrative strategies for beginning a story accompanied by the visual props that the shells offer in the forms of readymade protagonists and objects, in this case a pirate shell and an island shell. Then, like Ava in Excerpt 1, Sophia demonstrates her ability to make connections between the characters and objects through an imagined action as 'the pirate *found* an island'. These storytellings are examples of how children create a story that makes sense and

progresses in a linear, systematic and logical way where the actions of the characters are imagined to build a story that joins the shell props together.

Pursuing a Telling in a Multi-unit Turn

The understanding that storytelling is a social activity that has to be collaboratively managed between two or more people is well established in conversation analysis (Goodwin 1984; Jefferson 1978; Sacks 1986; Theobald 2015). In the following transcript we see how this is managed in the storytelling shells activity between four-year-old children and their teacher.

Excerpt 4: Teacher prompts

```
285 Kate:   ↑>yip< and then w=what happened when he found the
286          i::sland↓
287          (1.2)
288          ((Alexander puts a shell he's been holding on the
289          table. Isla knocks a shell which rocks loudly. Kate
290          puts a hand over this shell to keep it still))
291 Soph:   he found trea:sure
292 Kate:   he found trea:sure↓
293 Soph:   ((nods))
294 Kate:   what did he ↑do:: ↓with the trea:sure
295          (0.9)
296 Soph:   he hi:d it
297          (1.1)
298 Kate:   he hi:d it (0.8) ↓where:: did he hide it↑
299          (1.1)
300 Soph:   in a special secret pla:ce
301 Kate:   in a secret pla::ce oh my goodness this is a
302          ve::ry exciting story
303          (0.5) ((Kate turns to look at the children around
304          the table))
305 Kate:   Sophia's saying o::nce upon a ti=once there
306          was a pi:↑rate (0.7) who found some trea:sure
307          (0.5) and he hi::d the trea:sure
308          (0.5) in a s:::e:cret pla::ce
309          (0.8) ((Kate turns to look back at Sophia))
310 Kate:   what happened the::n
311          (1.5)
312 Soph:   >then the< (0.6) other pirate ↑fou:nd ↓it
313 Kate:   (.HHH) (0.8) and what happened the::n
314          (2.2)
315 Soph:   the pirate was loo:king for it
316          (1.0)
317 Kate:   a::nd
318          (0.8)
319 Soph:   then they live ha:ppily ever after=↑the ↓e:nd
320 Kate:   a(hhh)w:: tha:t is a **AWE::**some story
```

In a continuation of Excerpt 3, Sophia progresses her story about a pirate who found an island. Throughout this section of the telling there are a number of pauses, which are filled by the teacher in ways that prompt Sophia to progress her story. Initially Kate begins her pursuit of the storytelling by making explicit reference to the story features that Sophia has already told (lines 285–286); the question 'what happened' is often used by teachers to prompt discussion around a topic (Bateman et al. 2013; Kidwell 2011). Kate then changes her question type on each subsequent turn when she prompts Sophia to elaborate, asking 'what' and 'where' but again each question is tied to a specific aspect of Sophia's story as she asks specifically about the treasure. In doing so Kate contributes to the progress of the story and encourages a multi-unit turn through repetition (Cekaite and Aronsson 2004) of her pursuit phrases. These types of prompts can be viewed as format tying techniques (Goodwin 1990; Ochs and Capps 2002) that aid the co-production of joint attention and intersubjectivity in the storytelling activity. They also help Sophia to elaborate on a specific feature of her story, scaffolding the telling by prompting a narrow focus for the telling. Sophia responds in ways that make the story enticing for the hearer as she adds trouble and excitement, acknowledged by Kate as such (lines 301–302) as she tells about the pirate hiding the treasure in a secret place. These predicated actions within the story are collaboratively managed through Kate's prompts around specific items and Sophia's developing skill at combining characters and objects to make an interesting story.

Kate then summarises the story so far for the child audience (lines 305–309) in her own multi-unit telling of the story, modelling how the features of the story can be structured in such a way, as this multi-unit telling has not been presented so far by Sophia. Once summarised, Kate pursues further progression of the telling as she asks 'what happened then', attending to the sequential nature of storytelling and leaving a turn allocation space for Sophia to contribute (line 311). The story then further unfolds as a collaborative activity as Sophia uses Kate's utterance 'then' to advance her story and adds another character (another pirate), tying this second character's action to the first (the second pirate finds the first pirate's tressure). The collaborative way that the story is told is further visible where Kate subsequently uses a temporal term 'and' (Sacks 1986) for Sophia to extend her story further. The story is then neatly bought to a close by Sophia through 'the end' and Kate's assessment of it as an 'awesome story'.

Pomerantz (1984) suggests that the lack of an immediate response to an initiating action prompts a pursuit of a response. This type of pursuit is observed here where the teacher Kate reiterates the 'hearer requests a story' (Goodwin 2015) part of the sequence, the turn before the multi-unit telling. In Excerpt 1 Ava's multi-unit telling used joiners 'and then' or 'then' to extend the sequence of predicated actions that the character became involved in, exposing the systematic progression of the

telling. Here, Kate's 'keep going' prompt attends to the absence of such momentum and scaffolds the progression of the story. Through these combined actions, the participants' progression of the telling is made observable as a collaborative activity in situ.

Attending to the Shells

Excerpt 5: Designing tellings for the recipient audience

```
113 Kate:   shall we show our <friends> so they can all
114         see↑]=
115 Alex:      =°it's a pirate story° ((nods his head and
116         raises the shell up slightly, looks at his peers))
117 Kate:  It's a pi↑rate story↓
118 Alex:  ((nods his head))
119  Kate: ↓wah:: I'd love to hear your pirate story can you
120         tell us↑
```

To start this storytelling Kate suggests to Alexander that he 'show' his friends the shell that he has chosen, attending to the social arrangement of the situation. Research exploring children's showing of objects in their everyday interactions suggests that 'children's use of objects to show to others, both to adults and peers, constitutes an early and routine form of social engagement, one that requires their facility with basic attention-organizing practices' (Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007, p. 593). Furthermore, when a child performs the action of showing an object to another, they also position the person they are showing the object to as a show-recipient who has to perform a response. By showing a chosen storytelling shell to the other story group members, attention is given to the shower, co-producing a storyteller/story-recipient social organization around the object of the shell. These interactional exchanges model the social strategy of illustrating meaning to a potential listener by using an artifact (in this case) or a gesture.

Alexander asserts his position as 'storyteller' with his combination of verbal actions and gesture, as he announces the topic of his story to his audience and positions the shell so that his peers can see it. Kate once again repeats Alexander's utterance, with slightly different prosody, prompting a preferred response from Alexander as he nods his head. Kate then explicitly requests to hear more about his pirate story, reaffirming the storyteller/story-recipient situation with her collective proterm 'us', and adding an emotive element to her pursuit of a telling by saying that she would 'love' to hear the story (line 119). In doing so the teacher offers her emotional assessment of the storytelling event 'as a place for heightened mutual orientation and action' (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000, p. 25).

Closing a Storytelling

Excerpt 6: Story endings

```
049 Kate:  and we're going to have turns at telling story
050        (0.3) and when (0.2) [when we]
051 Alex:                       [it's] gonna go o:n there=
052 Kate:                                            =get
053        to the end of telling a story (0.8) ((looks at
054        Alexander)) Alexander when we get to the e:nd of
055        telling our story (0.3) do you remember what we
056        ↑say:: ↓when we're finished telling our sto:↑ry
057 Alex:  [((nods))]
058 Soph:   [yes::]
059 Kate:  ((turns to face Sophia))what do we say [when]
060 Isla:                                         [it's]
061        so:mebody's tu::rn
062 Kate:  ((turns her head towards Isla.  Continues
063        speaking in this direction)) you co:uld say
064        it's somebody's tu:rn=<yea:h:> that's a
065        rea:lly good idea=and the other thing you
066        could do=cause you know when you read a boo::k
067        (0.2)
068 Kate:  at the end of the book the book says
069        <↑the ↓end>
070        (0.7)
071 Kate:  ((turns head towards Sophia, Samuel and Alexander
072        and continues speaking)) and it's like the end of
073        the story and if you say <the: en:d> then we know
074        that you've finished your: story too::
```

The final part of storytelling sequences that have to be collaboratively managed is the ending of stories. In this interaction about story endings we see how the process involved in closing a story with the children is attended to as playing an important part in the storytelling activity. This demonstrates how a chronological structured storytelling is preferred in this context and how the children are encouraged to participate in the rules surrounding this type of telling. The teacher scaffolds the children into engaging in this linear process by offering turn allocation spaces and asking for the children to contribute to the discussion. Through mobilizing the topic of story endings with the children the teacher makes it noticeable in the storytelling process, and the children contribute in ways that align to this method by nodding in agreement (line 57) and offering their knowledge of how to accomplish an ending (line 60–61).

Discussions with the teachers during the data collection revealed that a strategy had to be employed for marking the end of the storytellings, as it could not be assumed that the children had finished their tellings when an extended pause was evident, due to pauses being a common part of each telling. The teachers further explained that they did not want to disempower the children by closing their story for them prematurely when they (the teachers) felt the story had come to a close.

They wanted the children to have autonomy over this action. To this end, discussions such as the one documented here (Excerpt 6) were routine and mundane in the storytelling shells activities. The children demonstrated their knowledge of this being an important aspect of the storytelling process as they managed their story endings competently by using 'the end' at the end of each of their stories (e.g. Excerpt 4 line 319).

Conclusion/Discussion

Throughout the storytelling episodes it was noticeable that although the children managed their story beginnings easily with 'Once upon a time' or 'once there was' and their endings were always marked by 'The end' it was the multi-unit turn that appeared to be somewhat problematic. To help support children's multi-unit telling, this part of the story was attended to as a collaborative project between the children and teacher. The multi-unit telling was progressed by the teacher who pursued a telling by attending to the pictures on the shells, used verbal prompts such as 'keep going', pauses and nonverbal gesture such as smiles and nods of the head, and the children took up these prompts. The pictures on each seashell provided characters and objects for the children to tell stories about where more shell characters were used to prompt a multi-unit telling, demonstrating the affordances of such resources in the storytelling process. The orderly way that the children lined the shells up demonstrated a visual representation of the linear, systematic way that the children tell their story. The children demonstrated their competence in creative thinking when they tied the characters to objects with actions, as there were no shell props that detailed what possible actions could happen. The recipient design of the telling was observable in the way that the children 'showed' their shell pictures to their peers and in the way that they made their stories interesting and exciting, keeping the audience engaged.

The teacher role in this early storytelling activity is important to consider as she not only sets up the situation through bringing the shells into play, but she also prefaces the stories by eliciting the tellings from the children 'announcing a 'story' and thereby announcing that this person is going to talk across a series of utterances' (Sacks 1992b, p. 19). In doing so the teacher uses a story preface as a resource to help scaffold a multi-unit turn for the storyteller and also positions the other attending children as an audience.

The storytelling shell episodes provided opportunities for children to practice their storytelling with the help and support of their peers and teacher, addressing in part the issue raised by Jefferson (1978) and Sacks (1992a) regarding children's limited rights to speak and the complexities of inserting a storytelling in the right place in everyday conversation. Through providing some insight into how storytelling practices are managed in an early childhood setting, where beginnings and endings are performed in specific ways and multi-unit tellings are facilitated by shell characters, objects and teacher prompts we hope to have shed some light on

these issues raised by Mandelbaum (2013). This practice introduces cognitive demand and helps children to engage in the linear type of storytelling that is the norm in school settings and so also offers opportunities for developing narrative competencies that will be needed in subsequent educational contexts, particularly when the children begin more formal reading and writing activities that require a knowledge of the dominant linear approach (Ochs and Capps 2002). That the storytellings were enjoyable activities that were shared amongst friends in a supportive and encouraging everyday context in the early childhood setting is of course of equal importance.

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Chapter 7
Co-producing Cultural Knowledge: Children Telling Tales in the School Playground

Maryanne Theobald and Susan Danby

The school playground is a place where children socially engage with peers and attain membership and participation in group activities. As young children negotiate relationships and social orders in playground settings, disputes may occur and children might 'tell' tales to the teacher. Children's telling on each other is often a cause of concern for teachers and children because tellings occur within a dispute and signal the breakdown of interaction. Closely examining a video-recorded episode of girls telling on some boys highlights the practices that constitute cultural knowledge of children's peer culture. This ethnomethodological study revealed a sequential pattern of telling with three distinct phases: (1) an announcement of telling after an antecedent event (2) going to the teacher to tell about the antecedent event and (3) post-telling events. These findings demonstrate that telling is carefully orchestrated by children showing their competence to co-produce cultural knowledge. Such understandings highlight the multiple and often overlapping dimensions of cultural knowledge as children construct, practise and manage group membership and participation in their peer cultures.

Peer Activities in the Playground

Membership and participation in peer activities in the playground involves a demonstration of the interaction order and social competence as appropriate to the ongoing interaction and peer culture (Danby and Baker 2000; Theobald 2013, 2016). Such cultural knowledge is the knowledge that one displays as a member of

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the surrounding culture in situ; this might include adult culture, peer culture, or classroom culture (Kantor et al. 1993). Cultural knowledge draws on the expectations of the social setting, artifacts, the amount of time available, the size of the group, and the gender, culture and moral beliefs of the members according to the specific context at hand (Corsaro 2003, 2014).

Ongoing membership requires access; interpretation and demonstration of social competence appropriate to the ongoing aspects of cultural knowledge (Danby and Baker 2000; Kantor et al. 1993). Cultural knowledge can be observed as participants employ features of talk such as repair, turn taking and overlap. The Opie's research in English school playgrounds in the 1960s highlighted the ways in which children's games were created according to who was available, the amount of time and resources children had on hand (Opie and Opie 1969, p. 10). Their observations showed how children use cultural knowledge to construct their social relationships. Similarly, Theobald's (2013) research on playground games showed how authority in a game was an "achieved status" that required ongoing negotiations in order to ensure uptake by others. This research shows that playgrounds are social arenas where children co-produce cultural knowledge and being viewed as a competent member or not by peers has implications for social inclusion or exclusion (Theobald 2016). Detailing how children co-produce cultural knowledge helps adults to understand how they can best support children to interact competently in the playground.

Children's playground disputes are times when cultural knowledge is mobilized and can be observed. Disputes happen frequently among young children (Theobald and Danby 2012). A dispute involves a three-move sequence, in which there is an event or action, then an oppositional move toward that action and, finally, a counter-action aimed at the initial opposition (Cromdal 2004; Maynard 1985b). Within dispute situations, the phrase 'I'm telling' is sometimes uttered by one of the participants. A common feature of telling is that children call on an adult to intervene. Adults, including teachers may understand that children want a dispute resolved. 'Telling' (Maynard 1985b) is also described as 'tattling' (Cekaite 2012; Friman et al. 2004), 'gossiping' (Evaldsson 2002) and 'dobbing' (Rigby 2002), although there are slight differences. For example, gossiping is more likely to occur among peers, whereas telling on someone is usually a child's instigation and the telling itself told to an adult.

Despite being an interactional practice associated with children, surprisingly few studies have investigated telling. Cekaite's (2012) Swedish study of immigrant children's teacher-mediated disputes focused on the teacher's uptake of children's 'tattling'. She found that the teacher's questions implicitly confirmed the guilt of the accused. Other researchers have found that *threats* of telling happen frequently in preschool classrooms and playgrounds. For example, in an Australian preschool, the action of threatening to tell the teacher was used to gain access to play equipment and spaces, such as the block-building corner (Danby 1998; Danby and Baker 2000). In this research, girls were more likely than boys to get a hearing from the teacher, with boys often teased by peers for telling (Danby 1998). Similarly, Cromdal's (2004) analysis of children's social interactions in a Swedish school

playground found that children used the threat of telling to manage their teasing peers. Cromdal (2010) showed how children attributed the actions of telling tales as one belonging to girls, when faced with a threat of telling the teacher. When investigating how cultural knowledge is co-produced when children tell tales to the teacher, little is known about how the telling gets done moment-by-moment. The episode of telling discussed in this chapter shows how telling is carefully orchestrated as interactional events through which children co-produce cultural knowledge, and the social orders of the playground.

Telling on peers has consequences. Inviting an alignment from an outside party, such as a parent or teacher, is a strategy that may not always be successful and can be 'risky business' (Danby 1998, p. 195). When a boy reported that two girls were 'mean' to him at the drawing table, the teacher's response questioned his account and worked to weaken his position rather than support his claim that he was being unfairly treated. Evaldsson and Svahn's (2012) Swedish study of school bullying and gossiping demonstrated that the school's policy of 'telling' resulted in further bullying by the perpetrators and the take up of bullying by other peers. In Church's (2009) study, tattling was used as a 'last resort' strategy for teacher intervention and attempted only when disputes were not being resolved within the peer group. Friman et al. (2004) studied 88 adolescents living in supported accommodation. They found that those who told tales about others were less popular. Weider's (1974) well-known study of residents in a halfway house showed how the inmates paid close attention to the rule of 'do not snitch' (not telling). This 'code' constructed a local social order and brought into play a moral order with consequences for those who broke the code. These studies propose that interactional outcomes are not always favorable for those doing the telling. This chapter applies fine-grained analysis to provide insight into how cultural knowledges are constructed, practiced and scripted in the interactions of telling between peers, and children and teacher.

The Study

The video-ethnography investigated children's participation in playground interactions in an elementary school setting. There were 24 children (aged four to five years) and a teacher, in a preparatory (Prep) class in Brisbane, Australia. Prep is a play-based, full-time and voluntary preschool program for children in the year prior to compulsory schooling. In total, 26 h of video-recordings were collected.

Low risk human research QUT Ethics approval (0700000025) was gained. Appropriate education governing authority, parents or guardians were provided with an information pack and parents were asked to give written consent for their child to be involved in the study. A child-friendly letter was included in the information pack which parents or guardians were encouraged to read to their child. Recognizing children as competent participants in research, the children were able to indicate their assent to be involved.

Data and Analysis

A single episode was selected for detailed transcription and analysis, and was transcribed using the Jefferson notation conventions of conversation analysis (Jefferson 2004). A 'single case' or 'extended sequence' (Sacks 1984; Schegloff 1987) enables detailed sequential analysis of an entire episode of interaction for the identification and explication of participants' actions (Psathas 1992, p. 99). Studying an entire episode allows the entry of participants, shifts in topic, and interconnectedness of talk, actions and context to be scrutinized revealing what is relevant for the ongoing talk (Psathas 1992).

The episode of interaction examined in this chapter occurred in the school playground. During this time, children choose from resources and equipment such as wooden building blocks and swings. The teacher and teacher assistant encourage the children to collaborate with each other and they talk with the children about what they are doing. This episode involves a group of five girls and two boys using long foam strips to build a cubby house. Participants include Maddy, Brigid, Georgia, Becky, Toby and Luke. As the episode unfolds, and a dispute arises over ownership of the play materials, Georgia and Brigid visit the teacher twice to 'tell' on the boys' behaviours.

The episode is separated into five sequential extracts at moments in time that appeared to be pivotal points for the ensuing interaction. The pivotal points included the events that occurred before the girls went to the teacher to tell (pre-telling), the events that occurred during telling the teacher, and the events that occurred after telling the teacher (post-telling). All names used in the extracts, except for the researcher's name, are pseudonyms. The extended sequence begins with an antecedent event that leads to the girls' telling in Extract 1. The antecedent event is first detailed.

Antecedent Event

Toby invites others to make a house using an invitation, *guys how about we make a house for everyone*? While Toby's turn was inclusive of the girls, Luke's next turn is not, as he names only himself and Toby. The omission of the girls' names indicates his exclusion of the girls in the planned play. The design of his turn is such that Georgia, Brigid and the other girls present are excluded from the talk, and thus marginalized from the episode underway. Luke further reinforces this stance by taking two building strips and shifting them to a new location two metres away. Georgia complains about the building strips being taken away. Complaints are one member's account of events and an indication of trouble (Drew and Holt 1988). Receipting this, Toby now offers to share and Luke shows his alliance with Toby by bringing two building strips to Georgia and Brigid.

After Luke returns the strips, Georgia offers a new complaint, saying that the strips are gross. Luke uses a loud, growly and comic voice to refute this claim, saying that they are not gross. Georgia restates her complaint, pointing out the dirty marks on the strips as justification for her continued disagreement. In response, Luke spits. This action of spitting and the earlier action of not sharing are treated as a reportable offence or transgression (Drew 1998). This provides the immediate stimulus for Georgia to announce her plan to 'tell' the teacher.

Extract 1 picks up the dispute from the moment when Luke spits.

Extract 1:

```
113 Luke:    ((walks away looking over his shoulder at girls,
114           makes spitting action on the ground))
115 Georgia: No let's just tell on Mrs Nolan 'cause(.) because-I'll tell
116          you why because (0.5)°Lu:ke actually°=
117          [(2)
118          [((Georgia comes over close to Brigid and makes a
119          spitting action and sound, with hands on hips))
120 Georgia:=°spit°.(( nods looks at Brigid, throws hands up, shakes head
121          and moves away. Luke turns his head and watches Georgia as he
122          walks back to Toby))
123          (3)
124 Brigid: Then te=
125 Georgia: =we need to tell on them 'cause he didn't listen to us.
126 Brigid: What about we tell Maryanne ((researcher))
127          ((Georgia runs up the hill, Brigid follows to tell teacher))
```

Georgia activates the telling of two reportable offences. The first is when Georgia announces her intention to tell on Luke for spitting (lines 115–116), which she says in Luke's presence. This design of her announcement shows that Georgia hearably identifies his spitting behaviour as an action that the teacher needs to be told about. With her hands on her hips, Georgia reenacts the spitting action (line 118–119). At the same time, Georgia looks at Brigid, raises her hands in the air and shakes her head (lines 120–122), indicating her disapproval of Luke's action. Georgia's reference to Luke's spitting action is designed to legitimize and display her rationale for telling. Luke walks away looking back at the girls as he does so.

The second reportable offence is activated when Georgia upgrades her reason for telling by adding another rule infringement that Luke did not listen (lines 125). The stressed first sounds of the word 'listen' add an emotive component to her reason for telling that might be interpreted as indignation (Selting 2010). This second reportable offence provides the stimulus for action, perhaps because this aspect of the infringement is most likely to provoke the teacher. Her use of the pronouns 'we' and 'us' is designed to create a unified and, thus, a stronger social position and stance (Sacks 1995) that work to publically emphasize the divide: 'we' (Georgia and Brigid) versus 'them' (Luke and Toby). In dispute situations, talking about someone in his or her presence is an adversarial act that makes relevant a response by the one being talked about (Evaldsson 2002; Maynard 1985a). The third party (the one being talked about, in this case Luke) can respond to what is being said, thus advancing or dissolving the dispute (Maynard 1986).

In line 126, Brigid suggests telling Maryanne, the researcher, who is also a witness as she is video-recording the interaction, and hearing and seeing what had just happened. Not responding to Brigid, Georgia runs up the hill toward the teacher (lines 127–129). In taking this action, Georgia shows that Maryanne is not to be the recipient of this news. Involving the teacher as a powerful figure and as an arbitrator who invokes authority (Maynard 1985b) can be viewed as a strategic move on Georgia's part to seek support and a display of her knowledge of the playground interaction order. As Goodwin (1990) pointed out, 'when the actions of another are construed as a violation, the offended party can take action to remedy the affront' (p. 142). Luke's spitting and then not listening to their earlier rule enforcement is the girls' justification for telling the teacher about a violation of the playground social order. Extract 2 shows the interaction with the teacher that follows.

Extract 2:

```
128 Georgia:Luke spit at us ((standing in front of teacher))
129 Mrs N:  Did you say something to him?(0.2)
130 Georgia:Yes we said (0.5)don't- we said please don't do it
131         but he didn't listen to us
132 Mrs N:  Well How about you try saying Luke-(0.2)he mightn't know-
133         he mightn't know what you don't want him to do=
134         =Say Luke please don't spit. (0.5)
135         Try that, saying his na:me
136         and try saying please don't spit.
137         ((Georgia and Brigid run back down hill to boys))
```

Georgia follows through with her announcement of telling the teacher. She and Brigid approach the teacher and Georgia 'tells' on Luke. The teacher's next turn (line 129) asks Georgia and Brigid if they said something to him. The teacher's action here seems to work to gain more information about their 'telling' and it also provides an action for the girls if they have not already done this. Georgia uses direct reported speech saying that yes she told Luke 'please don't do it' (spit) (line 130). Georgia's justification for telling, that Luke did not listen to them, despite their attempt to speak to Luke, is presented as a collective stance of joint actions through the use of 'we' (Watson 1987). Her use of directed reported speech 'makes the telling more vivid' (Haakana 2007, p. 158), reveals the climax of her complaint narrative (Drew 1998), and provides a sense of authenticity (Clift and Holt 2007a, b; Holt 1996). What the readers of the Extract 2 transcript know, and the teacher does not, is that what Georgia purportedly said is somewhat modified from what she actually said to Luke. While Luke did spit on the ground, the girls did not ask him 'please don't do it' as they now claim. This gives credibility to the notion that the girls wanted to tell on him, rather than to seek a solution to his action of spitting.

Georgia's account of what she had already said to the boys is a necessary local condition for gaining a hearing from the teacher. Such an action is evidence that the teacher's preference is that students first try to work out interpersonal differences among themselves before coming to her. Georgia appears to have heard the teacher's question in this way and her swift move into the teacher's frame of reference shows an understanding of the teacher's agenda. Although Georgia has not actually

followed the teacher's expected rules of behaviour, her interaction with the teacher reveals her knowledge about the expected behaviour in relation to calling on the teacher for help. The formulation highlights her cultural knowledge of individual responsibility as a class member as she constructs a particular version of herself: a class member who has followed the teacher's expected rules of behaviour.

Georgia's case to the teacher is that neither she nor Brigid are at fault. She depicts Luke at fault and as conducting an offence. Georgia gives an account of her own 'ongoing conversational conduct' and 'the prejudicial moral implications that might (otherwise) be attached to that conduct by the recipients' (Drew 1998, p. 302). Using an explicit formulation and expressions of indignation Georgia overtly displays her disapproval of Luke's behavior. She does this also through her use of the politeness marker 'please', which pays attention to the correctness of her own interaction with Luke. Georgia's turn is designed to meet the teacher's criteria that the children first try to resolve the problem themselves before telling her and is evidence of how knowledge is co-produced for an interactional purpose. Showing her understanding that the teacher expects them to try a solution first is a display of cultural knowledge. In particular, the girls anticipate the teacher's response of what constitutes a reportable offence and what constitutes appropriate actions prior to telling the teacher. This formulation demonstrates the girls' orientation to knowledge of the teacher's expectations and her local playground rules.

The teacher, not privy to what happened with Luke, works from Georgia's account of events. Her response is oriented to Georgia's second reason for telling the teacher, that Luke didn't listen which Georgia had pre-empted in her earlier exchange with Brigid (line 125). She offers a partial explanation for Luke not listening to the girls, to suggest that he might not know what they expect of him. This construction of Luke presents him as one possibly not knowing the local social order rather than a construction of one who knowingly broke the rules. Such a positive characterization of Luke puts the girls in a difficult situation. They have a candidate explanation from the teacher about Luke's action but no clear response from the teacher regarding his rule breaking. At this point, their telling has not resulted in any sanctioning of Luke's actions.

The teacher engages in advice giving that might be expected in her role, drawing upon her 'professional stock of knowledge' (Peräkylä and Vehviläinen 2003). The teacher offers a solution to the problem of Luke not listening by suggesting the girls first say his name, Luke, along with a script of what they can say on their return. A script can work as a way to propose to someone what they could possibly say, and constructs them as capable agents able to carry out this course of action (Emmison et al. 2011). As well as proposing what could be said to Luke, the teacher follows teaching guidelines that suggests children 'come up with their own 'fair' solutions' to social problems encountered and 'explain their actions' to others (MacNaughton and Williams 2004, p. 313). The teacher repeats this script telling the girls to say his name and direct him not to spit (lines 146–147).

The girls do not make a verbal response, but run back down the hill. At this point it appears that the girls are intending to talk to Luke as proposed by the teacher. Extract 3 shows the post telling events, that is what happens when the girls run back down the hill after telling.

Extract 3:

```
138 Georgia: But I don't think (0.2)((running))
139        but I don't think that will work
140        [(1.00)
141        [((Brigid moves ahead and calls to Luke who is
142        using strips to make an arch for the house;
143        Georgia waits with girls))
144 Brigid: LU:KE PLEASE DON'T SP:IT ((hands on her hips))
145        (2.00)
146 Luke:   What?
147 Brigid: Can you please don't spit.
148 Toby:   hum? Luke ((Luke keeps building with strip, Brigid
149        joins Georgia who is waiting with Maddy and Becky))
150 Luke:   [(I don't say that ....)]
151 Georgia:[Yeah he didn't listen.] <That's what he did?>
152        ((to Maddy and Becky as Brigid approaches them))
153        ((Brigid runs toward teacher;
154        Georgia slumps her shoulders;
```

Following their telling and receipt of a proposed course of action from the teacher, Georgia comments on the effectiveness of the teacher's suggestion (lines 138–139). Her talk here indicates a resistance to, and doubts regarding the usefulness of the teacher's suggestion. When they reach Luke and Toby, it is Brigid, and not Georgia, who delivers the teacher's words as a direct script, with a raised voice and action of hands on hips (line 144). The girls seamlessly cross the lead roles in the telling (initiated by Georgia) and the delivery of the teacher's script (delivered by Brigid), showing the co-production of the action. The girls have carried through their earlier actions of announcing that they will tell the teacher, and then going to the teacher. Now, Brigid delivers the teacher's proposed script, the hands on hips and raised voice suggests an adversarial stance.

After Brigid names Luke and tells him not to spit, there is a long pause of two seconds (line 145) when Luke does not respond, which could be that he is 'not listening' or that he has not heard her. Then Luke responds with 'What?' (line 146) which indicates that he heard something but perhaps that he did not hear clearly. Luke's turn is a question and is not a second pair part for Brigid's first turn, a reprimand. Brigid treats Luke's response as an other-initiated repair (Schegloff 2007) and rephrases her turn to a closed question format, with a falling tone (line 147). The fall in intonation works as a directive but the closed-question format makes relevant some form of response from Luke in the next turn. Luke's ambiguous response (line 150) suggests that Georgia's earlier comment that the strategy would not work appears to be the case.

Without stopping to discuss the matter further, Brigid runs past Georgia on her way again to the teacher (line 155). Georgia throws her hands up in the air, a display of the hopelessness of the situation, and follows. Although there is no announcement to the boys that they are going again to tell the teacher, the girls' actions show that the matter is not accountably resolved. Luke's lack of acknowledgement of what the girls said gives the girls a warrant to return to the teacher. Extract 4 presents the interaction that occurs as the girls tell the teacher again.

Extract 4:

```
157 Brigid: He didn't listen ((standing in front of the teacher))
158 Mrs N:  What's that?
159 Brigid: He didn't listen ((hands on hips))
160 Mrs N:  He didn't listen sti:ll.
161 Brigid: No, ((looks at teacher))
162         (1.2)((both girls look at teacher))
163 Mrs N:  Okay then say can try saying um Luke did you
164         hear what we said. (0.4) and see if he answers you then (0.2)
165         and say Luke please answer us
166         ((Georgia slumps shoulders, turns from teacher))
```

The girls' next actions, that of returning to the teacher, show that Luke's minimal response in extract 3 is not accepted and that the dispute has not been accountably resolved. The focus of the telling this time is that Luke didn't listen to them (line 157). The teacher appears to have not heard what Brigid says (line 158), and Brigid repeats that Luke didn't listen (line 159). The teacher repeats Brigid's utterance and adds emphasis, 'sti:ll.' (line 160). Emphasis suggests trouble of some kind, such as accepting what is being told or what is being alluded to (Robinson and Kevoe-Feldman 2010). Georgia and Brigid's problem is not yet resolved and so this matter is now also a problem for the teacher.

The teacher's use of 'okay' (line 163) works at a transition-relevant place to show her responsiveness to the prior talk and shapes her next turn. The 'Okay + [fuller turn]' occurrence (Beach 1993) shows a sensitivity and a shift to next-positioned matters. The teacher's initial response is to suggest a script formulation for the girls to use, and this time she suggests a script calibrated to Luke's responses (lines 163–165). Georgia slumps her shoulders in an exaggerated way and with a sense of performance. This display indicates her dissatisfaction with the teacher's response to the telling. Extract 5 details the events that occur post telling-the-teacher as she and Brigid run back towards Luke and Toby.

Extract 5:

```
167         ((Georgia follows Brigid downhill to Luke))
168 Georgia: I don't think Lu:ke will actually li:sten.
169         ((to Brigid walking within earshot of Luke))
170         ((Brigid walks to boys who are spreading out a sheet
171         for the house; Georgia hangs back))
172 Brigid: Luke  [did you listen]to [[what we said?]
173 Luke:                            [[Yep]
174 Toby:                            [[Hey guys?]
175         look what we're doing
176         we're making a bed for you two guys?
177 Luke:   No: we're making a bed to be wa:rm
178         (1.00)
179 Toby:   No we're making a bed for them?
180 Luke:   No:o
181         (0.2)
182 Toby:   °Yeah° ((Boys continue talk about whose bed))
183         ((Georgia and Brigid join Maddy in house))
```

When the girls return to the boys, possibly within the boys' earshot, Georgia again comments on the effectiveness of the teacher's response (line 168). She maintains that Luke will not listen. Brigid does not comment but in close proximity to the boys calls out to Luke (line 172). After his name is called, Luke replies in overlap with '[yep]' (line 173). Luke's response is not conciliatory but it does suggest that he is 'listening'. Also in overlap with Luke and Brigid, Toby gains the conversational floor by making an announcement directly to the girls that he and Luke were making a bed for them (lines 174–176). Toby's actions display a conciliatory stance towards the girls and also preempt any further turns about the telling. The girls are now offered access and inclusion into the activity by Toby. Toby's action demonstrates his cultural knowledge, in this case the need to avoid possible sanction from the teacher by making amends with the girls.

Luke, though, rejects Toby's suggestion of their joint activity (line 177). Direct opposition, without any delaying tactics to lessen the disagreement, is how children engage in disputes (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987). The one-second pause between Luke's disagreement and Toby's response highlights their differing stances. Toby re-phrases his original suggestion (line 179), his utterance now delivered with an upward intonation that suggests an uncertainty in its uptake. Luke again rejects this suggestion (line 180). Unequivocal utterances such as an outright 'no' can indicate the authority and the right to state who can and cannot be members of a group without a justification proffered (Bateman 2015; Danby and Baker 2000).

At this moment, the oppositional talk between Luke and Toby shows a break in their partnership. As Maynard (1985b) pointed out, such conflict can lead to a changed organization of the group. Toby responds, '°Yeah°' (line 182), in a quieter tone, highlighting his awareness that his conciliatory offer to make amends with the girls has now jeopardized his social relationship with his ally Luke. The social order between the boys is now dependent on Luke's next turn. Unfortunately, the video-recording stops at this point, so it is not possible to know how the interaction between the two boys is resolved and whether the girls were included or not.

Discussion

Close analysis of this episode showed that telling involved a sequential pattern of distinct phases. Three phases of telling can be identified: Phase (1) An announcement of telling that occurred after an antecedent event; Phase (2) Going to the teacher to tell; and Phase (3) Post-telling events. Table 1 outlines the local sequence observed and detailed in the analysis. In the extended sequence, Phases (2) and (3) were repeated in extracts 4 and 5.

The first phase of the telling sequence involved the first announcement of telling that follows an antecedent event. During the antecedent event children might 'see' the offences of other children. Such activities provided for the 'tellability' by one child about the actions of another. In this episode, seeing an action such as 'spitting' gave leverage and provoked an announcement of telling. Cultural knowledge

Table 1 Sequential phases of the telling episode

Phase and associated extract		Event	Actions observed
Phase 1	Extract 1	Announcement of telling	Announcement of telling after an antecedent event
Phase 2	Extract 2 Extract 4	Going to the teacher to tell	Telling the teacher about the offences of others Reporting that an appropriate prior action took place Teacher's response
Phase 3	Extract 3 Extract 5	Post-telling events	A possible space for the teacher to intervene Following what the teacher said

regarding what counts as 'serious' enough to tell the teacher is apparent at this point. Luke's first reportable offence of not sharing the resources was not taken up as a telling opportunity but the following transgressions of spitting and not listening were. In other words, these actions justified moving the interactional sequence to the next phase of telling a tale to the teacher.

Phase two involved the actual act of going to the teacher to tell. In this phase a report of the offences of others was presented to the teacher. This phase included the teacher's receipt of the telling. The teacher checked what had occurred or any action that may have been taken by the girls. A report of appropriate prior action such as 'we said please stop spitting' was elicited and this provided justification for the telling and highlighted Georgia's cultural knowledge. This report of prior action built a case that freed the tellers from any transgression on their part. The teacher offered a script to manage the situation. In the extended sequence the girls went to the teacher to tell on the boys two times, in extracts 2 and 4.

The third phase of the telling episode involved post-telling events. In this phase, the teacher's response could be followed or not followed. This phase also provided a possible space for the teacher to intervene in the interaction. The post-telling events involved the girls displaying to the boys that they had told on them. They enjoined the teacher in the accomplishment of telling but her stance of not physically intervening provided a platform for the girls to take an account back to the boys of what the teacher had said. Going back to the boys also displayed to the teacher that the girls had followed her suggestion and further demonstrated the girls' cultural knowledge. A repeated post-telling phase was evident in extract 5, after the second telling in extract 4.

The boys also actively drew on cultural knowledge about the teacher's expectations and stance and used this to support their ongoing participation in the interaction. For example, Luke perhaps worked from the knowledge that it was unlikely that the teacher would walk down the hill to where they were playing. Toby's response of including the girls in the play highlighted the possible success of the girls' telling actions. The girls' anticipation of the teacher's response, their

displayed knowledge of what constituted a reportable offence and Georgia's claim 'I don't think that will work' (line 139) is the perfect antidote to claims that adults can be authentic participants in early learning environments (see Mandell 1991).

The social means and ends of any interactional activity, such as telling, are uncertain and dependent upon a locally assembled set of adult-child and child-child social orders. While adults and children hold 'separate versions' of childhood (Waksler 1991), children's culture is continually 'in contact with' and 'related to' adult culture (Speier 1976, p. 99). It is the work of children to identify the shared understandings currently in play in the ongoing interaction (Bateman 2015). Teachers' interactional work attends largely to matters of 'child management' (Speier 1976, p. 99). Soliciting the teacher's involvement may result in adult intervention, which can be risky for those involved as the teacher's input may weaken their social positions within the peer activity underway (Danby 1998). The teacher, in her authoritative role, can rule on classroom matters and perhaps overturn decisions that have occurred within peer interactions up until that point. Children must navigate the teacher's agendas as they carry out their activities in the playground.

Conclusion: Knowledge-in-Action

This investigation of one telling episode showed the playground as a social arena where normative practices are co-produced and relationship dependent. Telling the teacher was carefully orchestrated by the girls for managing interactional trouble with peers initiated over access to play materials in the playground. The children used both the threat of calling in the teacher, and the action of telling the teacher, to report offences. Their sequence of telling on the boys to the teacher is shown to be an interactional and cultural phenomenon that may at first appear unruly but actually involved events that were orderly and managed by the girls and the boys. In a nuanced way, we showed how children's interactive competence constitutes the *co*-production of social order and cultural knowledge. Close attention to how the children designed their talk and actions highlighted how cultural knowledge was drawn upon and co-produced in order to negotiate the different teacher and child social orders at play in the interaction.

School playgrounds are frequently constructed as dangerous and as sites for bullying and accidents. An increased emphasis on danger or negative social behaviours and increased regulations for children has implications for the amount of time available to children to engage in activities of their own choice (Bateman 2011a). Minimal supervision in school playgrounds means that, for children to participate in their peer culture, they must be socially competent and have cultural knowledge, particularly for times of dispute. Children pay close attention to group membership and participation and the local situation in which these matters play out (Theobald 2016; Björk-Willén 2007). Identifying the organization and design of turns in playground interaction shows how children participate and construct the

local peer culture and highlights the always-uncertain possibilities of social order when a teacher is called in to intercede (see Bateman 2011b).

While we started out looking at cultural knowledge more broadly, our fine-grained analysis showed that the children oriented to multiple and sometimes overlapping types of local knowledge, including knowledge of individual responsibility, knowledge of local rules, knowledge of teacher expectations and what constitutes a reportable offence. Our analysis provides a reading of how children display and co-produce cultural knowledge through negotiating teacher agendas and peer interactions. Identifying sequential patterns of interaction highlights how ongoing interactions form "a social history" and frame future interactions according to the "expectations that individuals hold for each other" (Kantor et al. 1993, p. 144). Cicourel (1970b) claims that children work from a sense of normative rules in their dealings with adults. This requires children to have some sense of understanding of the normative social rules and the local order. It is this 'interaction of compliance and performance that is essential for understanding local activities' (Cicourel 1970a, p. 138). For this reason, participation is conditional on a member enacting the cultural knowledge of the group (Butler 2008; Kantor et al. 1993). Cultural knowledge belongs to, or is best understood by, members of that culture. In a similar way, Sharrock (1974) shows how knowledge is owned by a collective of members. This local knowledge may be made visible to others but in some way belongs to and is owned by the members of that culture.

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Chapter 8
Don't Laugh! Socialization of Laughter and Smiling in Pre-school and School Settings

Mats Andrén and Asta Cekaite

Introduction

Although laughter and smiling is generally thought of in terms of positive emotions and values, this is not always the case. In this paper we analyze situations where children's smiling and laughter are treated as undesirable by other participants—peers and teachers—in preschool and school settings. Participants' treatment of children's laughs and smiles as accountable, even sanctionable, provides one piece of the larger puzzle of how emotional expressions form an emerging social competence, negotiated and co-constructed in and through social interaction. The analysis shows how emotional expressions such as laughter and smiling are part of, and subject to, processes of socialization, i.e., social knowledge about embodied moral norms.

Socializing children into morally and emotionally appropriate and normatively valued conduct is a significant part of teachers' institutional responsibilities, reflecting the wider societal notions of sociality and personhood. Language and other semiotic resources constitute a mediating tool through which such emotion socialization takes place and emotions involve a cluster of rights, duties, and obligations by reference to social and moral standards of particular social and cultural settings (Buttny 1993; Goodwin et al. 2012). Peer groups are also important

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agents of socialization (Danby and Baker 1998; Evaldsson 2005; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin and Kyratzis 2012; Cromdal and Tholander in press).

Emotional expressions do not appear in isolation, but constitute a part of situated multimodal actions—contextually embedded orchestrations of speech, gaze, gesture, and other bodily behavior that make sense together as a whole. As a consequence, the responses under scrutiny here are not simply responses to children's laughter and smiles, but to particular social actions, involving the broader multimodal orchestrations and contextual configurations.

In prior classroom studies, the attention has been drawn to teacher-student exchanges and the affective aspects of classroom participation related to negative emotions (e.g. anger, crying) which are regulated through teacher reproaches and disciplining (Margutti 2011; Tainio 2011; Kyratzis 2001). The specific aim of the paper is to detail some of the ways in which "positive" emotional expressions such as laughter and smiles may be treated as undesirable and situationally inappropriate by other participants. A more general aim is to raise questions about the character of this affective socialization, including its moral dimensions, aiming at children's appropriation of affective and moral 'knowledge'. This study represents the first of an upcoming series of studies[1] that look into the social organization of children's laughter (primarily) and smiling: How is it shaped by its institutional context? Do peers and teachers respond differently? To what extent, and in what ways, can the socialization of laughter and smiling be said to be explicit or implicit?

Previous Research on Laughter and Smiling

One popular idea about why people laugh, that goes back all the way to Aristotle, Kant, and Shopenhauer, is that laughter comes about where some sort of incongruence is actualized; that people laugh when something is unexpected or otherwise breaches what may be considered typical or appropriate. This idea has some limitations. For one thing, Glenn (2003, p. 21) points out that it does not explain why "some incongruities seem humorous while others do not".

Nevertheless, in many cases the overall idea works surprisingly well, including the cases analyzed in this chapter. It also happens to be related to the topic of one of the very few interactional studies on children's laughter: Walker (2003) studied cases where children perform some kind of transgression (something that is incongruent with parent's ideas about what would be appropriate). He found that children as young as 16–23 months old can deploy laughter in ways that fit the

ongoing interactional sequence. The children did not laugh immediately following the transgressions though, but in response to parents' drawing attention to the transgression in some way.

Auburn and Pollock (2013) analyze laughter in the social interaction of autistic children on the severe end of the autism spectrum, aged 4–11 years old. Although the communication of these children is different from children with typical development, Auburn and Pollock still find no obvious profound differences in how these children use laughter compared to patterns reported in other research literature on laughter in interaction. For example, they too find laughter in relation to cases of social inappropriateness, similar to Walker (2003), and they find that the autistic children use laughter to joke and tease. Apart from this, there is very little research specifically on children's laughter from an interactional perspective. This in itself is an important motivation for the research presented in the present paper.

A vast developmental literature is available, showing, among other things, that children start using smiles and laughter in relation to social phenomena like joking very early on (e.g. Hoicka and Akhtar 2012; van Hoof and Preuschoft 1972). As for research on emotional development more generally, much of this has focused on mother-child interaction (e.g. Dunn 2003; Demuth 2012), whereas in the present paper we are rather looking at teacher-child and peer-peer interaction in the pre-school and school contexts—a somewhat neglected area also in other research that acknowledges the sociocultural and interactional embeddedness of young children's affective, moral, and communicative socialization (but see e.g. Danby and Baker 1998; Corsaro and Molinari 2005; Evaldsson and Cekaite 2010; Cekaite 2012).

When it comes to research on laughter and smiling in interaction in adults, there is now a substantial number of studies, from early studies by Jefferson (1979, 1984, 1985) to more recent ones (see contributions and references in e.g. Glenn and Holt 2013; Wagner and Vöge 2010). This body of research highlights the great variation in both forms and functions as well as the fact that the "laughable" (what is laughed at, e.g. the "referent" of the laughter) can be almost anything, ranging from concrete actions to sophisticated jokes. This research has also identified how laughter and smiling occurs both in relation to enjoyable moments (e.g. Glenn 2003) and in relation to delicate, troublesome and dispreferred moments (e.g. Haakana 2002; Osvaldsson 2004). Various distinctions have been made, such as that between "laughing at" and "laughing with", who initiates the laughter, shared laughter and absence of a second laughter (Glenn 2003). One of the main contributions from this research is to demonstrate that laughter and smiling are highly ordered interactional phenomena; skills that humans learn, and are socialized into, despite their innate roots.

Description of the Data

The pre-school data used in this study was recorded during 2015 at a pre-school in a middle-class area in the outskirts of a mid-sized Swedish city. All in all, this data consists of 20 h of video recordings of mixed activities at the pre-school. The children's ages ranged between 3 and 5 years. The primary school data was recorded at a primary school (grade 1–6), grade one for 7–8 year-olds. The school is located in a low-socio-economic multiethnic suburb area of a middle-sized town in Sweden. Data consists of 70 h of recordings of classroom and children's recess interactions. The recordings were made by using portable video-recorders with an external microphone.

Data was collected according to the Swedish Research Council's ethical principles after obtaining the approval from the Regional Ethical Board at Linköping University, Sweden. Consent was achieved from teachers, parents and children in both settings.

Analysis

Laughter as Disturbing the Classroom Order

Children's laughter could arise in situations where it becomes a target of teacher's disciplining. In the first excerpt to be analyzed here, the teacher's management of children's (affective) conduct invoked and brought forth the usually unspoken norms for affectively appropriate, attentive and leveled conduct.

The excerpt is taken from a preschool where the children and a teacher are engaged in a book reading activity. The teacher (TEA in the transcript) sits in a sofa together with seven children, reading a book to them about the character "Totte" who is searching for his lost teddy-bear. The present children are between 4 and 5 years old and most of them are focused on the book, mainly just sitting and listening. Two girls, Ronja (RON) and Maja (MAJ), both five years old, listen less attentively. They sit next to each other on the back support of the sofa, whispering and giggling with each other. Although only fragments of what they are whispering about can be discerned: several times they mention "tutte". This reflects the teacher's second language pronunciation of the name of the main character of the story ("Totte"). While "Totte" is a Swedish nickname, "tutte" in mundane Swedish happens to mean tit. The boy Petter (PET) sits next to Ronja and Maja and pays attention to them rather than to the book reading.

```
1   TEA:  [under sängen, finns kanske nallen
          [maybe the teddy is under the bed
          reads from the book
2   RON:  [˚˚(whisper)˚˚
3   TEA:  nej=
          no=
4   RON:  =˚hihihi˚ ((holds hand in front of mouth))
          high-pitched laughter/giggle
5   TEA:  [där finns Tuttes byggklossar    ] och Tuttes tåg
          [Tutte's building blocks are there] and Tutte's
6   MAJ:  [˚˚(ohörbart)            "tutte"˚˚]
          [˚˚(inaudible)             "tit"˚˚]
7   TEA:  tåg som       [varit-
          train that has [been-
8   MAJ:               [hihihi
          high-pitched laughter/giggle, now louder than before
          (0.5)
9   TEA:  borta sa nall- så länge, va bra
          gone said Ted- for a long time, that's good
10  MAJ:  ˚˚(unhearable)˚˚
11  PET:  jag vill ha filt
          I want blanket
          PET pulls blanket to cover his legs
12  RON:  ˚˚(ohörbart) han heter tutte˚˚
          ˚˚(unhearable) his name is tutte˚˚
          facing MAJ
13  MAJ:  [hihihi              ]
          facing RON
14  TEA:  [ligger Nalle bakom] stolen då?
          [is Teddy behind  ] the chair then?
15  TEA:  [(("the look" at RON/MAJ))
16  RON:  [((compliant shrug))
17  TEA:  näe [det är inte Nalle som ][ligger där       ]=
          no  [it's not Teddy that  ][lies there       ]=
              [(("the look" at RON))
18  MAJ:      [((whisper))             ]
19  RON:                               [hihihi
                                       [((hand to mouth))]
```

```
20   TEA:  =Ronja
            =(("the look" at RON))
            (2.0)
21   RON:  °det var Maja som skrattade°
            °it was Maja who laughed°
22   TEA:  jag flyttar på er om ni fortsätter göra
            I'll move the two of you if you continue to do
23   TEA:  sådär
            like that
            ((holds hand in front of mouth))
24   TEA:  då får ni inte sitta bredvid varandra
            then you may not sit next to each other
25   RON:  ((looks solemnly at TEA))
            (4.0)
26   TEA:  det är Tottes bil och Tottes stora boll
            facing the book again
```

When Ronja whispers (line 2), Maja produces a high-pitched giggle. The teacher does not react and keeps reading. The girls keep whispering and shortly after Maja produces another high-pitched giggle (line 8), now louder than before and in overlap with the teacher's reading (line 7). This time the teacher seems to be distracted, as indicated by the interruption (line 7), the 0.5 s pause after the interruption, and the misreading in line 9. The girls keep whispering (line 10 and 12) and then Maja produces another high-pitched giggle (line 13) in overlap with the teacher's reading (line 14). The teacher then turns sideways towards Maja and Ronja, but only to a degree where she is able to keep her eyes on the book. As soon as she has finished reading the sentence the teacher interrupts the book reading activity and turns her head fully towards the girls. Such postures, where the upper part of the body faces in another direction than the lower part, typically indicate a temporary type of involvement while some other "main" activity is put on hold (cf. "body torque", Schegloff 1998) While doing this, the teacher looks intensely at Ronja (line 15, Fig. 1). This type of looking corresponds to what Kidwell (2005) has called "the look": the teacher is not "merely looking", but her look signals that "I'm observing you and I may intervene if you continue to do what you do". A common feature of such looks is precisely that the teacher suspends (at least temporarily) the activity that she is involved in—book reading in this case—and that it lasts for a prolonged amount of time; longer than what would be required just to visually perceive something.

Although "the look" indicates that *something* is "wrong" with what the children are doing, it does not specify exactly what. The interpretability of "the look" relies on its indexical adjacency to what has happened just before. In this case the

Fig. 1 Teacher gives Ronja "the look" (line 15 in transcript)

problem could be, for instance, that the girls are not paying attention to the book reading or that they disturb others by the sounds they make (whispering and giggling). It could also be related to what the girls are whispering and giggling *about*, namely "tutte" (English: *tit*), and that it may be inappropriate to laugh about this, although it is not clear whether the teacher is able to hear the referential content of the girls' talk. Just like the more precise reasons for the look are not obvious from an analyst's point of view, it is reasonable to assume that the precise reasons are not obvious to the participants either. Whatever reasons there may be for the teacher's "the look" in line 15 it is worth noting that it is adjacent to Maja's giggle (line 14), rather than to an act of whispering.

Ronja reciprocates "the look" with a submissive body posture through which she makes herself "smaller" (transcribed as "compliant shrug" in line 16). Similar to other forms of minimal responses this bodily posture indicates that Ronja reciprocates the teacher's "the look" as a disciplining act, although her embodied response does not detail her specific interpretation of the teacher's look. Upon Ronja's embodied response, the teacher turns back to the book to resume the reading (line 17).

When the whispering resumes (line 18), the teacher gives the girls "the look" again, but keeps "reading" (without looking in the book) until the end of the current sentence. It is not until Ronja giggles and holds her hand in front of her mouth (line 19) that the teacher stops the storytelling, abruptly summoning Ronja (line 20).

Fig. 2 Teacher's gesture (line 23 in transcript)

Ronja's giggle (line 19) occurs during (e.g. despite) the teacher's ongoing perfor-mance of "the look".

Until now (line 20) the teacher's disciplining was conducted in an entirely non-verbal manner whereas all verbal activity on behalf of the teacher was related to the book reading. However, when the teacher specifically addresses Ronja, the disciplining character of her actions foregrounds Ronja's problematic conduct (e.g. giggling) as a primary concern to be resolved so that the book reading can be resumed. That is, the teacher shifts her priority from reading the book to attending to the disciplining activity. After a two second pause, Ronja deflects her blame and instead accuses Maja of laughing (line 21, see also Ex. 2). The teacher responds by saying that both girls will have to move (line 22) if they continue to do "like this" (line 23), coordinating her talk with a gesture (see Fig. 2) that resembles the manner Ronja was holding her hand in front of her mouth (during her giggling). Thus, both Ronja and the teacher now refer explicitly to the giggling laughter as a trouble source, and as something sanctionable. Ronja does not defy the teacher's mild threat: she just looks solemnly at her (line 25) and the teacher resumes reading (line 26), signaling thereby that order is now restored for the purposes at hand.

Laughter here is dealt with as a situationally inappropriate engagement and the teacher, with sophisticated nonverbal and verbal means, is able to clearly indicate and modulate the transgressive character of the girls' conduct. Knowledge about the specific norms of social/affective conduct is invoked and acted upon both by the

teacher and the girls, thus attesting to the significance of the children's adherence to and recognition of such norms.

While smiling and laughter may be thought of as distinct phenomena, where smiling is primarily visual and laughter is primarily audible, there are many cases where a clear distinction is far from easy to apply. There are also many similarities between how smiles and laughter function in interaction and one can observe how one gradually develops into the other over time, sequentially and even within "the same" expression. At the same time, it is clear that differences in visibility and audibility can have different interactional consequences. In Ex. 1 we saw how the audible quality of Ronja's laughter was treated as a problem in the book reading activity. This means that differences between different forms of expressions should not be neglected either. In the next example we will see how smiling can be treated as a problem.

Smiling and Laughter as Non-compliance with Teacher's Disciplining

Laughter and smiling can be deployed and evaluated as a resistant and inappropriate (nonverbal) layering of actions, effectively transgressing the social and moral expectations concerning children's conduct during remedial (Goffman 1971) (disciplining) exchanges.

Excerpt 2 is from a first grade classroom in a Swedish school. The pupils are 7–8 years old. In this case the pupils' smiling is not the original source of conflict, but it becomes a problem during the teacher's disciplining. The pupil Hamid has been playing with a pair of scissors—making cutting movements towards other pupils—which is not allowed in the classroom. The teacher therefore initiates a long disciplining exchange where she explains various possible negative consequences of his transgression, e.g. what sort of accidents and injuries that may happen if you play with scissors and the like. Hamid keeps agreeing with the teacher's version of negative consequences of his inappropriate conduct, but does so in an exaggerated way and he also keeps smiling most of the time (even when delivering verbal responses that should indicate his serious and remorseful stance towards his normative transgression). Throughout most of the exchange the teacher holds Hamid's arm, thus creating a dyadic participation framework for disciplining. Sitting next to Hamid is the pupil John, who also smiles and laughs silently. The excerpt begins midway into this exchange.

```
1   TEA:  förstår du Hamid?
          do you understand Hamid?
          overly articulated
2   HAM:  aa
          yes
          ((smiles, looks away from teacher))
3   TEA:  aa men du le:r
          yes but you smi:le
4   HAM:  jag vet
          I know
          ((looks briefly at teacher))
5   TEA:  det känns lite konstigt för mig
          that feels a little odd to me
6   HAM:  men vänta. Kan jag gå hem snälla:!
          but wait. Can I go home please:!
          ((smiles while talking))
7   HAM:  ((hides face in hand))
8   JOH:  ((smiles, claps hands silently))
9   JOH:  ((hides face/silent laughter for teacher))
10  TEA:  (("the look" directed at Hamid))
          (5)
11  HAM:  skratta inte
          don't laugh
          ((pointing with palm up open hand at John))
12  HAM:  vad är det som e (.) vad är det som är
          what is it that is (.) what is it that is
13  HAM   roligt för honom
          funny for him
14  TEA:  °jag vet inte vad han tycker är roligt°
          °I don't know what he thinks is funny°
          ((keeps giving Hamid "the look"))
15  HAM:  ((looks away from teacher))
          (9)
16  TEA:  ((looks sternly at Hamid))
17  JOH:  ((still smiling))
18  HAM:  men (  )x skratta (han göra att vi ska) skratta
          but (  )x laugh (he makes that we should) laugh
          ((points to John with palm up open hand))
19  TEA:  ((releases grip, looks at Hamid, and walks away))
```

The teacher asks Hamid whether he has understood or not (line 1). That is, even though Hamid provides various forms of confirmations of the teacher's reprimands prior to line 1, she still finds it necessary to question whether he 'understands' what she is saying. Also in this case Hamid answers "yes" (line 2), as if acting in a compliant manner. The teacher's response—an accusatory noticing—in line 3 provides a hint about why Hamid's utterances, despite their affirming character, are not treated as compliant: "but you are smiling". This moment is illustrated in Fig. 3. The turn-initial conjunction "but" brings forth the contrast, indicating that she does not treat Hamid's prior "yes" as a sufficiently compliant response that displays and attests to his cognitive and moral state of understanding. Hamid answers "I know" (line 4) and the teacher points out that "that feels a little odd to me" (line 5). The teacher's response is noteworthy in terms of evaluating the moral valence of the pupil's laughter: she explicitly describes laughter as an inappropriate affective stance in the particular—disciplining—activity.

Rather than responding, Hamid changes topic from disciplining: he asks instead whether he can go home now (line 6). Going home in the middle of the school day is clearly outside the range of permissible activities for school children of this age, and his response has the quality of resistance and ridicule. In addition, he is smiling, despite the teacher's prior statement that she finds his smiling problematic. In response the teacher produces "the look" (see also Ex. 1) for quite a few seconds during which Hamid looks away and also hides his face in the hand that is not held by the teacher (line 7, Fig. 4).

Eventually Hamid turns to John, with an imperative "don't laugh" (line 11), demanding him to stop his (silent or "repressed") laughter. He also asks the teacher

Fig. 3 Hamid smiling (line 3 in transcript)
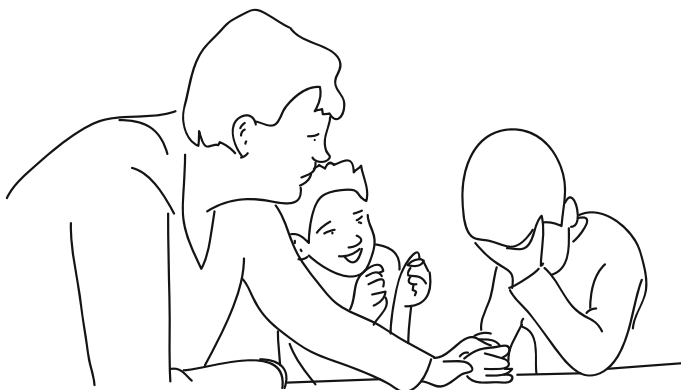
Fig. 4 Hamid hides his face in presence of "the look" (line 7 in transcript)

what John finds funny about the situation (line 12–13), thereby calling to the teacher's attention that he is not the only one who smiles or laughs: he distributes the blame of inappropriate emotion conduct between the classmates. The teacher responds that she does not know why (line 14), which indicates that there is no appropriate reason for laughter. Hamid's attempt to direct the teacher's attention to John instead of himself clearly fails in that the teacher throughout the exchange sustains "the look" at him (line 14 and 16) (and Hamid once again looks away from the teacher). After about nine more seconds John is still smiling and Hamid points to John and accuses him of making him laugh (line 18). He not only treats the classmate's smile as sanctionable but also skillfully attempts to deflect the blame of inappropriate affective conduct from himself. At this point, the teacher withdraws from the disciplining exchange as she releases the grip of Hamid's arm and walks away.

In this example the smiles and the silent laughter serve as resources for outright resistance and non-compliance. Despite the teacher's disciplining efforts, her explicit comments on the inappropriateness of Hamid's smiles, repeated instances of "the look", and her sustained control touch (Cekaite 2016) on his arm, the pupil does not refrain from producing various smiles. A central feature of Hamid's smiling is its configuration with his gaze direction, as he keeps looking away and repeatedly turns away to avoid the teacher's disciplining "the look" and the participation framework created by her holding of his arm. All in all, the pupil's smiles (and gaze aversion) serve as effective resources for implicating resistance against the teacher's disciplining.

Regarding normativity and accountability, it is noteworthy that Hamid invokes the idea that smiling may be something that you "can't help" doing (disclaiming agency), as he says that John is "making him" smile (line 18). John is supposedly doing this simply by the way he is himself smiling. This shows that the extent to which laughter and smiling are deployed skillfully, or comes as a "natural" and socially contagious reflex, is not only an issue which concerns researchers interested in emotion; it is also an issue for the participants themselves as the very accountability of laughter and smiling is sometimes open for negotiation. Although the teacher does not seem to be convinced by Hamid's argument, in the sense that she does not shift her attention to John, she does not explicitly question it.

Just like in the previous example (Ex. 1) we see here how the communicative effect of smiling is highly dependent on its orchestration with other semiotic resources, such as its coordination with gaze and speech, and how its social and moral meaning is negotiated and co-constructed in and through the interaction with others. Smiling and laughter are closely connected and overlay other actions (e.g., serious responses to disciplining) achieving morally powerful, but here, inappropriate keying (Goffman 1974) of classroom conduct.

Negotiating "Laughing at" and "Laughing with" in Playful Teasing

The previous examples included explicit comments on laughing and smiling that indicated that these affective displays were somehow undesirable and that the children had to modify their conduct. In contrast, Excerpt 3 does not involve verbal comments that directly focus on laughter or smiling, but we will still argue that there is an orientation here to whether laughter is appropriate or not.

Four children, aged three to five years old, are sitting by a table at the pre-school, waiting for lunch to be served. There are plates, glasses and cutlery on the table. No adults are part of the interaction in this excerpt.

Frida (FRI) is engaged in a kind of playful teasing of Tindra (TIN). The interaction comes to be structured by "rounds". In each round Frida takes some of Tindra's cutlery, Tindra then takes it back, and then a new round starts. Frida smiles throughout the whole excerpt, and sometimes laughs. When the excerpt starts, Tindra holds one hand on her fork, which lies on the table. Frida reaches towards Tindra's fork (line 1) and tries to take it.

```
1    FRI:  ((smiles and reaches for Tindra's fork at table))
2    FRI:  ((uses one hand to physically remove Tindra's hand
           from the fork, and locking her arm up, and then
           using the other hand to take the fork))
3    TIN:  [ne::j Fri-hi-da de e min
           [no:: Fri-hi-da it is mine
           whining voice
4    FRI:  hihi
5    TIN:  får ja de e min
           give me it is mine
           whining voice
6    TIN:  ((reaches for the fork))
7    FRI:  hihihi
           ((holds the fork outside Tindra's reach))
8    TIN:  slu::ta då
           sto::p it
           ((grabs Frida's arm))
9    FRI:  hihihi
           ((moves arm back towards Tindra, but without
           releasing the grip of the fork))
10   TIN:  ((takes fork from Frida's hand and keeps it away
           from Frida))
11   FRI:  hihihihi
12   TIN:  jag håller den
           I'm holding it
           ((still keeping fork away from Frida))
13   FRI:  hihihihi
14   FRI:  ((takes Tindra's plate))
15   TIN:  näe [Frida de e min
           no  [Frida it is mine
           ((reaching for, and grabbing, the plate))
           ((starts smiling))
           determined rather than whining voice
16   FRI:      [hihihi
17   TIN:  allt de här e mitt
           all of this is mine
           ((puts plate on table and embraces plate, glass, and
           the cutlery))
```

18 FRI: *allt de här e mitt*
          all of this is mine
          ((takes Tindra's glass))
19 TIN: *tack*
          thanks
          ((reaches for the glass, smiles, and takes it))
          cheerful voice
20 FRI: hihihih
21 TIN: *allt de här e mitt*
          all of this is mine
          ((embracing plate, glass and cutlery again, and
          moving it slightly in the direction of Frida))

Frida needs to use one hand to physically remove Tindra's hand, and then to lock Tindra's arm, and then Frida uses her other hand to take the fork (line 2). Tindra protests, saying that the fork belongs to her (line 3) with a whining (slightly irritated) voice. Frida laughs (line 4) and Tindra repeats that the fork belongs to her (line 5), again with a whining (slightly irritated) voice. Tindra then reaches for the fork (line 6) and Frida laughs again and moves it farther away, out of Tindra's reach (line 7, see also Fig. 5). Tindra tells Frida to stop (line 8) and manages to grab Frida's arm. Now Frida apparently allows Tindra to move Frida's arm closer towards Tindra, but still without releasing the grip of the fork (line 9). Nevertheless, Tindra eventually takes the fork, with a gloomy gaze towards Frida (line 10). Frida laughs (line 11), and Tindra now says "I'm holding it" while keeping the fork away from Frida (line 12). Tindra smiles slightly for the first time during the teasing episode, but the smile has a forced character. This marks the end of what we may call the first "round" of the teasing activity.

Fig. 5 Holding fork out of reach (line 7 in transcript)

Fig. 6 A slight smile at Tindra's lips (line 15 in transcript)

Frida restarts the teasing activity: she laughs (line 13) and takes Tindra's plate (line 14). Tindra protests again (line 15), but now uses a determined rather than whining voice. She also grabs the plate simultaneously as she protests. In contrast to the previous round, Frida does not use force to prevent Tindra. For instance, she does not hold the plate out of reach for Tindra, and allows Tindra to take the plate back. There is also a slight smile starting to show on Tindra's lips as she grabs, and is allowed to take back, her plate (see Fig. 6). Frida laughs again (line 16), Tindra puts the plate back on the table and protectively embraces the plate, the glass, and the cutlery. In a somewhat cheerful voice she claims "all of this is mine" (line 17). This marks the end of the second "round".

Frida now repeats Tindra's utterance ("all of this is mine") while taking Tindra's glass (line 18). Tindra then reaches for the glass. Now Frida actually gives the glass back and Tindra says "thanks" in a clearly cheerful voice (line 19, see also Fig. 7). Apart from the tone of voice, the act of thanking in itself has a polite and positive quality. Frida laughs again (line 20) and Tindra embraces all her things on the table once more while repeating the, by now, formulaic utterance "all of this is mine" (line 21). This time Tindra even moves the things that she is embracing slightly in the direction of Frida, as if inviting Frida to take something more. This is the end of the third "round".

The playful teasing continues, but for our purposes we stop the analysis at this point. Of interest is the progression throughout the three rounds: each round involves less physical force and antagonism on Frida's part, more displays of amusement on Tindra's part, and more cooperative behavior from both parties. The first round involves the use of physical force, keeping things out of reach, and not letting go of the grips—and no amusement on Tindra's part, e.g. a kind of po-faced response to the teasing (cf. Drew 1987)—but Frida gradually downplays the

Fig. 7 Tindra smiles and Frida gives the glass back (line 19 in transcript)

"violence" involved in her teasing. Instead she shifts to an increasingly more cooperative mode of interaction where Tindra is allowed to "win" to a larger extent and with less effort. Tindra, in turn, responds by displaying increasingly positive emotional expressions (cheerful voice, smiling, etc.) and changes her participation from the initially clear rejection to affectively positive participation in the teasing "game".[2]

As stated before, in this case Tindra does not explicitly remark on Frida's laughter or smiling. We would nevertheless still argue that the situation involves a negotiation of the tension between teasing and play between the two girls where the initial absence of amusement, and presence of explicit protests, on Tindra's part is gradually resolved. The negotiation takes place, not only verbally, but to a large extent through the ways in which the bodily actions are designed. Eventually Tindra and Frida converge at a form of shared "laughing with" rather than the initial "laughing at".

Discussion

As described in the section on previous research, much laughter and smiling seem to come about where some sort of incongruence is actualized so that one may perhaps speak of general patterns of when and why people produce these expressions. At the same time, it is clear that laughing and smiling are situated activities, where the details of the performance has distinct consequences for what the laughter

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[2]While it is difficult to point out a clear causal relation between the girls' actions and the uptake of laughter, the analysis clearly demonstrates changes in the girls' collaborative participation.

and smiling comes to mean in its context. Indeed, one of the overarching insights to learn from the analysis is how strongly dependent the communicative effect of laughter and smiling is on its multimodal orchestration with other semiotic resources (e.g. gaze, posture, gesture, and speech).

As demonstrated, these expressions are not always treated as "positive". That is not to say that the kind of examples analyzed here are very common or that people generally treat children's laughter as problematic. However, we show that sometimes laughter and smiling are treated as troubles in interaction, and that children come to learn when, if, and how laughter and smiling may be appropriate or inappropriate, that laughter can serve certain purposes, or otherwise be consequential. Laughing and smiling in certain ways and in certain contexts can and will encounter reproaches and resistance.

At the same time the accountability of laughter and smiling seem to be at least partly open to negotiation and co-construction, residing somewhere in the grey zone between being a reaction (i.e. can't be helped) and being an action (i.e. associated with full responsibility). That is, the extent to which laughter and smiling should be treated as socially organized and learned or as "natural" and spontaneous is not just an issue for researchers, but partly also an issue, and a resource, for the participants in interaction themselves. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in this chapter, children are indeed held accountable for their laughter and smiling.

The first two extracts show some of the different ways in which laughter and smiling can be treated as problematic and therefore in the need of remedial action. Laughter and smiling are associated with particular, normatively appropriate interactional positions and the children are guided towards when it can or cannot be deployed. In Ex. 1 there is an explicit orientation to the inappropriateness of the laughter, although the teacher is not explicit about *what* is wrong with the laughter —whether it is the audible quality of the laughter that disturbs the book reading or whether they laugh at things they shouldn't be laughing about, or something else. The teacher uses several disciplining actions, combining various modalities, "the look", talk and gesture, in managing and modifying children's affective conduct. Such actions have socializing, i.e., learning, potential in that the teacher requests and achieves the children's modifications of their affective conduct.

Ex. 2 involves the participants' explicit orientation towards "positive" emotional expression in a remedial interchange as problematic. The teacher points out that Hamid is smiling despite her disciplinary telling-off, and that "that feels odd". Hamid, by laminating his verbal responses with smiling and silent laughter resists the requirements to bodily display of remorse and of serious understanding of the wrongdoing. On the contrary, the smiling continues to be exploited as a resource for resistance and non-compliance.

A third kind of orientation to smiling and laughter is found in Ex. 3. Here there is no explicit mention or topicalization of laughter or smiling as such, but rather an absence of a child's reciprocal laughter (e.g. no joining into laughter, cf. Adelswärd 1989; Drew 1987; Glenn 2003; Jefferson 2004) as well as the explicit presence of protests against the teasing actions of the other child. This occasions the children's recalibration of play actions from intrusive to modulated and similarly to Ex. 1–2,

such recalibration exploits and adds to the normative knowledge of the social norms of affective conduct. The use of emotional expression vis-à-vis some focus of concern thereby forms part of the children's interactional competence that is shaped in and through social interaction.

Taken together the analysis show that the explicitness of the affective norms involved varies substantially. Sometimes such affective knowledge is mentioned explicitly, in speech, or in speech plus gesture, but in many cases the affective and moral knowledge construction seem to play out on a more subtle level. As demonstrated, responses to laughter and smiling, when it is treated as problematic, vary substantially in their specificity. Sometimes responses seem to address the activity of the children more generally, where laughter is but one modality in the design of action, and sometimes responses are specifically directed at the display of emotion—laughing or smiling—as such. But also in the latter case teachers and peers do not necessarily respond merely to the fact that a child is laughing or smiling, but rather to the way the laughter and smiling is embedded in that particular type of situation. It is therefore difficult (and undesirable) to draw clear boundaries of where the socialization and knowledge about the appropriateness of laughter and smiling begins and ends. There is a whole range of interactional activities that have a bearing—more or less explicit and more or less specific—on how to use and exploit emotional expression in interaction.

Furthermore, socialization is not simply a matter of transmission of pre-existing cultural norms (e.g. a form of static knowledge) but something which is open to mutual (re)interpretation. Indeed, the present study points to the kinds of everyday activities through which laughing and smiling emerges as a competence. Here we find that the very accountability and social consequentiality of laughter and smiling is open to negotiation and co-construction, in and through the interaction.

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Chapter 9
Schoolyard Suspect: Blame Negotiations, Category Work and Conflicting Versions Among Children and Teachers

Ann-Carita Evaldsson

Introduction

This chapter examines the divergent local moral orders constructed in peer group interactions versus in teacher-student interactions when teachers become responsible for and actively take part in children's conflict resolutions and management of problematic conduct in play activities on the schoolyard. The analysis draws on video recordings from a particular dramatic event on the schoolyard, which was triggered when a group of boys found out that a girl had lost most of her Pokémon cards. The analysis details the ways in which contrasting moral versions and descriptions of a problematic event develops in children's peer group interactions and in teacher-child interactions. Particular attention is on how blame is attributed and negotiated and how membership categorizations are used to undercut, realign or discredit an account among children versus adults. This has a specific relevance for the omission of blame worthy actions and for how the teachers deconstruct the conflicting versions that develop in the children's peer group interactions to build an alternative version of events that enforce an asymmetrical moral order of the school.

A number of ethnomethodological studies have demonstrated how children in their interactions with peers do not simply follow adult-teacher imposed orders but creatively make sense of and appropriate adult norms and moral orders for constructing the local social order of the peer group (see Goodwin and Kyratzis 2014 for an overview). In particular Corsaro (2009) has shown how children's understanding

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of preschool rules provide a frame within which their peer relations are played out, tested and negotiated (see also Cobb-Moore et al. 2009; Theobald and Danby, Chap. 7 this volume). Danby and Baker (1998) demonstrates how preschool boys involved in conflicts strategically called upon the teacher to strengthen their positions in the peer group rather than asking the teacher to solve their conflicts (see also Maynard 1985). Studying boys' gossip-telling Evaldsson (2002) found that 'a call for the teachers' intervention' justified practices of exclusion and shaped the negative categorization of the target of offence. However, so far only a few studies have explored the local orders constructed when teachers intervene in and actively take part in solving and minimizing children's conflicts (Cekaite 2013; Danby and Baker 1998; Theobald and Danby 2012). As shown by Danby and Baker (1998), teachers' solving conflicts between children encompass a delicate situation of dealing with a problematic event on the basis of children's reports about past events. Theobald and Danby (2012) demonstrate in their analysis of a playground incident in a preschool setting, how children are encouraged to work up accounts of conflicting events in their playground practices. However, although the teacher in a seemingly neutral way accounted for the children's perspectives, they found that it was the teacher's reconstructed version of what counted as appropriate playground behaviors that was put forward in the end. Researching a first grade classroom, Cekaite (2013, p. 522) also found that children were encouraged to elaborate their individual accounts, but that the asymmetrical order of the classroom was related to the teachers' attempts to control and socialize the students, including their peer group conduct. Thus, teachers' and children's accounts for problematic actions are not objective or neutral descriptions of past actions but rather constitutive of different moral orders and perspectives of events among children and adults.

Blame Attributions and Membership Categories as Resources in Accounting Practices

The ambition here is to trace the different forms of moral work and knowledge accomplished in the development of conflicting versions of a problematic event as told by children among peers and in interactions with teachers. The point made is that the recognition of an event as problematic marks a necessary condition for the launching of an accounting practice where different versions of an event can be put forward and deemed as acceptable and legitimate warrants for certain sorts of action ascription (Buttny 1993; Jayyusi 1991; Watson 1978). Accounts are important resources for explaining and morally evaluating own and others' actions and provide important resources for participants to tell their version of an event (Buttny 1993). Such accounts also provide participants with resources for 'doing blaming'

in that they manage the ascription of responsibility (Pomerantz 1978; Watson 1978). As Watson (1978) has shown, membership categorizations done within sequences where blame is negotiated or attributed are central resources for undercutting and discrediting an account, and to forestall and countering challenges to accounts.

In order to examine how membership categories and other linguistic and embodied features are used in the teacher's and the children's competing accounts the approach taken here ties directly to the ethnomethodological concern for members' understanding of social categories (Membership Categorization Analysis —MCA) and conversation analytic (CA) examination of talk-in-interaction (Sacks 1992; Hester and Eglin 1997). As Sacks (1972) points out, categorizations are bound up with particular actions; so-called category bound activities, constitutive of a category, including rights obligations and knowledge, that are made available and constituted in the local contexts of practical actions. Not only is the conventional connection between categories and activities a sense-making device in that it makes inferences about other people, but the activity itself may be used as a way of implicitly categorizing people (Watson 1978). Membership categories do not merely describe participants in distinct yet complementary ways, but also provides for the very accountability of certain actions or omissions of actions (Jayyusi 1991). Speakers may be held accountable for the categories that they use and may be corrected if they select pejorative categories or otherwise morally loaded expressions (Bergmann 1998, p. 287). Categories for actors as well as for actions constitute also a central part of the descriptive and expressive devices through which members of a culture display their differential rights and entitlements to knowledge in the course of ongoing actions (Enfield 2011; Heritage and Raymond 2005). Using these understandings the analysis will focus on how membership categories and category ascriptions, which produce normative expectations and discrepant knowledge attributions occasioning blame and accounts, are negotiated in the management of conflicting versions among children (see also Canty, Chap. 18 this volume) versus teachers. Particular attention is on how activity descriptions and category membership are used to undercut and realign own versions of events and to discredit the other's in children's peer interaction as opposed to teacher-student interaction. Indeed the multiple resources on which the children as compared to teachers rely in their selection and organization of blameworthy events and categories will be at the centre of the analysis.

In our analysis we use the accepted convention of single quotation marks ('offender' versus 'witness') to signify the specific category under investigation. The transcription format is a simplified version of the one used in conversation analysis (CA). The English translations are as close as possible to the Swedish verbatim records. All names have been changed to ensure the anonymity of the participants, and have been replaced with fictional names, preserving the ethnic groupings.

Video-Ethnographic Study: School Setting, Playground Arrangements and Participants

The selected data draw from a video-ethnographic study among children in two first grade classrooms (50 h) and on the playground (50 h) documented over a period of a year, in an elementary school in Sweden. In all, around 200 students from pre-school through third grade, 6–10 years of age, attended the school. Most students came from an inner-city multiethnic residential area where families, according to Swedish standards, had socioeconomic problems. All students were integrated into Swedish classes independent of ethnic background and language proficiencies in Swedish.

During recess, children were free to move across various spaces and to socialize with whomever they chose on the playground. One of the most popular activities was exchanging Pokémon cards. The activity was mainly organized among boys in first through third grade in ethnically mixed groups. Gender arrangements were characterized by the social choreography of "with" and "apart" where boys and girls were not physically separated, but spent considerable time apart from one another, with only a few girls participating in the Pokémon card exchanges. One such girl is Maria a second grader, who finds out that she has lost all of her Pokémon cards. The other children who participate in the event are five boys: Niki, Dario, Mike and Edin in second grade, and four boys in first grade: Simon, Abu, Dino and Edin, who take on different sides. All children are fluent in Swedish. The teachers who intervene in the children's conflict on the schoolyard are the second-grade teacher (T-2) and the first-grade teacher (T-1), who also bring up the schoolyard incident in the first-grade classroom.

The Temporal Development of Conflicting Versions Among Children and Teachers

The analysis traces the temporal development of conflicting versions of a the particular 'incident with the missing Pokémon cards', as presented and elaborated on first among the children in their peer group interaction and then in the children's interaction with teachers, who intervene to find out what has happened. The first part consists of a highly aggravated dispute with blame allocations and the launching of two conflicting versions among the boys in their peer interaction (Excerpt 1). And then, when the teachers intervene, an elaborated discussion where two divergent moral versions are presented in teacher-student interaction, first on the schoolyard (Excerpts 2–5) and later in class among the first graders (Excerpts 5–7). As the participating children produced conflicting version of the incident in progress, different aspects of the children's actions also became blameworthy in the teachers' recapitulations of the event.

Blame Negotiations on the Schoolyard

Identifying 'Victim' and 'Offender' in Conflict Talk and Blame Negotiations Among Children

The conflicts among the children on the schoolyard were triggered when some boys in the second grade found out that a girl in their class named Maria, was crying because she had lost most of her Pokémon cards. In Excerpt 1, the boys are chasing Dino, a first grader, when one of the boys (Dario) makes an announcement, "lots of cards are missing" (line 1). Dario's announcement is in the form of an abstract that previews a blame attribution, "he has nicked". As shown, the descriptions of the prior actions, i.e., 'the unhappy incident', provide the children with resources for allocating blame (cf. Pomerantz 1978).

Excerpt 1

1	Dario:	JÄTTEMÅNGA KORT E BORTA (.) HON HÅLLER PÅ Å GRÅTER Å Ä LESSEN
		LOTS OF CARDS ARE MISSING (.) SHE IS CRYING
2		HAN HAR SNOTT ↑JA
		AND SHE'S SAD (.) HE HAS NICKED ↑YEAH
3	Abu:	HAN HAR SNOTT
		HE HAS NICKED
4	Dario:	ge tillbaka då!
		give them back!
5	Dino:	Nä ((sparkar mot Dario))
		No ((kicking at Dario))
6	Edin:	VEM HAR SNOTT?
		WHO HAS STOLEN?
7	Dario:	DINO HAR SNOTT HAN HADE (GLITTRIGA) ((skriker))
		DINO HAS STOLEN, HE HAD (GLITTERY) ((screaming))
8	Niki:	han har köpt dom
		he has bought them
9	Dino:	ja jag har köpt
		yeah I bought them
10	Mike:	han har köpit likadana ja tror
		he has bought similar ones I believe-
11	Niki:	Ja tror i alla fall på de
		I believe him anyway
12	Dino:	Ja har redan ((xx xxx))
		I have already ((xx xxx))
13	GROUP:	*((surround Dino))*
14	Edin:	byter du?
		want to change?
15	Dino:	vi måste akta oss ((går iväg med Edin))
		we have to split ((walks away with Edin))

When Dario, in line 1, announces that "lots of cards are missing" he does not formulate an actor-agent responsible for the incident. As Pomerantz (1978) notes, "while inclusion of actor-agent is a standard form in announcements, stories, reports, etc. a feature of reports of 'unhappy incidents' is that the reported event/action/state is not co-joined with an actor agent'" (p. 116). The sequential ordering of the two consecutive announcements implies the order of the occurrences. The girl's crying can be interpreted as having started after the loss of the cards. Interpreting it in this way, the two announcements are recognizable as "a possible description" (Sacks 1972, p. 331) indicating an occurrence of a bit of trouble relevant to a particular person, e.g., the owner of the cards. The troublesome events, "lots of cards are missing" and the emotional ascription "she is crying" transform the owner of the cards into someone whom the children in the audience might feel sorry for. However, it is not until now that the children make explicit that the girl is also a victim of theft. This occurs when a blame attribution, in this case, an accusation, "he has nicked" (lines 2, 3), is directed toward Dino subsequent to the troublesome event "lots of cards are missing (.) she is crying" in line 1. The shape of the utterance "he has nicked" is interactionally effective, as it (a) specifies the untoward event as 'stealing' and (b) ties it to an actor-agent, (here Dino) thus making inferable the category 'offender', or even more specifically, 'thief'. (c) At the same time, this makes available a contrastive category for Maria as 'victim' or as 'robbed'.

In Dario's accusation, Dino is presented as the 'perpetrator' of the antecedent action, which gives him the status of a candidate blamed party. Dino stands accused of having stolen Maria's glittery cards, because he is seen to possess a few new ones himself, possibly the specific glittery ones that Dario knows belonged to Maria (line 7). In other words, Dino is made accountable for having new cards—this accountability is implied in the accusation. It is also this aspect that is picked up by two of the other boys Niki and Mike, who each claim that Dino has bought new cards (lines 8–11). Thus, once Dino's ownership is collaboratively accounted for, the accusation-casting him as a 'thief'—is temporarily resisted. The description of Dino as having bought new cards is effective, as it transforms him from a 'thief' into a 'victim of false accusations'. However as the description does not seem to gain 'privileged status' ('what really happened') Dino's leaving causes a shift in participation and activity–initiated by Edin that marks a return to the exchange of cards activity (lines 14–15). Thus, two conflicting versions have been created that, so far, can be seen as having "equal candidacy" (Watson 1978, p. 111).

Competing Accounts of Victim ('Robbed') and Offender ('Thief')

In the above excerpt, two competing accounts of 'the incident of the missing cards' are constructed from a standardized relational pair of categories 'victim' (i.e. robbed) and 'offender' (i.e. thief). The description of Dino's actions as stealing

implicitly categorizes him as a particular type of offender, a 'thief' while it cast the owner of the cards i.e., Maria, into a 'victim of theft' or as someone who has been 'robbed'. In these ways, the categorization of 'victim' and 'offender' provide for and make relevant a variety of blame allocation techniques such as accusations, complaints and insults performed in such a way that a co-participant, here Dino, can be held responsible for the missing cards.

However, as shown in Excerpt 2, blame allocations may also be performed in such a way that a witness can blame him/herself for a false description. In what follows, Niki gets an opportunity to apologize for his prior description of Dino's actions (lines 1–2) as the two teachers (T-1 and T-2) intervene in the peer activity trying to find out what has happened.

Excerpt 2

```
1    Niki:   å han sa till mig att han (1.0) han hade köpt dom
             and he told me that he (1.0) he had bought them
2            [å sen så hörde jag fel=
             [and then I got I wrong=
3    T-1:    =ja
             =yeah
4    Niki:   =så att jag tänkte berätta de till Maria
             =so I was going to tell Maria about it
5            men jag glömde- (1.0)
             but I forgot- (1.0)
6    T-1:    är har vi roten till hela du hörde fel (.)
             there is the trouble source you got it wrong (.)
7            har Dino viskat till dig att han har köpt Pokémon
             did Dino whisper to you that he bought Pokémon
8    Niki:   Nä: han har viskat att han har sno- a- att
             No: he whispered to me that he has nick- th- that
9            han har snott att han har snott fast jag hörde fel
             he has nicked that he has nicked but I got it wrong
10           han sa istället att han hade köpt dom
             he said instead that he had bought them
11   T-1:    du tyckte att han [sa att han hade snott=
             you   thought  he [said that he had nicked them=
12   Niki:                     [ja
                               [yeah
13   T-1:    =men då är de ju inget å bråka om
             =but then there is no need to argue
```

In the above excerpt Niki apologizes for having "got it wrong", that Dino "nicked" the cards (although he states that Dino actually said he bought them) (lines 1–2, 4–5). Although there is little phonologic proximity between the words

"nicked" (Sw. "snott") and "bought" (Sw. "köpt") in Swedish one of the teachers (T-1) immediately accounts for the mishearing as the problem (line 6) and requests more information (line 7). As Watson (1978) demonstrate in another context: "One thing that an excuse does is to warrant a 'looking again' procedure after complaint or accusation has been made—indeed this 'looking again' frequently involves a looking again with new resources, thus simultaneously providing for a different moral profile and for a re-distribution of blame'" (p. 109). What happens here is that Niki's apology warrants a re-distribution of blame to such extent that the offender (Dino) is re-categorized as 'innocent victim of false accusations'.

The teacher (T-1) endorses the description as shown in her formulation "then there is no need to argue" (line 13) is a very strong authorization of Niki's account. Niki's statement, "he told me that he had bought them, but I got it wrong" (lines 1–2), constitutes a "'self-authorizing' element in the account" (cf. Watson 1978, p. 111). In a sense, Niki deflects the blame away from Dino, apportioning it instead to himself. However, it is not so much a case of attributing responsibility to oneself as it is a case of choosing between two competing versions. The self-initiated item "I got it wrong" together with the teacher's (T-1) display of supportive stances indicates the dispreferred status of the prior account that tied Dino to the activity of stealing. At issue, then, in the two competing accounts is the matter of whether or not Dino may be categorized as a 'thief'.

Although the teacher (T-1) seems content to have solved the conflict by undermining the account of Dino stealing the Pokémon cards, the other teacher (T-2) points out the unsolved matter: the fact that the cards are still missing (lines 1–2).

Excerpt 3

```
        T-2:    men e de nån som vet var Marias
                but does anyone know where Maria's
                [Pokémon har tagit vägen
                [Pokémon cards are
  3     Dario:  [men vi få titta ((går mot Dino))
                [but let's have a look ((approaching Dino))
  4     Dino:   [↑NÄE ((till Dario))
                [↑NOPE ((to Dario))
  5     Simon:  [°dom e nånstans på skolan de e nån som har
                [°they gotta be somewhere in school someone has
  6             tagit dom° ((till lärare-2))
                taken them° ((to T-2)
  7     Dario:  ↑SERRU:: han vill inte visa för att han
                ↑SEE:: he doesn't want to show his cards cause he
  8             har snott dom ((till lärare-2))
                has nicked them ((to T-2))
  9     Dino:   ↑NÄE
                ↑NOO
```

```
10   T-1:      ↑A::MEN de kanske inte e därför han
               ↑EH::WELL but it might not be the reason why he
11             inte vill visa de e klart att han blir sur
               doesn't want to show  no wonder he gets cross
12             när ni jagar honom när han- när han- när de inte e
               with you when you chase him when he- when he- when
13             sant  de som [ni säger
               what you say [isn't true
14   Dino:               [ni jaga mej så ja- ja- ska inte visa-
                         [you're chasing me so I- I won't show-
15   Simon:    Maria har tappat bort en hel bunt me Pokémon
               Maria has lost a whole bunch of Pokémon
16   T-2:      vem har gjort de?
               who has done that?
17   Simon:    ja såg (xx xx)
               I saw (xx xx)
18   T-2:      nä men då får vi reda ut de-
               ok then we'll have to solve it-
19             de e svårt att reda ut nu, då får vi ta
               it's hard to solve now, so we'll have to do it
20             samling[en
                in cl[ass
21   T-1:             [↑MEN HÖRDE NI NU att Niki sa att han
                      [↑BUT DID YOU HEAR NOW what Niki said that
22             har hört fel hörde du de Dario
               he got it wrong did you hear that Dario
```

In response to the teacher's (T-2) request for information in lines 1–2, which focuses on what has happened to Maria's cards, Dario brings up his former accusation towards Dino (lines 3). As Dario does not account for where the missing cards are it leaves room for Simon to align with the conflicting version of someone having taken the cards (on line 5–6). As a result, Dino's moral character is again at stake. Dario elaborates on Dino's refusal to show the cards to the others as a sign of a 'guilty party' (lines 7–8). Here, being free of guilt is bound to the predicate of 'having nothing to hide'. When someone such as Dino does not display category-bound obligations (like 'showing the cards'), 'these matters may be claimed to be noticeably absent and especially accountable' (Watson 1978, pp. 106–107). Thus, the fact that Dino does not take the opportunity to give a reason for his own stance or provide evidence to prove his innocence is seen as proof of guilt.

Interestingly it is the first-grade teacher (T-1) who provides a reason for Dino 'not wanting to show' which is causally related to 'having been chased', or even 'falsely accused' (lines 10–13) which Dino then repeats and uses in his defence (line 14). The first-grade teacher (T-1) thus disqualifies the alleged relation between 'not wanting to show' and being 'guilty of theft'. In doing this, the teacher (T-1) redistributes the blame so that a new untoward event is formulated, namely that of

'false accusation'. In this event, it is the children who initially blamed Dino for having nicked who now become the offenders, while the putative offender is re-categorized as victim. Because Dino is now a victim of offensive behavior ('being lied about' and 'being chased'), his behavior is justified and motivated, and hence intelligible, as a '…normal, "matter of course" response' (Hester 2000, p. 211). This somewhat restores Dino's moral profile as 'innocent victim of false accusations', at least for the teacher. Simon's attempts to provide further evidence for that he has seen are ignored by the teacher. Instead the first-grade teacher (T-1) makes it again clear that the trouble source is Niki's mishearing (lines 21–22). In this way, she concludes that Dino is not to be blamed for the missing cards and that she expects the other children to accept Niki's account as a social fact.

Defensive Detailing and Mitigated Offences

In the subsequent interaction, it becomes obvious that the explanation offered by Niki and taken up by the first-grade teacher (T-1) satisfies neither the children nor the teachers. The cards are still missing and that fact has to be explained and accounted for. In the discussion that follows, the children and the teachers operate as detectives, setting out to search for observable clues to the mystery of the missing cards. Two lines of argument can be identified: one in which further evidence against Dino is brought up that strengthens the story of Dino as 'guilty of theft' (Excerpt 4) and another in which Niki's version is further complemented by the teachers' explanations for how the cards could have gone missing (see Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 4

```
1     Simon:   [ja känner till- jag känner till den där
               [I know- I know something about that
2              glittria-gubben som han har ja känner igen den
               glittery-man that he has got I can recognise it
3              för ja hade ritat lite på den=
               'cos I drew a little on it=
4     T-2:     =som Dino har
               =the one that Dino has
5     Simon:   ja
               yeah
6     T-2      så att de stämmer att de e hans menar du
               so it's correct that its his one you mean
7     T-1      nä  att Simon har ritat [lite
               no that Simon has drawn [bit
8     T-2                              [aha att de e Marias
                                       [aha that they're Maria's
```

```
9      T-1     ja Simon har ritat lite på sin så han
               yeah Simon has drawn a bit  on his card so he'll
10             känner igen den=
               recognize it=
11     T-2     =aha så du menar att du känner igen dom Pokémon
               =aha so you mean- you'll recognize those Pokémon
12             som  Dino har [att de e Marias=
               that Dino has [that they are Maria's
13     Simon:               [ja den dära
                             yeah that one
14     T-1     ja om de e ritat på den
               yeah if it's been drawn on
15     Simon:  ja jag rita bara en liten fläck på den-
               yeah I just drew a tiny speck on it
16     T-2     ja då får vi ta ett snack tycker ja-
               well then we'll have a chat I think
17     T-1     ska vi göra de efter rasten?
               should we do it after the break?
```

The only argument that undercuts the account provided earlier by Niki that Dino has bought new cards comes from Simon, who identifies one of the cards that Dino has as belonging to Maria (lines 1–3). Simon, who earlier argued that someone in school must have taken Maria's Pokémon cards, now provides further details about the missing cards (lines 1–3, 15). His account is followed up by both of the teachers, as they request more information (lines 4, 6, 8), provide clarifications (lines 7, 9–10, 11–12, 14) and suggest a discussion in class (lines 16–17). Asking for such elaboration is one of the prototypical methods available for recipients to display their interest in the events being told. Simon's detailing of his own conduct, i.e., 'his having drawn a tiny speck on Maria's cards', provides an alternative characterization of how the missing cards can be identified. Simon's account is not counter-challenged by the teachers or simply ignored, as is frequently done with the other arguments casting Dino as a 'thief'. This time Simon's detailed account does change the teachers' attitude towards the incident, making the incident worth taking up in class (lines 16–17). The moral work of the detailing casts Simon's account of 'knowing something' as an appropriate description motivated by certainty and observable evidence of the ownership of the missing cards, and hence a mitigated, accusation that Dino has stolen Maria's Pokémon. Simon's detailing is defensive insofar as it deflects away blame from himself as a speaker who cannot be accused for providing false or damaging information (see Drew 1998, pp. 295–325 for discussion of defensive detailing). Simon's detailing of observable evidence is artfully designed to set up a chain of inferences with the resulting upshot that the question remains if Dino has taken the cards from Maria.

Blame Negotiations in the Classroom

Pedagogic Discourse and Blame Allocations

In what follows, the incident on the schoolyard is transformed into a classroom activity and made a public concern for the group of first graders. When the children in first grade enter the classroom, the teacher (T-1) re-characterizes 'the incident of the missing cards' from the schoolyard as 'a conflict among the children', (lines 1–5). Following this opening description the classroom interaction is geared toward an examination type of questioning, recognizable as pedagogic discourse of the question-answer-evaluation format where there is but one correct response (Freebody and Freiberg 2000).

Excerpt 5

```
 1    T-1:     välkomna in tjejer vi pratar om de som hä- har
                welcome in girls we're talking about what hap-
 2             hänt lite tråkigt på rasten (.) de va många
                happened- a bit of a pity during recess (.) many
 3             barn som va osams (.) hur e de me
                children were cross with each other (.) what's the
 4             dom saker som ni tar me er hemifrån till skolan?
                deal with things you bring from home to school?
                (.)
 5             Marina du sa nåt?
                Marina you said something?
 6    Maria:   ma ma man får bara ha dom på rasten
                yo yo you're may only use them during recess
 7    T-1:     mm (3.0) e're nåt mer tror ni som man får tänka
                mm (3.0) is there anything else you should think
 8             på (2.0) e're så bra å ta me sig sina
                about (2.0) is it such a good idea to bring your
 9             älsklingsgrejer till skolan
                favourite things to school
10    All:     ((Children showing thumbs down))
11    T-1:     men ↑Simon nu säger du att Dino har snott nåt
                but Simon now you say that Dino nicked something
12             ↑har du sett de?
                ↑have you seen that?

13    Simon:   °ja jag har sett att han att han kom in å sen
                °yeah I have seen that he that he entered and then
14             tog nåt- så tyckte jag att han bara kolla
                took something- so I thought he was just looking
15             fast sen när jag kom in istället för han så såg jag
                but when I entered after him then I saw
16             att nåra va borta- de va därför jag visste att han
                that some were missing- that's why I knew that he
```

```
17                      hade snott°
                        had stolen°
18      Dino:           nae::
                        nope:
19      T-1:            fast du säger ju att du har ju inte egentligen sett
                        but you are saying that you haven't actually seen
20                      de å så tycker jag inte heller man får göra man får
                        that and I don't think you should do that either
21                      inte springa å säga att nån har snott om man inte
                        you can't say that someone has stolen if you don't
22                      vet-
                        know
```

The teacher invites the children to participate in answering a series of questions concerning "things you bring from home to school" (lines 1–16). The activity is set off by the teacher asking the class about the rules of conduct in school (lines 3–5). The teacher follows up Marina's rule description in line 6 with a minimal agreement before she proceeds to ask the whole class an open question, in which she raises the moral issue of 'bringing private things to school' (lines 7–8). As nobody ventures to answer, the teacher then reformulates her question, asking the class again whether they think it is such a good idea to bring one's favorite things to school (lines 8–9). Clearly, this makes it more obvious for the class what type of answer the teacher is expecting, as seen by the children's increased engagement in the talk in lines 10–16. The teacher's reformulation can be seen to offer a specification of the initial cause of the children's conflict on the schoolyard, that is "to bring your favorite things to school". Eli recognizably analyses the teacher's talk in this way, as we can see in his response "then you might loose them" (line 15). However, Simon brings the attention to another plausible explanation, "or someone might nick them" (line 16). The latter gives rise to an analogy and exemplification, "as they did to Maria", that makes the general knowledge about the rules for private belongings more concrete. Hence, Simon's alternative explanation launches a topic shift that invokes the particular 'incident of the missing cards'.

The teacher's rather abrupt and explicit discontinuation of Simon's proposal emphasizes that the significant topic of discussion is the students' adherence to the more general rules of conduct in school (lines 17–26). The exchange culminates in an explicit knowledge ascription "surely you know that", a formulation of the rules and the pedagogical significance of the exchange (lines 24–25). The formulation can be interpreted as a teacher-imposed regulation of the school rules, namely that children should not bring things from home to school. The previously urgent issue on the schoolyard for the children of finding someone responsible for Maria's missing cards is no longer a matter of discussion. The teacher suggests an alternative version according to which the category of "many children" and its predicate "bring things from home to school" is causally related to "we are running back and forth". Thus the invocation of the category "many children" projects the relevance of a standardized relational category that of "few teachers" inferable from the predicate "we who work here". This could be interpreted as implicating teachers' difficulty in controlling and taking care of

what the children are doing, and hence a motive for the statement that "things might get lost". As a result, 'missing things' are accounted for as part of the disorder in school and children are indirectly blamed for 'not knowing' and 'not remembering' the moral significance of the school's rules of conduct: 'to *not* bring things from home to school'.

Blaming the Victim

However Simon's explanation that someone might steal (Excerpt 6, line 16) is not simply ignored. The teacher publicly offers her interest in the topic of stealing, brought up by Simon, as a matter of pedagogical interest to the group (Freebody and Freiberg 2000). The rhetorical question "how many children think that you can steal" invites the first graders to agree with the teacher's moral orientation to stealing (Excerpt 6, line 3). This orientation, that implies that no offence or transgression has been committed (here by Dino), indicates the sensitive matter of openly blaming someone for stealing. Dino immediately responds to the question with a denial, showing his disapproval by giving it a thumb down (line 5). The fact that the teacher (lines 6–8) and most of the children, except Simon, endorse Dino's denial, as shown in their uptake of his gesture (line 10), becomes a very strong authorization of the cohort of children's adherence to the teacher-imposed rule of not stealing. In answering 'no', the children can also be seen to recognize that the issue of believability of 'children as stealing' is being raised.

Excerpt 6

```
1        T-1:        å sen vare en sak till ↑Simon de där me att nån
                     e: then there's one more thing ↑Simon that someone
2                    kan sno i skolan Simon mm (2.0) ↑men då undrar ja
                     can steal in school mm (2.0) but then I wonder
3                    hur många barn som tycker att man får sno saker
                     how many children think that you can steal things
4                    som inte-
                     that do not-
5        Dino:       ja har inte snott ((gör tummen ner))
                     I haven't stolen ((pointing his thumb down))
6        T-1:        ↑Just ↓de ((gör tummen ner)) nu gjorde du
                     exactly ((pointing her thumb down)) now you did
7                    så här tummen ner (.) inte får man gå å sno: saker
                     like this thumb down (.) you can't steal things
8                    som inte e- som inte e sina
                     that don't- that is not yours
9        Dino:       nä:e
                     no:pe ((showing thumb down))
10       All:        ((Children showing thumbs down))
11       T-1:        men ↑Simon nu säger du att Dino har snott nåt
                     but Simon now you say that Dino nicked something
```

```
1      T-1:     å sen vare en sak till ↑Simon de där me att nån
                e: then there's one more thing ↑Simon that someone
2               kan sno i skolan Simon mm (2.0) ↑men då undrar ja
                can steal in school mm (2.0) but then I wonder
3               hur många barn som tycker att man får sno saker
                how many children think that you can steal things
4               som inte-
                that do not-
5      Dino:    ja har inte snott ((gör tummen ner))
                I haven't stolen ((pointing his thumb down))
6      T-1:     ↑Just ↓de ((gör tummen ner)) nu gjorde du
                exactly ((pointing her thumb down)) now you did
7               så här tummen ner (.) inte får man gå å sno: saker
                like this thumb down (.) you can't steal things
8               som inte e- som inte e sina
                that don't- that is not yours
9      Dino:    nä:e
                no:pe ((showing thumb down))
10     All:     ((Children showing thumbs down))
11     T-1:     men ↑Simon nu säger du att Dino har snott nåt
                but Simon now you say that Dino nicked something
12              ↑har du sett de?
                ↑have you seen that?

13     Simon:   °ja jag har sett att han att han kom in å sen
                °yeah I have seen that he that he entered and then
14              tog nåt- så tyckte jag att han bara kolla
                took something- so I thought he was just looking
15              fast sen när jag kom in istället för han så såg jag
                but when I entered after him then I saw
16              att nåra va borta- de va därför jag visste att han
                that some were missing- that's why I knew that he
17              hade snott°
                had stolen°
18     Dino:    nae::
                nope:
19     T-1:     fast du säger ju att du har ju inte egentligen sett
                but you are saying that you haven't actually seen
20              de å så tycker jag inte heller man får göra man får
                that and I don't think you should do that either
21              inte springa å säga att nån har snott om man inte
                you can't say that someone has stolen if you don't
22              vet-
                know
```

The teacher's question to Simon in lines 11–12 treats Simon's earlier proposal as potentially disputable, expressing a competing "point of view" (Hester and Francis 1997, p. 107). The question is interactionally consequential in at least three ways. First, it provides Simon with an opportunity to explain and modify his former

account (lines 13–17). Second, it expresses doubt/skepticism, on the part of the teacher insinuating the issue of an unreliable description of the prior incident. At the same time the question "have you seen that?" (line 12) transforms Simon into a 'key witness', a category not explicitly used.

The witnessed nature of circumstances as described in Simon's detailed account, is based on first hand evidence, that is, evidence where the witness—has had access to target events and could be seen to have epistemic authority (Heritage and Raymond 2005). The epistemic stance "yeah I have seen that" (line 13) indicates at the same time that Simon reflexively orients to that his version may become questioned by the teacher. The fact that Simon presents a detailed description shaped as a report of 'events that happened' constitutes a crucial resource in the authorization of his account (of what was actually the case) (Watson 1978). The account is constructed so as to highlight the deliberate and intended nature of Dino's past actions, categorizing his acts as stealing. This serves in turn to call into question the nature of the offender's involvement in the local moral order of the school. However, the particular activity of 'seeing' is used by the teacher to undermine Simon's account, "but you are saying that you haven't actually seen that" (lines 19–20). Hence the teacher uses Simon's own arguments to discredit his version and to cast it as unbelievable. Clearly, the teacher treats Simon's version of the event as morally sanctionable and as in violation of the rules of conduct in school. One possible way to make sense of the teacher's disqualifications at this point is that Simon's detailed accounts carry morally loaded expressions and damaging information (see Drew 1998). Thus, instead of being treated as 'key witness', Simon is being blamed for a morally reproachable event, namely that of bearing 'false testimony'.

Undercutting Children's Accounts

The teacher (T-1) then outlines the moral characterization of the problematic event of accusing a fellow student for stealing, without sufficient knowledge based on observable evidence, as well as the moral positions of the participants (Sterponi 2003, p. 93). Thereby, the teacher also constitutes herself as a moral authority who posses a specialized knowledge about children's social relationships and their moral consequences. The last excerpt demonstrates some of the different techniques the teacher uses to further undercut Simon's competing account. By virtue of the fact that there are two competing versions of what had happened to the missing cards, the teacher's discrediting of Simon's account becomes also a support for Dino's position as an 'innocent victim of false accusation'.

Excerpt 7

```
1      Simon     [ja har sett
                 [I have seen
2      T-1:      fast Simon man kan inte bara- du tror ju för du
                 but Simon you can't just you believe that cos you
3                har ju inte sett att nån har tatt å vi ska titta på
                 haven't seen anyone taking and we will look at
4                Dinos kort för du säger ju att du visst vet ett
                 Dino's cards since you're saying that you know a
5                märke som va på de kortet- då kan vi leta efter de
                 mark that was on that card- then we can look for it
6      Dino:     ja fick de
                 it was a gift
7      T-1:      ja men om de ä så att du fått den
                 yeah but if it's like that it was given to you
8                då kan du visa mig Pokémon kortet så ska ja titta
                 then you can show me the Pokémon card e I will look
9      Dino:     ja har redan visat när du titta
                 I have already shown when you were looking
10     T-1:      då ska ja titta om de märket finns
                 I will look to see if there is a mark
```

```
11               å är e så att det inte finns nåt märke-
                 and if there isn't a mark-
12     Simon:    °ja ska ändå ha den°
                 °I still want to have it°
13     T-1:      ↑NE:: då kan man inte säga så
                 NO:: then you can't say that
14     Simon:    °då tjallar ja till mamma°
                 °I'm gonna tell my mum°
15     Dino:     säg då
                 tell her
16     T-1:      va
                 what
17     Simon:    ja tjallar till mamma
                 I will tell my mum
18     Dino:     tjalla då
                 tell her then
19     T-1:      ja men då äre så här igen om de inte finns
                 yes but it's like this once again if there isn't
20               nåt märke på som du säger då kanske de e så att-
                 a mark as you say then maybe-
21               Dino har köpt den i affären
                 Dino has bought it in the store
```

The recycling of the argument "I have seen" (line 1) is used by Simon to intensify and sustain his version with greater believability. Simon's account

contains a statement of position or motive that refocuses on Dino's alleged offence. However, Simon's description of having seen Dino stealing the cards is not given privileged status by the teacher as a description of what actually happened (lines 2–3). Nonetheless, the discussion is geared towards the particular 'incident of the missing cards' and Dino as a 'potential offender'.

The teacher now reintroduces another dimensions of the assessments of the particular event by presenting the contrasting argument brought up earlier by Simon on the schoolyard (see Excerpt 4)—the argument about "a mark that was on that card" (lines 3–5). What is at issue in the witness' report initially provided on the schoolyard by the same child, Simon, is the matter of taking children's reports at face value or the matter of "seeing is believing" (Hester and Francis 1997, p. 103). The issue implied here by the teacher is that she will only believe what Simon says if there is some observable evidence that can be seen by the teacher herself (lines 4–5, 7–8, 10–11, 13, 19–21). Simon then makes a last attempt to get the cards back as he authorizes his account by threatening to tell his mother, thereby invoking his parent as protector and a potential resolver of problems (lines 14, 17). The invoking of a standardized relational pair parent-child provides the child with the entitlements to claim to be in a position to know and to this extent contest the teachers' final word. However Simon's attempts are dismissed by the teacher who emphasizes that she can only take his word as an indication of what has happened if he can produce a version that adheres to the teacher's standards (lines 19–21). As Hester and Francis (1997, p. 103) note, "'[r]ights to have accounts treated as objective and bona fide are asymmetrical in respect of the membership categories 'child' and 'adult'. Thus, when a child reports about having seen an event that is highly morally charged such as "stealing" and this is not observable for the teachers, it is possible for teachers to dismiss such claims as "false accusation" (see Excerpt 3 and 6) or "imagination" (see Excerpt 7).

Concluding Discussion

This chapter has highlighted the development of competing claims and contrasting versions in describing of a highly morally charged event in interactions between children and adults as belonging to different groups of people which has specific consequences for how different forms of versions of the same event is selected organised amd used across different locations (the schoolyard and the classroom). One finding is the relevance of the category 'child' tied to particular category-incumbencies, here of 'witness' versus 'victim' and 'offender', which make relevant a variety of blame allocation techniques that are used to undercut and discredit an account among children and to forestall and counter other children's challenges to accounts. In contrast a child, who claims category bound knowledge and moral entitlements tied to a membership as 'witness' in teacher-child interactions runs the risk of being counter-challenged in moral terms and blamed for 'not knowing' and bearing 'false testimony'. As Watson (1978, p. 109) has indicated in

another context, claiming particular category incumbencies carries with it certain built-in vulnerabilities. In the asymmetrically ordered teacher-student interaction at hand the teachers make use of a variety of blame negotiators to undercut a child's witness version, such as questioning and constraining contributions, requesting proper evidential reasoning, using descriptive terms such as 'thinking', and 'knowing'. Such procedures occasion both the teacher's suspension of belief in a child's account and occasion that the information is inappropriate and morally sanctionable. Whether a child has grounds for 'having seen something' and for 'knowing something' is thus related to whether he/she may provide relevant and appropriate information. Thus, someone or something might, for example, be *correctly* described but depending on the occasion and the practical purpose, the description may be more or less *appropriate* (Jayyusi 1991, p. 237). The asymmetrical categorical relationship between 'teachers' and 'children' means that a child may use certain descriptions and see them as 'correct for something (as in Simon's case),' but as Sacks (1992, 111) notes where what it would be correct for remains to be seen.

As Hester and Francis (1997, p. 103) among others have indicated, the rights and entitlements to have one's knowledge treated as trustworthy is requiredly possessed by and expected by members of some categories. For example Simon's competing account could be disbelieved by the teacher because of his incumbency of the membership category 'child' (and hence the attribution of predicates such as 'unreliable', 'not trustworthy' or just 'disorderly'), or because of the 'extraordinary' and heavily loaded moral character of the children's peer group event. At the same time we can see that the children themselves do not submit to the categorical asymmetries but act as competent and sophisticated actors who display various reflexivities with respect to the construction of an account and their alignments and positioning. Tailoring a report so as to avoid being blamed requires, as has been shown, a great portion of artfulness and agency. Whether this is in adopting an account to the version preferred by the teacher as Niki does (as he modifies his version to 'Dino having bought the cards' in the mishearing example) or whether it is to elaborate on a contrasting version that 'Dino has stolen the cards' as in Simon's case when he claims to know what actually happened.

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Chapter 10
The Preschool Entrance Hall: A Bilingual Transit Zone for Preschoolers

Polly Björk-Willén

Introduction

This chapter explores everyday talk among parents, children and preschool teachers that takes place in Swedish preschool entrance halls. The data is drawn from a project that studies the daily talk and interaction between parents and teachers in Swedish preschools where most families have a language background other than Swedish, while most teachers are monolingual Swedish speakers. The participants' talk and social interaction has been video recorded in two preschools during the drop-off and pick-up time, and transcribed using conversation analytic methods. The theoretical framework of the study is influenced by theories on language socialization and by ethnomethodological work on social actions; focusing on the participants' methods of accomplishing and making sense of social activities. The chapter highlights the children's commuting between home and the preschool where the preschool entrance hall works as a 'transit zone' for the children's talk to be interactively transformed from their mother tongue(s) into Swedish and vice versa. Besides the parents code-switching and physically handing over the child, the analyses show how 'transformation objects' like indoor shoes and mittens work as concrete signals for the child to handle the transit and to develop pragmatic skills about language use.

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Background and Aim

Approximately 20 % of all children that begin preschool in Sweden come from families where one or both parents speak a language other than Swedish. Many of these children meet the Swedish language to a full extent for the first time in preschool. Thus for young children with another language background, preschool is a place of crucial importance when it comes to developing Swedish as a second language, while maintaining home languages. One could say that preschool works as a transit zone between the child's language(s) spoken at home and Swedish, the majority language spoken in the preschool and in society at large.

In Sweden it is often in the preschool's entrance hall, when parents drop off and pick up their children, that the cooperation between family and institution takes place. Leaving a small child in other people's care is not always easy for a parent, and therefore the daily contact and the way the handing over takes place is a key to making both parent and child feel secure (Björk-Willén, forthcoming). My study shows that the handing over of the child, in both directions, is almost always tied to exchange of information. The information can be of various kinds, from reports about the child's health, to information about educational activities accomplished at the preschool.

To understand children's language 'travel' and how children take possession of the social and cognitive knowledge it implies to handle various local cultures and languages, it is worth studying what happens to bilingual practices in this transit zone between home and preschool. The aim of the present chapter is to highlight how preschoolers' language-switch between their mother tongue and Swedish and vice versa, is accomplished through language interchange and nonverbal action between their parents, the preschool teachers and themselves.

Language Socialization

A number of years ago Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) claimed that:

> […] language practices are socially organized and that, as novices recurrently engage in these practices with more expert members of society, they develop an understanding of social actions, event, emotions, aesthetics, knowledgeability, statuses, relationships and other socio-cultural phenomena. (s. 408)

Their statement is also the point of departure for the theoretical view on children's language acquisition in this chapter. This theoretical perspective also includes a view on children as social agents in their socialization. That means children learn language, pragmatic skills and culture through active participation in meaningful interaction with adults and other children (Corsaro 1985; Blum-Kulka and Snow 2004), as will be highlighted below. This knowledge is essential for the child's further (language) development and learning at preschool.

There are only a few studies that have studied parent's collaboration with pre-school and preschool teachers in detail (but see Leiminer and Baker 2000; Björk-Willén, forthcoming); more frequent occurrences are studies about bilingual children's languaging at preschool (see for example Björk-Willén 2007, 2008; Björk-Willén and Cromdal 2009; Karrebæk 2010; Mourão 2012; Bylund and Björk-Willén 2014; Kyratzis 2014; Blum-Kulka and Gorbatt 2014). However, bilingual children's language-switch from home to preschool and vice versa has not been highlighted before, and a detailed analyses of bilingual parents and children's language use can contribute to a deeper understanding of (monolingual) preschool teacher's work with bilingual families and consequently how to scaffold the child's transit.

Methodological Considerations

The present data draws on a video study focusing on everyday talk and social interaction between parents, children and teachers in the entrance hall of two Swedish preschools at drop-off and pick-up time. The study is a part of a larger project that aims to explore how ethnicity "is done" in a number of Swedish preschools. The overall aim was to explore how the daily talk and interaction between parents, children and teachers in a Swedish preschool setting, where most of the families have another language background than Swedish, and where most of the teachers are monolingual Swedish speakers, were accomplished (Björk-Willén, forthcoming).

The study is based on video recordings, and all the children involved are between one and three years old. The recordings took place in the morning and in the afternoon, because that is the most common time for dropping off and picking up the children. The interactions between the parents, children and the preschool teachers were documented using a hand-held video camera. That means the researcher was present the whole time and was hence part of the interaction. The data consists of total 108 events of handing over, and these events in turn have been categorized and divided into collections of various interactional phenomenon. The present collection is named *code switching and language alternation*.

From an *ethnomethodological* point of departure, we are interested in the participants' view when analysing the data, examining their methods of accomplishing and making sense of social activities (Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984). To identify elements of these social activities, made relevant by the participants themselves, I have used Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks 1984; Schegloff 1999, 2007); to study the participant's interaction and talk in detail, sequentially, to shed light on how they orient to each other.

The participant's physical actions (e.g. pointing, moving, kneeling etc.) are here represented in italics, which is a local addition to standard transcription conventions. All transcripts are based on listening to the original Swedish recordings, and a

native speaker has translated the Albanian talk. The names of persons and places have been changed to preserve the participants' anonymity.

The Local Language Policy

At the two preschools, the educators didn't call into question the parents' language choice; on the contrary the local language policy was that they encouraged the parents to speak their mother tongue or mother tongues with their children. This is in line with the Swedish curriculum that spells out that: "the preschool should help to ensure that children with a mother tongue other than Swedish, receive the opportunity to develop both their Swedish language and their mother tongue" (Swedish National Agency for Education 2010, p. 6). As a consequence of the local language policy, the preschool hall often resounded with various languages, where occasionally Swedish speakers were the minority. Still, Swedish is the language of instruction at these two preschools. As mentioned above the children in the study were between the ages one to three, which means many of the children had just begun to communicate verbally, hence they were developing their mother tongue(s) and Swedish simultaneously (Namei 2002).

Language in Transformation

As the majority of the educators were native Swedish speakers, they spoke to children and parents in Swedish. A common scenario was that the parent responded in Swedish and at the same time addressed the child in his or her mother tongue. A couple of illuminating examples have been chosen for the present chapter, and the analytical focus is, with one exception, on a mother, named Maria, and her daughter Liri, almost two years old. The languages spoken in the family are Albanian (mother) and Greek (father). Maria, the mother, usually addresses Liri in Albanian, but Maria also has a good command of Swedish. As data collection took place in the wintertime, all families were encouraged by the Ministry of Health to get vaccinated against the "bird flu" (Avian influenza). Hence, the talk in the entrance hall during these days often was about the vaccination, as will be shown below. Six excerpts will be presented that will exemplify the language switch at drop off and pick up time.

   The first two excerpts demonstrate an event of drop off. It is early morning and Maria and Liri have just arrived and entered the preschool hall. Maria is kneeling in front of the door and has begun to remove Liri's clothes. The preschool teacher Annika meets them in the hall, accompanied by Jane, two years old.

Excerpt 1 *Greetings and information* (Video recording December 2009)
Participants: Annika (preschool Teacher), Jane (child), Maria (parent) and Liri
(Maria's daughter)

```
1     Annika:    hej Liri x
                 Hallo Liri ((kneeling in front of Ma-
2                ria and Liri with Jane on her lap))
3     Jane:      [((waves her hand))
4     Maria:     [hej Jane [hej gumman ja::
                 Hallo Jane hallo sweetie yea.
5                ((waves her hand Liri gazes at An-
6                nika and Jane))
7     Annika:             [ha ha ha ha ha ja
                          ha ha ha ha ha yes
8                °gomorro:↑n°
                 Good morning.
9     Maria:     oh:
10               Oh ((lifts Liri up on her shoulder
11               and begins to take off her over-
12               all))
13    Annika:    var ni till (.) vårdcentralen
                 Did you go to the Health care center
14               igår
                 yesterday?
15    Maria:     ja vi var i går=
                 Yes we went there yesterday.
16    Annika:    =gick det bra då
                  Did it go well?
17    Maria:     ja det gick bra
18               Yes it went well ((takes off Liri her
19               overall Liri hangs passive over her
20               shoulder like a rag doll))
21    Annika:    ah
                 yes
22    Maria:     [x
23    Annika:    [va det mycket folk
24                Were there a lot of people? ((helps to take
25               off Liri her overall))
26    Maria:     det var väldigt mycket
27               There were a lot. ((Liri sits on her lap with her back
28               to Annika and Jane))
29    Annika:    ja
                 Yes
30    Maria:     vi fick vänta i en timme
                 We had to wait for an hour.
31    Annika:    oh en timme
                 Oh an hour.
```

32   Maria: *de var (.) det var bara e:n=*
                    There was   there was only one.
33   Annika: *=en sköterska*
                      One nurse?
34   Maria: *nä två var det*
                    No there were two.
35   Annika: *två sköterskor*
                    Two nurses.
36   Maria: *men det var en familj som väntade*
                    But there was one family that was waiting
37   *efter oss*
                    after us.
38   Annika: *jaha:*
                    Oh yes.
39   Maria: *vi hann till klockan sju*
                    We made it by seven o'clock.
40   Annika: *jaha ja precis*
                    Indeed yea exactly.
41   Maria: *så va det*
                    So it was.
42   Annika: *jaha det gick bra*
                    Indeed did it go well?
43   Maria: *ja*
                    Yes
44   Annika: *ja ja*
                    Yes yes
45   Maria: *äh hon har sovit lugnt natten* [*så*
                    Ah she has slept peacefully during the night so
46   *det var inget*
                    there was nothing.
47   Annika: [*ja*
                                                             Yes
48   Annika: *ni har inte märkt nåt ännu nej*
                    You haven't noticed anything yet no?
49   Maria: *fast dom sa att hon kan få feber*
                    But they told us that she can get fever.
50   Annika: *ja:*
                    Yes
51   Maria: *ja hon fick sprutan här i benet*
                    Yes she got the injection here in her leg.
52   ((*points at her own leg*))
53   Annika: *jaha ja ja*
                    Indeed yes yes.

```
54                        x x
55      Maria:      ja ja men om ni märker något då
                    Yes yes but if you notice anything
56                  kanske ni ringer
                    perhaps you will call.
57      Annika:     ja då ringer vi om vi känner att
                    Yes we will call you if we believe that
58                  hon är
                    she is…
59      Maria:      antingen till mig därhemma till
                    Call either me, or call the father at home.
60                  pappa jag är de ju i skol i[skolan
                    You know I am at school
61                  på praktik i dag
62                  doing practice today. ((lifts up Liri and
63                  turns her around so she faces An-
64                  nika and Jane))
65      Annika:                                    [i sko-
                                                    In   school
66                  lan ja
                    yes.
```

Annika opens with a greeting saying: "hallo Liri", and Jane waves her hand in a welcoming gesture. Maria returns Jane's greeting using a high-pitched and smiling voice and Annika latches greets back in a quiet voice. The greeting ceremony goes very quickly (lines 1–8). Notable is that the adults do not greet each other; instead they act like ventriloquists giving voice to the two small girls. While Jane is waving, Liri gazes at Annika, and Jane (line 5–6). The greetings are performed in Swedish, the *lingua franca* at this preschool, and can be seen as a part of the language socialisation and the preschool's implicit language policy. In the following lines the adults are engaged in information interchange about the vaccination that Liri had the evening before. Simultaneously, Liri is liberated from her overalls while hanging over Maria's shoulder like a rag doll and then placed in Maria's lap with her back to Annika and Jane. The information exchange between the adults goes on very quickly and smoothly. Annika asks questions (lines 13–14, 16, 23, 33, 42 and 48) and Maria replies and delivers detailed information about the vaccination event and Liri's state of health (lines 17, 43, 45–46, 49 and 51–52). Björk-Willén (forthcoming) shows that asking or rephrasing a question together with repetition, candidate answers and non-verbal moves, are communicative tools that preschool teachers often use, especially in interaction with parents that have another mother tongue than Swedish.

When Annika finally is informed of how she can reach the parents during the day if Liri gets sick from the vaccination, Maria moves Liri around so Liri can face Annika and Jane (lines 62–64). During the time of the adults' talk the children are not addressed but talked about, and they can be characterized as figurants or bystanders

(Goffman 1981). However, in the interaction that follows, Liri plays a more active role when Maria with a code switch to Albanian gives Liri her full attention. The code switch could also be seen as a signal for Maria's leaving and farewell.

Excerpt 2 *Your shoes* (Video recording December 2009) Participants: Annika (preschool teacher), Jane (child), Maria (parent) and Liri (Maria's daughter)

68	Maria:	*ska se först det har gått ganska*
		Let's see first it has gone quite
69		*bra tills nu*
		well until now. ((*strokes Liri's hair*))
70	Annika:	*ja a det är skönt*
		Yea that's nice.
71	Maria:	*ja↑ Liri do ti mbathesh këpucat* [x
		Yea Liri come with mummy and we will put on
72		*your shoes x*
		your (indoor) shoes.
73	Annika:	[*har*
		Have
74		*du också tagit eller nej*
		did you also get one (an injection) or not ?
75	Maria:	*nej*
		No
76	Liri:	*mamma äh äh*
77		Mummy ah ah. ((crying sound))
78	Annika:	*jag ska jag ska gå och lämna Jane*
		I am going to go and leave Jane
79		*till Tove*[*så kommer jag tillbaks*
		with Tove and then I will come back.
80	Maria:	[*po Liri do ti marrim*
		But Liri shall you put on the
81		*këpucat tash zëmra e mamit do ti*
		indoor shoes now mummy's love. Shall you
82		*vjerrim teshat tash a do ti marrim*
		hang up your clothes and put on your (indoor)
83		*këpucat do ti marrim këpucat zemra*
		shoes. Shall you put on the shoes mummy's love.
84		*e mamit he he Liri* [*eja me mumin do*
		Come with mummy he he Liri and take on your
85		*ti marrim këputcat x*
86		(indoor)shoes. ((*takes Liri's hand*))
87	Liri:	[*mamma*
88		[Mummy((crying vo-
89		ice))
90	Annika:	*kom så ska vi gå in till Tove*
		Come here we will go to Tove and
91		*och titta vad dom gör kom så går*
		take a look what they are doing, come with me.

```
92                          vi kom ska du se kom oj
93                          And we will see oh((Liri slips down on
94                          the floor))
95                          [kom ska du se gumman
                            come and you will see sweetie.
96        Maria:            [ha ha këpucat
                            [Ha ha shoes.
97        Liri:             ((crying sound))
98        Annika:           oh hej och hå
99                          Oh here we go. ((lifts up Liri in her
100                         arms))
101                         titta vad gör dom därinne [har du
                            Look what are they doing in there have you
102                         sett
                            seen?
103       Maria:                                        [x
                                                         x
104                         ((gives Liri her (indoor) shoes))
105       Annika:           dom sätter vi på dig också (.)
                            We will put them on
106                         så att du inte halkar
                            so you don't slip.
107       Maria:            te puth mami faqen do te
                            May mummy kiss your cheek ?
108       Annika:           hej då säg till mamma så ses vi
                            Say goodby to mummy see you
109                         sen
                            later.
110       Maria:            he he
                            He he ((waves her hand))
111       Liri:             mamma
                            Mummy
112       Annika:           mamma ska till skolan hon också
                            Mummy is also going to school
113                         idag
                            today.
114       Maria:            ha det så bra ses vi
115                         Have a good time see you  ((goes to the
116                         door))
117       Annika:           ses vi sen hej då
                            See you later bye ((to Maria))
118                         mamma ska gå till skolan ja a
                            Mummy shall go to school yea ye.  ((to Liri))
119                         hej då
                            Bye
```

Maria ends the information part by stroking Liri's hair and saying: "Let's see first. It has gone quite well until now" (lines 68–69) and Annika confirms her utterance with: "yea that's nice" (line 70). In the next line Maria turns her attention to Liri and with a code switch she tells her in Albanian that she has to come with her mummy to put her indoor shoes on. First Annika ignores Maria's code switch and continues to talk to Maria, but when Liri begins to whine (line 76), Annika seems to grasp the signal of departure and tells Maria that she is going to hand over Jane, who still is in her arms, to Tove and be back. Maria on the other hand again tells Liri that she has to come with her and that she has to put on her (indoor) shoes. She moves towards Liri's hook and shelf, which are placed further in and where Liri's indoor shoes are located. Maria repeats her urgent request to Liri several times, embedded with the doting expression "mummy's love" (lines 80–86), as she tries to force her to come along with her by taking Liri's hand. Liri however resists and calls out "mummy" with a crying voice (lines 86–88). At the same moment Annika comes back and tries to take Liri in her arms, but Liri slips down to the floor. Simultaneously Maria lets out a little laugh and repeats the word shoes in Albanian. Despite Liri's resistance both physically (lines 93–94) and vocally (lines 87–89, 97) (Goodwin 2003), Maria lifts Liri up in her arms and tries to divert her attention, talking about what is happening in the classroom. Maria gives the indoor shoes to Liri, and Annika takes over the responsibility of putting on the indoor shoes, telling Liri "we will put them on (.) so you don't slip" (lines 105–106). This *transition point* from Albanian to Swedish, from arms to arms, and from home to preschool creates a understandable link between the both languages and the different environments for the child, as it is also is signified by an concrete *transformation object*, here the indoor shoes, an everyday action at preschool, namely changing from outdoor to indoor shoes. And for a moment Liri is, in Wei's (2011) words, a part of a "translanguaging space"—a space, which generates new identities, values and practices.

The drop-off event is drawing to an end and Liri is physically handed over to Annika. When Maria in line 107 asks Liri, in Albanian, if she ought to give her a kiss on the cheek and Annika replies in Liri's place: "say goodbye to mummy see you later" (lines 108–109). Maria waves and Liri calls: "mummy" in Swedish. Annika explains for Liri that her mummy "is also going to school today" (line 112–113). Further farewell phrases are exchanged, until Maria shuts the outer door and finally leaves Liri in Annika's care (lines 114–119).

In sum, the excerpts above have shown how the preschool language, Swedish, is established already when the participants greet each other by way of introduction. The mother's code switch to Albanian signals her leaving for both the child and the preschool teacher, but also creates a private space for the mother and the child. Finally, the 'transition point' is signified by the embodied change of care, from the mother's arms to the preschool teacher's arms, but also by the language switch and the concrete action of putting on the indoor shoes.

Learning Languages

The following excerpts aim to illustrate how children actively take part in languaging events. The recordings are drawn from two separate pick-up events. In the first extract Ashmed and his mother Sadime are on their way home, and Karin is handing him over. Ashmed is almost three years old. He is a very talkative boy, and he practices Swedish the whole time at preschool. Ashmed's native languages are French (with his mother) and Arabic (with his father). Ashmed has brought a book along with him from the bookshelf in the preschool, through which he browses.

Excerpt 3 *What is this?* (Video recording December 2009) Participants: Karin (preschool teacher), Sadime (parent) och Ashmed (Sadime's son)

```
1      Ashmed:    vad är det
2                 what is this? ((points in a book))
3      Karin:     snögubbe
                  snowman
4      Ashmed:    snögubbe
                  snowman
5      Sadime:    han kan mer svenska än jag han lär
                  he knows more Swedish then I do he teaches
6                 mig
                  me  ((proud voice))
7      Karin:     ((laughter)) va bra=
8                              so good
9      Sadime:    =ja (.) han säger nya ord hela tiden
                  yes      he is telling me new words all the time
```

This excerpt is an example of both languaging, and talk about language. Initially Ashmed is practicing Swedish together with the preschool teacher Karin, where he is pointing in the book and asking Karin what's on the page (lines 1–2). As he turns his question to the preschool teacher it would seem he expects the answer in Swedish. Karin tells him that it is a snowman and Ashmed *repeats* the word (about language repetition see Duff 2000; Cekaite and Aronsson 2004). By practicing a word in Swedish, Ashmed displays his ongoing Swedish language acquisition for his mother, but he also displays the preschool practice as a place for language learning. Sadime on the other hand begins to talk to Karin about Ashmed's Swedish language acquisition, pointing out that "he knows more Swedish than I do he teaches me" (lines 5–6). This is said with a very proud voice, and Karin also gives Sadime an affirmative response, "so good!" (lines 7–8), embedded with laughter (about laughter as an interactional device, see Glenn 2008; Björk-Willén, forthcoming). Sadime latches on and continues: "yes he tells me new words all the time" (line 9), where "new words" should be understood as new words in Swedish.

Preschool is a place where Ashmed learns to speak an additional language, Swedish, a fact that his mother demonstrably supports. Preschool is a place for Ashmed's 'travels' between Swedish and Arabic or French on a daily basis, and the

excerpt points out how Ashmed brings his new language experiences in Swedish from preschool to home, as his mother points out; "he teaches me" (line 4).

The next excerpt shows an opposite language switch in which the preschool teacher Annika tries to learn Albanian words. The situation is that Maria is going to pick up her daughter, Liri and the preschool teacher Annika is handing her over.

Excerpt 4 *The learning teacher* (Video recording December 2009) Participants: Annika (preschool teacher), Maria (parent) and Liri (Maria's daughter).

```
1      Annika:    tycker du att det är skönt att
                  ((to Liri)) Do you think it is pleasant to
2                 ha vantar så att du inte fryser
                  wear mittens so you don't freeze
3                 händerna när du går hem
                  your hands on your way home?
4      Liri:      do=
5      Maria:     =dorashka
                    mittens
6      Annika:    va sä vad heter det på=
                  What is she saying what is it called?
7      Maria:     =dorashka
                    Mittens
8      Annika:    dorashka säger jag rätt dorashka
                  Dorashka am I saying it right? dorashka
9      Maria:     ja:
                  Yes
10     Liri:      kapka
11                Cap ((points at her head))
12     Annika:    ah↑=
13     Maria:     =ah=
14     Annika:    =oh de ä mössa
                    Oh that means cap
15     Maria:     möss[a
                    Cap
16     Annika:       [ja ha ha ha
                      Yea ha ha ha
17     Maria:     hi hi hon vet hur det går till
                  Hi hi she knows how it works
18     Annika:    mössa vantar [oh mössa
19                Cap and mittens    oh cap.((looks at Liri))
20     Maria:                  [jepja mamit doren
                               Give mummy your hand.
21     Liri:      kapka
22                Gap ((points at her head))
23     Maria:     edhe kapelen
                  Also the cap.
```

```
24      Annika:     kapka säger hon så
                    Kapka is that what she says?
25                  ja kapka=
        Maria:      Yes kapka
26      Annika:     =kapka (.) ja:
                     Kapka        yes
27      Maria:      vi säger kapela men hon säger kapka
                    We say kapela but she says kapka.
28                  (.)[de ä ju lättare (.)
                    Because it is easier (to say).
29      Annika:        [ha ha de är ju lite lättare
                       Ha ha it is of course a little easier
30                  att säga visst ä de
                    to say sure it is.
```

The excerpt shows how Liri, at the time when her mother picks her up, chooses to answer the teacher Annika in her mother tongue. It happens when Annika asks Liri if she likes to have her mitten on when it is cold outside. Liri begins to say "do" (line 5) and her mother latches her talk filling in "dorashka" which is Albanian for mitten. In the next line Annika asks what it is called; Maria repeats dorashka and Annika echoes dorashka three times asking if she is pronouncing it right which Maria confirms. Liri takes the floor again looking at Annika saying "kapka" as she points at her head (line 11). Annika breaths in and says "ah" with high pitch and Maria shadows her "ah" (lines 12–13). In the following line Annika checks if kapka means cap, Maria confirms while they laugh together and states that Liri knows how "it" works. Annika repeats "cap and mitten oh cap" in Swedish and looks at Liri (lines 18–19). Maria code switches to Albanian and asks for Liri's hand (to put on the mitten). Once again Liri points at her head saying "kapka". Annika makes sure that it is kapka Liri is saying, Maria confirms repeating kapka and Annika follows suit by echoing kapka. In next lines Maria explains that kapka is a childish form of kapela (cap), because kapka is easier to say, and Annika agrees with laughter.

In the verbal interchange above, it is not only the child's language acquisition and knowledge that is in the forefront, but also the preschool teacher's language learning and understanding of the child's mother tongue. The analysis also shows how eager they all are to participate in this word exchange and, except for Liri, it is not the clothing that is of interest in first place, but the talk about language concepts. There is also mutuality between the participants, where Swedish, as the majority language, does not dominate. Instead, in this context both languages are used equally and they are all "ratified participants" (Goffman 1981) in this language exchange. Besides, it is Maria and Liri that have got the most diversified language competences here, because they talk both Swedish and Albanian.

Ashmed (excerpt 3) and Liri's different language use can be explained by their different ages (three and two) and amount of language experiences from the pre-school practice. We can note the teacher's conformity to each child's level of language experiences and knowledge.

The Language Switch from Preschool to Home

Excerpt 5 *Mummy's bird* (Video recording December 2009: 16) Participants:
Jennie (preschool Teacher), Annika (preschool Teacher), Maria (parent) and Liri
(Maria's daughter).

```
1     Jennie:    vi läste bok
2                We just read a book.((Liri runs from Jen-
3                nies arms to her mother's smiling))
4     Annika:    ((shows up at Maria and Liri))
5     Maria:     ah:: hah hah ((hugs Liri and kisses
6                her cheek holds her in front of her
7                face))
8                zogu i nênes hah hah
9                Mummy's bird hah hah ((kisses Liri's
10               cheek once again))
11    Annika:    mamma kan
                 Mummy can.
12    Maria:     ih:ku eshte qupa ime qka
                 Where is my best beloved girl? What does my
13               po ban qupa ah:
                 loving girl do? ah
14    Annika:    he he
                 He he
15    Maria:     zemer te dun mama
                 My heart I love you.
16    Jennie:    x på sig vid [ögat
                     Hurt her eay.
17    Annika:                 [just det ja du vet de
                             That is right yea you know this
18               här gungan den som de sitter och
                 swing that they use to swing in and
19               gungar så hade hon väl jag förstod
                 she didn't really …I am not sure I really  understood
20               inte riktigt vad som hände men
                 what happened.((turns to Jennie))
21    Jennie:    nej hon stod vid den och när hon tog
                 No she was standing at the swing and when she gave
22               fa[rt på den så fick hon handtaget
                 it speed she got the handle there
23               där précis vid ögat
                 there exactly at her eye.
24    Annika:       [ja just det=
                        Yes exactely.
```

```
25    Maria:      =ja just det här är det
26                Yes just this is it. ((Maria and Annika look
27                at Liri's eye))
28    Jennie:     precis vid ögat
                  Just by the eye.
29    Annika:     oh:
30    Maria:                            grät hon mycket
31                ((kisses Liri's cheek))Did she cry a
32                lot?((showing a anxious face))
33    Jennie:     nä lite grann bara inte så farligt
                  No just a little not that bad.
34    Liri:       uh uh
35    Maria:      oka është ajo
                  What is it? ((to Liri))
36    Jennie:     jag höll min kalla vante på[den
                  I put my cold mitten on it.
37    Annika:                              [ha ha ha
38    Maria:                              [aha det
                                           Aha    that's
                  är rätt
                  right?
39    Jennie:     x fick den lite kyla jag höll min x
                  It got some cold and I held my
40                vante så där
                  mitten like that.
41    Maria:      qupe ime ku e vrave gojen ti ku ve
                  My girl where have you injured your  mouth where
42                vrave syrin ti
                  have you injured your eye?
43    Annika:     °va säger mamma för nåt va säger
                  What does mummy say? What does mummy
44                mamma°              ska vi hämta
                  say? ((high pitched voice))Shall we get your
45                dina vantar i torkskåpet och se [om
                  mittens from  the drying cupboard and find out if
46                vi har några varma vantar
                  we have got any warm mittens?
47    Maria:                              [jaså aha för att
                                           Oho aha because
48                jag (0.2) ä dom dom vantar såna hon
                  I            is that that mittens like she
```

```
49                    har just typ ett par svarta
                      has just like a pair of black.
50     Annika:        ja
                      Yes
51     Maria:         men hade hon dom andra ute eller
                      But did she use the others (mittens) outdoors or?
52     Annika:        jag ska kolla x
                      I will check.
53     Maria:         hajde te mami shpirh im  pa shkojm
                      Come to mummy my heart we will go
54                    ne shpi ja
55                    home now.((lifts up Liri in her arms))
```

When Maria enters the hall, Jennie, who is sitting at a table in the classroom, calls Maria telling her that she was just reading a book for Liri (line 1). Simultaneously Liri comes running into her mother's arms. Annika also shows up to hand Liri over to her mother placing herself next to Maria and Liri. Maria's meeting with her child is very emotional. She hugs her, gazes at Liri's face, kisses her cheek and talks to her in Albanian telling her that she is her mummy's bird (lines 5–10). Goodwin (forthcoming) points out that hugs are forms of *affective displays* that occur in associations with greetings and farewells. She also states that touch plays a crucial role in intimacy and emotional communication. Hence, one can say that the hug and love talk in Albanian form an intimate social relationship between the mother and the child. Annika is at that moment literally a bystander (Goffman 1981) as neither Maria nor Liri takes any notice of her, and though she can "overhear" Maria's talk she doesn't understand what Maria is saying to Liri. Even Annika's short comment about Maria's behaviour "mummy can" (line 11), is neglected by Maria who goes on talking to Liri in an affectionate way. In spite of the fact that Annika is excluded, or rather because of that, she produces short laugh (see Glenn 2008 and Björk-Willén, forthcoming). Maria's code switch to Albanian does not only give her and Liri a private space in the preschool hall, it also signifies a language switch for Liri and a *transition point* for her transfer from preschool to home.

Maria's affectionate talk is interrupted by a comment from Jennie, who begins to inform about a small accident that happened to Liri during the outdoor activities. Jointly Annika and Jennie inform Maria that Liri was hit by the swing, just beside her eye. Annika and Maria look at Liri's cheek inspecting the place for the injury (lines 26–27) and Maria kisses Liri and wants to know if Liri cried a lot, showing an anxious face. Jennie assures Maria that Liri didn't cry a lot and Annika makes supportive laughter. A whining sound from Liri interrupts the adult talk, and Maria code switches to Albanian asking Liri what's the matter. Jennie however goes on with the information, telling Maria that she put her cold mitten on Liri's cheek to mitigate the pain (line 36). Again Annika gives more supportive laughter and Maria confirms. Nevertheless Jennie repeats her message (lines 39–40). An important part of the daily information at pick up time is to build trust between the preschool and

families, and this is exactly what the two preschool teachers try to do when giving Maria all the details from the small accident and an assurance that everything went well.

However, this doesn't seem to convince Maria totally because she doesn't confirm their mitigating information. In the following she asks Liri in Albanian where she has been hurt (lines 41–42). Annika who still stands beside them asks Liri what her mother is saying to her (lines 43–44). Her question is directed to the child using a high pitched and quiet voice, and it can be understood in different ways. It can simply be interpreted as a curious question to get to know what is said. It can also be understood as a way to bring her position as bystander to an end, using Liri as a mediating link to reach Maria (Björk-Willén, forthcoming). Notable is that Annika doesn't seem to expect any answer from Liri, because she immediately begins to talk about Liri's mittens that are drying in the drying cupboard, still addressing Liri. In an overlap and with a code switch to Swedish, Maria picks up the topic of mittens (lines 47–49). This verbal interchange about mittens that follows can be compared to the discussion about the shoes in excerpt 2. The inner shoes as well as the mittens function as *transformation objects* that signify the child's arriving and/or leaving, and help the child to handle and understand the transit from preschool to home and vice versa.

Conclusion

The aim of the present chapter is to highlight how preschoolers' language-switch between their mother tongue and Swedish and vice versa, is accomplished through language and nonverbal interchange between their parents, the preschool teachers and themselves. A couple of illuminating examples have been analysed, and they have been chosen from a collection of events when a parent uses both her mother tongue and Swedish at drop off and pick up time. Seeing the entrance hall as a transit zone for a child's travel between home and the preschool, it has been shown that the child's language-switch is a joint accomplishment where the parent, the preschool teacher and the child participate in different ways and to different extents. Sometimes the adults' talk is in the forefront and the child is becomes a bystander (Goffman 1981) as in excerpt 1. On the other hand in excerpt 5 the preschool teacher becomes a bystander when the mother's code switch to Albanian creates a mutual and private space for herself and the child. The analysis also shows how the child's transfer consists of embodied and sometimes sensitive actions (see M.H. Goodwin, to appear), together with the language-switch. But also concrete artifacts (shoes, mittens etc.) work as *transformation objects* and constitute a *transition point* that scaffold the child's language commuting between home and preschool and in addition these transition signals, help the child to develop pragmatic skills that are necessary to manage the language and the cultural switch. In sum, the analysis demonstrates how the parent's language alternation and code switching balances the need of communicating in Swedish and in supporting the child's language

acquisition of their mother tongue. The preschool teacher on the other hand keeps the transit zone open for various language uses that facilitate the child's language switch and participation.

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Chapter 11
Sparkling, Wrinkling, Softly Tinkling: On Poetry and Word Meaning in a Bilingual Primary Classroom

Rizwan-ul Huq, Katarina Eriksson Barajas and Jakob Cromdal

Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the use of poetry in a bilingual language classroom. The analysis draws on video recordings of an English lesson in third grade taking place in an English-medium school in Bangladesh. During the session, dedicated to the poem "Waters" by E.H. Newlin, the teacher performs a structured reciting of a poem, while at the same time engaging the students in joint explorative discussions of the meaning of individual words, as well as the holistic sense of the poem. Through sequential and multimodal analysis of the interaction, we explore the methods by which the two instructional orientations are pursued throughout the session, highlighting in particular the role of multimodal action design and language alternation. The chapter offers a participant-oriented account of literary aesthetics in bilingual instruction.

Poetry in L2 Instruction

The role of literature in language learning has been debated for some time among scholars of second- and foreign language teaching. Some have argued for the benefits of using literary texts as a means of presenting learners with an authentic source of language (e.g., Hanauer 2001; Kramsch and Kramsch 2000; McKay 1982), while others have questioned the specific advantages of literature over other

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types of texts (Edmondson 1995/96). Although the educational *outcomes* of using literature in the service of L2 teaching and learning comprise an important topic of inquiry, the analysis of this chapter targets something prior—the situated *practice* by which poetry is used in language instruction.

Although few practitioners and researchers in language education would deny the value of working with poetry, its status in foreign- and second language teaching has been and continues to be questioned (Blatchford 1974; Edmondson 1995/96). At the risk of oversimplifying the argument, the focus in research on second language acquisition (SLA) was overwhelmingly on learners mastering the formal aspects of language (grammar, vocabulary and phonology), and so the main concern about using poetry and other literary texts in L2 teaching had to do with such texts not always conforming to linguistic conventions. Indeed, it is generally recognised that literary language "exploits and even distorts the accepted conventions" (Lazar 1993, p. 115, see also Widdowson 1981) with the result that educators may hesitate to expose their learners to language input that distorts its conventional grammatical structure or vocabulary. As Widdowson (1981, p. 205) ironically commented on this mindset: "Literature, and poetry in particular, [...] has no place in an approach to teaching that insists on the gradual accumulation of the correct linguistic forms".

Since then, academic interest in poetry as a vehicle for L2 learning has been somewhat revived, which is partly owing to a turn in SLA studies towards communicative forms of language learning, that are characterised by "a focus on message rather than linguistic code" (Nobuyoshi and Ellis 1993). Within this orientation, the use of literary texts is promoted to afford students authentic, pleasurable and cultural material for language learning (Hall 2005). This approach is clearly influenced by Kramsch' (1985, p. 364) seminal work on the cultural and discursive basis in foreign language teaching, in which the use of literature is strongly promoted: "the discourse between a literary text and its readers and among readers of the same text can serve as the link between communicative language teaching and the teaching of literature".

The goal here was not to simply do away with form-focused language activities, but to find ways of approaching formal linguistic features within a meaningful context of language use. This became known as the integrative approach to L2 teaching and learning, and its aspiration to bridge the gap between form and meaning paved the way for using poetry in the L2 classroom.

One of the early proponents of this approach within SLA research was Hanauer (1997, p. 2), who argued that the "reading and discussion of poetry allows the integration of explicit form-oriented instruction within a communicative context". Reading and discussing poetry would enhance L2 learning by stimulating learners' awareness of how specific formal structures contribute to the construction of meaning. Such linguistic awareness would enable learners to understand "not just what a text means, but also how it comes to mean what it does" (Short 1996, p. 6). Reflexively, this would enhance the learners' knowledge of the L2 structure as well as make it possible to embrace the culturally embedded forms of meaning (Hanauer 2001).

Notwithstanding the different orientations among researchers to language and literature, and whether (or how) the two should be integrated to enhance learning,

one issue on which there seems to be full agreement is that there is a lack of empirical studies that examine the effects of using literature in L2 instruction. Indeed, Edmondson (1995/96), who strongly dismissed any claims of literary texts yielding specific benefits for foreign language learning, concludes that given the lack of an empirical knowledge base to lean against "we are probably going to rely on logical and/or theoretical argumentation" (p. 44). Over a decade later in a research review—which incidentally refutes Edmondson's position—Paran (2008) proposed that:

> Since most of the writing in this area has been theoretical, the challenge for research is to validate these theoretical positions, and to support the claims that literature can contribute to language learning, that learners are motivated and interested in it, and that its study has something unique to contribute to language learning. (p. 470)

The present study examines the instructional use of a poem in the course of an English lesson in a bilingual classroom. In this regard, it casts some light on the role of literature in L2 teaching and learning by offering an empirical account of just how the poem is used by parties to the lesson. As will be shown, the use of the poem is principally twofold: it affords the parties opportunities to read, recite and discuss its literary features, as well as to prompt exploratory discussions about the meaning of its words. By examining in some detail the organisation of the inter-action between the parties, the analysis demonstrates how these two activity ori-entations—literary aesthetics and vocabulary training—are integrated and collaboratively brought off. Towards the end of the chapter, we shall argue that the participants' practical accomplishment of the poem work as the core business of the lesson is analytically prior to any theorised judgments about the usefulness (or otherwise) of literature in L2 instruction and learning.

Data and Analysis

The teaching session analyzed here takes place in a Grade-3 classroom of an English medium school in Bangladesh. The session spanned a whole lesson (45 min) in a classroom populated by 12 students (three girls and nine boys) aged 8–9 who receive much of their instruction in English, which they speak as L2.

The present lesson, taught by one of the English teachers, involved reading and discussing a literary text. In curricular terms, the teaching activity aims at increasing the reading capacity of the students through poetry, prose and folktales. It is a recurring activity, in which the teacher will typically read the literary work to the class, clarify the meaning of some of the content, ask questions about difficult words and offer explanation where called for, and summarize the whole work towards the end of the lesson. This particular session is devoted to reading a poem titled 'Waters' by Edith H. Newlin.

The data were collected using a stationary video-camera, placed diagonally across the small classroom to cover as much of the action as possible. The session

was transcribed in full using the Jefferson (2004) system for representing talk-in-interaction, with some adaptations to allow for illustrating the bilingual features of the talk. Specifically, in the case of utterances in Bengali, a three-line representation was used with the top line showing the original utterance, the second line showing a word-by-word translation and the third line offering a pragmatic gloss for what is being said. In the transcripts, the names of the participants have been changed to preserve anonymity. All participants have given their consent to partake in the study, and were informed that the focus of the study was on language practices in the classroom.

The analysis of the data is presented in two sections. We begin by focusing on the participants' methods for reading poetry, showing how the activity is geared towards exploring the poem as a piece of literature. In the second section, we show some procedures for negotiating word meaning. As will become clear, however, the two instructional orientations—literature and vocabulary—are not (and should not be) easily separated. Rather, they are interactionally interwoven in the participants' conduct.

The analysis then helps us to understand, through detailed analysis of the verbal as well as non-vocal features of participants' actions, how a holistic sense of poetry is created through classroom interaction, while at the same time the more traditional goal (in L2 classrooms) of vocabulary practice is being pursued. By seeking a participant-oriented account of literature-in-practice in language classes, the chapter offers a much-needed empirical anchoring to complement the earlier work on the role of literature in L2 learning, as well as more broadly contributing to research on bilingual classroom interaction.

The Aesthetics of Reading a Poem

In the wake of the earlier work by Kramsch (e.g. 1985), Schultz (1996) further argued for the benefits of using poetry in foreign language instruction stating that a focus on "the sound structures and the rhythms of poetry helps students develop their ear for the new language […] and subsequently perfect their pronunciation and intonation" (p. 921). Schultz goes on to point out that alongside these phonological aspects, the use of poetry in the foreign language classroom may furnish students with "intense lessons in grammar and vocabulary" (p. 921).

For Schultz, a particularly fruitful way of working with poetry is the French *explication de texte*—a didactic approach stressing the need to focus "on each individual textual element and how it factors into the multiple codes of the work" (1996, p. 927). On this account, *explication de texte* is a highly structured procedure which begins with a three-step introduction that entails (i) factual information about the literary work, such as its title, author and any relevant circumstances which gave rise to the poem; (ii) a description of its formalistic features, e.g., form, rhyme scheme and meter; and (iii) identifies the central theme of the poem, along with the poet's goals and aspirations. Next, the main bulk of the *explication de texte* holds

the analysis of the literary work, where, following Schultz (1996, p. 928), the emphasis is "not so much on what the poem says, but on how the poem says it". As we will see below, the teacher in our data uses a similar set of techniques to perform the reading of the text to the class *as a poem*. The transcript opens just as the teacher had announced that he is beginning the lesson and instructed the class to open their books at page eight.

Extract 1. The name of the poem
[Kabir (Teacher), Ananto, Sumon, Nayim, Safiq, Rafiq. 02.39 – 02.50]

```
01 Kabir   ↑the ↑name of this poem is::, waters
02         (0.2)
03 Ananto wh[ere?  ]((addressing other student))
04 Sumon    [waters]
05 Kabir   ↑and ↑it ↑is written by::?
06 Nayim   ↑idi::[:th
07 Kabir         [edi:th ei:ch (.) newlin
08 Sumon   ed[ith]
09 Safiq    [hi ] newlin ((addressing other student))
10 Sumon   i eich
11         (0.7)
12 Rafiq   ↑i:: eich::
```

Before starting to read, the teacher (Kabir) loudly delivers the title of the poem and begins to announce the name of its author. However, instead of producing the author's name, Kabir stretches the vowel in "by" and finishes off with a questioning intonation, leaving the turn in line 5 uncompleted. At this, Nayim immediately produces the first name of the author, with a significant stretch of the second syllable ("↑idi:::th") that matches the final element in Kabir's turn. As Kabir proceeds to read the author's full name, prolonging the delivery of the first name and middle name initial (line 7), three other students can be seen to pitch in different parts of the author name (lines 9 through 12).

In an analysis of L2 writing conferences with university students, Koshik (2002) found that *designedly incomplete utterances* were used by teachers to elicit students' knowledge displays in the context of error corrections (but see Netz 2016 for a critical account of the learning affordances of DIUs). In the current extract, the incomplete design of Kabir's turn in line 5 serves to solicit student engagement in producing the name of the author.

Starting the session by formally announcing the poem's title as well as the full name of its author echoes the initial steps of the *explication de texte* (Schultz 1996) and serves as a didactic resource for publically treating the text as a poem. This allows Kabir to introduce the activity as a literary event: a whole class reading of a poem. However, rather than being a strictly monologic practice—with the teacher doing the reading and the student cohort engaging in displaying their attention—the inviting of student participation presents the activity as a collective undertaking.

And the students' engagement in completing the author's name shows their alignment with the collective format of the project (cf. Stivers 2008, on activity alignment).

Our second extract shows how the reading of the poem initially engages more than one party at talk, and how Kabir draws on some multimodal resources to perform his reading to the class. During the 24 s after the exchange shown in Extract 1, Kabir has informed the class that there are some interesting words in the poem, and that some of these words will already be familiar to the students. This episode is being closed in the first two lines of the transcript.

Extract 2. I am reading the poem
[Kabir (Teacher), Rafiq, Nayim. 03.14 – 03.24]

```
01 Kabir   oka[:y?  ]
02 Rafiq      [ye°s:] Sir:::°
03 Kabir   [so: ]
04 Nayim   [sir-]
05 Kabir   &I'm#   goin  to [uhmmm (0.2)
   kabir   &rh rotating cntr.clockwise-->
   img         #Fig.1
06 Nayim                      [↑essparkling=
07         =[<↑w r i n k li:::]ng
08 Kabir   [read&        th:at]   poem
   kabir      -->&
09 Nayim   so:ft[ly ]
10 Kabir        &[ess]PARKling
   kabir        &rh index rotating rhythmically-->
11         #↑wrin[kling soft]ly ↑tinkli::ng
   img     #Fig.2
12 Nayim         [(tinkling)]
13         (0.7)
14 Kabir   ↑twin[kli:ng ti::ny br:ook]&
   kabir                       -->&
15 Nayim        [ (twink)ling    tiny] brook.
```

In line 3, Kabir produces the connective marker "so", followed by the announcement that he is going to read the poem, which reinstates the reading of the poem onto the interactional agenda (see Bolden 2009, on the action-implementing aspects of "so"). However, his turn is overlapped by Nayim, who produces a standardized bid for attention ("sir"), then launches his reading of the poem in overlap with the teacher's announcement (lines 6–7). Ignoring the potentially turn-competitive environment, the teacher begins to recite the poem to the class in lines 10–11.

The teacher's delivery of the action announcement as well as his incipient recitation merit some further attention. As he starts the announcement in line 5, Kabir begins rotating his right hand vertically, as if demonstrating the rotation of a wheel. This evenly-paced rotating gesture creates a sense of progression, as something that is set into rolling (Fig. 1), and continues at a steady pace through the

Fig. 1 I'am going to read

Fig. 2 Wrinkling softly
tinkling

announcement until he reaches the word "read" in line 8. Kabir's right hand then stops, and as he produces the very first sound of the poem in line 10, he stretches out his index finger and begins moving his right hand in a circular trajectory. In contrast to the even pace of the previous gesture, Kabir's hand is now marking a *beat* (McNeill 1992), with each new cycle beginning exactly at the point where each of the words in the poem are emphasized: "essPARKling", "wrinkling", "softly", "tinkling" (Fig. 2).

Clearly, the two gestures seem designed for different effect: while the first gesture, timed with the teacher's action announcement, seems to indicate a durability for the upcoming activity, in the second gesture Kabir's index finger rotates to the pace of his recitation—somewhat like a conductor's baton in an orchestral performance. In other words, while the first gesture contributes to the transition between classroom activities, the second gesture is minutely tailored to contribute to the aesthetics of reciting a poetic text. We return, again, to Schultz (1996) *explication de texte*. Here, one of the central formalistic features of the poem—it's rhythm scheme—is being performed to the class by Kabir's gestural work.

The next extract shows how the literary content of the poem is brought to attention. The transcript follows upon Kabir's reciting of the second stanza of the poem: "Running, Funning, Hiding, Sunning".

Extract 3. What does the poet think?
[Kabir (Teacher), Sujon, 05.47 – 06.02]

```
01 Kabir   ki bolche?
           what saying
           what is it saying?
02         (0.5)
03 Kabir   °ei  je° tomar,   ei je panita eta ki?
           this is your  this water what's this
           you see here the water  what is it doing?
04         chute cholche::
           running away
           it's running away
05         (0.5)
06 Kabir   ebo:ng ki?
           and what
           and then what?
07         (0.7)
08 Kabir   kobir mone hocche ↓jye:e ((noise))
           poet  feels in mind
           in his mind, the poet feels
09         ↑ei panita jokhon, chute jacche (0.2)
           this water when  running away
           when the water is running away
10         ba, jok::hon
           or  when
11         (0.3)
12 Kabir   e::i:: shobdho korche, ((noise))
           this  sound making
           the brook is making sounds
13         (0.3)
14 Kabir   >tokhon tar mone hocche  je< e ki korch::e?
           then  his mind feels that this what's doing
           at that moment, he is feeling that
15         (0.5)
16 Kabir   moja korche.
           fun doing
           the brook is doing fun.
17 Sujon   moja kore fun korche ((teacher spins hands))
           fun doing          doing
           doing fun in a funny way
18 Kabir   hya:
           yes
```

The activity of reading poetry entails a specific type of sense making, and the extract above shows how Kabir invites the class to interpret the meaning of the stanza just recited.

He begins with an open question (what's it saying?) and without looking up from the book, or making any other attempt at designating a next speaker, he produces a question-answer sequence concerning the activity of the water, as illustrated in the book (lines 3–4). He then looks up to face the class and asks "and then what?" in line 6, directing the query to the student cohort, rather than a particular individual.

As none of the students attempt to volunteer an answer, the teacher continues to explicate what might qualify as a literary interpretation of the poem. To this end, he introduces the perspective of the poet and how the poet uses imagery to portray his poetic expression (lines 8 through 16). Here, the poet's feelings are invoked to account for the actions of the brook. Notably, Kabir tells the class how the poet perceives this brook as an animate being full of anthropomorphic attributes, capable of escaping the sunshine or doing fun by playing hide-and-seek with the sun.

Addressing the pragmatic aspects of the poem—how the meaning is constructed by the poet—presents the teacher with a didactic challenge, as we can tell from the general non-responsiveness of the students. Their reluctance to attempt an answer—which is particularly evident in the pauses on lines 2 and 7 that follow upon direct open-address questions to the class—can be taken to indicate that they are struggling to come to terms with the teacher's questions. Queries like "what is [the poem] saying?" (line 2) or indeed "[the water] is running away and then what?" (lines 4 through 6) have no straightforward answer and, more relevantly to the students' concerns, they do little by way of indicating what a relevant answer might be. The teacher then bridges the impasse by presenting a lengthy exposition of potential ways of interpreting the poet's aspirations. As he reaches the conclusion of his literary analysis—that the poet must have felt that the water was having a bit of fun hiding from the sun—Sujon immediately pitches in a turn proposing that the water is "doing fun in a funny way" (line 17). In light of the students' non-responsiveness earlier in the exchange, we find that as soon they are able to make sense of the teacher's question, they return to actively participating in the event. Indeed, while Sujon's utterance is partly parasitic (Goodwin and Goodwin 1990) on the teacher's turn, it adds to the teacher's analysis an assessment of the way that the water behaves ("doing fun *in a funny way*"). Sujon thereby contributes something of an independent analysis of the poem—which Kabir readily accepts in line 18.

Summing up the analysis so far, while the first two extracts showed how the teacher introduced and performed the aesthetic features of recitation, in this extract students were afforded some resources for analysing the stylistic aspects of the poem. Thus, we have examined some of the ways through which the public reading of the text is accomplished as recitation and analysis of poetry.

Exploring Word Meaning

Having shown how Kabir performs the reading of the text as a work of poetry, in this section we turn to consider how the reading activity is organised to allow the class to attend to the meaning of the words comprising the poem. This practice resembles what Kramsch (1985) termed *collecting necessary vocabulary*. As we shall see, however, in the current classroom this is not a matter of simply constructing a list of words and their corresponding lexical meaning. Rather, it is a matter of negotiating both sense and flavour of the words so as to retain the poetic quality of the composition as a whole, which we propose is constitutive of the instructional hybridity of this session. To this end, a number of multimodal resources are mobilised, including the use of synonyms, gestures and other non-vocal resources as well as material artefacts. In the next extract, we discuss some aesthetic features of word exploration.

Extract 4. Twinkling Tiny Brook
[Kabir (Teacher), Sumon, Rafiq 04.25 – 04.49]

```
01 Kabir   ↑twinkling ↑tiny brook
02         (0.8)
03 Kabir   twinkling mane ki?
                       meaning what
           what's the meaning of twinkling?
04         (0.5)
05 Kabir   tomra oi: <kobita ta ki> porecho& ♪♪twin&::kle↓
           you that poem did read
           have you read that poem?
   kabir                                    &rh index rotates-->
06         twin::kl:e↓ [li:ttle:: &sta:r:]♪♪
                                   -->&
07 Sumon              [ >little es:tar< ]
08 Rafiq   =♪♪↑TWINkl::e[↑↑TWIN:::kl::e::                    ]
09 KABIR                [what is the meaning (.) of the word]=
10 Rafiq   =[     <litt::::le>        ]=
11 Kabir   =[twinkle what do you say?]
12 Rafiq   =es::sta::::r [°how:: I°]♪♪
13 Kabir                 [jhik mik] kora, jwal jwal kora.
                          glitter do   sparkling do
                          something glittering something shimmering
14 Sumon   jhik- ↑tara jwal jwal kore setake jhik mik bole
           stars spark that glitter called
           stars spark which is called glittering
15 Kabir   exactly setai.
                    that's it
```

In line 1, the teacher reads a new line of the poem. After a short pause, he looks up from the book, repeats the word "twinkling", then switches into Bengali to question the class about its meaning: "twinkling >*mane ki?*<". As no student makes a move to bid for a turn, Kabir asks whether the students are familiar with the well-known nursery rhyme, then proceeds to sing the first line of "Twinkle, twinkle little star" while moving his index finger in a circular trajectory to the beat of the words (lines 5–6).

This multimodally produced intertextual reference sets off an insertion sequence, with several students joining in the singing (lines 7–12) suggesting that they are well familiar with the nursery rhyme. The teacher then returns to the issue of word meaning, repeating his original question, this time in English (line 9). However, some of the students continue singing the rhyme and in line 11 Kabir explicitly requests a response from the class, "what do you say". As this request also appears to drown in the general singing, he switches to Bengali and offers two translation alternatives for the target word, "glittering" and "shimmering" (line 13). At this point, Sumon self-selects, declaring that "stars spark which is called glittering". In addition to producing another candidate synonym ("spark") to the target word, his turn links the topic of the nursery rhyme with the teacher's previous turn. The teacher's upgraded bilingual receipt (line 15) treats Sumon's turn as a successful display of knowledge of the meaning of "twinkle", and concludes this word exploration exchange. The teacher then looks down in the book and resumes the poem work by re-reading the current poem line.

We have seen, then, how the teacher uses rhythm and musicality to create allusions from the current poem, and how this intertextual move offers an aesthetic resource for doing vocabulary training, and spurs student participation. Furthermore, through this exchange three Bengali words are collaboratively established as analogous to the English concept of "twinkling". In the next extract, we discuss the multimodal organisation of word exploration activities, focusing in particular on the concerted use of onomatopoeia and gesture.

Extract 5. Tinkling sounds like 'tun tun'
[Kabir (Teacher), Ananto, Sumon. 03.58 – 04.19]

```
01 Kabir   ss::oftly tin+kling, tin+kling >mane ki? jano<
   kabir       rh index+         ->+
                                          means what know
                                          do you know the meaning?
02         (0.3)
03 Ananto °ki::?°
             what?
04         (1.0)
05 Kabir   tinkling mane hocche <tun tun> shobdo kora
                    means is                sound do
                    tinkling means to sound like 'tun tun'
06         (1.7)
07 Kabir   pani jokhon↓ (0.4) probahito hoy, nodite, tokhon ki?
           when water             flows in the river then what?
           when water is flowing down, then what happens in the river?
08         (0.7)
09 Kabir   ↑shobdo hoy? na (0.2) sei shobdo take ↑ki
           sounds isn't so        that sound what
            doesn't this create sound? what's the
11         bola hocche?
           sound called?
12 Sumon   SIR #sSSHOo sSHOoo sh:::o↓[sho:::]
   img        #Fig.3
13 Kabir                           [n::oo↓] (0.2)
14         ↑tinkling (0.2) #tuk tuk shobdho hoy, sroter
                                 sounds do of stream
                                 the streams sound like 'tuk tuk'
```

As we can see, the teacher uses a similar procedure to select the target word: he reads a new line in the poem, then repeats the word "tinkling" and switches into Bengali to question the class about its meaning: "tinkling >mane ki? jano<". As he pronounces the first syllable of the word "tinkling" both times, he uses his right hand index finger to point towards the class.

In a study of word explanation exchanges in a L2 classroom, Mortensen (2011) found that teachers use several types of resources to highlight, in the course of their talk, target words for subsequent discussion of their meaning. These resources include self-repair, prosodic features and visual types of action. In our extract, the target word—tinkling—is selected by means of verbal as well as gestural repetition, while the following instructional operation involves language alternation. In other words, the teacher is drawing on turn constructional, gestural as well as bilingual resources to initiate the word meaning exchange.

Rather than targeting a particular student, the teacher's question is directed at the whole class and in line 3 Ananto responds with a query ("ki::?", Eng: "what?"), showing that he does not know the Bengali term for "tinkling". However, in the subsequent turns it becomes clear that the teacher was not asking for a translation, but for a description of the target word. His onomatopoetic performance is embedded in a verbal definition: "tinkling means to sound like '*tun tun*'" (line 5). He then elaborates by presenting a scenario where water is flowing down, then asks the class to name the sound generated by the water (lines 7–11). In response, Sumon produces an extended gushing sound, "sSSHOo sSHOoo sh:::o↓ sho::o" (line 12), simultaneously using his right palm to illustrate the movement of water flowing slowly (Fig. 3). The teacher explicitly treats this as the wrong answer (line 13) then corrects the student by producing another, very different, onomatopoetic characterisation of the sound, embedding it in a verbal explanation: "the streams sound like '*tuk tuk*'" (line 14). In addition, he attempts to clarify what type of water movement he had in mind by marking the beat with his right hand at each of the two syllables "tuk" as if gently knocking on a bell (Fig. 4).

Clearly, in negotiating the meaning of "tinkling" Sumon and Kabir seem to be referring to different type of water flows and it is interesting how this negotiation

Fig. 3 ssshoo ssshoo sh:::o sho

Fig. 4 tuk tuk

turns on their use of onomatopoetic sounds carefully produced together with iconic gestures (Kendon 2004). Thus, rather than attempting to pinpoint the meaning of the target word by listing synonyms, as in our previous case, the parties rely on their identification and reproduction of the adequate auditive and visual qualities to represent the sound of water tinkling. In addition to serving as a resource in teasing out some fine-grained semantic nuances, we propose that this practice contributes to the literary aesthetics of the joint word exploration.

Our next example shows how verbal, gestural as well as material resources are mobilised in the service of vocabulary practice.

Extract 6. Let's look at the picture
[Kabir (Teacher), Nayim, Tipu, Ananto, Katha 03.34 – 03.56]

```
01 Nayim   ess[sparkling (.)   wrinkling     s]o::ftly]
02 Kabir      [wrinkling, wrinkling mane ↑ki]
                                      meaning what
                                      what's the meaning of wrinkling
03 Tipu    naAAh
              no
04 Kabir   jano? wrinkling [mane # anka] baka,# b::a (0.2)
           know                means zig zag or
           do you know? wrinkling means something zig zag or
    kabir       rh downward zigzag#          ->#
    img                          #Fig. 5
05 Nayim               [ tinkling  ]
06 Kabir         #kokrano,#  >ei je [picture ta dekh:::o<
                 crinkled       this            see
                 crinkled, let's see the picture here
    kabir   rh loop wave#    ->#
    img          #Fig 6.2
07 Nayim                                [°twinkili:::::ng°
08         (0.6)
09 Nayim   °tai::ny brook°=
10 Kabir           =ekhaane #
                    here
    kabir   rh points to boook #
    img                     #Figs. 6 and 7
```

In this example, the teacher resumes the reading of the poem in overlap with one of the students, Nayim, who is reading aloud in his book. We may note in passing that throughout this extract, the teacher does not attend to Nayim's reading. Instead, he addresses the student cohort focusing on exploring the meaning of the word "wrinkling."

As in the previous extracts, the target word is selected through repetition and followed by a code-switched question about its meaning (line 2). As Tipu replies that he does not know the meaning of the word, the teacher suggests two Bengali terms, "anka baka" (eng: "zig zag") and "kokrano" (eng: "crinkled") as possible translations.

Let us examine Kabir's actions in some detail. His pronunciation of "anka baka" is synchronised with a downward zig-zag movement of his right hand, such that each new syllable is rhythmically coordinated with a new tack (Fig. 5). For the second alternative, "kokrano", Kabir uses his right hand to make a similarly synchronised, horizontal wave-shaped movement towards the class (Fig. 6). Through these gestural representations of the translated terms—which serve to visualise two slightly distinct contours of something being wrinkled—the teacher offers a semantic elaboration of the target word. In addition, having presented the class with two Bengali terms, the teacher holds his copy of the book against the blackboard and uses the pen in his right hand to point to the bendy part of the stream in the illustration of the poem (Figs. 7 and 8). Through this action, the two Bengali words are contextualised as possible descriptive terms for the river formation, as well as re-contextualised as translations of the poet's choice of vocabulary (see also Mortensen 2011 on two practices of using the whiteboard for visually highlighting target vocabulary—writing and pointing to words already written there. Our example suggests a third option).
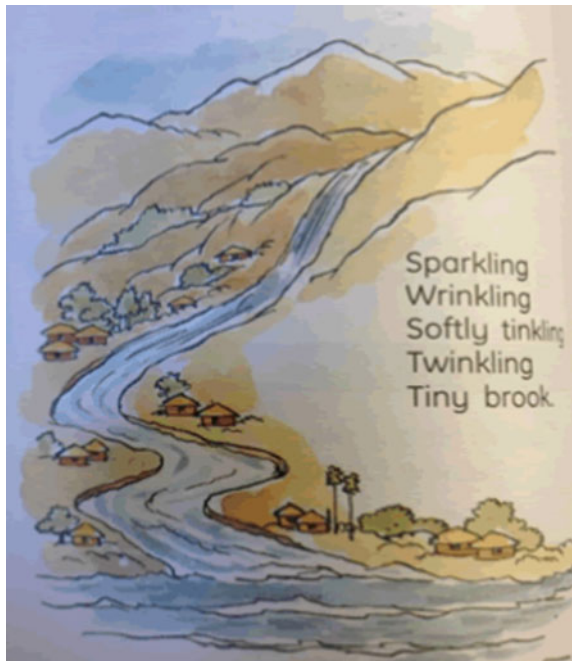
Fig. 5   anka baka

Fig. 6   kokrano

Fig. 7 ekhaane

Fig. 8 Book pages shown
against whiteboard

Sparkling
Wrinkling
Softly tinkling
Twinkling
Tiny brook.

In other words, the multimodal organisation of the teacher's actions offers some
clues to the pedagogic orientation of this activity as both semantic and pragmatic
vocabulary practice—as an exercise in language, as well as in literary forms of
description.

Somewhat later during the lesson, a student error prompts Kabir to engage in a
correction procedure. With the resulting shift of orientation, the activity account-
ably changes into a more formal vocabulary exercise.

Extract 7. Let's write on the board
[Kabir (Teacher), Sumon, Rafiq, Nayim, Sujon 10.29 – 11.00]

```
01 Stud    (xxx)
02 Kabir   >sorry?<
03 Sumon   sapa[rkleen]
04 Rafiq      [°essparkling°]
05         (0.4)
06 Kabir   essparkling=
07 Nayim   =°°essparkling°°
08 Kabir   sparkling >mane ki boloto?< ami ↑ekbar bolechi
                      means what tell me I once told
                      tell me what is sparkling I told you once
09         (1.2)
10 Kabir   jwal jwal kora=
           spark spark do
           to spark
11 Sujon   =↑jwal ↑jwal KORA
           spark spark do
           to spark
12         (0.9)
13 Kabir   likhi [ekhane  (.)  eaya]
           write here           yes
           let's write it here okay
14 Stud         [   (  xxx  )   ]
15 Sumon        [jwal jwal jwhak] jwhak kora=
                 spark spark gleam gleam
                 something sparkling, something gleaming
16 Kabir   dekho
           see
           pay attention
           (0.3)
17 Rafiq   (xxx)
18 Kabir   >edike lokhyo rakho, kono kotha bolo na<
            here attention keep no talk don't do
            pay attention here, don't talk
19         (.) ami kintu dhorbo
               I ask
               I will ask questions
20                 +(4.0)[+(4.5)+(4.0)+
    kabir  writes + জ্বল  + জ্বল + করা +
                      spark spark do
                      to spark
21 stud                [(  xxx  )
22 Nayim               [sir word meaning?
```

The transcript begins as the teacher asks a student to clarify a previous indistinctly produced utterance. Sumon's reply in line 3 "saparkleen" is immediately treated as a trouble source, and Rafik quietly corrects his table neighbour. In line 6, the teacher looks up at the class and emphatically corrects Sumon's pronunciation into "essparkling". Nayim's prompt repetition of the corrected version shows his orientation to the collective address of the teacher's action—a technique known as "cohorting" (Payne and Hustler 1980), which may involve teachers "reassembling students into a single body" (St John and Cromdal 2016, p. 16).

In the subsequent turns, the meaning of "sparkling" is discussed once more. This time, however, the exchange is set off by a student error, and the teacher's demand for the meaning is designed as a test question: "tell me what is sparkling I told you once" (line 8). With no response forthcoming in over a second, Kabir supplies the answer "to spark", which is immediately echoed by Sujon in line 11. Sumon picks up on the notion of "sparkling" and adds a second synonym "gleaming" in line 15, but his turn is overlapped by another student's indistinct speech as well as by Kabir who has spun around towards the blackboard and announces that he will write the target word down. Having thus lost visual contact with the students, he treats their talk as disruptive of his work, admonishing the class several times to pay attention, and warning them—while writing "sparkling" on the blackboard in both English and Bengali—that he intends to ask questions about the topic later (lines 16 through 20).

In contrast to the extracts above then, the current exchange is oriented towards dealing with the trouble indicated by Sumon's mispronunciation of "sparkling", and the teacher invests some instructional effort into teaching the class the meaning as well as correct spelling of the word in both languages. Furthermore, we learn from the example that the students are sensitive to the shifting instructional focus, as Nayim's question in line 22—whether they are now doing word meaning—shows his analysis of the change of events.

Discussion

In this chapter we have documented a single lesson dedicated to the reading and discussing of a short poem. This undertaking involved two instructional orientations, focusing on the aesthetic or stylistic aspects of the text as well as on more formal, lexical aspects of the language of the poem. Our analysis showed that both activity orientations were organisationally collaborative and involved complex, multimodal action design. Although for the purpose of the analysis we have discussed them separately, it should be emphasised that the lesson was not organised in two phases, one dealing with each aspect of the text, but rather that the two instructional goals were pursued as the recitation of the poem progressed. Specifically, Kabir's instructional moves followed the poem's stanzas and having recited a full stanza, he would stop to ask the class about certain words as well as discuss the stylistic features of the literary work. Hence, the format of the poem, and

in particular the metrical scheme of the stanzas, crucially informed the organisation of the instructional activity. This would suggest that the use of poetry in the lesson we have examined is procedurally consequential (Schegloff 1987) at least in two ways: it has a specific bearing on the organisation of instructional talk, and allows for a dual focus on both literary aesthetics and L2 vocabulary.

Recent conversation analytic studies of vocabulary training in L2 and FL (foreign language) classrooms (e.g., Mortensen 2011; St John 2010; Waring et al. 2013) have examined the local practices through which target words are identified or highlighted and their meaning explained to the students. Mortensen (2011), for example, analysed the collaborative production of word explanation sequences showing that the basic structure entails four moves: (i) teacher highlighting a lexical item; (ii) student/s repeating the item; (iii) teacher requesting explanation of its meaning; (iv) student/s supplying a candidate explanation. Waring et al. (2013) proposed a somewhat different basic structure, including (i) teacher establishing the focus item; (ii) teacher contextualising the item, for instance by using it in a phrase; (iii) teacher offering explanation or inviting student/s to produce candidate explanation, and (iv) teacher closing the explanation through repetition or by summing up the exchange. The analysis by Waring et al. (2013) also explores the relation between gesture and talk in what they labeled *animated word explanations*. Despite the differences in the observed sequence structure, the word explanation exchanges in both studies are monolingual (or in the case of Mortensen (2011) near-monolingual, as the teacher occasionally resorts to code-switching into English that serves as *lingua franca*), which has to do with the fact that the participants do not share a L1.

The language setting of the present study is radically different—with all the participants sharing both L1 and L2—and a general observation that emerges from the data is that both languages are amply used during the lesson. For the purpose of this chapter we will discuss two pedagogic implications this has for the for vocabulary training.

We may recall from the analysis that each new word explanation sequence (Extracts 4 through 6) involved Kabir selecting a word from the current stanza and ask the class about its meaning, and further, that he would switch into Bengali to ask the question. The code-switch thus sets off the target word from the instructional operation being performed on it, and Kabir uses this bilingual construction thoughout the session to launch new word explanation sequences. This does not mean that he always uses Bengali to ask about the meaning of English words, as we can see in Extract 4, where he pursues a response from the cohort twice using English (lines 9 and 11), which suggests that the bilingual construction is a didactic routine for *initiating* word explanation sequences.

The second bilingual feature of the vocabulary training has to do with the practice of explaining the meaning of the target words. We have seen that Kabir and his students would engage in animating aspects of meaning (cf. Waring et al. 2013) drawing on both vocal (Extract 5, lines 5, 12 and 14) and gestural (Extracts 5 and 6) resources, as well as on material artefacts such as the whiteboard (Extracts 6 and 7). We have also seen how the sense of the target words is pursued by Kabir

constructing scenarios to contextualise the concept that he is trying to explain (Extract 5 lines 7–9). In addition to these practices, we have seen how Kabir would explain the meaning of the target words by translating them into Bengali (Extracts 4–7), often supplying several, semantically related candidate terms, thereby offering the students a more nuanced, conceptually broader, sense of the lexical as well as poetic meaning of the words.

In other words, we are proposing that the availability of two languages informed the instructional practice in at least two ways: (i) it organised an instructional routine; and (ii) it enhanced, though interlingual contact, students' vocabulary. As St John (2010) aptly pointed out "interlingual contact and coordination, indeed bilingual interaction, serve sense-making activity vital to lexical (re)orientation and appropriation" (p. 216). In this way, the option to choose and alternate between the two languages hosts an additional set of interactional—and instructional—resources, alongside the other semiotic practices we have discussed in this chapter.

Throughout the analysis, we have paid attention to the multimodal features of the instructional exchanges, showing for instance how the teacher combined prosodic and gestural resources when delivering rhythmic recitations of the poem stanzas, or when discussing the semantic aspects of target words. Such fine-tuning of actions allowed the parties to tease out—negotiate, even—some finer lexical nuances of the terms used by the author to describe aspects of water movement.

It would perhaps seem easy to sympathise with McConochie's (1981) claim that "without some study of poetry—as well as other literary genres—our students are deprived of an understanding of the full nature of English" (p. 232). It needs stressing, however, that while there is no doubt that the instructional exchanges we have analysed were fueled by the literary aspects of the text, these qualities—the animation, anthropomorphisms and metaphors—were retrieved and made available to the students only through the parties' engaging in the reciting, singing, gestural enactment and building of vocabulary inventories. Which brings us back to the question concerning the use—or usefulness—of poetry and other forms of literary texts in the L2 classroom. Does poetry have a special role to play in developing L2 competence? This chapter has shown that the classroom floor is a good place to start looking for answers.

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Chapter 12
Relating with an Unborn Baby: Expectant Mothers Socializing Their Toddlers in Japanese Families

Akira Takada and Michie Kawashima

Introduction

The features of family are closely related to those of self and society. It merits particular attention to analyze how "children's lives" are formulated in relation to the particular time and geographical area. To this end, this study examines talk-in-interaction between pregnant women and their family members in contemporary Japan. When an unborn baby is introduced in social interaction, the participants adopt strategies so as to accommodate the expectant baby. This study describes the distinctiveness of the participation framework of interactions about pregnancy by answering the following questions: (1) Whose and what action introduces the unborn baby using what temporal prospect? (2) What variation in spatial positioning is evident when introducing the unborn baby? (3) Whose and what action represents the unborn baby's voice? (4) How the pregnant woman talks about her physical sensations within the sequence structure of current interaction? Based on the above analysis, this article proposes the following arguments: (1) The distinctiveness of the socialization platform is linked to the form of mutual understanding towards which the social interaction orients (e.g., the orientation to the triadic relationship framework, which includes the unborn baby). Introduction of the unborn baby into family interactions gives opportunities for the older child to take the stance of one who knows and thereby has learnt what counts as morally appropriate ways of acting in familial relationships. (2) Even before the baby has

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been born, a discursive positioning is already being produced within interaction by those immediately concerned. The baby is then inserted into this discursive position. (3) The pregnant woman often takes an initiative to introduce the unborn baby into family interactions and share morally appropriate knowledge regarding the familial relationships, because she has the epistemic primacy regarding the physical sensations with respect to the fetus.

Communicating About Pregnancy

"The crisis of family" has been raised as an issue since the establishment of modern society (Yamada 1994: 51–52). The problem lies in our practice of praising or blaming familial practices without a framework within which to understand them. Studies have repeatedly shown that parent-children relationships can take various forms depending on time or geographical area. Thus, we need to clarify how people formulate "children's lives", which characterize the time or geographical area. Spurred by these concerns, this study analyzes interaction between family members comprising pregnant women in Japan. At the time of conception, all family members experience major changes. However, each person relates to these changes differently. For example, the pregnant woman can feel the fetus' existence when she starts feeling its movement. However, a child who will be a sibling will not physically feel the fetus' existence and will only see it if medical equipment such as an ultrasound is used. Among these changes, how are social relationships characterizing the family reorganized? This study aims to answer this question.

Many anthropological studies on family, including this one, take the view that "motherhood" is intricately related to family and society. Badinter (1998) argued that, based on records of everyday life in France since the 18th century, the claim that maternal love is an ideology devised by patriarchal society, and that the mother herself, her personal history, and general history determines how women relate to children (ibid.: 9–22, 448–452). Since then, social historical studies on motherhood have emerged in Japan (e.g., Tama 2001, 2006; Sawayama 2013). In addition, there are many anthropological studies on motherhood in contemporary society (e.g., Strathern 1992; Ortner 1996; Utagawa and Nakatani 2007). Consequently, and ironically, an understanding of motherhood has become even more difficult (Utagawa and Nakatani 2007).

In order to overcome such difficulties, effective approaches temporally and spatially deconstruct the context in which action takes place. Goodenough (1981: 102–103) contended that because cultural structure conditions local activities, research into culture should focus on such concrete and local activities, not on society as an abstract and general concept. Goodwin (1990: 2) further maintained that analyzing local activities provides an opportunity to study language, social structure, and culture from an integrated perspective. These views form the foundation of the microanalysis of interaction, which has been developing in contemporary linguistic anthropology.

Among the subdomains of linguistic anthropology, the Language Socialization approach enthusiastically promoted studies on communication between family members. This approach has been proposed as an alternative to Language Acquisition studies, which are strongly oriented towards methodological individualism. Through detailed analysis of the situation in which language is used, Language Socialization approach examines how children and newcomers to a culture understand and enact the "situational context" in relation to the "cultural context" (Ochs and Schiffelin 2012: 1). Key in this approach is an accurate analysis of how communicative code, practice, and habitus of the strategy of a speech community are related to socio-cultural theory (Ochs et al. 2005: 548). Methodologically the development of Language Socialization approach has been closely associated with the studies of conversational analysis (Schegloff 2007), which aims to reveal the temporal and spatial organization of interaction through micro-level and empirical analysis of talk-in-interaction. Employing conversation analysis makes it possible to understand how the participants of interaction make an action at a particular time and place in a particular manner in response to a particular context, how the action generates the context for next action, and how the sequence of such actions construct the social reality.

Language Socialization approach examines the whole communicative framework, and thus also focuses on resources used in interaction other than language. Close examination of these resources has recently led to the studies of language socialization of children "before" using language (Filipi 2009; Brown 2012; Takada 2012). However, few studies focus on interaction between the unborn baby, the pregnant woman, and people surrounding her. This study thus focuses on interaction in a family with a pregnant woman in contemporary Japan. A family forms its own interaction pattern that reflects its interaction history (Fogel et al. 2006). Through examining how these unique interaction patterns are restructured during pregnancy and how each family member deals with arising language socialization opportunities in the process, this study provides important points to consider about how family and society are constructed in contemporary Japan.

This study was conducted as part of a larger project (longitudinal observational study of caregiver-child interactions led by one of the authors http://www.cci.jambo.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/admin/moderation.php (also see Burdelski and Morita, this chapter). Between 2007 and 2011, researchers regularly visited families with babies aged between 0 and 4 years about once a month, and, using a video camera, filmed natural interaction between the caregiver and child for about an hour each time. About 500 h of footage was recorded, and the film transcripts number more than 10,000 pages. This study is based on films of pregnant mothers in the 6th to 10th month and their family members (fathers and siblings-to-be). 15 films (in total about 13.5 h of footage) of 4 families were analyzed. The unborn baby's future siblings (the children analyzed) were aged from 2 to 4 years. The films were transcribed to capture the verbal and non-verbal interactions of all participants. The following examples were extracted from the transcripts.

Participation Framework in Interaction Between the Pregnant Woman and Her Family Members

As distinctiveness of communication about pregnancy, we examine (a) the temporal prospect, (b) spatial positioning, and (c) footing of utterances, when the unborn baby is introduced to the participation framework of interactions. Based on the examination, we also analyze the ways in which (d) the pregnant woman's physical sensation is referred to.

The Temporal Prospect

In this section we examine caregivers' temporal prospect when they introduce the unborn baby to social interaction. First, we present a case in which the yet-to-be-born baby is introduced as a present participant in the current interaction. In Example 1, a mother and the child (the elder sister of the fetus) were playing house when the sister voluntarily took out a plate for "the baby in the tummy."

Example 1 KT_A080222_1: M (mother: 9 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:8)[1]

1 S: onaka no akachan. ((while taking out the plate))
      belly LK babSy
      The baby in the tummy
2 M: onaka no akachan ni tuku-tte—onaka no akachan no osara dore:?
      belly LK baby DAT make-TE belly LK baby LK plate which
      Make it for the baby in the tummy—which plate is for the baby in the tummy:?
3 S: ((taps a pink plate))
4 M: kono tsicchai no ka: a, hora, yorokonde ugoite haru wa.
      this small thing IP IJ pleased move HON IP
      Ah, this small one. Oh, the baby is pleased and moving.

In Line 1, the sister voluntarily takes out a plate from the cupboard while uttering "the baby in the tummy." In response, the mother first shows her understanding that the girl's action is part of cooking a meal for the unborn baby. The mother then interrupts that utterance, asking, "which plate is for the baby in the tummy:?" (Line 2) This is a question directly linked to the girl's action of taking out the plate. In addition,

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[1]In these examples, the proper names (the person's name and the name of the organization) are substituted by pseudonyms. For counting months of pregnancy we adopted the common way in Japan, in which pregnancy begins on the first day of the last menstruation. The transcription of Japanese utterances basically follows the transcription conventions provided by the editors. The following are interlinear gloss abbreviations, which are not provided by the editors: ASP, aspect; BEN, benefactive; CAU, causative; COND, conditional; DAT, dative; DIM, diminutive; IJ, interjection; INV, invitational form; LK, linker; LOC, locative; PN, personal name; SSW, sound-symbolic word; TE, conjunctive (-te form).

it clarifies the relationship between "the baby in the tummy" and the plate, which was unclear in Line 1. The "question-response" is a typical adjacency pair and often starts the base sequence in which it is the kernel (Schegloff 2007: 13–21). The mother's next utterance, "Ah, this small one," shows that she acknowledges the girl's gesture as a response to her question. The mother immediately references the baby's movement by saying, "Oh, the baby is pleased and moving." In so doing, she treats the fetus' movement as the positive assessment of the sister's response. The assessment as the third part often concludes the sequence that begins with the question (Pomerantz 1984). Therefore, this utterance shows that the base sequence that began with the question in Line 1 has come to the end.

In this example, the temporal framework of the ongoing interaction does not change. Both the mother and sister referred to the "baby in the tummy" as the owner of the plate, which is used here and now as a central resource in the activity of playing house and is treated as a participant in the interaction. However, an unborn baby is not always positioned in the temporal framework of the ongoing interaction. A caregiver often refers to the yet-to-be-born baby as participating in a future relationship. When data for Example 2 were recorded, a mother was outside with the child (the elder sister of the fetus) riding a tricycle.

Example 2 KT_A080222_1: M (mother: 9 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:8)

1 M: Mee-chan, onaka no akachan ni mo kore oshie-te-agete ya::
       name DIM belly LK baby DAT too this teach-TE-BEN IP
       Mee-chan, please teach this to the baby in the tummy.
2 M: kou yatte norun yade: tsutte.
       this do-TE ride IP QT
       This is how you ride this: you say.
3 (0.4)
4 M: oshie reru?.hh omocha kashi-t-agen nen ro?
       teach can toy lend-TE-BEN IP Q
       Can you teach?.hh You are going to lend your toy, aren't you?
5 (1.5)

The mother approaches the sister while uttering her name, and encourages her to teach the baby by requesting, "please teach this to the baby in the tummy" (Line 1). The following utterance, "this is how you ride this:" prompts the sister's utterance to the baby because it is followed by "*tsutte* (you say)," which indicates a quote (Line 2). It gave a concrete example to the sister regarding what to do with respect to the request in Line 1. A request constitutes an adjacency pair with an acceptance or rejection response. However, in this example, 0.4 s pause reveals there is no response from the sister to the mother's request. The following utterance by the mother, "Can you teach?" (Line 4) is reformulated compared to the earlier utterance. Here, the type of action has changed from a request to confirmation, and the focus of the action has changed from the sister's willingness to her ability. These changes can be seen as easing the sister's response by reducing the agency required in the next action. However, the sister does not respond yet. In Line 4, the mother

confirms, "You are going to lend your toy, aren't you?" The tricycle referenced by "*kore* (this)" in Line 1 is now reformulated as a general noun "*omocha* (toy)", and the verb "*oshie(ru)* (to teach)" is reformulated to another verb "*kas(u)* (to lend)," which requires weaker agency by the actor. The mother thus introduces the normative custom of siblings sharing toys, and tries to confirm the sister's understanding of this. However, the sister does not respond to this either (Line 5).

In this example, the temporal framework in which interaction with the "baby in the tummy" occurs is not explicit. In other words, from the sister's point of view, it is not clear when and where that is being encouraged, that is, teaching and lending to the baby, should occur. As a result, this can be positioned either as an ongoing interaction in the present or an interaction that may happen sometime in the future. The mother produces utterances that request the sister's acceptance or rejection response, and she repeatedly reformulates the utterance to make it easier for the sister to respond. Nonetheless, the sister's failure to give an appropriate response may be related to the ambiguity of the temporal prospect discussed earlier. It is assumed that the sister could not respond appropriately because she was troubled by the large margin of interpretation of the temporal framework in which the action is positioned.

Spatial Positioning

When an unborn baby is introduced as a participant in interactions, not only the temporal prospect, but also the spatial positioning of participants is flexible. Below, we examine variations in such spatial positioning.

The spatial positioning of the unborn baby and the temporal prospect are often linked. When introduced in ongoing interaction as in Example 1, it is often explicit that the baby is positioned in the mother's belly. In Example 3, a mother and the child (the elder sister of the fetus) sit on a couch side-by-side reading a picture book. Just before this exchange, the mother reported the baby's movement while touching her belly. However, the sister did not give a clear response and directed her attention to the picture book.

Example 3 KT_A080310: M (mother: 10 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:9)

1   S: onaka no akacha:n?
        belly LK baby
        The baby in the tummy?
2   M: un, hakashi-t-agete.
        yes wear-TE-BEN-TE
        Yes, do put them on it.
3   S: a
        IJ
        Oh.

4 M: <u>onaka</u> no akachan, tabun kore oshiri yade. Koko oshiri ya shi hakashi-
   t-age-te.
    belly LK baby perhaps this bottom IP here bottom COP as wear-TE-BEN-TE
    The baby in the tummy. This is probably its bottom. As this is its bottom, put
    them on it.

5 S: a, hake ta!
    IJ wear PFT
    She did it!

6 M: ha(h)ke(h) ta. hhh
    wear PFT
    She(h) did(h) it. hhh

The picture book included a game wherein the reader pastes a small sticker of pink knickers on appropriately sized characters. In Line 1, the sister, after trying the sticker on all characters on that page, pastes it on the mother's belly, saying "The baby in the tummy?" (Photo 1). The mother first agrees, and then requests her to paste the knickers on it (Line 2). In Line 4, the mother fixes the position of the baby's bottom. The sister moves the sticker to that position, and reports the baby's situation in Line 4. This utterance is also a response to the task of the game, namely, looking for a character that the knickers fit.

In this exchange, two major characteristics of the participants' spatial positioning enable the sister to appoint the discursive positioning of the unborn baby. The first is that the mother and sister were sitting intimately side-by-side and the mother's belly was within the reach of the sister's hand. The second is that, by reporting the baby's movement while touching her belly, the mother showed that the belly was physically touchable. She also treated the "baby in the tummy" as someone who could participate in the framework of that interaction. Given these conditions, the elder sister could use the mother's belly as a resource for play.

The yet-to-be-born baby does not necessarily occupy a particular spatial position as indicated above. Indeed our data suggest that the spatial position is not fixed in most cases. Just before Example 4, a mother and the child (Taka, who is the elder brother of the fetus) were having a conversation while playing with water.

Photo 1 The sister pastes the sticker on the mother's belly

The mother referred to the baby who was there to play with water while showering the brother. The brother asked the gender of the baby, and the mother answered, "It's a girl." Immediately after this, the brother volunteered, as shown in Line 1.

Example 4 SA_Y080812-1: M (mother: 8 months pregnant), B (brother: 3:10)

1 B: gorogoro shi-yasu-shi::
      SSW do easy IP
      Easy to push gorogoro;;
2 B: Taka ga, akachan ga—Taka ga akachan ni gorogoro age-tara,
      name NOM baby NOM name NOM baby DAT SSW give COND
      Taka, the baby—Taka gives the baby gorogoro,
3 B: Taka ga gorogoro tte osu kara na?
      name NOM SSW QT push since IP
      Taka pushes gorogoro?
4 M: gorogoro tte bebii kaa ka?
      SSW QT baby car Q
      Is gorogoro a stroller?
5 B: un.
      yes
      Yes.
6 M: oshi-te-kureru no?
      push-TE-give Q
      Are you going to push it?
7 B: un!
      yes
      Yes!

First, the brother held both his hands around his chest when saying, "Gives the baby gorogoro" (Line 2), and pretended to push a stroller while saying, "Taka pushes gorogoro?" (Line 3). Because the brother, through his gesture, explicitly shows the action of pushing the stroller in which the yet-to-be-born baby is placed, it is possible to estimate the positional relationship between the referenced baby and the brother. Then, the mother confirms what "gorogoro" refers to (Line 4), and further confirms that the brother has volunteered by saying, "Are you going to push it?" in Line 6. In other words, in this future-oriented discourse, the subject of the mother's confirmation has shifted from the situation set by the brother to the brother's willingness.

The above example shows that in interaction, the unborn baby can be positioned in a place other than the mother's belly. However, it is rare that such spatial positioning is maintained for long. In this case, the subject of the mother's confirmation shifts to the brother's willingness, meaning that the conversation topic often shifts to one with less spatiality. This is probably because when the unborn baby is positioned in a place other than the mother's belly, the resource anchoring it in sensory terms in the interaction easily becomes unstable. In Example 5, a baby

with unclear spatial positioning is referenced. In Lines 1 and 2, the father and brother engage in a conversation about the toy train in front of them.

Example 5 SG_Y080113: M (mother: 8 months pregnant), B (brother: 3:0), F (father)

1 F: ja, Hankyo de asobou.
      IJ name by let's.play
      Then let's play with Hankyo.
2 B: issho ne? (0.5) Hankyo de asobo!
      together Q name by let's.play
      Together? (0.5) Let's play with Hankyo!
3 F: (o-)kondo akachan umare tara Hankyo ageyo-kka? Akachan ni.
      IJ next.time baby be.born COND name shall.give Q baby DAT
      (oh)- when the baby is born, why don't we give Hankyo to the baby?
4 B: yada, Keita-no::!
      IJ-COP name thing
      No. It's Keita's::!

In Line 3, the father introduces a temporal framework for the future by uttering, "when the baby is born," and proposes giving the toy to the yet-to-be-born baby. Here, the father directly refers to the toy train by pointing at it (Photo 2). Therefore, the object to be given to the yet-to-be-born baby is clearly positioned in the space in front of the father and brother. However, the spatial positioning of the baby, brother, and father when the train is given is not clearly shown.

In Example 2, the ambiguity of the temporal framework of interaction with the "baby in the tummy" was a source of trouble, and the sister could not immediately respond appropriately. However, in this example, the brother clearly rejects the father's proposal immediately (Line 4). Therefore, when the action of giving a toy is clearly positioned in a temporal framework for the future, there is not much difficulty in understanding utterances even if the spatial positioning of participants is unclear. Consequently, it can be deduced that for an interaction including an unborn baby to take place easily, fixing the temporal framework appears to be prioritized over fixing spatial positioning.

Photo 2 The father points to the toy in front of them

Footing

Since the fetus cannot produce utterances directly, the following question emerges: whose and what behavior represents the voice of the yet-to-be born baby in talk-in-interaction? In examining this question, the concept of footing is effective. Goffman (1981) broke down the concept of the speaker in an interaction and proposed the following concepts to analyze the production format of utterances: (1) the "animator," who produces the voice by means of his/her body and makes an utterance; (2) the "author," who has chosen the meaning of the utterance and the wording used to express it; (3) the "principal," whose position has been established through utterances and whose belief is said to be expressed; and (4) the "figure," who is the protagonist or other persons in the referenced scene. Meticulously examining talk-in-interaction by means of these concepts leads to an analytical understanding of the speaker's footing, that is the footing through which the speaker's alignment with the utterance, stance, attitudes, and/or projected self are presented (Goffman 1981: 128).

When the yet-to-be-born baby is introduced, other participants are often required to speak for the baby (Schieffelin 1990), and the speaker's footing must have a complex structure. According to Takada (2013), it is not rare that yet-to-be-born babies and non-living objects are introduced during an interaction. This may be related to face issues, for an indirect request undermines the face of the children less, the recipients of the utterance, compared to a direct request, and therefore it is better at soliciting responses from the children. Japanese caregivers often prefer mutual understanding based on a triadic relationship framework, when they make a request to children over the dyadic relationship framework in which a request is made directly to the children. In our data, it is relatively frequent that the mother spoke on behalf of the unborn baby. In the following example, the participation of the unborn baby started when the older sister took out a plate for "the baby in the tummy" while she was playing house with her mother.

Example 6 KT_A080222_1: M (mother: 9 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:8)

1 M: ureshii naa tte yorokonde haru yo. <ninjin san mo hoshii naa tte i-tteru mitai yo::.
      happy IP QT pleased HON IP carrot Mr. too want IP QT say-ASP like IP
      The baby says, "I am happy," and is pleased. <It seems the baby is also saying "I would also like carrots::.">
2 S: (2.5) ((The sister is placing a frying pan on the toy cooking stove))
3 M: tsuku-tt-agete::.
      Make-TE-BEN-TE
      Make some carrots for the baby::.

In response to the sister's action, the mother spoke for the baby in the tummy (Line 1). To indicate the use of a quote often suggests that the speaker has priority in accessing the person who is quoted (in this utterance, the baby in the tummy). In other words, the mother is claiming legitimacy to speak for the baby when reporting

the utterances of the baby in the tummy (however, in this utterance, because an expression of guess, "*mitaiyo::* (it seems)," is added after the second quote, the forcefulness of the claim is mitigated). The mother could have made a direct proposal, such as, "Why don't you give the baby carrots, too?" in the utterance. Compared to this, the reported speech she actually used takes the form that indicates that while the mother is the author, she behaves as the animator of the baby in the tummy to present an indirect request. Here it is also important that the mother showed playfulness in her actions. The baby was thereby not only positioned as a participant of interactions but was given the status of "one who can join in the playful interactions". Hence, similar to the examples shown in Takada (2013), the reported speech in Example 6 introduces a triadic relationship in the interaction consisting of the figure (the unborn baby), the animator (the mother) and the receiver (the sister) by breaking the footing of the speaker.

We will now turn to the examples in which the brother or sister reports the voice of the yet-to-be born baby. In our data, there are a very small number of cases in which the brother or sister voluntarily starts the interaction as the animator of the unborn baby. In contrast, the cases in which the brother or sister speaks for the baby in the context of a relationship with the unborn baby suggested by the mother or father are more frequent. Example 7 shows an exchange between a mother and the child (the elder brother of the fetus) that took place immediately after the brother said to the mother's belly, "Let's take Hankyo (Name of a train company) together," when the mother suggested that he should get on the train with the unborn baby.

Example 7 SG_Y080113: M (mother: 8 months pregnant), F (father), B (brother: 3:0)

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1  M: nante itte ta? akachan. ze[-]
       what say-TE PST baby
       What did it say, the [baby?]
2  B: [no]yutta. ride PST
       ((The baby said he)) would [ride.
3  M: [ohh fu.] kikoe ta? chanto mimi atete kii-te yo.
       IJ hear PST properly ear put hear-TE IP
       [ohh fu.] Did you hear it? You have to put your ear onto my tummy to hear it
       properly.
4  F: [u(h)so.]
       lie
       [rea (h) lly.]
```

In response to the mother's suggestion in Line 1, the brother immediately spoke for the unborn baby by saying, "((The baby said he)) would ride," with a smile (Line 2). Through this utterance, the brother presented a positive response to the suggestion he made to the unborn baby in the tummy (i.e., "Let's take Hankyo together"). The mother (Line 3) and the father (Line 4) simultaneously responded to

this with laughter. This shows that his speaking for the unborn baby was understood to be a performative action, or as play, in that scene. As mentioned above, when the mother carries out such an utterance, it is often seen as an exercise of her legitimate right. In other words, unlike other relatives, the mother has a unique status as one who can speak for the baby. Addressing the baby in the tummy and speaking for the baby is thus received differently depending on who carries out this action.

The Pregnant Woman's Bodily Sensations

The preparation for the analysis of the participation framework used in introducing the unborn baby into an interaction is now almost done. In this section, these tools are applied to a question, namely how the pregnant woman's sense of her body, in particular the fetus's movement, is reported in the interaction. In thinking about this, it is important to investigate who talks about the fetus's movement and in what position within the sequence organization of an ongoing interaction.

Example 8 is a case in which the mother referred to the fetus's movement as a response to the sister's action. At that time, the mother and sister Mee were playing house. There were toy toasted slices of bread, placed by the sister, on a plate for two.

Example 8 KT_A080222_1: M (mother: 9 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:8)

1 M: hai, jaa onaka no akachan to okaasan ni kudasai.
       yes IJ belly LK baby and mother DAT please.give
       OK, then please give it to the baby in the tummy and mummy.
2 S: ((Played with the toy cooking stove))
3 M: obentou mo tsuku-tte na?
       lunch too make-TE IP
       Would you also make me a packed lunch?
4 S: ((Moved her finger along the surface of the piece of bread))
5 M: a, bataa nutte kure-ta-n?
       IJ butter put BEN PST Q
       Oh, are you putting on some butter?
6 S: ((Brought the two plates with a piece of toast to her mother))
7 M: tabe sase-te-kureru no?
       eat CAU-TE-BEN Q
       Will you feed us?
8 S: ((Placed a plate near the mother's knee and the other a little farther))
9 M: okaasan jibun de taberu shi akachan ni agete. itadakimasu::. ((Took the
    farther plate herself))
       mother myself by eat PT baby DAT give-TE partake-POL
       Mummy is going to have her toast by herself, so could you please feed the
       baby? Thank you::

10 S: ((Picked up the toast from the plate near her mother's knee))
11 M: atsui shi huu huu shi-t-agete na?
        hot as SSW do-TE-BEN IP
        It's hot, so please blow on it.
12 S: ((After blowing on the toast twice, placed the toast on the mother's belly))
13 M: a, ugoiteru. ((Placed her hands on her belly)) ugoi-te-ureshii naa tte ugoi-te haru.
        IJ move-ASP move-TE-pleased IP QT move-TE HON
        Oh, the baby is moving. ((Placed her hands on her belly)) Moving—the baby is moving like saying "((I'm)) happy".
14 S: ((Placed the toast and plate on the floor))
15 M: Mee-chan, onaka no akachan sawa-tta (0.5) toki
        name-DIM belly LK baby touch PST when
        Mee-chan, when you touched the baby in my tummy (0.5)
16 S: ((While keeping her hands on the mother's belly, she moved her face towards it))
17 M: bikkuri shi-ta?
        surprise do PST
        Were you surprised?
18 S: ((Moving her face closer to the mother's belly))

In Line 1, the mother requests that the sister "please give it to the baby in the tummy and mummy" while passing her the plate. The unborn baby is introduced as a participant in the ongoing interaction and a reference is made to its spatial positioning by the use of a set phrase, "the baby in the tummy." In response, the sister starts preparing to give toy toast to both of them (Line 2). However, this does not yet constitute a direct response. Therefore, the mother supplements the request by saying, "Would you also make me a packed lunch?" (Line 3).

The sister responds to this with a gesture (Line 4). The following utterances of the mother, "Oh, are you putting on some butter?" (Line 5) and "Will you feed us?" (Line 7) verbally confirm the meaning of the sister's response. Furthermore, the mother reformulates the request made in Line 1 by saying, "Mummy is going to have her toast by herself, so could you please feed the baby?" (Line 9). Also, the phrase, "As it's hot, please blow on it," (Line 11) specifies what the sister should do next.

In the mother's utterances up to this point, however, her assessment of whether the sister is satisfactorily responding to a series of requests is not clearly shown. In this context, the mother makes an utterance regarding the fetus's movement (Line 13). The phrase, "Oh, the baby is moving," starts with the word "oh," indicating that she was noticing something, and then proceeded to report that the fetus was moving. The following part, "the baby is moving like saying "((I'm)) happy," presents a positive assessment of the sister's actions by speaking for the baby, that is, the mother's conveying the baby's voice as the animator. This assessment can be seen as the third part that follows the request (the first part) and the response (the second part) in the sequence structure. Therefore, this utterance shows that the sister's action up to that point fully functioned as the appropriate response to the request.

Immediately after this, the mother starts a new sequence by uttering, "Mee-chan, you touched the baby in my tummy. Were you surprised?" (Lines 15 and 17). Here, by introducing her feeling the fetus's movement as the topic, a linkage with the preceding report of the fetus's movement is shown. The sister was interacting with the baby without hesitation by touching the mother's belly (Lines 16 and 18). This can be seen as an action solicited by the treatment of the fetus's movement as a positive assessment to her actions in the preceding sequence.

In the following example, the report of the fetus's movement starts out of the blue, unlike in Example 8. At this point, the mother and the sister had just returned home from outside, and the sister was putting her tricycle away.

Example 9 KT_A071126: M (mother: 6 months pregnant), S (sister: 2:5)

```
 1  M: soko oi-t-oku no?
        there put-TE-put Q
        Are you going to leave it there?
        ((five lines are omitted))
 7  S:.hh kocchi mui[te ne.]
        this.way face-TE IP
        .hh, face this way [please]
 8  M: [aa] Mee-chan Mee-chan?
        IJ name DIM name DIM
        [Ah] Mee-chan, Mee-chan?
 9  M: ugoi-ta, ugoi-ta. akachan. ugoi-ta.
        move PST move PST baby move PST
        Moving, moving. The baby is moving.
10  S:.hh hya.hh hhh ((running towards the mother))
        IJ
        .hh Wow,.hh hhh
11  M: ((opened her jacket and held her belly))
12  S: ((tapped the mother's belly with both hands twice))
13  M: itetetete, iu-te haru wa. ((moving closer to the sister while showing her belly
    by pulling up the clothes))
        IJ say-TE HON IP
        The baby says, "Ouch."
14  S: ((moving backwards))
15  M: mokkai ugoi-ta. hora, mokkai ugoi-teru yo. ((moving closer to S))
        once.more move PST IJ once.more move-TE-ASP IP
        Again, the baby is moving. See, the baby is moving again.
16  S: ((gazing the mother's belly while holding her hands in front of her belly))
17  M: o::i iu-t-agete yo.
        IJ say-TE-BEN-TE IP
        Please say hello::.
18  S: ((runs away))
```

In Lines 1–7, the sister was adjusting the tricycle's position. The sequence that started with the mother's question, "Are you going to leave it there?" (Line 1) was nearly complete with the sister's adjusting the tricycle's position while saying, "face this way, please" (Line 7). At this point, the mother used the exclamation, "Ah," which suggested that she noticed something, and then addressed the sister, "Mee-chan, Mee-chan?" (Line 8). She then reported the fetus's movement with the utterance, "Moving, moving. The baby is moving" (Line 9).

What grabs our attention first is that the report was made at the end of the participant's activity, that is, when playing with the tricycle was about to complete. In this regard, this report did not contradict the course of interaction. Also, the baby in the mother's tummy was introduced as a participant in the ongoing interaction, and its spatial positioning was clear (i.e., in the mother's belly), as in Example 8. However, this case is different from Example 8 in that the utterances in Lines 8 and 9 took place in the position that starts a base sequence. The utterance about the fetus's movement in Example 8 was placed in the third part of the assessment sequence. Therefore, the older child did not have to respond to the report directly. In contrast, in this example, the report constituted the first part and thus it was necessary for the sister to respond to it appropriately.

Immediately after the mother's report, the sister delightfully ran towards her (Line 10). The mother showed her belly by pulling up her jacket (Line 11). This gesture demands that the sister not only receive the reported content verbally, but confirm it by touching the mother's belly. In other words, what is demanded is a sharing of sensation as a response to the first part. The sister responds to the mother's gesture by tapping the mother's belly twice (Line 12). The mother responds to the sister's response by uttering, "The baby says 'ouch,'" as the animator speaking for the baby in her tummy (Line 13). This utterance functioned as the assessment of the sister's response. Speaking of a physical response of experiencing pain connotes inappropriateness of the sister's action that immediately preceded the utterance.

The mother further reported the fetus's movement in Line 15. It was indicated that this was the continuation of the report initiated in Line 9 by using the word "*mokkai* (again)." Because this comment was placed right after connoting inappropriateness of the first response, the sister was required to produce an even more appropriate action. Then the sister was placed in an ambivalent context in which, while she was criticized for tapping the mother's belly, she was asked to touch the belly yet again. The sister, then, fixed her gaze on the mother's belly and ran away. This example shows there are considerable differences in the responses required from the receiver depending on when the report about the pregnant woman's bodily sensation happens in a sequence. The pregnant woman's talk about her bodily sensation itself is not the source of trouble, but rather is its position in the interaction.

Reorganizing a Familial Relationship in Interactions

As shown above, the physical change triggered by pregnancy serves as an opportunity to welcome the yet-to-be-born baby and to reorganize the familial relationship. This interaction, which involves a participant who cannot be seen or speak directly, complicates the temporal prospect, spatial positioning, and footing in the participation framework. Therefore, the caregivers and children use a variety of tactics to overcome the complexities.

These practices are important when thinking about language socialization of the elder siblings of the unborn baby. For instance, the caregivers often make a request to solicit desirable behavior from the elder siblings. As repeatedly seen in Sects. "The Temporal Prospect" and "The Pregnant Woman's Bodily Sensations", however, request sequences were seldom completed in a single adjacency pair, as the children often responded with an utterance that was in compliance with the request. The caregivers then often reformulate the utterance, which modulates the directness or indirectness of the previous utterance and thereby manipulate the degree of agency demanded from the children. This is a commonly used tactic in interaction between caregivers and children, even outside the pregnancy period (Takada 2013). It is assumed that by these practices the caregivers are trying to mitigate the threat to the children's face arising from the gap between the agency demanded from the children and that the children actually show.

In such contexts, caregivers often prefer the form of mutual understanding based on the triadic relationship framework, as shown in Sect. "Footing", over the dyadic relationship framework in which they make a direct request to the children. Presumably, this is because an indirect request is less threatening to the receiver's face than a direct one, and thus better at soliciting a response (Takada 2013). The yet-to-be-born baby often constitutes one party in this type of triadic relationship. Introduction of the unborn baby into family interactions gives opportunities for the older child to take the stance of one who knows (and one who can teach about it to the younger sibling-to-be) and thereby learn what counts as morally appropriate ways of acting (see Evaldson, Chap. 9 this volume) in the rearranged familial relationships. In other words, the unborn baby is introduced in the participation framework as a logical consequence of interactions that are oriented towards a particular form of mutual understanding (in this case, triangulation among three parties) (cf. Goodwin 1990). Furthermore, in this kind of interaction, a term that represents the category of a family member (e.g., *oniichan* (elder brother)) is often used. This would recall the moral principles of the familial relationship. In these scenes, the yet-to-be-born baby is assigned a wide ranging and flexible role. Therefore, communication during pregnancy serves as a platform of language socialization for elder siblings so that they can act appropriately according to the adapting roles in familial relationships.

In addition, it also serves as a place of language socialization for the caregivers, in that they are becoming the parents of a coming baby. Although the caregivers in our examples were already parenting their older children, the coming baby would require them to readjust their familial relationships. It should be noted that this kind

of language socialization is not always successfully implemented. Rather, at the beginning, it is more likely to go wrong, as repeatedly shown in sects. "The Temporal Prospect" and "The Pregnant Woman's Bodily Sensations". However, the pregnant woman and her family resolve the trouble by further developing their interactions. During the dynamic process of finding a solution, nuances concerning familial relationships manifest themselves. Analyzing these interactions demonstrates the distinctiveness of families in modern Japan.

A structure similar to the aforementioned interaction observed during pregnancy is also found in mother-child interactions when the unborn child reaches infancy. For instance, the mother often arranges the child's positioning and posture even after he/she is born and defines the child's role in interactions. She also often speaks for the baby and takes on the baby's agency in the interaction. Furthermore, because of the blurring of the boundary between herself and the baby, there are times when she may treat the baby as part of her body (Takada 2012, 2013). This study suggests that similar physical images are used for before and after giving birth when communicating among family members. Giving birth is no doubt a huge turning point in life for siblings, parents and other family members. However, the patterns of interaction before and after giving birth are not completely disconnected, and there is continuity.[2] What is (re)produced by pregnancy and giving birth is not the child itself but a set of social relationships. These social relationships have started before the child is born and support the child after being born. In this regard, the child is a social being even before being born in a different sense that is put forward by studies stressing the effects of fetal learning (e.g., Myowa 2006).

The pregnant woman often take an initiative to introduce the unborn baby into family interactions and share morally appropriate knowledge regarding the familial relationships, for she has the epistemic primacy (Heritage 2012; also Forrester, Chap. 14 this volume) regarding the physical sensations with respect to the fetus. During family interactions, the pregnant woman often expresses her sense of physical change, including the fetus's movement, in relation to the customary framework that reflects the norms accepted in that particular culture. For instance, in the sequence structure of request-response-assessment, the pregnant woman often reports the fetus's movement as a request (the first part), which starts the sequence, or as an assessment (the third part) at the end of the sequence, and often speaks for the unborn baby. By doing so, she is trying to solicit an action expected in that customary framework from the older children. At the same time, the pregnant woman is making a claim that she has the legitimate right to speak for the yet-to-be-born baby. Furthermore, the right to access the body of the pregnant woman usually belongs to her but can be opened up to other participants in the interaction, depending on her action.

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[2]To date psychological works regarding infant directed speech (IDS) have argued that caregivers across cultures may have certain common features, such as produce prosodically salient, and grammatically simplified, redundant speech when they address young children (e.g., Fernald and Simon 1984; Snow 1986; Fernald et al. 1989). Our study indicates that certain features of IDS (e.g., parents speak as if their infants are talking) already begin before birth.

In summary, the expression by the pregnant woman regarding her bodily sensations, which can be seen as a "physiological" phenomenon at first glance, can be a very social action. Here the fusion of "biological" and "social" is achieved through reorganizing the social relationship among family members. A conversation involving the yet-to-be-born baby is a process through which the participants mutually adjust their epistemic stance in relation to the unborn baby. The body, therefore, can provide a variety of signs that give meaning to the relationship between the human being and the context (Mitchell 2001: 16). The pregnant woman and her family members reorganize their social relationships in and by daily interaction. There is no set blueprint for each parent/child relationship. It is something that is gradually built up by the participants in interactions, including the yet-to-be-born baby, by carrying out social actions.

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Chapter 13
Young Children's Initial Assessments in Japanese

Matthew Burdelski and Emi Morita

Introduction

Over the last few decades, researchers concerned with human interaction have viewed knowledge not as residing solely in the individual mind, but as shared and produced in situated interaction. In particular, knowledge of the social world, including shared conventions, communicative norms, and social values, is first acquired by children from caregivers and others in activities and sequences of action, and is crucial for participating as a member of a community or society. An important way that humans relate and share knowledge in interaction and, in the process, construct their views of the social world, is through evaluating, or by making assessments. In this sense, assessments are not merely descriptions of the social world, but social actions and stances that are often responded to, aligned with, or contested in meaningful ways. Although there has been an increasing amount of analytical attention paid to assessments in adult interaction, there is comparatively little research focusing on young children. An analysis of children's assessments in everyday interaction can shed light on ways in which young children use their linguistic resources, together with embodied resources, to display evaluative and emotional stances, perform social actions, constitute relationships, and co-construct knowledge with adults and other children.

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This chapter examines both such knowledge production between participants, as well as children's often quite surprising display of the depth of socio-cultural knowledge that they have already acquired by the age of two, through an analysis of children's assessment practices in family households. In particular, we examine 2 year-old Japanese-speaking children's *initial assessments*, such as "It's interesting/fun" or "It's scary," addressed to caregivers, siblings, or other adults. Although 2 year-old's linguistic repertoire is still quite limited, our turn-by-turn analysis of their assessment activity reveals their sensitivity to the sequential environment, to the kind of response made relevant next, and to which kinds of social actions can be performed through the initial assessment. Our analysis, in short, is an in-depth study of one of the hitherto under appreciated ways in which social action figures prominently in young children's everyday communicative conduct through the activity of assessment.

Assessments

Prior research within conversation analysis has examined assessments in everyday interaction in a variety of settings (e.g., Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, 1992; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Lindström and Mondada 2009; Pomerantz 1984; Sidnell 2014). Studies show how assessments are used to perform social actions, such as to "praise, complain, compliment, insult, brag, self-deprecate" (Pomerantz 1984, p. 63), and are a vehicle for displaying affective and epistemic stances in relation to some assessable, or focus of concern. For instance, Goodwin and Goodwin (2000) propose that an assessment entails "affectively evaluating some relevant current event, available either in the local scene or through a report in the talk of the moment" (p. 42). Sidnell (2014) argues that an assessment is "an utterance that expresses its speaker's positively or negatively valenced stance towards some person or object talked about—for example 'It's a fantastic film' or 'That is so gross'" (p. 138). To this end, speakers often deploy adjectives that indicate their emotional orientation, and utilize other resources such as adverbs, prosody, and non-vocal resources that intensify this orientation (cf. Ochs and Schieffelin 1989).

Moreover, although assessments are produced by individuals, they are often organized as an *assessment activity* "that not only includes multiple participants, but also encompasses types of action that are not themselves assessments" (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992, p. 155). Assessments are also culturally variable. For instance, Strauss and Kawanishi (1996) show how Japanese speakers more often than Korean and American English speakers use repetition or "echo" of the speaker's prior assessment. In addition to affective stance, assessments are also a vehicle for displaying epistemic stance, which refers to the ways degrees of knowledge with respect to some focus of concern are encoded in an utterance (e.g., Heritage 2012).

In addition to adult interaction, assessments have been examined in adult-child interaction (e.g., Burdelski and Mitsuhashi 2010; Butler 2008; Clancy 1985, 1999; Keel 2015). Adult assessments to children encompass practices referred to as praise (e.g., "That's good"), but their functions are much broader. In particular, Japanese caregivers often use assessments in issuing directives to children on what to do or not to do. For instance, Clancy (1999) shows how Japanese mothers use the word *kowai* 'scary' in relation to children's undesirable behaviors (e.g., Mother says, 'Oh, that's scary' in response to a child who is yelling loudly and pretending to fire a gun in order to get the child to sit down). In addition to issuing assessments, Japanese caregivers explicitly instruct children how to make assessments to third parties, typically as a display of positive affect (e.g., *kawaii tte* 'Say [to him or her], "It's cute"'), and attribute assessments to others, such as pre-verbal children and animals at the zoo or park, who have not spoken or cannot ostensibly speak (e.g., *oishii tte* 'The turtle says, "It's delicious", Burdelski 2015; 'Older sister says, "I'm afraid"', Clancy 1999). In these ways, caregivers socialize children to the appropriate use of assessments as a key communicative practice in engaging with others in the social world.

Within research on adult-child interaction, studies have also shown how children spontaneously initiate assessments to adults. For instance, Clancy (1999) found that two year-old Japanese children use the word *kowai* 'scary' to relate their fears of real (such as toys) and imagined stimuli (such as ghosts). In a study of English-speaking children, Keel (2015) observes that children frequently initiated assessments to caregivers (using adjectives such as "beautiful"). By focusing on instances when a child's initial assessment to an adult did not engender a response (for instance, because the adult was engaged in a competing activity), Keel shows how children use verbal and non-verbal resources in pursuing a response, such as by repeating the assessment or bringing the object (assessable) over to the caregiver.

Assessments have also been examined in children's peer interactions (e.g., Burdelski and Mitsuhashi 2010; Butler 2008; Goodwin 2007). For instance, in a study of English-speaking preadolescent girls, Goodwin (2007) shows how they make assessments of objects and events, together with embodied resources (e.g., gesture, bodily positions), in constructing peer relationships in relation to inclusion and exclusion in the group. In a study within a Japanese preschool, Burdelski and Mitsuhashi (2010) found that Japanese girls used *kawaii* 'cute, adorable' with gestures and other embodied resources to question and evaluate their own and other girls' appearances.

Given the above discussion, while we know a good deal about assessments in interaction among adults and in adult speech to children, we still have much less understanding on the ways children, especially younger than 3 years old, initiate assessments to adults and other children.

Setting, Method, Data

The data for the present study come from two data corpora of family interaction with young children in Japan. The first corpus consists of approximately 150 h of audiovisual recordings of 13 families with a 2 year-old child residing in the Kansai area of Japan.[1] The second corpus comprises nearly 500 h of audiovisual recordings of 17 families with a young child (infant to 4 years old) also residing in the Kansai (or Western) area of Japan.[2] In this corpus, the researchers also at times engaged in interaction with parents and children, especially at the beginning and end of each recording session, and recorded these interactions. For the purposes of the present study, we focused on all of the data in the first corpus and a portion of the data in the second corpus (four families) in making collections of children's initiating assessments using adjectives. While all of the above data were initially transcribed with the assistance of transcribers, we re-transcribed the segments for analysis using CA conventions in terms of detailed verbal and non-verbal features.

Children's Initial Assessments

In these data, children often produce initial assessments (Keel 2015) using a wide range of adjectives (e.g., *hayai* 'fast,' *iya* 'dislike,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *kowai* 'scary,' *muzukashii* 'difficult,' *oishii* 'delicious,' *omoshiroi* 'interesting,' *sugoi* 'great') to display their affective responses to things, actions, and events, while performing a range of social actions. Although children's assessments are often lexically and syntactically straightforward, children often do quite a bit of interactional and embodied work in preparing, launching, and designing their assessments. This may include gaining others' attention, inviting their response, and carrying on the assessment activity beyond an adjacency pair. Children also use a range of embodied resources in assessment activity. In the following analysis, we show how young children use adjectives together with other linguistic resources and embodied means in displaying their socio-cultural knowledge on how to carry out assessments and use them to display stance, perform social action (Lerner and Zimmerman 2002; Lerner et al. 2011), and constitute other culturally meaningful realities.

Preparing, Launching, and Designing Initial Assessments Within Multiparty Participation Frameworks

As pointed out by Keel (2015), in producing assessments, children may compete with surrounding talk and activities. Thus, in order to initiate an assessment successfully, they often have to build a *participation framework* (Goffman 1981) that is prefaced on gaining one or more recipients' attention towards an assessable in the here-and-now. While young children's initial assessments are at times rather abrupt, as they are not always topically connected to an ongoing conversation and activity, children use a range of verbal and non-verbal resources in preparing, launching, and designing their assessments. For instance, in (1), a two and a half year-old male child (Ken) initiates an assessment in the midst of adults (Mom and researchers) who are engaged in conversation. Here, Ken is seated at the dining table playing with a toy bus, and Mom is seated next to him. The researchers (who are off camera) are seated on the opposite side of the table, and have just been offered a snack and drink by Mom, prior to the start of the official observation.

(1) "Toy car and passenger" (K = Ken, male child, 2:6; M = Ken's mother; Rs = Researchers [one male and one female]; FR = female researcher)

```
01      K:      hora [hora.
                hey   hey
                'Hey, hey.'
                ((touching toy bus, looks slightly up at researcher))

02      M/
        Rs:          [((2.6 talking and laughing))

03  →   K:      [[kore sugo::i:]
                  this great
                 'This is great'
                [[(((looking at a researcher while holding toy person: Fig. 1))]
```

```
04      M/
        Rs:    [[(((Researchers and mother talking))]

05      K:     [     ((puts toy person inside car))    ]

06      FR:    [         su↑go::↓i            ]
                          great
                          'It's great.'

07  →   K:     sugo::i (    )
               great
               'It's great (       )' ((while taking toy person in and out of bus
               quickly: Fig. 2))

08             (0.7)  ((Ken moves gaze from one researcher to the other
               researcher))

09  →   K:     °sugoi°.  ((while looking at a researcher))
                great
                'It's great.'

10      FR:    sugoi ne:::::.
               great IP
               'It's great, right.'

11             (1.0)

12      FR:    o, kuruma ni notta.
               RT car    in get.on-PST
               'Oh, he/she is riding in the car.'
```

In this multiparty context of ongoing talk by three adults, Ken utilizes several strategies in a step-by-step manner to secure the researchers' attention in positioning them as recipients of his assessment. He first attempts to achieve joint attention (e.g., Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007) with a verbal directive (line 01: 'Hey, hey'), and then deploys the deictic term 'this' followed by an assessment adjective (line 03: sugo::i: 'great'). This deictic term invites the researchers to check and see what Ken is referring to. Just at the moment Ken produces 'this,' he holds up a toy person with both hands at his eye level (see Fig. 1). Thus, in using a

Fig. 1 K showing the toy
and gazing towards
researchers

speaker proximate demonstrative term 'this' while physically "showing" the object to another party (Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007), Ken creates an interactional space where other participants' recognition of his action is relevant in the midst of adults' conversation. One of the researchers (female) responds by using the same assessment adjective (line 06: $su\uparrow go::\downarrow i$) with vowel elongation. Here, rather than simply repeating Ken's assessment term, the researcher produces her second assessment with rising and falling intonation, which can be heard as an upgrade (Pomerantz 1984) that displays heightened affective stance and appreciation of Ken's toy.

Following the researcher's response to his first assessment, Ken extends the assessment activity by repeating the assessment adjective (line 07: $sugo::i$), but uses the assessment to perform a different kind of social action. In particular, in comparison to his first assessment (line 03), here Ken's assessable (toy) is already recognized by the other participants. Therefore, the absence of 'this' in the version of the assessment that he deploys for the second time is not accidental, demonstrating that he is now taking account of the new context where joint attention has already been secured. Having established a solid participation framework for the assessment activity, Ken now demonstrates the toy's function by putting the toy person inside and taking it outside the car rapidly a number of times (line 07 and Fig. 2). His doing so makes visible what is *sugoi* about this car—i.e., that the person can be put inside the car as a passenger. Although Ken's formulation of the assessment is linguistically simple, it is sequentially complex in that he builds upon and elaborates his prior assessment in terms of the toy's functionality, taking into account two integral parts: person and car.

Furthermore, Ken orients to the assessment within a multiparty participation framework in which there are multiple addressees who can provide relevant responses to his new action. As he demonstrates this action, Ken appears to move his gaze from one researcher to another and repeats the assessment adjective (line 09), which selects other participants as possible next speaker, given that a response was not forthcoming after the assessment in line 07. One of the researchers (female) accepts this invitation, not by producing another assessment, but by explicitly verbalizing the function of the toy that Ken has been demonstrating through his

Fig. 2 Ken's demonstration
of the toys

actions with the toy (line 12: 'Oh, he/she is riding in the car'). In this way, Ken and the researcher co-construct knowledge regarding what is *sugoi* about the toy, and in the process display stance and perform social action through the assessment activity.

This example suggests that 2 year-old children display socio-cultural knowledge about how to prepare and launch assessments in multiparty interaction, and design their assessments in a step-by-step fashion in which each step accomplishes a different task for the ongoing assessment activity taking sequential development and changing context into consideration.

Assessment as a Vehicle for Displaying an Aligned Stance Within Collaborative Activity

While in some cases children initiate assessments in relation to things, actions, and activities in which they had been for the most part (prior to the initial assessment) independently engaged (as in excerpt 1), in other cases they initiate assessments to specifically mark on-going activities as collaborative and jointly constructed. For instance, in (2), a researcher and female child (Aya) are playing with woodblocks on the living room floor. Aya has just made a "gate" out of blocks (two for the posts, and one for the roof). When the researcher, who has come over to play with Aya, lowers her body and looks through the opening of the gate while facing Aya, who is also looking through the opening but on the other side, the researcher says, 'I can see (you)' (*mieta*). Aya appears delighted with this play by smiling and laughing. The excerpt begins after this action, as the researcher places down a block in front of the gate (which she refers to as 'a wall') that obstructs their ability to see each other through the gate opening.

(2) "Toy woodblocks" (A = Aya, female child 2:11, R = Researcher)

```
01   →  R:   [kabe.
              wall
              'A wall.'
             [((places block in front of gate))

02           (0.7)

03      A:   kabe.
             wall
             'A wall.'
04           ((tries to look through gate))
             are?
             RT
             'Hm?'

05      R:   mienai.
             see-POT-NEG
             'I can't see (you).'

06           (0.6)

07      R:   [pa::n.
              ONM
             'Tada!'
             [((removes block in front of gate: Fig. 3))
08           >mieta.<
             see-POT-PST
             'I can see (you).'
```

```
09     A:   [GYA::haha.
            [((while pulling her body away from gate and sitting up))

10     R:   ahaha.

11          (4.2)  ((Researcher puts down another block))

12     A:   omoshiroi   ne:.
            interesting IP
            'It's fun/interesting, ne.' ((Fig. 4))

13     R:   omoshiroi   ne:.
            interesting IP
            'It's fun/interesting, ne.'
```

In this excerpt, Aya initiates an assessment following a prior sequence of talk and embodied actions surrounding an object of mutual attention and collaborative activity. In particular, after the researcher places a block in front of the gate that Aya built, calling it 'a wall' (line 03), the researcher attempts to look through the gate and proclaims, 'I can't see (you)' (line 05). Then, after the researcher removes the block and says, 'Tada! I can see (you)' (lines 07–08, and Fig. 3), Aya, who had also been attempting to look through the gate on the other side, happily screams and erupts in laughter (line 09). Following a long pause (4.2 s) during which Aya brings her body upright as the researcher places another block next to the gate, Aya produces an assessment, (line 12: 'It's fun/interesting, *ne*', and Fig. 4). In the context where Aya and the researcher collaborate on building some object with wood blocks, each participant's addition to the established object becomes assessable. Here, Aya initiates her assessment *omoshiroi* 'fun/interesting' with the interactional particle *ne*, explicitly thematizing alignment as a relevant interactional agenda (Morita 2005).

Fig. 3 As Aya (*left*) looks through the opening of the gate, researcher removes block in front of it

Fig. 4 Aya makes an assessment

Japanese interactional particles such as *ne* are linguistic resources that mark interactional concerns regarding the ongoing action in relation to contingent turns at talk within a participation framework. As previous research reports that children acquire *ne* around the 1.5 word stage, or typically between the ages of 1:6–2:0 years (Clancy 1985; Morita 2016; Yamada 1980), this excerpt also suggests that once children acquire *ne* they may use it in assessments to display an aligned stance in joint activity.

In assessing the addition of 'a wall', which is the researcher's invention, an absence of *ne* here would mark this assessment as Aya's one-sided evaluation of the researcher's contribution. Her appropriate use of *ne* is specifically indicating her stance that this assessment is alignment-relevant and contingent to the researcher's action, "as something that can be responded to, and participated in, in a special way" (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, p. 11). While the assessable is cooperatively built and experienced, Aya's use of *ne* contextualizes that the enjoyment of the play involving the 'wall' should be also jointly done.

The researcher then responds to Aya's assessment by repeating the same assessment adjective also tagged with *ne*, specifically indicating that this second assessment is a product that is responding to Aya's first assessment. Such mutual use of *ne* establishes the ongoing assessment activity as joint praising and thematizes that the building of a mutually aligned stance is one of the central interactional agendas here (Morita 2005). Aya's expert deployment of *ne* reveals that even 2 year-old children have knowledge of how to design their initial assessments in a way that explicitly acknowledges the other participant's contribution to the assessable.

Constructing an Assessment so as not to Invite a Response

The previous examples have shown that 2 year-old children can properly build participation frameworks while proffering a first assessment. However, our data also show that children know how to design their initial assessments specifically so as *not* to invite an interlocutor's response, as we will see below. Here, Sae is playing with a puzzle by herself, but is not successful at putting the pieces together on the board. Her mother is nearby sitting at the dining table using a laptop computer.

(3) "Puzzle" (S = Sae, female child, 2:8)

```
01      S:      ((playing with puzzle on floor: Fig. 5))

02  →  S:      [aa nande* muzukashii n  daro, kore wa.
                 HM  how   difficult  COP CONJ  this TOP
                'Ah, how difficult it is!'
                [((S moves to sit-up position, and puts her hair back with both
                hands: Fig. 6))

                * ((Note: nante is mispronounced as nande))
```

After playing with the puzzle for a while (Fig. 5), Sae raises her body, which physically disengages her from the puzzle, and utters an assessment 'Ah, how difficult this is!' (line 01) (Fig. 6). This assessment is prefaced with the interjection

Fig. 5 Sae plays with puzzle by herself on floor

Fig. 6 Sae moves her body to sit upright, as she makes an assessment

aa ('Ah'), followed by the grammatical format *nante* (how) plus an adjective with a copula in conjecture form, making it an exclamation. If Sae had used the assessment adjective *muzukashii* ('difficult') by itself, her utterance could have been heard as a complaint that would have invited a response. That is, as her mother is nearby, a different choice of linguistic format for the assessment may have developed into an assessment activity, but this choice of format (*aa nante muzukashii n daro* 'Ah, how difficult it is!') does not invite such activity.

Right after this exclamation, Sae flips the page over to check out another puzzle, as though she might give up playing this particular puzzle. Importantly, her gaze never moves to her mother. It is therefore clear that her turn is not designed to be heard as a complaint that is seeking remedy, or asking for help involving her mother. Schegloff (1988, p. 117) refers to such deliberately crafted "mutterings which leave another free to respond or not" as "out-louds." By constructing her assessment with this particular grammatical form of exclamation, Sae designs her initial assessment of the puzzle as just such an "out-loud", or hearably private exclamation, which does not solicit another's intervention. Although Sae's utterance was likely overheard by her mother, Sae's mother does not respond, which suggests that she treats Sae's assessment as located within a participation framework in which the mother is not explicitly selected as an addressee.

Such a formulation is contrastive to our previous two examples, where children used various resources to involve adults in their assessment activities. This excerpt suggests that children even at this young age also have acquired the socio-cultural knowledge of how to use assessments so as *not* to involve others in a current activity where involving others is not part of the agenda—and that all assessments are tied to particularly configured participation frameworks and consequential for the sequential trajectory of utterances.

Initiating Assessments in a Temporally Sensitive Manner

Our data also reveal occasions in which 2 year-old children make assessments in relation to *past* events and shared experiences with family members. In (4), a mother and child (Hana) are in the kitchen just prior to eating dinner. Mom is preparing dinner, and Hana is sitting in her high chair holding her bib with an animated picture of a goat on it. Just prior to this excerpt, Mom and Hana had been talking about the bib, and Mom had wondered aloud whether Hana can put it on by herself (*hitoride epuron dekiru ka na* 'I wonder if you can put on the bib by yourself').

(4) "Goat" (H = Hana, female child, 2:0, M = Mom)

```
01      H:    [hichuji hichujichan.
               sheep    sheep-DIM
              'Sheep sheep'
              [((holding and looking at her bib))

02      M:    n? ee? yagisan  des    _yo
              RT RT goat-HON COP-HON IP
              'Hm? What? It's a goat.'

03            (2.6)

04      M:    konaida   ita   desho? yagisan.
              other.day be-PST TAG   goat-HON
              'The other day there was a goat, right?'

05            (1.1)

06  →   H:    yagichan kowai↓:↑::.
              goat-DIM scary
              'The goat is scary.' ((looks at Mom: Fig. 7))

07      M:    so.
              right
              'Right.'

08            ↑kowai:::↓ tte yutteta  ne¿
               scary     QT  say-PST  IP
              'You said, "The goat is scary," right.'
```

```
09      H:    (1.5) ((looking down at her bib: Fig. 8))
10   →        yagichan kowai.
              goat-DIM scary
              'The goat is scary.'

11            (0.4)

12      M:    kowakunai noni        ne.
              scary-NEG even.though IP
              'Even though it's not scary, right.'

13            (0.3)

14      M:    ↑kowai::↓ tte yutteta ne.
               scary    QT say-PST IP
              'You said, "It's scary," right.'

15            (story continues about the goat and other animals they had seen and
              fed at a petting zoo)
```

When Hana says the animal name 'sheep' (line 01), Mom takes this as a reference to the animal on her bib by saying it is a 'goat', as a form of *other-initiated/other-repair* (Schegloff et al. 1977) (line 02). As her correction does not receive any response from Hana, Mom encourages Hana to remember the word 'goat' by connecting it to a shared event that occurred on a family visit to a petting zoo 'the other day' (line 04) (actually, 3 months prior, according to a follow-up interview). Hana responds to this evoked memory by initiating an assessment of the goat (line 06: *yagichan kowai↓:↑::* 'The goat is scary'), and then looks towards Mom who is standing at the table (Fig. 7).

Even though Hana's grammar of the assessment is in the present tense, it is heard as sequentially and temporally connected to Mom's talk in the previous turn, which shifted the temporal frame from the here-and-now to some time in the past . Although Hana's assessment that 'the goat is scary' is not about the goat on her bib, which was actually the focus of the ongoing talk, her assessment here is thus not an unreasonable one, as she ties her assessment to the new temporal frame initiated by Mom. Moreover, Hana's assessment is a display of her remembering 'the goat', by repeating what she did say at the actual encounter with 'the goat' the other day, and thus is treated by Mom as Hana voicing or reporting the speech of herself (line 08). After Mom validates this, Hana demonstrates that she has now connected the

Fig. 7 Hana looks towards
Mom as she initiates an
assessment

Fig. 8 Hana makes an
assessment, while gazing
down at her bib

animal called 'goat' with the here-and-now object, i.e., the picture on her bib by still
talking about 'the goat' but looking at her bib (lines 09–10) (Fig. 8).

Young children's assessment adjectives may thus be tied to their emotional
experiences in the past, and children may reveal these experiences in their initial
assessments when the temporal frame is appropriate. Children are thus sensitive to
the ever-shifting concern of temporal relevance in talking about some object.
Moreover, Hana's initial assessment here is a vehicle to display *her way* of
understanding the object in the current discussion. Although her assessment of 'the
goat is scary' is negotiated with Mom, Hana initiated the sharing and
co-construction of knowledge regarding 'the goat' in the first place.

Performing Different Social Actions Using Similar Assessment Adjectives

As we have seen in the previous examples, 2 year-old children use assessments to perform social actions, display stances, and constitute other socio-cultural meanings such as relationships, by employing adjectives along with a range of other linguistic and embodied resources. The social actions performed through an assessment can be multiple, depending on the intended addressee or who responds to it. A case in point is the adjective *kowai* 'scary/be scared,' which has been examined in previous research as noted earlier (Clancy 1999), and the adjective *iya* 'dislike,' which children deploy in responding to particular things (real or imagined) and situations that are undesirable to them (Clancy 1985).

In (5), Sae (2:0) is engaged in pretend "shopping" by carrying a basket of toy goods, and has just opened the door to head out of the living room into the hallway. Mom has been playing along with Sae, by pretending to be a store clerk. Sae's older brother (Taku, 5:3), who is also in the room, has been primarily playing on his own up until now when he attempts to engage Sae in a different kind of "play" by trying to scare Sae.

(5) "Ogre mask" (S = Sae, female child, 2:0, T = Taku, [Sae's older brother], 5:3, M = Mom)

```
01      S:      [((As Sae prepares to leave the room, she stops and looks
                 towards her brother who has just put on an ogre mask: Fig. 9))]

02      M:      [arigato:gozaima[shita::._____]
                 thank.you-HON-POL-PST
                  'Thank you very much.'

03      T:                              _[((quickly turns away from S))

04   →  S:                              _[ kowai. ]
                                         __scary
                 [kowai. [[kowai.
                 scary    scary
                  'It's scary, scary, scary.'
                 [((walks towards Mom: Fig. 10))
```

```
05     M:                  [[nani ga  kowai no.
                             what NOM scary Q
                           'What's scary?'

06     T:                  [[((quickly taking off ogre mask))

07     S:    niini.
             older.brother
             'Older brother.'

08     T:     (0.6)  ((coughs)) (0.6)

09           niinii      _chau de?
             older.brother not _IP
             'It's not me.'

10     M:    ((turns her head towards Taku.))

11     S:    mm?
             'Mm?'

12     T:    niinii        chau de¿
             older.brother not IP
             'It's not me.'
```

13   T: *ki no sei* [*ki no sei.*
                imagination imagination
                'It's just your imagination, it's just your
                imagination.' [((turns head towards Sae))

((20 lines omitted as Taku repeats the phrase, 'It's just your imagination' to
Sae several times, and mother tells Sae there is nothing bad going on. Taku and
mother then encourage Sae to go out shopping again, as in lines 34 and 35))

34   M: *baiba:*[*:i.*
                'Bye bye.'

35   T: [*baiba::i.*
                         'Bye bye.'

36   S: ((waves her hand and then walks into the hallway))

37   M: °*Sae utagatteru yan, meccha.*°
                name doubting   IP   very
                'Sae is suspicious, y'know, very much.'

38   T: (   )?
39   (2.3) ((As Sae comes back into the living room, Taku,
                  who is wearing an ogre mask, rushes up to her: **Fig. 11**))

40   T: *Uhahahahahahaha*

```
41  →  S:    IYA!
              dislike
              'No!'

42     T:    (ba:yanbu::). ((puts his face in front of Sae's face.))

43  →  S:    hmhm, iya:,   ya:me,   niini,
              no    dislike  stop-IMP older.brother
              'No! Stop it, older brother'

44  →        iya        KYA:::::::::::
              dislike  (scream)
              'No! AHHHHHHH!'

45  →        kowai, [niini.
              scary  older.brother
              'Scary, brother.'

46     T:                 [(((turns away from Sae and takes off mask))

47  →  S:    kowai ((while walking towards Mom))
              scary
              'It's scary.'

48     M:    okaerinasaimase.
              welcome.home-POL
              'Welcome back home.'
```

In this excerpt, Taku attempts to interrupt Sae's play and engage her in an alternative activity by attempting to scare her with an ogre mask. When Sae's mother tries to send Sae out the door by bidding her farewell in role-play mode (line 02), Sae turns towards Mom but apparently sees Taku (in back of Mom) who has just put on a red ogre mask (line 01 and Fig. 9). After gazing towards Taku, Sae turns and walks back towards Mom while saying, 'It's scary, scary, scary' (line 04 and Fig. 10).

Sae's assessment here operates in a complex participation framework, and displays various social actions and stances to different recipients. As she approaches Mom, Sae inevitably gets close to Taku, who is behind Mom, and then halts and cautiously keeps some distance from him. On the one hand, Sae's assessment can be heard as being addressed to Taku, in which case, *kowai* 'scary' is her reaction to Taku's attempt to scare her. On the other hand, Sae's assessment can also be heard as being addressed to Mom, as an appeal and request for help in protecting her from

Fig. 9 Sae's noticing of her
masked brother

Fig. 10 Sae walks towards
her mother while making an
assessment

her brother as an ogre. However, as Sae has expressed her feeling of being scared
without specifying what she is scared of, this leaves the "assessable," or target of
the assessment, ripe for repair and open to negotiation. Mom seizes this opportunity
by asking Sae what is scary (line 05), implying that for Mom there is nothing scary
(even when she ostensibly knows what is scary for Sae). Mom's repair initiation
here suggests to Taku that Mom is playing along with Taku's plot as she is pre-
tending not to know why Sae is scared. This, in turn, provides an account to Sae for
why Mom is not giving Sae protection. After Sae responds to Mom's repair initi-
ation by saying that it is her older brother (who is scary) (line 07), Taku, having just
taken off the ogre mask, responds to Sae by emphatically denying that it is he who
is scary, and claims it is just Sae's imagination (line 13).

Following Taku's repeated suggestions that Sae is only imagining something
scary, which seems to (for Sae) end the ogre activity, Sae returns to playing
shopping again upon Taku and Mom's urging (lines 34 and 35). Sae then leaves the
living room with her shopping basket in hand. At this point, Mom has fully aligned

herself with Taku's play (attempt to scare Sae) by addressing him in a quiet voice so as not to be overheard by Sae (line 37), which Taku seems to take as an invitation to re-engage in the orge play. In particular, when Sae comes back into the living room, Taku, who has put back on his ogre mask rushes up to Sae and makes ogre-like sounds while putting his masked face close to Sae's face (line 40 and Fig. 11). In response, Sae screams out while saying *iya*, which is an assessment adjective that literally means 'dislike' or 'disgusting,' and is often used by Japanese children to reject something, similar to saying 'no' in English (Clancy 1985). In using *iya*, Sae directly appeals to Taku to immediately stop this activity, and makes the social action of her assessment explicit by screaming and issuing a directive to Taku to stop (lines 43 and 44). When this combination of an assessment and directive does not lead to Taku stopping the activity, Sae appeals to Taku by expressing her fear using the adjective *kowai* (lines 45 and 47). At this point, Mom interjects in order to bring an end to the ogre activity by welcoming Sae back home, using a formulaic expression *okaerinasaimase* that indexes the earlier role-play mode (line 48).

What is noticeable in this excerpt is that Sae displays her understanding when to use *kowai* (be scared, scary) and when to use *iya* (dislike, disgusting), although both of these words function as assessment adjectives to display negative feelings towards a situation or object. On the one hand, Sae uses *kowai* to indicate her fear in general, as an emotional appeal. In particular, this appeal could have functioned to ask for Mom's help at this particular timing in which she is unable to specify to Mom what exactly is wrong, as Taku had already taken off his mask. On the other hand, she deploys *iya* to reject something immediately, as what she "dislikes," which is clear for the other participants at this interactional moment. In short, Sae designs her assessment differently depending on whether or not the object or activity that disturbs her is immediately recognizable to the other participants.

This excerpt exemplifies that children as young as 2:0 years old are able to display their socio-cultural knowledge regarding the interactional nuances of similar assessment terms (*kowai* and *iya*). These adjectives are deployed not merely as a reflection of children's inner emotional and cognitive states but as an interactional

Fig. 11 Taku scares Sae by coming up to her while wearing an ogre mask

resource to respond to and cope with their circumstances within multiparty participation frameworks. That is, 2 year-old children demonstrate and use such knowledge to take different recipients into account when initiating assessments, and to mobilize those recipients in different ways and towards different ends. Here, then, we see that even children as young as 2 years old have developed a working knowledge of the interactional requirements and possibilities made available within an interactive participation framework.

Summary and Conclusion

We have observed how Japanese children at an early stage of verbal language development already possess the pragmatic and socio-cultural knowledge needed in order to successfully initiate assessment activities whereby they can share their emotional experience and perspective regarding an ongoing situation in a fully-fledged interactional manner. Rather than being understood as the simple use of adjectives said on impulse, or an action that merely describes some things or events, or the reflection of some internal states, here we have argued instead that children's skillful initiation of assessments and assessment activity at this age should be seen as their attempt to involve other participants (in most cases) in joint participation framework assessment activity upon a shared assessable that has been made locally relevant (Wootton 1997).

Two aspects of 'children's knowledge', in particular, became relevant in our study. One aspect regards the socio-cultural knowledge and interactional competence that children reveal that they have in initiating assessments. In our analysis of Japanese child-caregiver interaction, we found that two year-old children can already very successfully display their understanding that various factors are prerequisite for successful achievement of assessment activities. Two year-old children were able to set up participation frameworks and to establish the joint attention with interlocutors needed in order for the assessable in the initial position assessment to be received and responded to properly. In so doing, they also reveal that they have already internalized the socio-cultural knowledge that allows slightly different adjectives to mobilize their recipients in considerably different manners.

The second aspect regards children's constructing knowledge through social interaction by sharing their views of the social world to others for subsequent validation or negotiation. Indeed, we believe that our data show that even children as young as 2 years old are not just recipients of adult-initiated assessments regarding how things in the world should be perceived, but rather, social actors who can effectively initiate engagement with others about their own world views, and negotiate those interactional engagements efficiently and effectively. In this sense, we can say that 2 year olds can be providers and co-constructors of knowledge within interactive participation frameworks.

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Chapter 14
Learning How to Use the Word 'Know': Examples from a Single-Case Study

Michael Forrester

Introduction

Few studies in child language and developmental psycholinguistics have sought to establish when children begin to understand and use the word 'know'. Typically the methods employed involved presenting or reading to young children sentences containing words and phrases involving 'know' and ascertain under what conditions they appear to understand the presuppositions and implications surrounding such use. Harris (1975) used a question-answer task format to investigate children's use of the word 'know' and found that pre-school understanding was linked more to their general knowledge of the world (rather than the linguistic terms used) and it was not until between age four and seven years that they understood 'know' when used as a factive verb (i.e., when the use of a verb presupposes the truth of the statement by the speaker). Similarly, Abbeduto and Rosenberg (1985) report that children do not learn the presuppositional grounds for words such as 'know' and 'forget' until around aged 4, and Booth and Hall (1995) argue that a word such as 'know' is understood at different levels of abstracted meaning (perception through to metacognition), and learned with respect to a continuum of internal processing and information manipulation. In this cognitive-verb lexicon model of 'know', full acquisition is not firmly established until around seven years. Such lines of research correspond to the suggestion of Montgomery (1992) who asserts that only around the age of 6 do children begin to regard knowledge in a qualitatively different

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manner. They now understand knowledge as 'subject to the constructive processes of the mind as opposed to being subject merely to what is, or is not, perceived' (p. 425). In other words, rather than 'knowing' simply being an immediate perceptual process, children recognize that who is doing the perceiving, and the informational quality of what is being perceived, help inform the assessment made.

In contrast to studies of cognitive development in developmental psychology, researchers of a child-focused conversation analytic orientation seek to understand how children acquire the relevant methodic social practices necessary for indicating what it is to 'know' during ongoing talk-in-interaction Looking at make-believe in pre-school children's play, Sidnell (2011) notes that children orient towards what he terms 'territories of knowledge'—asymmetrical distributions of rights and responsibilities regarding knowing. Such orientations are highlighted in the details of the children's make-believe play. The significance of undertaking a detailed and closely examined analysis of young children's competencies and skills in context has been highlighted by Lerner et al. (2011) who makes the point that cognitive representational conceptions of underlying skills should conform to, 'the actual requirements of the observable interaction order and participation in it—for example, the structurally afforded ability to recognize, project, and contingently employ unfolding structures of action in interaction with others.' (p. 45). The argument is that whatever cognitive capacities are found to underwrite interaction order, the specification of the elements of this domain requires a close and systematic analysis of naturally occurring interaction addressed to the manifold contingencies of everyday life and the social-sequential structures that enable human interaction. Without understanding what it means to exhibit knowledge as a social practice in context, theories regarding cognitive representational process underpinning said actions remain abstract, disconnected and difficult to defend.

One helpful avenue for investigating how one acquires the skills needed to display, and recognize when actions presupposing 'knowing' are being produced in context, is the notion of epistemic status. Heritage (2012) proposed that during ongoing talk-in-interaction participants display an orientation to relative epistemic access and rights regarding appropriate displays of relevant knowledge (see also Canty Chap. 18 this volume). The suggestion is that relative access to a domain or territory of information is stratified between interactants such that they occupy different positions on an epistemic gradient (e.g., more knowledgeable [K + 1] or less knowledgeable [K − 1]), which may also vary in slope from shallow to deep. Heritage (2012) suggests:

> Epistemic status is thus an inherently relative and relational concept concerning the relative access to some domain of two (or more) persons at some point in time. The epistemic status of each person, relative to others, will of course tend to vary from domain to domain, as well as over time, and can be altered from moment to moment as a result of specific interactional contributions. (p. 4)

This metaphor of a 'see-saw-like' movement permeating turn-design across speakers is said to inform what are called the response-mobilizing properties of sequential position (Stivers and Rossano 2010),—in other words how people respond to each other during conversation will depend on what each party understands the other person knows about the topic (or not). Heritage (2012) goes as far as to suggest that participants must at all times be cognizant of what they take to be the real-world distribution of knowledge as a 'condition of correctly understanding how clausal utterances are to be interpreted as social actions' (p. 26). We might note that within conversation analysis there are few studies that have documented the use of 'don't know' or 'I don't know' in adult conversation. Pomerantz (1984a, b), for example, when examining procedures related to displaying 'how one knows' documents instances of 'I don't know' noting that people use such forms often in circumstances where they seek to express ambivalence. Not being fully committed to a particular epistemic position is also highlighted in the work of Weatherall (2011) who suggests that 'I don't knows' can be categorized as either of two actions, first assessments and approximations. Sert (2013) notes the subtle forms of instructional related talk following instances of 'I don't know' in learning contexts, and Stickle (2015) has recently examined the manner in which people with dementia often use 'I don't know' not only to display epistemic stance but also to manage sequences of talk, for example when seeking to disagree with co-participants.

Turning to the question of how children might gradually acquire the intended understanding of utterances during talk-in-interaction, one or two studies have recently considered when and under what circumstances children begin to display an orientation to epistemic rights—who can say what, and when and with whom—and the extent to which such displays index their recognition or awareness of reflexive accountability, i.e., that other's may take you to task for what you are saying and whether or not you have grounds for making the assertions you do (see Kidwell 2011; Lerner and Zimmerman 2003). Of particular interest is whether adult-child sequences of talk-in-interaction are by definition situations of *recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry* (as Stivers and Rossano 2010, p. 23 express it). There may always be background assumptions and presuppositions about who is more (or less) knowledgeable permeating adult-child interaction.

We should be mindful, however, that being an 'adult' or 'child' does not automatically attribute epistemic status (e.g., that parents know more). Butler and Wilkinson (2013, p. 49) argue that children's "(limited) rights to speak, engage, or

launch action" constitutes a local, "interactionally situated" phenomenon. Such phenomena, as Keel (2015) notes cannot therefore be examined or explained with reference to a simplistic notion of participants' orientation to a child's young age, and thus to their not-yet-fully-competent way of speaking, engaging, or launching actions. In a recent summary of the relevant child-CA literature on assessment sequences in adult-child talk, Keel (2015) maintains that rather than reflecting participants' orientation to distinct (epistemic) rights to assess and/or to an asymmetrical relationship between children and adults,

> the way in which parents and children organize assessment sequences and, more specifically, the way they treat the parents' weak agreements, signals the existence of issues that are more complex (p. 135)

Notwithstanding the challenges, limitations and benefits of what can be gleaned from a single-case study, the aim of this chapter is to consider something of the context within which a young child learns what is involved in recognizing and using explicitly the word 'know' and/or the phrase 'don't know'. The goal is to understand and explicate something of the circumstance when one child begins to use such expressions spontaneously in everyday talk-in-interaction during the early years.

The Data Corpus and Associated Video Recordings

The extracts discussed in this chapter come from a data corpus that consists of a series of video-recordings (31) of my daughter Ella, filmed during meal-times as she was interacting with family and occasionally, family friends. The participants described in the extracts are her father, mother, a family friend and the baby daughter of that friend. To facilitate the ease of collecting video footage in early recordings the target-child, Ella, was positioned in a high-chair and then subsequently sitting at the dinner table. The recordings began when Ella was 1 year old continuing until she was 3 years 7 months (at least once each month). The length of the recordings range from 10–45 min (average 35) with the total recording amounting to around 11 h. Transcriptions of all the recordings using conversation analytic conventions were produced (see introduction in this volume)alongside transcription notations relevant for child language analysis (MacWhinney 2007). The transcripts and digitised video-files are linked together using the software facilities of the CLAN suite of programs. The resulting data corpus can be viewed at http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/browser/index.php?url=Eng-UK/Forrester/. The specific location (identified by line numbers for the .cha files) are specified for each extract so that interested readers can view the recording clips for the extracts discussed.

With regards to the limits and challenges germane to methodology in developmental psychology and child language research, the single case study has a long and sometimes controversial tradition (see Wallace et al. (1994) for a summary, and

Flyvbjerg (2006) on why the case study methodology is often misunderstood). The case-study approach that was adopted in the original study (see Forrester 2015) is best described as an exemplary case, that is one which provides an account of an instance held to be 'representative', 'typical' or 'paradigmatic' of some given category or situations. Such case studies are well-suited to exposition and instruction. We might note that the *exemplary* case study is distinguished from the *symptomatic* case and the *particular* case. The *symptomatic* case is regarded as epiphenomenal, as being generated from some underlying process. The *particular* case involves the study of some social event or phenomenon with the aims of explaining the case by orienting towards it as possessing a substantial identity (see Reason 1985). The conventions for an exemplary case study informed the selection of the examples.

Research Participation and Ethics

Care was taken with the video-recordings to ensure issues of participation were dealt with in line with the British Psychological Society's Code of Conduct, Ethical Principles and Guidelines (British Psychological Society 2014).[1] Notwithstanding the importance of conducting the research in line with standard guidelines for this kind of research (e.g., consent from the child's mother and sister and family friend were all obtained) it remains the case, at the very least, that children whose parents have granted their participation may be able at a later date, to challenge that consent, and in this case, for example, contest the procedures said to ensure that the data corpus is used solely for research purposes. As Ella was not in position to grant permission or not, this remains the case for the life of this project. I would like to acknowledge Ella Sbaraini who at the time of writing is happy for these recordings to be used for analysis and exposition.

Analysis

In order to highlight something of the developmental trajectory surrounding the changing use of the word know, the following extracts trace out a profile which moves initially from correct form use; through indications where 'knowing and saying' appear intertwined, and on to examples involving epistemic status and 'knowing as performance'. Extract 1 serves as a good example where Ella begins to use the correct form for not knowing, around aged 2.

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[1]See http://www.bps.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/code_of_human_research_ethics.pdf for the BPS guidelines.

Extract 1: Immediately prior to the sequence in this extract Ella and her father are having some disagreement over her request for an alternative kind of milk to the one in her bowl. By way of explanation and to avoid the possibility of conflict (which appeared possible as they had previously disagreed over her putting on a bib) the father suggests that he will give her some additional milk (more).

Child Age: 2;2 [112wks]: time in recording 10.32 (lines 360–384 in original file).

```
 1   F:    I'll put some more in if you want do you want some more in?
 2         (0.2)
 3   E:    ye::a
 4         (0.4)
 5   E:    at a ↑cow bou[ght]
 6   F:              [that's] what the cow do[es] didn't
 7   E:                                     [↑Ye]::a
 8         (5.5)
 9   E:    him didn't know
10         (0.6)
11   E:    diffen milk does  ((holds spoon in mid-air and looks up at F))
12         (1.0)
13   F:    you don't know what different milk does?
14         (0.2)
15   E:    ye::a =
16   F:    = xxxxx
17         (0.8)
18   F:    hm mmm
19         (5.7)
20   F:    it tastes nice though doesn't it?
21         (1.4)
22   E:    what tastes ni::ce?
23         (0.3)
24   F:    the milk tastes nice
25         (2.7)
```

Having agreed to have some more milk (line 5), Ella produces an utterance which can be glossed as 'that's the milk the cow brought' [us]. I seem to align to this suggestion indicated in the slight overlap of turns and repetition of the word 'cow'. We then find (across lines 9–13) Ella producing a suggestion referring to the cow that appears to mean 'him (the cow) didn't know that there is more than one kind of milk' or 'what different milk does/can do' (she may be assisting in glossing over the earlier disagreement with the suggestion that the cow who has 'brought' this milk, didn't realize another different kind of milk was required (by Ella)). She makes this questioning statement with particular interest or attention, given that after she finishes speaking she awaits my reply, holding her spoon in mid-air until he responds (line 11). I do not appear to have heard the pronoun 'him' at line 9, and

instead produce a clarification request marking Ella as the person who doesn't know about 'different' milk. This she agrees with and the remainder of the conversation seems to indicate a continuing misunderstanding or misrecognition regarding her initial use of the word 'know' at line 9.

What is evident is that by age 2 years this child can use the correct form (as negation) and the reference she makes relates to the immediately preceding topic—the different milk she had asked for. One can suggest that her utterance appears to function as a kind of explanation about why she has to drink the milk that is available (even if her addressee probably doesn't understand this—indicated in his downgrading response at line 18, and move to change the topic at line 20). At the very least we have an early example where the ascription of 'not knowing something' is assigned to somebody, and how this is responded to is of considered interest to the child. With adult data, Sert (2013) notes that 'I don't know' appears to be associated with preference organization and often precedes something less than an agreement in everyday conversation. When used, people might be more attentive to how it is responded to by others.

In a second example 4 months later (extract 2 below) we find Ella being asked to recount an event from the immediately preceding day when a dog in the local park pushed her over. On being asked if she had told her mother about this, (line 3–5), it is interesting that Ella's mother is already orienting to the event as being of interest. The manner in which her mother produces her 'mmhmm' utterance at line 6 is produced in the style of 'oh, really, that's interesting' (similar to assessment sequences described by Keel 2015). I then ask Ella directly what the dog's name was, and at that point it is quite noticeable that she stops eating, looks past me (and possibly in the direction of her mother), waits for at least 3–4 s without moving, and then replies 'don't know'.

Extract 2: Context: Ella and her father are sitting at the kitchen table and Ella's mother is positioned out of camera sight. Just before the recording Ella has suggested she would like to leave the table but is instead being encouraged to stay and eat.

Child Age: 2;6 [133 wks] time in recording 08.32 (lines 440–457 in original file).

```
 1   F:    yea
 2         (8.6)
 3   F:    did you tell mummy about the doggy ?
 4         (0.7)
 5   F:    that tried to push you over =
 6   M:    = mmhh ↑ mmm
 7         (1.5)
 8   F:    what was it's name ?
 9         (5.4)                         ((Ella stops eating))
10   E:    don't know              ((looks down and continues eating))
11         (1.2)
12   F:    pippin
13         (1)
14   E:    no
15         (1.1)
16   F:    pippin
17         (0.7)
18   F:    was his name. ((E shakes head as F speaks))
```

There is of course no way of ascertaining whether Ella is having trouble remembering the event or the dog's name. What is marked is that when I make an assertion about the dog's name, she replies no—not just once, but twice (at line 18) and during the second disagreement shakes her head in response to what I'm suggesting. What it is 'not to know' in this instance is unclear, and it is interesting that Ella indicates her own lack of knowledge—not remembering the name (line 10) and that she makes some effort to indicate that whatever it was, it was not the name that I have proffered. This may be an early precursor to the observation that Weatherall (2011) reports with adult data, where 'I don't know' serves as forward-looking marker that indicates the speaker is not fully committed to what might follow but is nevertheless interested in what might follow. Sacks (1992) also makes the point that names and naming can do subtle work during talk-in-interaction, in that they are often not simply a convention but function as disguised descriptions where naming is often work that 'does things' (p. 414). A little further on during the same recording we find a clearer indication of what 'not knowing' means to Ella at this age.

Immediately prior to the beginning of the sequence Ella is eating in an inappropriate manner and I try and stop her and tell her not be 'silly'. The way in which I do this elicits a comment from Silvia (Ella's mother) that I seem a bit grumpy and out of sorts. During the earlier disagreement Ella and I produce a prolonged look at each other alongside other indications of 'trouble in the talk' (for example, I look at the camera in a noticeable fashion—line 9). At line 12 Ella's mother, having commented that I seem 'snatchy' in front of the camera (annoyed), producing a laugh from me about her observation, then begins to comment about what Ella was doing in the immediately preceding 'conflict' sequence. As Silvia is making this comment (line 15) Ella is looking down at her lap, and produces an utterance asserting that she 'doesn't know' something (line 16), which she then immediately repeats and repairs as she turns towards me (at line 18).

Extract 3: Context: Two minutes after extract 2 above. Just before the beginning of the extract the father has attempted to stop Ella from eating her food in a way deemed inappropriate.

Child Age: 2;6 [133wks]: time in recording 11.09 (lines 580–613 in original file).

```
1   F     don't know what she's d::oing she doesn't normally do that
2         (0.2)
3   M:    what ?
4         (1.9)
5   F:    just doing some strange like picking up her eggs and squeezing
6         them between her fingers and stuff like [that]
7   M:                                            [I know] s'just sounds
8         like it
9         (5.5)                    ((F looks at the camera for 2 secs))
```

```
10   F:    thanks darling x( ) xx
11         (1.3)
12   M:    you were ↑snatching in front of the camera
13         (1.3)
14   F:    ha ha [ha ha]            ((Ella looking down at her lap))
15   M:         [I could] you see [Ella ( ) going::]
16   E:                            [°I don't] know°
17         (0.6)
18   E:    I don't know th:::at
19         (0.4)
20   F:    you don't know dad ?
21         (0.7)
22   E:    I don't kn::ow
23         (0.6)
24   E:    sinking diddly make
25         (0.3)
26         ((M starts singing in the background))
27   E:    pill ha ha ha
28         (0.7)       ((F turns to Ella, stops eating and makes face))
29   F:    don't know chickens in the pi::ll what does that mean ? =
30   E:    = xxx( ) paint at xx( ) xx( ) x( )
31         (0.7)
32   F:    is that nonsense ?
33         (0.7)
34   E:    he he he he eeeeek =
35   F:    = do you like talking rubbish ?
36         (0.7)
37   E:    mmhhmm
```

At this point (line 20) I repeat what she is saying however altering the last word to 'dad' but at this point without turning towards her or looking at her. Ella then (across lines 22–25), and having once again rolled her food in her hands and put it in her mouth, produces an utterance alongside what can best be described as a performance of 'silly talk'. It is noteworthy that she is now repeating the earlier behavior deemed inappropriate (eating with her fingers) and there is a particularly noticeable emphasis on the word 'know' at line 22, and as she finishes her turn-at-talk (line 27), produces noticeable laughter. There are grounds for suggesting that Ella is successfully displacing the earlier trouble (through the production of 'amusement') and managing to continue to eat in the way she wanted to. What is interesting here is that it was her emphatic statements that she 'didn't know' (line 18) which initially gained her father's attention.

By line 29, having made some attempt at repeating what she has just said, I ask her what she means, and then suggest that she is trying to produce 'nonsense' as it is fun to 'talk rubbish'. One interpretation of what is emerging here is that following our initial conflict, Ella observed my commenting on my disbelief or surprise (to Silvia) about the fact that she is not being normal, and being silly, and seeks to in part, resolve the trouble in the talk by then 'acting silly'. The way to do this it seems is to talk in such a way that you 'don't really know what you are talking about'—and do so because it is fun (notice she produces an agreement to my suggestion that she likes talking rubbish —line 37). Whatever else has transpired, Ella has managed to continue eating in a way that was marked as inappropriate, and also resolved the apparent conflict between us by

pretending 'not to know' what she is talking about because 'she is silly'. What is significant here is that positioning yourself as somebody who 'doesn't' or might not 'know' can serve as a helpful strategy when in a challenging situation (an observation described by O'Reilly et al. (2015) with older children). And 'not knowing' in this instance for Ella appears to be a reflexively accountable practice exhibited through making utterances that are demonstrably unintelligible.

Moving to another example recorded 2 months later, in extract 4 we find an instance where the use of the phrase 'don't know' becomes part of an epistemic discourse presupposing uncertainty. While I'm arranging the camera and moving objects around the kitchen table, at line 11 I ask Ella where one of her toys has come from (and in this context meaning who put him there on the kitchen table just prior to eating).

Extract 4: Context: The sequence below occurs as the father is moving the video-camera from one part of the kitchen to another.

Child Age: 2; 8 [140wks]: time in recording 13.17 (lines 544–664 in original file).

```
1    F:     who did that ?
2           (0.4)
3    E:     e::va
4           (2.1)
5    F:     give it to daddy
6           (0.9)
7    E:     wha this xx( ) thing
8           (0.5)
9    E:     what's it called ?
10          (3.6)
11   F:     who did that (.) where did that he come from ?
12          (2.7)                    (F moves camera)
13   E:     where ?
14          (5.7)
15   E:     I don't kn:::ow
16          (1)
17   F:     I'm not very sure either
18          (0.9)
19   E:     I'm not very sure either
20          (1.6)
21   E:     I think that x( ) come from
22          (7.6)
```

Examining the recording indicates that immediately after I ask this question I move to changing the viewing angle of the camera and as I'm doing so, Ella asks 'where?' (at line 13). There is then a noticeable gap immediately following her utterance (line 14) and in pursuit of a response she states that she doesn't know—with a marked stretching of the word 'know'. Why I should then reply 'I'm not sure either' seems a somewhat ambiguous response on my part, presupposing as it does my shared recognition of 'not knowing' where the toy has come from—even though I had originally asked her in a manner which indicated that Ella would be somebody who should know. This is an interesting example where the child is

located in in a k+ epistemic position (to use Heritage's 2012 terminology) and replies by positioning herself in a k- position, doing so through displaying uncertainty with the word 'know'. Curiously, I then align myself with her by then positioning myself as somebody who also doesn't know (k−). It seems quite possible that as I was moving the camera I was simply saying the first thing that came into my head, which she then simply repeats (at line 19). This extracts serves as a typical everyday instance where a child is being exposed to the immediately relevant sequential associations and presuppositions surrounding 'knowing'—certainty, truth statements and hedges. There are grounds for saying that Ella is displaying those social practices that help ensure that you can abdicate responsibility for some state of affairs when required.

What it is to '*know*' and what it is to '*say*' become intertwined or interdependently related to the design of utterances around this age, as evident in Extract 5 below. Here there is an explicit orientation to knowing names (in this case of animals on playing cards) and what is presupposed by knowing how to 'say the names'. The extract begins around line 2 where I ask Ella if her toy animal knows the names of various cards she is playing with on the kitchen table.

Extract 5: Context: Ella is playing at the kitchen table with a set of large cards in front of her. The father is preparing food and talking to Ella as he doing so from another part of the kitchen.

Child Age: 3;3 [169 wks]: time in recording 3.38 (lines 157–177 in original file).

```
 1    E:    ( ) x( ) x( ) ( ) ( ) =
 2    F:    = does grommit know all the names of the cards:: ?
 3          (1.6)
 4    E:    no he ↓doesn't↑ =
 5    F:    = he's too sma::ll
 6          (0.9)
 7    E:    he:: says
 8          (0.6)
 9    E:    he can only say tap
10          (0.5)
11    F:    tip ?
12          (0.6)
13    E:    he can only say t:::ap
14          (0.3)
15    E:    but he can't say any more words ((E makes gesture towards
16          cards))
17          (0.3)
18    F:    on no he ca::n
19          (1.6)
20    F:    he doesn't know how to ?
21          (4.1)
22          ((F moves towards handing E a plate))
23    E:    oh when he says come to words
24
```

Ella appears to treat my utterance at line 2 not as a question but as an affirmative statement. Her disagreement is quite marked and in response I immediately provide a reason why it might be that her toy doesn't know the names. Ella then goes on (across lines 7–15) to outline her toy's limitations, specifying what these are—with a noticeable third-turn repair where I seem to mis-hear her (line 11). Here it seems clear that for Ella not knowing something presupposes not saying something. Schegloff (1972) makes the point that to 'know a name' and using names in context presupposes recognizability, that is, that the speaker or hearer can perform operations relevant to the naming such as categorizing and bringing relevant knowledge to bear on the naming practice—in this instance something that Ella indicates a soft toy does not have the competence for.

An association of this kind is also identifiable in Extract 6 where knowing a word, understanding its meaning, and being able to provide an account for why it has that meaning, becomes apparent. In this instance, recorded approximately 2 months later than the previous one, Ella and I have been discussing her use of a word 'gonga'. This is a word she has used in the past and one that she has often seems to employ when referring to something that she doesn't like or doesn't wish to discuss (see Forrester 2015, p. 143).

Extract 6: Context: This extract begins at a moment during the interaction where Ella's father has been trying to encourage her to leave the table briefly and go to the toilet. Ella is somewhat reticent to do so.

Child Age: 3;5 [179 wks]: time in recording 06.10 (lines 291–337 in original file).

```
 1    F:    but if you do jump up and down then its cause I think you do
 2          need the toilet
 3          (0.3)
 4    F:    and you just can't be bothered go::ing
 5          (5.7)
 6    F:    what d'you think ?
 7          (0.3)
 8    E:    m:: ma gonga
 9          (0.2)
10    E:    >u:huha u:huha< hehehe
11          (3.9)
12    F:    I don't think that's funny ⌈ you can't⌉  just say what d'you
13          thinkand you say ⌈ ma gonga⌉
14    E:                    ⌊ haheha⌋
15    E:                                  ⌊ ((laugh))⌋
16          (0.5)
17    E:    ↑U::HAHaha (.) UHAHaha
18          (0.6)
```

```
19    E:    what's [a keepa]
20    F:          [cause you] don't even tell me what a gonga i::s
21          (0.6)
22    E:    a ↑pomba pi fie fa:: fa:: fa
23          (0.5)
24    F:    no that's different word
25          (1.2)
26    F:    If I say to you (.) what's a gonga
27          (1)
28    F:    what did you say ?
29          (0.4)
30    E:    e:::hu
31          (1.8)
32    E:    I don't know ehaha
33          (0.5)
34    E:    uhhahahaha =
35    F:    = you say you don't know well you're the one who made the word
36          u::↓::↑p
37          (0.4)
38    F:    d'you think it mea::::ns (.) what do you think it might mean ?
39          (0.5)
40    E:    it mean means about (.) ↑Ta:::toes:::
41          (0.4)
42    E:    hahahaha it do:::es s:::: =
43    F:    = wha:: d'you think so ?
44          (0.3)
45    E:    yeahau
46          (0.3)
47    F:    I'm din you d'you remember what we said yesterday about crisps
```

Prior to the beginning of the extract I have noticed that Ella might need to leave her meal and go to the toilet, and she has resisted my suggestion that she should. As part of that resistance, and in reply to my suggestion she simply say's 'gonga' (line 8). Around line 20, I point out to her that her talk is somehow unreasonable as, when pressed, she won't tell me what this word refers to. At line 26 I produce a reflexively oriented statement, pointing out what she does when I ask her what her word means. This elicits her response at line 14 that she doesn't know along with laughter about this situation. I then continue to press her on the subject, first of all pointing out that she was the person who made up this word, and then suggesting or encouraging her to consider what it might mean.

There are a few interesting elements in the development of the requirement that if you use a word or phrase, then you should know what it means—even if it is a word that you might have only recently 'made up' (i.e., the selection should be sensitive to the 'knowledge of the world seen by members… and to the topic or activity being done in the conversation at that point in its course', Schegloff (1972, pp. 114–115). Notice the use of the conditional at line 26, and the production of a 'reflexively accountable' scenario ("If I say to you…), but then (line 28) instead of continuing with 'what would you say', instead I say 'what did you say'—to which Ella replies 'I don't know' at line 32 (not "I wouldn't know what to say"). We then

observe my explication of what might be implied when somebody makes up a word
and then uses it, that is, you must know what it means. I then continue as if to
suggest some possible candidate meanings, before again asking her what it 'might'
mean. It is likely that it is through social discursive sequences of this nature that
children begin to be exposed to the presuppostional criteria underpinning the use of
words such as 'know' and 'believe'.

Returning to the same context, the problematic nature of the interaction becomes
more marked a little further on in the sequence (Extract 7) when the reasons for my
concern with her going to the toilet made more explicit (lines 2–3 and lines 9–13).

Extract 7: Context: The same as previous extract and a little further on in the
recording (*lines 408–443 in 179.cha in the CHILDS data corpus*).

*Child Age: 3;5 [179 wks]: time in recording 08.02 (lines 408–442 in original
file).*

```
 1   E:     hahahaha [haha]
 2   F:             [no I can't] even enjoy my dinner if I know you need
 3          your t:: we can come [back] and carry on our [dinner]
 4   E:                          [m:: ]                          [no]
 5          (0.4)
 6   E:     yes a:: =
 7   F:     = yes shall we go and [then]
 8   E:                          [banan] ho hehe ((laughs)) =
 9   F:     = oh Ella I ↑can't enjoy it cause you I I ↑do like talking to
10          you but then you start laughing too much and I know you need
11          the toilet but can't be bothered go::ing so why don't we just
12          go and do a wee wee and come [back]
13   E:                                 [but] no::::: =
14   F:     = pardon ?
15          (0.5)
16   E:     but n::o =
17   F:     = why ?
18          (0.7)
19   F:     [why don't you want] to go to the toilet ?
20   E:     [°I don't want°] =
21   E:     = my:: don't need a wee wee::
22          (0.4)
23   F:     THAT'S [NOT TRU:E]
24   E:            [h::m haha]
25          (1.7)
26   F:     you know it's not true
27          (0.3)
28   E:     [it i:::::s]
29   F:     [and I know] it's not true
30          (0.2)
31   E:     I know it is
32          (0.8)
33   F:     no it's no↓::↑t
34          (0.5)
35   E:     °mmm hhmmm ee°
36          (0.7)
37
```

The escalating production of disagreement between us leads to my asking her a direct question at line 19 to which she provides an appropriate answer. At line 23, and in a marked and noticeably louder voice, I then assert that what she has said is not true and furthermore that she knows it is not true (line 26), and that I also know that it is not true (line 29), and in both instances put a slight stress on the word 'know'. Interestingly at this point (line 31) Ella then produces her assertion and claim that if fact it is true (that she does not need the toilet) doing so with a noticeable stress of 'I'. This is the first instance in the data-set where her own positioning and epistemic status regarding a state-of-affairs is something that she can state unequivocally. Knowing in this case has nothing to do with saying or naming or performing 'what it is to know' but rather a claim intimately tied with embodiment. Notwithstanding the somewhat obvious parent-child asymmetry evident in the episode, her assertion about knowing is treated as something 'not being the case' and shortly afterwards in the sequence Ella asserts she wishes to leave the table in order to go to the toilet. For related work on how K+ and K+ epistemic positions co-produce conflict situations please see Rendle-Short Chap. 19 this volume, and Bateman (2015).

By the time Ella is around 3.6 years we find an instance where she displays an interest in positioning herself as somebody who is not an infant or a toddler but instead somebody who is old enough to be able to 'click her fingers'. The extract begins at the end of a sequence of talk where a family friend (Louisa) is outlining something of the various life stages one goes through from birth to old age.

Extract 8: Context: Ella is sitting at the kitchen table with a family friend's younger daughter who is sitting in a high-chair.

Child Age: 3;6 [180 wks]: time in recording 04.13 (lines 214–246 in original file).

```
 1   L:              [and then] your a baby again ye::a somet[hing like
 2        that]
 3   F:           [ha [ha ha ha ha]]]
 4   E:              [and then] you are a baby again [x( ) that]?
 5   F:                                              [and] so it goes
 6        on =
 7   L:   = a a
 8   F:   = hhh
 9        (0.2)
10   L:   a bit like a baby cause you have not teeth <br br br br br>
11        (0.4)
12   L:   you have to wear false [teeth don't you] ?
13   E:                          [you] have a ↑TODDler fir::st ((points
```

```
14            at baby in high chair))
15            (1.1)
16    L:      yea
17            (1.9)
18    E:      I know how to click but I kinda click just click like this and
19            it doesn't make a ↑clicking noi:::se ((displays sad face))
20            (0.9)
21    L:      is it your nails that you click?
22            (0.9)
23    E:      ye::a
24            (0.3)
25    L:      yea ?
26            (0.5)
27    E:      °like at°
28            (0.5)
29    L:      'sat right?
30            (1.2)
31    L:      is that how the princess calls for the servants ?
32            (0.2)
33    L:      like this                       ((doing 'clicking' with fingers))
34            (2.3)                           ((Ella lifts up toy))
35    L:      [bring] me my [foo:::d]
36    F:      [we] [we were] talking about princesses yesterday Ella
37
```

At the beginning of the extract Louisa is addressing Ella (and her father who positioned away from the table they are sitting at) and in response to Ella's question at line 4 that one might become a baby again, asserts that when you are old you are 'a bit like a baby' because you don't have any teeth anymore. As she moves the topic on and talks about having to wear false teeth, Elle interrupts and while pointing at a younger child in a nearby high-chair, asserts that first of all one is (you have) a toddler (line 13) with a particular emphasis on the word toddler. As she finishes talking she brings both her hands together in front of her and appears to make a shape in the space in front of her (and between her and her addressee).

After a short pause, during which Louisa appears to agree with this statement (line 16), Ella then raises her hands again and makes the shape needed to put your fingers together to make a 'click' sound. Ella at this point then produces a relatively long turn-at-talk (line 18) where first she asserts that she 'knows how to click' but when she does so it is somewhat disappointing as no clicking sound is produced (line 19). It is a sophisticated and detailed utterance with first of all an assertion, and then as she is producing the phrase 'like this and it doesn't', she aligns her head with her arm as if in a 'self-soothing' way, and then at the end of the phrase 'clicking noi:::se', waves her hands in front of her.

This is the first instance in the data-corpus where Ella displays a reflexively accountable orientation to 'knowing as performing'. She first of all makes an assertion (I know how to click), then provides an account of the difficulties surrounding what might be an adequate display of 'knowing how to click' as far as other people are concerned. Her addressee then seeks to establish what exactly she

means by 'clicking' in this case (line 21), using her nails possibly rather than her fingers (a good example of the significance of action-semiosis through embodiment during talk-in-interaction—see Goodwin 2000). We then see (around line 30) a clarification request by Louisa who speaks while holding up and demonstrating the possible 'nail-clicking' that Ella might be doing (and not doing successfully). Ella does not answer, and at line 32 Louisa asks another question regarding clicking. Again Ella doesn't answer and instead (around line 34) simply picks up a toy on the table. I treat Ella's lack of a response to Louisa's attempts at eliciting an answer as problematic in some way, as I produce a comment extending the suggestion made by Louisa to Ella. In this sequence there are grounds for arguing that Ella now recognizes that making assertions about knowing something (particularly where this 'knowledge' might be an index of your age or ability) carries with it criteria for being able to perform what that knowledge might be when asked.

Monitoring the ongoing talk of other people is evident in Ella's talk by the 2 year (see Forrester and Reason 2006) and in the following extract where Ella's use of 'know' is oriented to something she appears to remember and relevant to the ongoing conversation. At the beginning of this extract (Extract 9 below), Ella's mother Silvia is asking me about a recent visit Ella and I had made to our local town. During the earlier part of the talk (lines 1–9) as I am explaining where I parked the car, Ella interjects into the conversation (she is painting while sitting at the table at this point) at line 11, where she extends the narrative development of my account to Silvia telling her that we went into the library to 'get some new ones' (in transpires that this refers to videos).

Extract 9: Context: Ella's mother and father are in the kitchen discussing their daily activities and Ella is sitting alongside the father doing some painting.

Child Age: 3;10 [198wks]: time in recording 04.15 (lines 227–255 in original file).

```
 1   M:    did you have to pa::rk when you go to the library then ?
 2         (0.7)
 3   F:    ye:::a
 4         (0.3)
 5   F:    hu but I just parked round in somebodys:::
 6         (0.4)
 7   F:    >I just took a chance<
 8         (0.5)
 9   F:    parked an
10         (0.5)
11   E:    and then we going in the library [and get] some news'd one::s
12   F:                                      [no xxx]
```

```
13              (0.4)
14      F:      a::w [I know] we did didn't we ?
15      M:           [mm:: ]
16              (0.4)
17      E:      yea
18              (0.9)
19      F:      although:: what videos did we get ?
20              (1.8)
21      E:      >I know< rug rats an >°cinderella°<]
22              (0.3)
23      F:      oh yea rug rats [an xxxxxxxxx]
24      M:                      [sleeping beauty] I think it is
25              actually Ella? =
26      E:      = sleeping beauty
27              (0.4)
28      F:      oh yea so it is °that's right° ? =
29      M:      = for the cinderella one was the one that was wonky
```

The anaphoric use of 'news'd ones' (line 11) is potentially problematic as there has been up to this point no discussion of videos, and Ella's use does not take into account the fact that her mother is not to know what 'ones' refers to. Some orientation to the potential reference issue in the conversation seems to be evident in my design of my question to Ella at line 19 where I ask her specifically 'what videos' (not 'what one's') did we get?

At line 21 we then find once again the use of 'know' and her assertion that she remembers the videos we obtained (I know what they were = I remember what we collected). I agree to this assertion, but while doing so Silvia corrects Ella on what she has remembered. Knowing as remembering is, in this instance, an activity or social practice open to public scrutiny and accountability.

Concluding Comments

Over a relatively short period (1–2 years) it has been possible to trace out the manner in which Ella's use of these words in the particular sequential positioning they occur, and gradually bringing into place an increased co-orientation to what is presupposed by such use, and especially the requirement to recognize the reflexively accountable particulars of such employment. Initially, the correct use of 'know' and 'don't know' appears to be linked to practices of either avoidance (extract 1—moving away from the parent-child conflict over milk) or disagreement (extract 2—and the name of a dog). It was then possible to highlight something of a mutual co-orientation to the 'knowing as saying' and 'not knowing' associated somehow with Ella's discursive self-positioning as 'one who doesn't know' evident in talking nonsense (the performance of recognisibly 'unrecognisble' words and phrases (extract 3). Knowing, saying and the significance of being able to 'name' was also evident in extract 4 (her toy that couldn't name cards).

The question of accountability surrounding the use of these phrases then becomes particularly evident by age 3.5 where Ella is required to provide

something of an explanation for using a word that nobody else understands, based it seems on the requirement that if she has used this (unknown) word, then she must 'know' what the meaning is, and thus provide said meaning when asked (extract 10). That example appeared particularly striking as it would seem she was being provided with something of a tutorial on 'what it is to produce a defensible account' when necessary. Being accountable for making a claim or suggestion regarding your epistemic status is certainly evident in extract 7, where Ella has acquired the skills and resources to maintain her position regarding her unique claim to knowing.

In the latter two extracts we find good examples of 'knowing as doing', in the first case (extract 8) where Ella both makes an explicit claim to know how to do something yet at the same time displaying disappointment at not being able to successfully perform such knowledge (clicking her fingers). The concluding extract (extract 9) provides us with one of the more familiar instance where a parental first-assessment (mine) orienting to the status of Ella's knowledge, is immediately superseded by an alternative assessment (her mother's) indicating that her knowledge is misplaced. Such an example highlights the precarious and constantly shifting nature of the distribution of rights and obligations permeating talk-in-interaction. Hopefully through this brief examination of the fine-detail of the circumstances where one child begins to display an orientation towards epistemic discursive practices some additional understanding has been gained regarding the 'territories of knowledge'—suffusing adult-child interaction during the early years.

By way of conclusion, in developmental psychology the earlier studies of children's understanding of the words/phrases 'know' and 'don't know' (Harris 1975; Booth and Hall 1995) have become supplanted by numerous and increasingly sophisticated experimental studies of 'knowing' and 'common ground' (Moll et al. 2007; Liebal et al. 2013). While revealing interesting aspects of, and insights into, early cognitive development, it remains the case that without understanding what it means to exhibit knowledge as a social practice in situ, then such theories remain somewhat constrained. To paraphrase Lerner et al. (2011) whatever cognitive capacities are found to underwrite the interaction order, the specification of the elements of talk-in-interaction that bear on any and all ascriptions of intentionality, requires a close and systematic analysis of naturally occurring interaction addressed to the contingencies of everyday life and the social-sequential structures that enable human interaction. An ethnomethodologically informed CA based single-case study can contribute to such forms of analysis as indicated above.

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Chapter 15
The Emergence of Story-Telling

Anna Filipi

Introduction

Story-telling or narrative is a deeply human (Bruner 1986) and universal activity through which identities are established as people make sense of their everyday lives and locate themselves in the world (Cortazzi 2001; Stokoe and Edwards 2006). It has been studied within a range of research paradigms including sociology, psychology, education, linguistics and conversation analysis. From the perspective of language development, story-telling starts to appear once a threshold of language has been reached and children are producing utterances beyond two words in length (Labov and Waletzky 1967), reported to be usually at the age of 2;6 (Miller and Sperry 1988).

The ability to tell stories marks a developmental milestone because story-telling relies on the use of language to talk about events removed from the here-and-now (Reese 1995). Within education and learning, the ability to narrate well and to talk about decontextualized events is an important precursor to literacy (Carmiol and Sparks 2014; Tabors et al. 2001). In addition to the linguistic skills needed for control over temporal, topic and structural features of the story, interactional and social skills are needed to manage a multi-unit or extended turn, to judge when it is appropriate to launch a story, to be able to recipiently[1] design a story by taking into account what a co-participant might already know about the events to be described, and to know what actions are appropriate as a listener. It is therefore important to trace and describe the

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[1]The establishment of recipiency is an important and ongoing issue for development throughout the second year of life. Filipi (2015) provides a study of the same parent and bilingual child interaction that shows how the child establishes recipiency through the appropriate use of language to address the speaker.

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emergence of story-telling because of its importance to sociality and to the development of cognition, and for its later links to literacy (for more on story-telling in the early years see Bateman and Carr, Chap. 6 this volume).

Developmental Milestones in Place for Story-Telling to Emerge

According to Ninio and Snow (1996), skills in telling stories rely on the child's ability to produce an extended or multi-unit turn. This ability requires participating in interactions that demonstrate a rich sequence organisation which is in place from the age of 18 months (Filipi 2009). Successful story-telling also requires understanding that speakers do not all share the same perspective and/or information about a topic.

Being able produce a multi-unit turn is a problem that speakers need to solve (Sacks 1992) because of the tacit rules that govern speaker change (Sacks et al. 1978); that is that speaker change can occur after one turn (Sacks et al. 1978). The speaker has a number of resources available to her to maintain the floor beyond a single turn in ways that are affiliative and socially acceptable. Some of these are in the process of being developed throughout the child's second year of life. Indeed, research on turn-taking in interactions with the very young has shown that between the ages of 12 and 18 months, parents use specific interactional resources including extended pauses, question chains and withholding and pursuit that are designed to assist children to produce turns (Filipi 2009, 2013, 2014a). Initially, (from 12 to 14 months) the child responds through gesture, gaze engagement and/or vocalisation. By 15–18 months, children are responding verbally and start to display a range of skills that allows them to manage their participation in interaction. A developmental map of these social interaction skills from 12 to 24 months (Filipi 2009, 2015) includes the ability to

- produce summonses and responses which establish (and re-establish) recipiency;
- produce questions and answers, and a range of paired utterances such as greeting and return greeting;
- appropriately open and close sequences of talk;
- initiate and repair misunderstanding or mishearing and pursue responses;
- recycle turn beginnings;
- monitor the behaviour of others in order to judge when to take a turn;
- begin to design turns for particular addressees;
- begin to produce a turn with minimal overlap and gap.

With respect to the second of the skills identified by Ninio and Snow (1996)—understanding a co-speaker's knowledge state—recent work in epistemics by Heritage (2012, 2013) has made a considerable contribution to how such understandings dynamically emerge and shift through interaction. From this perspective epistemics is understood as involving epistemic status (or "what is known, how it is known, and persons' rights and responsibilities to know it …" Heritage 2012, pp. 5–6), and epistemic stance (the moment-by-moment unfolding of domains of knowledge, Heritage 2012), and how they shift as speakers interact with each other).

The development of the child's capacity to 'know' and to understand and assume what other speakers 'know' begins from the age of 12 months (Filipi 2009; Jones and Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007; Liszkowski et al. 2006; Liszkowski 2013) and is well in place by the age of two as children develop the capacity to answer questions (Forrester 2015). This has its beginnings in non-verbal actions. It starts through the action of eliciting and establishing joint attention through gaze engagement (Filipi 2009; Kidwell 2005; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007) and pointing (Jones and Zimmerman 2003; Filipi 2009, Liszkowski et al. 2007, 2008); in choosing an addressee or recipient (Filipi 2009) which requires being able to monitor the actions of co-participating speakers (Kidwell 2005); and through early repair aimed at displaying the inadequacy of a co-participant's action, her failure to engage, and/or her failure to understand (Filipi 2009; Forrester 2008; Wootton 1994, 2007; Gardner and Forrester 2010). Each of these skills develop further throughout the second year of life as the child increasingly creates her turns verbally.

Wootton (1997) maintains that the child's participation in conversation (through the ways in which she manages local sequences of action and acts on the basis of understandings contained therein) offers an insight into the child's mental processing. This includes her short-term memory capacity, her ability to track connections with earlier talk, her reasoning skills, and her knowledge of other people's minds as displayed through their own actions in the interaction as she works out how to accord her behaviour with that of others.

Early Story-Telling

Typically, by the age of two, a foundation in language, interaction and sociality is in place for the complexity of skills required for successful story-telling to begin. The extensive research in the child development literature is by and large focused on the interactional style of the parent or co-participating adult. Peterson and Jesso (2008) provide a useful summary of the features that contribute to the story-telling abilities of children. These include creating opportunities for reminiscing and talking to

children about past events and experiences, helping children to elaborate through open-ended questions, being responsive when children initiate, offering evaluative comments, assisting children to structure their story-telling and generally eliciting contextualizing information. However, the emphasis in this research is very much focused on the actions of the adult *or* the child rather than story-telling as the interactional achievement of both adult *and* child, the driver of studies in conversation analysis.

As yet only a handful of studies (for example, Bateman and Danby 2013; Bateman et al. 2013; Theobald 2016) has started to explore the practice from the perspective of interaction. In studies of pre-schoolers aged two to four interacting with their teachers, Bateman and Danby (2013) and Bateman et al. (2013) show how first stories are initiated and touch off "second" stories (Sacks 1992) so that children can locate themselves within the recent past event of an earthquake. In co-constructing the stories, the teachers and children are able to accomplish and display an understanding of mutual accounts of events that have occurred. Theobold's (2016) investigation focuses on children in the preparatory year interacting with each other in the school playground, and the interactional skills they display in managing turns and the tellability of their own (second) stories. In interactions with very young children before the age of two, Filipi (2014c) uses a framework extrapolated from the findings of adult story-telling in conversation analysis (e.g. Arminen 2004; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008; Mandelbaum 2013; Sacks 1992; Sidnell 2011; Stokoe and Edwards 2006) to account for the success or lack of success of two stories in the interactions of a child aged 23 months interacting with her mother. The framework includes the following features of story-telling: they accomplish various actions such as informing, pursuing intimacy and complaining; they prompt second stories which display the listener's understanding of the first; they are recipiently designed; they are achieved collaboratively; and they present a solution to the problem of how to produce a multi-unit turn (Arminen 2004; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008; Sacks 1992; Sidnell 2011; Stokoe and Edwards 2006). Filipi (2014c) reported that stories can be initiated by either a child or adult action. They can be 'activity triggered' as the result of an activity that is underway such as a story-book reading, or they can be 'recipient triggered' by the presence of a third person who has not been privy to the events to be recounted.

The current study is centred on a triadic interaction with a child aged two days shy of her second birthday. The focus is on the story as a co-produced series of actions. In taking this focus, the study aims to show how the child starts to "become" a participant in shared story-telling, and is oriented to as someone who has a genuine story to tell and information to share. In this sense the analytic interest is also on the shifting states of knowledge of the three participants as the story is told and built collaboratively.

Method

The story to be analysed in this study is 'event triggered'. It is touched off by an event at child-care. The three participants are the father who has just returned home from work, the child's brother, Alex, aged seven, and the young child, Cassie, aged 23;29. At the time of data collection, the child attended childcare twice a week. The birthday occasion under analysis, occurred on one of her childcare days, which was two days before her second birthday. Co-incidentally, another child had celebrated his birthday on the day on which the analysed interaction took place, which accounts for the salience of the topic of birthday. All three participants are sitting together on the floor of the child's bedroom just before dinner.

The extract to be analysed is an extended sequence (Psathas 1992), also referred to as a single case analysis (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008; Sacks 1992; Whalen et al. 1988). It makes visible the orderly features of one single sequence of talk. This approach is particularly important in analysing interactions with the very young if the analyst is interested in showing what the child understands, how she makes this evident, and what conclusions can be garnered about her social skills and cognition.

Transcripts

The transcription notations that are used are those well established in CA (Jefferson 1984; Gardner 2001; Schegloff 2007). In addition, the curly bracket { (from Filipi 2009) is used to denote the onset of a non-verbal action in much the same way as the straight bracket [is used to indicate onsets of overlapped verbal talk. Cassie's age is expressed in months and days—23;29. This information appears in the header of the transcript. The father, brother (Alex) and child (Cassie) are designated as F, B and C in the transcripts.

Analysis and Discussion

The sequence to be analysed is presented in its entirety first. It will then be analysed in sections that provide a specific analytical focus based on the stages of the story-telling.

```
Cassie (23;29) ((Father, Alex and Cassie are sitting on the floor
of Cassie's bedroom.))
1 F:      {Now listen,(0.6){<what did you do today.>
2         {((taps her.))  {((Moves close to Cassie and then back.))
3 C:      the bibi.
4 F:      YEAH?
5 C:      YE:::S!
6 F:      well:: what did you do at the bimbi,
7 C:      (       bibi ){happy birthday (to    )cake and
8         the pizza and the:[::
9                         {((looks away from F, gestures.)
10B:                      [huh huh
11C:      {yeah bibi. ((children))
12        {({looks at F.))
13F:      you had pizza?
14C:      yeah pizza.
15F:      and you had cake?
16C:      cake.
17F:      whose birthday cake?
18C:      happy birthday {there's a (bu) {(             )
19                      {((gestures and blows.))
20                                      {((looks down.))
21F:      oh:::. who blew the candle?
22C:      the candle (blew).
23F:      was it a boy or a girl that blew the candle?
24        (0.8)
25C:      gir::l. um (that's     )
28B:      °°cassie.°°
29C:      {cassie!
30        {((looks at B, at F and indicates herself.))
31B:      ((looks at F.))
32F:      {no, no it wasn't cassie today was it?
33        {((shakes his head.))
34C:      {((looks briefly at B and then back at F.))
35         (0.6)
36F:      tomorrow cassie blows the candle.
37         (0.4)
38C:      ca::ndle.
39F:      ye::s.
40         (1.0)
41B:      you mean the day after tomorrow.
42         (0.3)
43F:      °no tomorrow is when cassie goes to er crèche.°
44B:      °oh yeah.°
45F:      don't you cass?
46C:      {crèche.
47        {((changes position facing B and camera.))
48F:      wanna go to crèche tomorrow?
49C:      yeah,
50F:      and blow the candle?
51C:      {candle.
52        {((looks at F.))
```

```
53F:    and what will they sing when they blow the
54      candle (    )?
55C:    (they sing) happy birthday (     ) happy
56      birthday to mummy.
57F:    and then when you finish blowing the candle,
58        (0.2)
59C:    candle,
60F:    wh- what do you do then?
61C:    ah::: {(              !)
62           {((gestures with both hands raised.))
63F:    what?
64C:    (           )
65F:    with the cake? what do you do with the cake,
66C:    ((sings)) happy birthday to you. happy [birthday
67B:                                          [eat it.
68C:    ((continues singing.)){((gesturing.))
69F:                          {°eat it.°
70C:    eating  (              [        ])
71B:                           [huh  [huh
72F:                                 [{°please](      °)
73                                  {((directed at B.)
74C:    RICH:::! {(wish               )
75      ((B leaves the space.))
76F:          {((nodding.))
77C:    ((points to her stuffed toys.))
78           (0.8)
79F:    so you eat cake,
80C:    i eat de cake.
81F:    so did you eat some cake today,
82C:    yes::.
83F:    what sort of cake was it?
84C:    um er:: cake.
85F:    °mm hm,°
86C:    cake.
87F:    [(           )
88B:    [choc?
89       (0.3)
90C:    cokets.
91F:    chocolate cake,
92         (0.3)
93C:    cho[ket cake.
94B:       [vanilla, raspberry
95C:    rapsberry. (                 ).
96F:    ((to B)) you can't give her multiple choice
97      questions she'll just repeat whatever you say.
((C stands up and hits B behind the camera. The activity ends.))
```

The first section is about the important work of establishing recipiency to initiate the story.[2]

```
1 F:      {Now listen,(0.6){<what did you do today.>
2         {((taps her.)){((Moves close to Cassie and then back.))
3 C:      the bibi.
4 F:      YEAH?
5 C:      YE:::S!
6 F:      well:: what did you do at the bimbi,
```

The sequence opens with the summons eliciting *now listen* followed by a pause; both are actions launched to establish recipiency. *Now listen* also indexes that the father has something further to say which requires Cassie's full attention. He is projecting a further increment to his turn. We note that his summons and the first question are both directed at Cassie as indicated by his non-verbal actions of tapping her and moving close to her face (characterised by Filipi 2009, 2013, as indicating a pursuit of a response in interactions with the very young). These actions all set up the conditions for establishing recipiency, which are likely to secure a successful response in order to progress the talk. In this way the need for repair is minimised or avoided (Filipi 2014b). We note that the first question is one that seeks to establish the event (an important component of a story). This question functions in two ways. Firstly, it provides for the exchange of news about the events of the day on returning home which is a socially relevant action. It thus provides a reason for the story and marks or projects its tellability. Secondly, it creates a solution to the problem of how to start a story (Sacks 1992).

Cassie responds immediately to the question through her Italian *bibi*, her word for *child-care*.[2] The father then initiates repair through a request for confirmation which has been found to be a distinctive and recurring feature of early child and parent interaction (Filipi 2009). Schegloff (2007) characterises the request as the most specific of other-initiations of repair. It both confirms the next speaker's understanding of a response and makes relevant a self-repair by the speaker in case this was not the intended meaning (Jefferson 1980). So it can be launched as a vehicle to achieve other actions (Levinson 2013).

As a bilingual speaker, Cassie is at the stage of mixing Italian, which she speaks to her mother, and English, which she speaks to her father. (See Filipi 2015, for details about the bilingual practices of this family at this age.) In this sequence, the request can be construed as providing Cassie with an opportunity to produce the English *crèche* (which we note she does produce later in line 46 in a confirming turn) rather than the Italian *bibi*. Alternatively, it could be working to elicit a more

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[2]Cassie is a bilingual Italian/English speaker. *Bibi* comes from the Italian *bimbi–children*, her word for *child-care* as well. She is at the stage of mixing Italian, which she speaks to her mother and English which she speaks to her father.

accurate pronunciation as Tarplee's (2010) analyses of this type of action show. In any case, Cassie produces a confirming *YES!* in line 5. Her father accepts this through the more correct *bimbi* (thereby providing possible evidence that his confirmation request was deployed for the latter purpose). Interestingly, the turn initial and prosodically stretched *well::* in this third turn position[3] provides some evidence that it is not a complete and unproblematic acceptance of Cassie's response. This is in line with characterisations of turn initial *well* as indicating a dispreferred (Pomerantz 1984) and unstraightforward action (Schegloff and Lerner 2009). Here it seems to be indexing that although the father's initial question has received an answer it is not the answer he was after, consonant with Heritage's (2015) formulation of this *well* as indicating a "less-than-adequate" response. Nonetheless, despite some initial trouble, recipiency and the beginnings of the story about the day's events have been successfully initiated.

```
 6 F:    well:: what did you do at the bimbi,
 7 C:    (        bibi ){happy birthday (to    )cake and
 8        the pizza and the:[::
 9                          {((looks away from F, gestures.)
10B:                        [huh huh
11C:    {yeah bibi.((children))
12      {(({looks at F.))
13F:    you had pizza?
14C:    yeah pizza.
15F:    and you had cake?
16C:    cake.
```

In the next section, the story gets underway with Cassie responding to her father's question through a three-part list (Jefferson 1990)—*happy birthday cake, pizza*—and an incomplete third item (*the:: … yeah bibi*) which Lerner (1994) refers to as "a generalized list completer". The three part list indicates that a turn is complete; indeed as speakers we orient to this action as an indicator that the other speaker can take a turn at the end of this list. Here we can see that even though Alex laughs at the suspended and incomplete *the:::* both he and the father are refraining from taking the floor by giving Cassie an opportunity to complete this third item. Cassie leaves the third item hanging but is able to adeptly close the turn with *yeah bibi* and looks at her father—a non-verbal action that returns the floor to him (Filipi 2009; Goodwin 1981). The father then responds with two confirmation requests. These are produced without any markers of dysfluency, and furthermore there are no gaps suggesting that unlike the earlier confirmation request in line 4, these are both deployed to invite enhancement of the story-telling. They are both items that define a birthday celebration therefore are the key words related to the topic and crucial to the story.

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[3]See Kim (2013) for analyses of *well* in this position.

```
17F:    whose birthday cake?
18C:    happy birthday {there's a (bu) {(            )
19                     {((gestures and blows.))
20                                    {((looks down.))
21F:    oh::::. who blew the candle?
22C:    the candle (blew).
23F:    was it a boy or a girl that blew the candle?
24       (0.8)
25C:    gir::l. um (that's     )
28B:    °°cassie.°°
29C:    {cassie!
30      {((looks at B, at F and indicates herself.))
31B:    ((looks at F.))
32F:    {no, no it wasn't cassie today was it?
33      {((shakes his head.))
34C:    {((looks briefly at B and then back at F.))
35       (0.6)
36F:    tomorrow cassie blows the candle.
37       (0.4)
38C:    ca::ndle.
39F:    ye::s.
40       (1.0)
41B:    you mean the day after tomorrow.
42       (0.3)
43F:    °no tomorrow is when cassie goes to er crèche.°
44B:    °oh yeah.°
45F:    don't you cass?
46C:    {crèche.
47      {((changes position facing B and camera.))
48F:    wanna go to crèche tomorrow?
49C:    yeah,
50F:    and blow the candle?
51C:    {candle.
52      {((looks at F.))
```

    In this next section, the father extends the story through a second wh- question, also an essential part of a story that establishes who the story is about—in this case whose birthday it was. Cassie however, continues to describe the event using both verbal (*happy birthday there's a bu*) and non-verbal resources (the action of blowing*).* The father picks up on her offering by reformulating his question. In this way he is both able to affirm her turn and pursue an answer to his initial wh-question. Cassie replies immediately with a repeat—*the candle blew*. This is responded to as inadequate (Filipi 2009, 2013) by the father who launches a pursuit by again reformulating his question through an 'or question' (*was it a boy or a girl*) an action that narrows the choice to two. The 'or question' is an accommodation device (Ross 1992) commonly used to facilitate speakers' comprehension so that a more appropriate answer can be given. A long gap ensues indicating that Cassie is given time to answer. She does so by selecting *girl*, an action that indicates that she has understood the intent in the father's previous turn, and then extends her turn even though it is not clear. At this point Alex comes in with *cassie*. It is whispered and is addressed to Cassie so that she can give a name to the 'girl'. She immediately repeats and through her gestures indicates herself. Her father then initiates a

correction (*it wasn't cassie today*) which is verbally addressed to Alex because it refers to Cassie in the third person but visually addressed to Cassie with an accompanying head shake. The use of a turn design that exploits both verbal and non-verbal resources displays very nicely the importance of gesture and non verbal resources to interactional work. Here we can see how the two resources achieve an economy of action in addressing both children in ways that maximise recipient understanding. Both children need to be addressed because they both made the error —Alex through his naming and Cassie through her repeat of it.

The father's contrasting *tomorrow* in his next expanded turn leaves no doubt as to his perception that the day is the trouble source. However, this clarification leads to another misunderstanding prompting Alex to initiate repair in line 41 (*you mean the day after tomorrow*) after a long gap and the closure of the expanded correction sequence. Mutual understanding is then reached when the father addresses the problem: tomorrow is the day that Cassie goes to crèche, but the day after is her actual birthday. The interesting feature of this insert sequence (Schegloff 2007) is that the father's correction and Alex's subsequent "penny drop" moment (*oh yeah*) is uttered more softly with respect to the surrounding talk—a feature that marks it as disjunctive or separate from the main story and the main addressee. The father is thus able to return the floor to Cassie through his tag-question designed to receive a confirming response, which it does thereby establishing a shared epistemic stance (Heritage 2012). This also restores the main topic of Cassie's birthday.

```
53F:     and what will they sing when they blow the
54       candle (   )?
55C:     (they sing) happy birthday (    ) happy
56       birthday to (mummy).
57F:     and then when you finish blowing the candle,
58        (0.2)
59C:     candle,
60F:     wh- what do you do then?
61C:     ah::: {(            !)
62          {((gestures with both hands raised.))
63F:     what?
64C:     (          )
65F:     with the cake? what do you do with the cake,
66C:     ((sings)) happy birthday to you. happy [birthday
67B:                                            [eat it.
68C:     ((continues singing.)){((gesturing.))
69F:                           {°eat it.°
70C:     eating  (            [      ])
71B:                          [huh  [huh
72F:                                [{°please]( °)
73                                {((directed at B.)
74C:     RICH:::! {(wish              )
75       ((B leaves the space.))
76F:             {((nodding.))
77C:     ((points to her stuffed toys.))
78          (0.8)
79F:     so you eat cake,
80C:     i eat de cake.
```

In this next section the interaction turns to birthdays in general and how they get done. The father uses both the future tense (*what will they sing*) and the present tense with time clauses (*when you finish*) to build a procedural text for describing the events in a birthday celebration: the singing of the birthday song, the blowing of the candle and the eating of the cake—all important elements in a birthday celebration. Designing his turns in this way has two effects. Firstly, Cassie's specific birthday event is linked to a celebration commonly experienced by the larger culture. Secondly, the father expects Cassie *to know* and to show (through her supported answers) how this celebration gets done as evidenced by his initiation of repair and pursuit of the "correct" answer (*eat it*) when the information is not forthcoming (line 65). Thus we have evidence of epistemic work here: the father's questions draw on eliciting information that he perceives to be within Cassie's domain of knowledge (Stivers and Rossano 2010) both in terms of content and linguistically. This information emerges turn by turn through the father's actions and the epistemic stances he takes—his questions and his repair initiation—which lead to a successfully shared and equal epistemic status (Heritage 2012) in lines 79 and 80. In other words, through these actions, how birthdays get done and how this is expressed verbally becomes established as a shared domain of knowledge between father and child.

```
79F:     so you eat cake,
80C:     i eat de cake.
81F:     so did you eat some cake today,
82C:     yes::.
83F:     what sort of cake was it?
84C:     um er:: (0.2)cake.
85F:     °mm hm,°
86C:     cake.
87F:     [(          )
88B:     [choc?
89         (0.3)
90C:     cokets.
91F:     chocolate cake,
92         (0.3)
93C:     cho[ket cake.
94B:        [vanilla, raspberry
95C:     rapsberry. (                   ).
96F:     ((to B)) you can't give her multiple choice
97       questions she'll just repeat whatever you say.
((C stands up and hits B behind the camera.The activity ends.))
```

In the final segment the talk returns to the original story—the birthday celebrated on this day by focusing on the eating of the cake. While the initial polar question and answer (lines 81 and 82) are dealt with successfully, it is the request for information about the cake in line 83 that causes problems. In building her turn with *um,* and the stretched *er* before repeating *cake,* there is evidence of some kind of trouble consonant with Schegloff's (2010) findings for *um* as being implicated in repair operations, including searches. In structuring her turn in this way instead of simply answering *cake* immediately, Cassie knows that she is expected to provide a

particular answer—the type of cake. However, there appears to be some trouble with production indicating a lack of linguistic resources. This becomes evident when Alex, orienting to her lack of vocabulary proffers a possible candidate (line 88)—*choc?*—which Cassie takes up in line 90—*cokets*. However, from what transpires in lines 94 to 97, it is also evident that chocolate is not necessarily correct and that Cassie is not able to answer the question about the type of cake she had. This exposes an epistemic vacuum but whether it is on linguistic grounds or content grounds is not clear.

General Discussion and Conclusions

The analysis of this single sequence provides an example of how story-telling practices begin through the deeply social action of sharing the news of the day's activities, which itself provides an opportunity for people to make sense of their daily lives and locate themselves in the world (Cortazzi 2001; Stokoe and Edwards 2006). In so doing the analysis has sought to expose the linguistic and interactional intricacies of early story-telling as three members of a family orient to the tellability of the birthday as an event.

The event in question has been shown to have three components which make it relevant to the participants in different ways thereby making it tellable. Each is also removed in time relying on the use of language to talk about events removed from the here-and-now (Reese 1995) that requires different linguistic resources. The first component which touches off the story-telling (making it newsworthy and shareable as a piece of news of the day) is the birthday party which Cassie has participated in on the day in question. Linguistically, this involves describing past events, and exposes Cassie to the past tense *what did you do*. The second component is Cassie's upcoming birthday; this is an important family event in which each of the three family members will participate in in subsequent days. Linguistically, the event is described in the future tense *what will they sing*. The third component is the birthday event as a cultural practice generating a shared understanding of what birthday celebrations entail. Here too there is a linguistic shift to the use of the present tense to generate a quasi-procedural text *what do you do*. Each of these components is interwoven in the telling. They involve the child in extrapolating from the particular and local events (today's birthday party and Cassie's imminent party) to the more general "birthday" as a cultural event, and what members of a culture expect from such an event.

There are genuine gaps in the participants' understanding of the different components of the event under discussion. Neither the father nor the brother knows the specific details about the birthday party celebrated at the crèche and experienced by Cassie even though they know what is likely to have taken place. Their knowledge is used to assist Cassie in creating the story and in displaying her knowledge and experience of the particular event. This work is organised and achieved through

questions and answers that go to the heart of what happened/s/will happen, who was/is/will be involved and how it will/did/does take place.

There are also very evident gaps that emerge in Cassie's knowledge; for example, through her bother, Alex's modelled answers to the father's questions in the face of non-response or in a bid to collaborate with her in responding to the questions—a practice which the father discourages. However, her willingness to repeat what her brother proffers does expose both what she knows (that she needs to supply an answer and understand the project of the question (Filipi forthcoming; Forrester 2015), and that she accepts that her brother is more expert than she is), as well as what she does not know (the precise answer to the father's question exposing a gap in her vocabulary or indeed precise understanding of the question). This raises an important issue about the connection between linguistic competence and epistemics, and what linguistic resources the child has to show what she knows. Further research is needed on how the absence of vocabulary or other linguistic (verbal) knowledge can stand in the way of understanding what it means for a child to know (for further discussion on this see Forrester, Chap. 14 this volume). There is no doubt, however, that in the sequence analysed there is very important work taking place through the interaction that shows what each participant expects Cassie to know and how she in turn manages these expectations as she participates in answering the questions. Equally there is no doubt that in the end a coherent story has been told.

Concluding Remarks

It is evident that when the analytic focus shifts to story-telling as a social practice where speakers contribute to and collaborate in its telling, early stories start to emerge earlier than the reported 2;6 in the developmental research. As well, in looking for connections between early story-telling and literacy, and for precursors to literacy (Carmiol and Sparks 2014), it is important that the focus shift to *interactional* practices rather than merely highlighting the interactional style of the parent (Peterson and Jesso 2008). As the analysis in this chapter has sought to show, story-telling is an interactional achievement, and narrative structure which is important to subsequent literacy, begins in the shared, collaborative practices of story-telling.

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Chapter 16
"What Does It Say About It?": Doing Reading and Doing Writing as Part of Family Mealtime

Gillian Busch

Introduction

How children acquire knowledge about and use written language has been examined in a range of disciplines or fields. While formal education settings provide instruction for children to develop literacy, support occurs during everyday activities in the family home. This chapter examines a number of extended sequences of talk during one breakfast of an Australian family comprising the mother and the father and their five children. The interactions were video recorded and then transcribed using conversation analysis conventions. This chapter focuses on how the family members deploy interactional resources to support access to the text of a bookclub brochure, assess the appropriateness of the books for individual family members, and fill in the forms to order books. Analysis shows how the multiparty context and the incipient agenda of purchasing a book from the bookclub brochure are consequential for when and how literacy events are accomplished. Second, analysis shows how the provision of assistance with literacy practices is accomplished interactionally. Also identified in the analysis is the way in which literacy events happen 'on the hop' with a shifting in and out of other activities. The chapter contributes understandings about how family members accomplish reading and writing interactionally during an ordinary everyday family occasion, having breakfast.

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Literacy Learning in Family Practices

Literacy, conceptualised as a social and cultural practice (Lankshear and Knobel 2011), remains one of the cornerstones of schooling within the Australian context and, as such, is privileged in both compulsory and non-compulsory educational contexts. Within the context of privileging literacy, practices within family homes that promote literacy understandings are encouraged, with positive early literacy experiences at home seen as contributing to successful literacy learning in formal educational contexts. Research examining literacy in family contexts highlights the "richness of literacy in out-of-school contexts" (Marsh et al. 2015, p. 2) showing that for many children their environments are literacy rich and that with support from family members, children learn "skills, knowledge and understanding in relation to literacy" (Marsh et al. 2015, p. 2).

While recognising that many children's out-of-school experiences with literacy are rich, there have been efforts to enhance children's literacy learning particularly in "areas with low average education levels" (Hill and Diamond 2013, p. 48). Such efforts have resulted in the implementation of a range of family literacy programs. For example, within the Australian context, programs include Let's Read and Read4Life. Such programs often focus on shared book reading and the interactions occasioned during the sharing reading (Hill and Diamond 2013). While evaluations of programs such as Read4Life (Harreveld 2014) identify that families and children benefit, there remains limited examination of how literacy practices occur in family settings.

Frequently, home literacy practices, that is, what and how people do literacy (Barton and Hamilton 1998) include practices such as reading books to children, reading food labels and other "incidental, contextual and in the moment" practices (Anderson and Anderson 2014, p. 2). Incidental practices might include adults and children playing with rhyme while engaged in games or reading signs at the supermarket. There has been increasing awareness of "new forms of literacy practice" (Spencer et al. 2013, p. 134) occurring in out of school contexts. Pahl (2002) reported on a range of practices in family homes where children use household materials (scraps of paper) to make objects and represent meaning. Literacy practices in family homes also encompass the use of digital texts. Davidson (2009) showed how in the home setting children (with their father) moved seamlessly between traditional texts (books) and computer texts. Social interaction and talk that included the family members' "formulations of what they were doing, took to be going on, or proposed to do" (p. 49) were central to practices reported by Davidson (see also Scriven, this collection). While new forms of literacy practice may not be recognised or endorsed in curriculum and school pedagogy (Spencer et al. 2013, p. 135), the interactions detailed by Davidson (2009) show how new forms of literacy practices are taken up in family interactions revealing how everyday literacy practice are accomplished in situ within a family setting.

Family practices adopted to support literacy learning may vary across socio-cultural contexts. In enacting family literacy practices, practices "intersect with, and are influenced by, community literacy practices" (Anderson et al. 2010, p. 36). For example, in a study of a Puerican family living in America, bible reading was both a religious event and a reading lesson where the parent asked the child to use her finger to follow the text (Volk and de Acosta 2001). Learning occurs within a social context where others interact with children in ways that extend children's current knowledge, underscoring the social nature of learning (Vygotsky 1978). While family literacy practices are typically understood as intergenerational, that is, involving an adult and child or grandparent and child (Gregory et al. 2007), siblings also support literacy learning (Gregory 2001). Gregory (2001) identified a "synergy" in the child-child interactions, that is, as an older child teaches their younger siblings they "develop their own learning" (p. 309).

While there is a growing body of research on family literacy practices, there is limited research that adopts an ethnomethodological approach to show, in fine-grained detail, how family literacy practices are accomplished. Most ethnomethodological studies on literacy practices take place in classroom settings. From an ethnomethodological perspective, writing is viewed as "social action" (Heap 1989, p. 148) and as encompassing three dimensions. Writing is social because the writer writes for an audience, it is constrained by the rules in the context of where it occurs (e.g. classroom rules) and because the writer may orient to persons other than the audience during the writing process (Heap 1989), such as the teacher or peers. While Heap's (1989) explanation of writing as social action refers to a classroom setting, the dimensions to which he refers apply also in the social setting of a family home.

Ethnomethodological studies of reading describe reading as a "relational action" that meets "three cultural conditions" including that there is "(1) something to read, (2) for some purpose and, (3) under certain circumstances" (Heap 1991, p. 12). As with writing, reading is social (Freebody and Freiberg 2001). Extensive ethnomethodological examination of reading (see Heap 1990, 1991) highlights that what counts as reading is "embedded in other practical activities" and it is what the members believe to be "the case about what reading it is, what the skills of reading are, and how well any of the interactants performed" (Heap 1982, p. 20) that is important.

There is a small body of ethnomethodological research that examines literacy practices within family homes (Freiberg and Freebody 1995; Freebody and Freiberg 2001; Davidson 2011) and in educational settings (Freiberg and Freebody 1995; Freebody and Freiberg 2001; Melander and Sahlstrom 2009; Szymanski 2003). These studies examine the raw data of everyday literacy practices to discover "from within" (McHoul 1978) what is actually going on and how the goings on are accomplished moment-to-moment. A major Australian study examined the everyday literacy practices of children in homes and schools, focusing on interactions that took place during homework and informal home literacy events (Freebody and Freiberg 2001).

Important features of interactions during home literacy events have been identified by researchers (Freiberg and Freebody 1995; Freebody and Freiberg 2001). First, home settings differ from school settings because there are fewer children in home settings and the adults are in the role of parent not educator. Second, the literacy tasks within the home were "specific, bounded and achievable within a short time" (Freiberg and Freebody 1995, p. 334) and often broken up into smaller chunks. Third, there was an understanding of both the purpose of the task that was being undertaken and the outcomes. Fourth, answers, prompts and feedback were provided quickly and were explicit in that the child was not required to guess how to do the task. Fifth, "participatory rights for turn-taking were more diversely distributed" with children self selecting and the "turn taking system more closely paralleled natural conversation" (Freiberg and Freebody 1995, p. 334). Finally, the questions posed by the adults were more frequently "how and what" questions linked to the task at hand (Freiberg and Freebody 1995, p. 334). More recently, Davidson's (2011) study of a young child's home literacy practices showed the "occasioned interrelatedness of technologies and texts" as the child moved from reading the screen to find information in a "print based" text (p. 39). She also showed how the adults, through their interaction, "provided detailed accounts of the practice of reading as sense making on just this occasion" (p. 39).

The Study

This chapter describes how everyday literacy practice: reading, writing and viewing, are accomplished in situ within a family setting. The data presented here were video recorded during one family breakfast, in which two sons (Henry and Will) selected books from a bookclub brochure; the focus of this chapter are the interactions centred around Will. Informed by an ethnomethodological perspective (Garfinkel 1984) and employing the fine-grained tools of conversation analysis (Sacks 1995), the aim of the study reported in this chapter is to show turn by turn how the process of ordering a book from a bookclub brochure is accomplished and the literacy practices occasioned. The two extracts selected for analysis in this chapter are from the mealtime talk at one family breakfast: Mum and Dad and their five children (Henry, 10 years 10 months; Will, 8 years 4 months; Max 6 years 7 months; Ben, 4 years 7 months; Thomasina 2 years 8 months). During the initial stages of the breakfast meal, the mother and four children are co-located at the meal table. The father and the youngest child join the family during breakfast.

While eating is part of the social activity that occurs during breakfast, so is choosing books from a book brochure. The brochures viewed by the children and ordering books are important incipient agendas for the children, particularly Will. This chapter focuses on how the family members deploy interactional resources that orient to the process of purchasing a book. This process includes perusing the brochure, which requires accessing the text of the brochure, evaluating the appropriateness of the books for family members, considering the cost of the books

and filling in order. Throughout this process, we see the employment of literacy practices "within complex social relationships" (Heap 1989, p. 148) and an orientation to the rules regarding how the form is to be completed. Also explicated is how assistance to complete the process required to order books from the brochure is occasioned and how support from more knowledgeable families members is accomplished interactionally (see Goodwin 2007). Important for the analysis presented in this chapter is the incipient agenda of the bookclub brochures and choosing books from the brochure.

Important Considerations for Choosing a Book: Mum Guides the Process of Suitability

Extract one begins with four siblings (Henry, Will, Max and Ben) seated at the table. Mum is standing at the end of the table focussed on the task of pouring cups of tea. Will has a bookclub brochure in front of him and the other boys are eating their breakfast.

Extract 1

```
1     Will      >Oh look Mum look here's a<¿ [0.2) ](0.2) oh look
2               here's another(.) There's something I want to get.
3               ((M looks towards W))
4     Mum                                   [here]((as she puts
5               the sugar back))
6     Mum       What is it  (Mum looks up briefly again))
7     Will      It is ay: ani:mal book
8     Mum       How much (.)  er what
9     Will      It costs(.)ten dollars
10              (0.2)
11    Mum       (n) >What does it say about it< ((gaze towards Max
12              - Mum brushes the food off Max's shirt))—
13    Will      It says:: [(0.2)] i:: (1.8) I don't know what it is
14              it says (0.2) I can only see i (0.2) ( ) um (.) I
15              can only (.) I only I know the firs let (.) la:st
16              letter
17    Mum       How many pa[ges  ]
18    Will                 [first]
19    Will      I don't know
20    Mum       Doesn't it say (.) all that
21    Henry     It says somethin pp ((gaze towards Will))
22              (0.3)
23    Will      1000 pages special(.) en: [(0.4)
24    Henry                               [edition
25    Will      Edition
26    Mum       °Special edition°
27    Will      No (.) illustrated (.) illustrated special(.)
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```
28              °discussed° [(.)                    ]
29    Mum                [Does it look any good](( Puts down the
30              milk and walk towards Will))
31    Will      described °Its got fact°
32    Mum       ((leans over and reads))An encyclopaedia of animals
33              (.) more than 1000 species illustrated and
34              described with maths cross sections (.) photo
35              essays (0.2) and conser:vation reports (0.2) that
36              would be good ages nine plus (.) ten dollars
```

```
37    Will      But I'm not over nine
38              (0.3) ((looking at each other))
39    Mum       orh we::ll↑ ((Mum pulls her head back a little))
40              (.) do you think (.) when are you going to be nine
41              ((gazing at him))
```

```
42    Will      next year ((tentative))
43    Mum       I think you'll be able to cope with that
44              0.3
45    Will      Okay (.)[(I'll    )
46    Mum              [Just put a circle on it just put a (.) a
47              star= ((moves away and back towards the other end
48              of the table))
49    Will      =but Mum do I have to pay for that one
50    Mum       well we'll see (.) Just put a star on the ones that
51              you like ((Mum and Will gaze towards each other
52    Will      Okay
53    Max       I had bookclub (0.2) I had superman book and stuff
54              3.5 ((Max eating))
55    Max       It just means you were over five but I wasn't
56              4.0 ((Mum preparing for tea))
```

Extract 2


```
57    Will    hey Mum I'm getting this.(.) thunder and lightning
58            (.) Mum (.) Mum= ((turns his head to his left as if
59            looking for Mum - Mum looks towards him momentarily
60            on the word this))
61    Mum     >=Okay just wait< (.) Willy you have to put
62            (0.2)((Mum puts down the milk and commences to move
63            to the table)) Will you have to put the a↑mou::nt
64            (.) in there. ((Mum is now standing and leaning
65            over him pointing at a section of the brochure))
66            (0. 2) (?) ya put the amount (   ) four dollars¿
67            °there.°
68    Will    Its already got four dollars=
69    Mum     =Yeh well that's how much Look you've got sub
70            amount due (.) that's what (that's what) you want
71            ((touches the paper as she says look))
```



```
72    Will    So put four dollars there
73    Mum     Yep ((Will commences writing on the form & Mum
74            walks back to the kitchen)
75    Will    ((writing onto form))
```

The sequence begins with an *oh* prefaced announcement (Heritage 1998) by Will that registers a noticing of something in the brochure. The multipartiness of the setting and Mum's engagement in multiple activities requires that Will identify Mum as the recipient of his announcement. The address term 'Mum' draws his mother's attention to him and the fact that he has identified something in the brochure. While cutting off before naming the 'something' that he wants to get, Will extends his turn with 'oh look' suggesting the noticing of another book that he wants to get. Moving his finger, Will points at something in the brochure as he says the word 'there's' and continuing to state 'something I want to get' (2). While announcing that there is something that he wants, Will doesn't name the something. Ellipsis of the book name leaves open the possibility for Will to engage Mum

further in the interaction in much the same way as 'guess what Mum' might accomplish.

Calibrating her talk and gaze, Mum looks towards him momentarily and poses the question 'what is it?'. Mum's question orients to there being something Will wants to get from the brochure. This initial question commences a question-answer sequence where Mum asks what appears to be a sequence of questions that orient to the kind of information that might be included in the book blurb in a brochure. In response to the question "what is it", Will specifies the type or category of book, referring to it as an animal book, though he doesn't name the book. Mum requests further information asking Will 'how much' and then commences another question that she cuts off. Will provides an answer to how much the book costs, that is, ten dollars.

As a more knowledgeable member, Mum requests information from the book blurb, orienting to assumed features of the brochure. Also evident in the questions posed by Mum is an orientation to what Will, as the purchaser of the books, needs to consider (i.e. the cost, and the relevance of the book). Will interprets the question as a request to read the blurb and thus in the turn following (13), Will commences to read the blurb aloud.

Within the multiparty breakfast setting, Will's reading is hearable not just by Mum, but also by his siblings. However, co-present family members do not have a copy of the brochure. As he begins, Will recycles part of the question posed by Mum beginning his turn with 'it says'. After a pause followed by an elongation of the 'i'/ai/sound, there is an indication of Will having trouble in reading the text. Will provides an account for not proceeding with the reading, that is, he doesn't know what it says.; 'I only know the last letter' (15–16). Therefore, Will's not knowing becomes a "public phenomenon" (Heap 1990, p. 60), that is, family members can hear that he does not know.

Mum does not appear to orient to Will telling her that he doesn't know what it says; perhaps because of her involvement in other tasks. Mum's non-orientation to the error contrasts with those of teachers in educational settings where, because of the "enforceable distribution of speaker rights and obligations" (Heap 1990, p. 59) the teacher has the right to define "both the error and adequate repair" (Heap 1990, p. 59). Instead, Mum moves to asking another question asking about how many pages are in the book. Thus, Mum orients to another possible feature written in the brochure, the number of pages. Providing a dispreferred response, Will tells his mother that he does not know how many pages. In the turn following, Mum's negative interrogative 'doesn't it say all that' proposes to Will that the brochure may include information about the number of pages. Thus, Mum offers a clue as to the types of information that might be provided in the text that Will is trying to read.

As a co-located family member overhearing the interaction, Henry orients to and enters the talk about the brochure and offers explicit assistance following Will's difficulty in finding the information requested. Henry offers a clue, suggesting to Will that he looks for something 'pp'.

During the gap (22), Will's gaze remains on the brochure suggesting that he is scanning the brochure looking for Henry's clue. In providing an answer to Mum's

question, Will appears to have utilised Henry's clue. Continuing, Will reads the word 'special' but then hesitates elongating an 'en' sound. Henry orients to Will's hesitation with reading the word and suggests the word 'edition'. In so doing, Henry provides a next turn that was "contingent on the problem displayed" (Freebody and Freiberg 2001, p. 228) in the previous turn. Will repeats the word 'edition' almost latching it to Henry's suggestion. Building from the information provided in the proceeding turns, (Will's attempt and Henry's suggestion), Mum, in a softly spoken voice, suggests 'special edition' (26). However, Will rejects Mum's suggestion with "no" and marks that he has been provided with the incorrect word/s by mum. Will continues reading (27), with the repetition of the word 'illustrated' suggesting that he has recognised the word he had struggled with.

Assessing the suitability of the book is important to the overall project of book selection. Thus, appearing to have completed pouring the tea, Mum requests an assessment of the book, "does it look any good" (29). While Mum's question requests that Will use his knowledge of the information provided in the blurb to make an assessment of the book, Will does not answer. Instead, Will continues to read. Now proximate to Will, Mum leans over him and commences to read the description of the book. Mum provides an assessment of the book as 'good', suggesting that it would be suitable for Will. While she had previously asked Will if the book looked 'any good', in providing the first assessment of the book she claims the right to "evaluate the matter assessed" (Raymond and Heritage 2006, p. 684). Further information about age suitability and cost is supplied as Mum reads the text aloud to Will.

With his head turned to gaze up at Mum Will begins his turn with 'but' (37) signalling a contrasting view to something Mum has said (Schiffrin 1987). Following 'but', Will provides a formulation of a problem as age suitability, highlighting that he does not fit the criteria prescribed. In the turn following the gap, Mum's use of 'orh well' is accompanied by multimodal resources including her head pulling back slightly. While Mum acknowledges Will's concerns she also accomplishes a dismissing or brushing off his age as problematic. Extending her turn, Mum asks 'do you think', suggesting the beginning of a question requesting his perspective on something. However, she does not continue; rather, she cuts off and then further extends her turn with a known-answer question about when he is going to be nine. Will responds with a tentative or worried tone to his voice that he will be nine next year. Mum then provides an assessment, stating that she thinks he will be able to cope with the book (43).

The provision of assessments about the books in the brochure is important in terms of the overall project of book selection. In this sequence, the mother provides an assessment of the book and Will's ability to cope with the book, thus claiming epistemic authority to do the assessment. Will replies 'okay' (45) which both receipts the assessment and expresses agreement with Mum's assessment of his ability. It appears also to set up "next positioned matters" (Beach 1993, p. 329); which are not audible as it is said in overlap with Mum's turn. So, in agreeing with Mum's assessment of his ability to cope with the book Will defers to or agrees with

his mother's epistemic authority over his ability to read and enjoy, or find value in a particular book.

In overlap with Will's turn, which is not audible, Mum directs Will to put a circle on it and then self corrects telling him to put a star on it. Will, in commencing his turn with "but" projects that he is going to proffer a contrasting view about something Mum has said. Will proceeds to ask if he has to pay for that one. Rather than supply a definitive answer, Mum's turn accomplishes putting off her answer until later ("we'll see", 50). She then repeats her previous turn telling him to put a star on the ones that he likes. Will receipts Mum's turn with 'okay' (52).

Throughout this sequence we see how reading is occasioned as part of an everyday social activity and is enmeshed within the complexity of an everyday family breakfast; which sees the mother engaged in activities such as managing the distribution of food and ensuring manners are followed while the children are eating. Also explicated is how the child makes clear that he doesn't know what the text says but points out textual features that he does know. The provision of help to access the text is offered by both the mother and an older sibling. While Mum doesn't immediately provide help via reading the text for the child, the mother makes salient to the child that she is still engaged with and interested in his project as she poses questions to direct the child to look for specific information in the text. The questions she poses appear connected to prior knowledge of brochure blurbs and to considerations for book selection. When she does provide help to read the information about the book, Mum's help demonstrates how reading is done (Heap 1982) and also enables Will to access the information in the text.

Providing Instruction to Complete Order Form: Support from Mum

This section of the breakfast begins 15 min after the first extract with Will engaged in looking at his brochures. Mum is doing chores associated with breakfast, dad is attending to moving Thomasina's highchair, Max is playing chess and Henry and Ben are away from the table looking at brochures.

In this extract we see the provision of instructions by Mum about how to complete an order form to purchase books from bookclub. Lerner (1995) notes that "it is through action—(including talk)—in-interaction that participants engage in various instructional activities" (p. 112). In this sequence, the accomplishment of the task for which the instruction is provided is accomplished interactionally as the child requests accounts when the instruction provided by the mother doesn't appear to align with the information that is provided on the form. Also evident is an "other orientation" (Heap 1989, p. 148), that is, through completing the order form, both members (Will and Mum) have demonstrated an orientation to the rules for social action and to the order form audience. Such orientation is important to the project in order to obtain the correct books from the distributor.

Beginning with 'hey Mum' Will announces that he is 'getting this' and continues clarifying that he means 'the thunder and lightning book'. While Mum gazes briefly towards him on 'this' orienting to Will's use of the address term 'Mum', she does not respond verbally to his summons. Moving his head from side to side to look for Mum, Will continues with the address term Mum said twice in utterance final position (58).

With quickened speech, Mum, latching to Will's turn, receipts his turn and asks him to just wait as she is busy with breakfast tasks. While located in the kitchen, she begins to provide an instruction about how to complete the form telling him 'Willy you have to put' (61). However, she cuts off her turn. Moving towards the table, Mum begins her instruction, telling him where to write the dollar amount. Once at the table she leans over him, gently touching him on the shoulder and moving her right hand forward to touch the brochure. Mum's verbal instruction is accompanied by the touching of the particular place on the order form and both mother and child have their gaze towards the brochure.

Mum's turn (63–64) makes an action (Will you have to put the amount in there) conditionally relevant. However, in the turn following Mum's instruction, Will formulates an observation about the information on the form identifying that the form already has four dollars marked on it. His observation marks Mum's instruction as not plausible. His turn produced as a second-pair part following an instruction accomplishes a request for an account from Mum. The requested account is provided. The inclusion of the sub amount is explained by Mum as she points at the brochure. The multimodal design of Mum's turn reflects a recurrent feature in adult-child interactions (Goodwin and Cekaite 2013).

Following Mum's assistance, Will requests confirmation that he is placing the amount in the correct place (71). Mum confirms that it is correct with 'yep' and Will writes on the form. Will's writing on the form is an example of "discourse-action machinery" (Heap 1992 cited in Austin et al. 2003, p. 30). Here we see Will's writing on the form as the non-verbal action occasioned by Mum's 'yep'.

As members in this breakfast are co-located, the family members are in a "continuing state of incipient talk" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973, p. 325). Also important in relation to incipient talk is the way in which co-present family members are able to "observe and experience the actions of others who are also able to observe and experience them" (Szymanski et al. 2006, p. 394), thus making members "accessible, available and subject to one another" (Goffman 1963, p. 22). This accessibility to what other family members are doing accounts for why after lapses in talk about the bookclub, members re-orient to the talk about the bookclub.

Also important here, is that 'getting bookclub' involves a sequence of activities including choosing the book, completing the order form and placing the order form in an envelope ready to take to school. The temporal organisation of the larger project (getting bookclub) has consequences for talk. So, we see Mum not only orient to the incipient agenda but to the temporal organisation of activities required to get a book from bookclub.

Help to complete the form ready to take back to school is accomplished through the use of explicit instruction, that is, you put the amount there. The provision of

instructions multimodally is important here as Mum points to where the amount needs to be placed. While this instruction enables the placement of the amount in the correct box, it also accomplishes making apparent to Will how in some types of writing activity, such as filling a form, the blank spaces on the form are to be read as requiring information.

Discussion

Consistent throughout the sequences within this chapter is the multiplicity of activity occurring during breakfast and the co-location of the family members for breakfast, with both features of the setting consequential for the organisation of talk and the social order that is ongoingly established through talk. Also significant are the incipient agenda of the 'purchasing bookclub' and the temporal organisation of the project of purchasing bookclub. The temporal organisation of getting bookclub had consequences for how the sequences of talk unfolded and how the mother re-oriented to talk about the bookclub and to the progress of the project. Within the context of breakfast, the children are engaged in eating, playing chess, looking at bookclub brochures and ordering books from the brochure. The mother engages in multiple roles, providing breakfast for the family and providing assistance with the process of selecting and purchasing books from the brochures. Guidance to move through the process of purchasing texts requires engagement with literacy matters including reading texts, accessing specific information from the text and writing information on an order form.

Analysis has highlighted how the provision of assistance to access the brochure text and complete the order form is identified and accomplished. The first extract showed how the child makes apparent that he doesn't know something: 'I don't know what it says'. This aligns with previous research in family settings where children make apparent that they don't understand (Davidson 2011; Freiberg and Freebody 1995). Also identified is how the child makes apparent that he is at a particular stage in the progress of book ordering. The mother orients to this marking of progress and moves to provide support with the project (showing the child how to fill in the order form). Additionally, the mother provides ongoing monitoring of her children as she orients to what is observable and hearable, with talk central for the accomplishment of the task. For example, in terms of the focus child's project of ordering a book, the mother orients to her son as he attempts to read unfamiliar words and his announcement that 'I'm getting this'.

Assistance to access the information in the text is provided by both the mother and the elder sibling. The interventions were "contingent on the problem" (Freebody and Freiberg 2001, p. 228) identified by the child and made evident through his talk. The mother provides assistance also as she reads the blurb from the brochure. The mother's actions make accessible to the child information that he couldn't access when he attempted to read it alone. Accessing this information is critical to the project of ordering the books because it is with this knowledge that he makes an assessment

about which book to order. In addition, his elder sibling offers his knowledge about possible words when his brother was attempting to read part of the text.

Completing writing tasks necessary to purchase a text from the brochure was accomplished interactionally as the more knowledgeable member, (the mother), instructed the child how to complete the form. The instruction to complete the writing task occurs though talk and multimodal resources, particularly the use of gesture (pointing) and bodily posture. Importantly, the Mum positions her body behind Will and leans forward so that she is closer to Will and to the form. The pointing to parts on the form are synchronised with her talk. This synchronisation accomplishes her son's orientation to the exact place on the form where the writing is to occur. Evidence of Mum's provision of explicit help aligns with Freiberg and Freebody (1995) who showed that parents provided explicit instruction to children about how to complete a literacy task. As Mum provides guidance with filling in the form she makes apparent also that the blank spots on the form should be read as requiring the entering of information. This directs the child's orientation to the 'rules' about how the form is to be completed, showing an orientation to the constraints on "writing behaviour" (Heap 1989, p. 148).

As discussed in the analysis, assessments of the suitability of the book in relation to the child's ability to manage to the book are important in terms of the project of book selection. Explicated also is how the mother provided assessments about the book and about the child's ability to read with the book. The mother's knowledge of the child's capabilities is important in deeming the book suitable for her son and her son as competent and capable.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter provides fine detailed analysis to show how literacy rich family practices are accomplished interactionally and the important role that families have in building children's literacy knowledge. Also highlighted is how, within an ordinary everyday breakfast, literacy events are enacted 'on the hop'. During these literacy events, knowledge pertaining to literacy is "demonstrated as a social process by the participants in situ" (Bateman 2013, p. 2). While the adults and older siblings may be the more knowledgeable members in matters to do with literacy, on occasions, the focus child exerted his agency in both questioning and resisting suggestions from the adult and his sibling.

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Chapter 17
Producing Knowledge with Digital Technologies in Sibling Interaction

Brooke Scriven

Introduction

This chapter examines the interactional methods by which two young siblings coproduce knowledge with digital technologies at home. It highlights how the older child's sharing of alphabetic literacy knowledge to help her brother use an iPhone application (app) is closely related to her organization of the interaction. During the course of interaction the older child accounts for the appearance of her actions in demonstrating her knowledge and employs interactional and technological resources to socially accomplish the sharing of knowledge with her brother. Analysis reveals the sophisticated means by which the children coproduce literacy knowledge in situ in their activities using technologies in the home.

A substantial body of conversation analytic research has strongly shown young children to be interactionally competent actors who socially organize their relations with others. Much of this literature examines children's interactions in preschools and schools; fewer studies have examined how young children as social agents employ interactional resources to orient to and engage in family interactions at home. Those studies documenting children's home-based interactions with siblings, parents, and grandparents show the production and sharing of knowledge to be part of their everyday social engagements.

In the field of literacy, ethnomethodological analysis of Anglo-Saxon and Bangladeshi siblings' role playing of "school" by Gregory (2001, 2005, 2008) revealed the synergy created between them as they supported each other's literacies. Older children's re-enactments of classroom literacy lessons, such as reading books, consolidated their learning and at the same time inducted younger siblings into schooled literacy knowledge. In these interactions older siblings practised the "voices" of institutional discourses, made sense of them, and made them accessible

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to their siblings (Gregory 2001). Gregory (2005, p. 25) observed that older siblings (aged 10 and 11) acted as guiding lights, teaching younger children (aged 8) "what counts at school" with regards to procedural, academic, and cultural knowledge of the classroom. Similarly, Gregory (2008) observed that when older siblings mirrored classroom talk and literacy activities they modelled the English language and initiated younger children to a new way of talking, while also practising their speaking of the new language and consolidating literacy knowledge. The children's interactions reciprocally constructed literacy knowledge of the school environment.

Though young children's playing of "school" is an obvious occasion of the sharing of knowledge, other studies have demonstrated how knowledge is produced and negotiated between parents and children in everyday activities at home. M. Goodwin's (2007, p. 97) corpus analysis of one family's interactions illustrated how they "occasioned knowledge exploration" by connecting "new knowledge to existing knowledge in collaborative endeavors". Children's noticings of objects, questioning of prior talk, or display of existing knowledge provided opportunities for parents to initiate imaginative talk, invite exploration through questioning and playful storytelling, and provide recipient-designed explanations (M. Goodwin 2007). The child-initiated interactions provided occasions for family members to collaboratively produce knowledge through talk and interaction. Likewise, Davidson (2009) showed how two children and their father drew on and negotiated their knowledge or lack of knowledge about lizards to identify them in an onscreen image. This revealed that the father did not always possess information; instead, the children also contributed names or descriptions of the lizards. In their social construction of knowledge the father and children produced shared meaning about the onscreen image (Davidson 2009). These studies demonstrate that children and parents each contribute to the construction of knowledge-in-interaction noticeably outside of an "education" institution.

Still other studies provide examples of how children produce information and knowledge in interaction to accomplish their social worlds. Busch's (2011) analysis of the telling of a joke about milk during breakfast suggests how siblings construct knowledge about something as being funny. Over a succession of turns a child positioned his older brothers and mother as an audience though the sweeping movement of his gaze, slurring of speech, and prosodic qualities and used "theatrics" to produce two tellings of the joke (Busch 2011, p. 105). The child's methods of telling the joke worked to construct it as "funny" and to be responded to as such. Similarly, Aarsand (2007) showed how children construct their social world by drawing on parents' and grandparents' lack of knowledge of digital technologies to establish themselves as more knowledgeable. Differences in adults' and children's knowledge and practices using technologies were conceptualized as an intergenerational digital divide. Children used this perceived digital divide as an interactional resource to pursue game play with technologies (Aarsand 2007). For instance, one child used the digital divide to continue play with a PlayStation game

past his bedtime. In the same vein, Davidson (2010) showed how an older child used her knowledge of a computer game to enter and take over her younger sibling's play. The older child made her game knowledge relevant by pre-empting game instructions, directing her brother how to complete actions, and guiding his play with pointing gestures to the screen. Though accounting for her actions as helping, her display of knowledge provided opportunities to use the mouse to play the game herself (Davidson 2010). Thus, children have been observed to use their knowledge about technology in ways that accomplish their social world.

Finally, analysis of how older children help younger children illustrates how knowledge is collaboratively constructed. Davidson (2012) showed how siblings mutually accomplished help to play a game by questioning, clarifying and confirming next actions. This involved the older child delivering directives, which the younger child questioned and clarified, and the older child confirmed, until completed. Through this interactional pattern the older child drew on her knowledge to assist her sister to read information, click particular words, and write onscreen (Davidson 2012).

Collectively, the studies considered here have shown that knowledge is produced between children and with adults during the course of everyday activities. This chapter contributes to this small collection of conversation analytic work by analyzing how knowledge is produced in interaction between siblings. It highlights the interactional methods by which alphabetic literacy knowledge is produced when an older child initiates help in her brother's activity with an alphabet game on an iPhone application (app). An app is a piece of technological software, in this instance a game that is designed to facilitate understanding of the letters of the alphabet. Analysis illustrates that the older child's sharing of knowledge using technology is closely related to her organization of the interaction.

Methodology

This chapter draws on video data from a large funded project investigating the web searching practices of young children in Queensland, Australia. Video recordings of teachers' and children's naturally occurring use of digital technologies in nine preschool centres, and of children's naturally occurring use of digital technologies in fifteen homes, were made. The project generated more than 200 h of preschool video data and almost 29 h of video data in children's homes. Ethical clearance was approved, with informed consent provided by the preschool teachers, parents, and their children. Pseudonyms have been used in place of participants' names.

This chapter examines an extended episode from a 12 min video recording made by a father of his two children, Tina (aged 3 years and 11 months) and Trae (aged

1 year and 11 months), in their home. Using single-case ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks 1995; Schegloff 1987) it is observed, over the course of the interaction, that Tina attempts to show her brother, Trae, how to trace letters on an alphabet app. Through Trae's reciprocating orientation toward Tina's letter tracing the children coproduce alphabetic literacy knowledge.

The video recording was transcribed using Jefferson's notation system (Atkinson and Heritage 1984; see list of conventions at the front of this book). Additional symbols were developed to represent embodied actions using digital technologies (a close reading of the symbols is recommended before reading the transcripts). For example, participants' gaze is indicated with an eye symbol (👁) and point gestures (Wootton 1994) with a pointing hand symbol (☞). Their tapping of screens is depicted with a downward facing point gesture (👇) and their swiping of screens to trace letters is represented with a downward point gesture and tail (👇B). The iPad and iPhone are indicated as iPa and iPh respectively; the iPad and iPhone screens are represented with a box (□) to identify when children produce actions directed toward the screens. Indications of time (in tenths of seconds) indicate pauses in talk as well as the duration of embodied actions using technologies, for example, (0.11) ((T rotates iPa)). Sounds generated from the iPad and iPhone are italicised in the transcripts, and participants' talk is bolded. The transcripts are complemented by screenshots of the video data with arrows showing the children's line of sight.

Analysis

The recording occurs on a weekend morning as the father (F), who handles the video camera, lies on a bed facing Tina (T) and Trae (Tr). Tina plays a solar system app on an iPad (iPa) which rests against her knees. Trae sits between the father and Tina with an iPhone (iPh) on his lap (Fig. 1). Trae commences playing an edutainment alphabet app, that is, an app providing entertainment with alphabetic literacy tasks (see Buckingham and Scanlon 2002 for further detail of edutainment
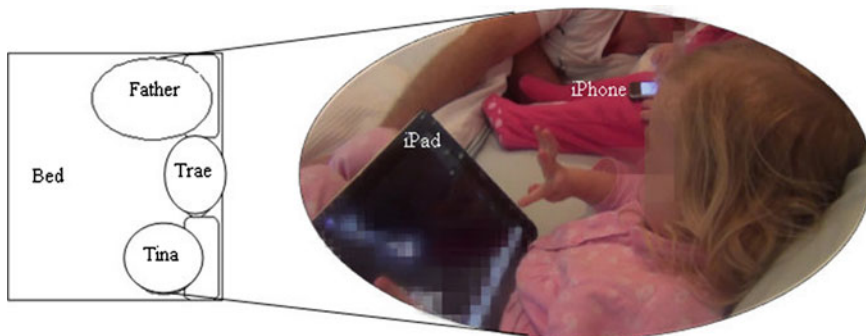
Fig. 1 Setting and participants

software). The app requires the player to trace lower and upper case letters and it repeats letter names to reinforce recognition of them. The app incorporates a "recognizable task completion" (Lerner et al. 2011, p. 46) function following each letter tracing to assess the tracing as correct or incorrect. The following extracts show Trae's problem playing the app on the iPhone; Tina's engagement in a new activity on the iPad using the same app as Trae; and Tina's engagement in Trae's activity by which she tries different means of helping him trace letters.

Extract 1: Trae has problems playing an app and Tina announces a new activity

```
1     iPh:   dee::,
2            (0.3)
3     Tr:    eh hhh
4            (0.5)
5     iPh:   ((app response sound))
6     Tr:    .hhh
7            (1.0)
8     iPh:   dee::,
9            (0.2)
10    Tr:    hhh
11           (0.8)
12           [((T ℓ iPa⌣))
13    iPh:   [((app incorrect response sound))
14           (1.7)
15    iPh:   [dee::,
16           [((Tr ℓ iPh⌣))
17           [((T ℓ iPa⌣))
18           (0.2)
19    T:     ↑I'm↑ [>playing=
20                 [((T leans forward))
21                 [((Tr ℓ iPh⌣))
22    T:     =[the=
23            [((Tr ℓ iPh⌣))
24    T:     =[ey bee=
25            [((T �}→iPh⌣))
26            [((T leans forward))
27    T:     =[cee::s<,
28            [((app opens on iPa⌣))
29           ((T �}→iPa⌣))
30    Tr:    [ehhh
31           [((Tr ℓ iPh⌣))
32           [((T sits up))
33           (0.2)
34    T:     [one as ↑w[e:ll.
35                     [((T �}→iPh))
36                     [((Tr ℓ iPh⌣))
```

While Trae's actions on the iPhone screen cannot be seen in the recording at this point, his activity playing an alphabet app is hearable through the sounds produced by the app. The sounds indicate a problem with Trae's actions using the app. It signals "dee" (line 1), which makes accountable that Trae is undertaking the tracing

of the letter "d". The response sound (line 5) makes hearably witnessable that he has tapped the screen. A second later the app repeats the vocalization "dee" (lines 7–8), which signals Trae's turn to trace the letter. Trae then produces an audible outbreath (line 10) and the app signals an incorrect response (line 13). This indicates that Trae took his turn, but incorrectly. After a significant pause the app repeats "dee" (lines 14–15) to indicate that it is again Trae's turn to trace the letter. At the same time, Trae, now visible in the recording, takes his turn by tapping the screen (line 16). Collectively, the app response sounds and repetition of the letter name indicate that Trae's actions are not those required. Together with the notable absence (Sacks 1995) of positive assessment sounds or progress onto another letter, the sounds generated by the app indicate a problem in Trae's activity with it.

At the same time as Trae uses the iPhone, Tina engages with the iPad through her sustained gaze to, and tapping on, its screen (lines 12 and 17; Fig. 2). She then breaks the silent copresence between herself, Trae, and the father by announcing, "↑I'm↑ > playing the ey bee cee::s < one as ↑we:ll" (lines 19, 22, 24, 27 and 34). In her announcement Tina makes relevant her orientation to the sounds produced by Trae's use of the app and indexes her familiarity with it to identify it by its sounds. Her announcement also accounts for her prior actions (lines 12 and 17) as she starts using the app. By organizing her telling as an announcement (Schegloff 2007) Tina makes newsworthy (Maynard 1980) her change of activity. Her stress (line 19) and change of pitch (line 34) emphasize the noteworthiness of aligning with Trae's activity.

Simultaneously to announcing her new activity, Tina moves from her position resting against the pillows to sitting up on the bed opposite Trae and her father and facing the iPhone. Her change of home position (Sacks and Schegloff 2002) displays her orientation to Trae's activity with the app and enables the opportunity for further interaction. With the iPad in her hands, Tina leans forward and to the side to push her body off the pillows (line 20). In doing so she moves her gaze to the iPhone screen (lines 25–26) to corroborate her announcement and returns it to the iPad when the app opens on it (lines 28–29). As Tina sits upright (line 32) she returns her gaze to the iPhone screen to identify Trae's alphabet app as the referent of her announcement (lines 34–35; Fig. 3) and direct attention to it. In this way, Tina's new home position establishes a facing formation with Trae and her father in which they have "equal, direct and exclusive access" (Kendon 1990, p. 209) to each

Fig. 2 Lines 12–13

Fig. 3 Line 35
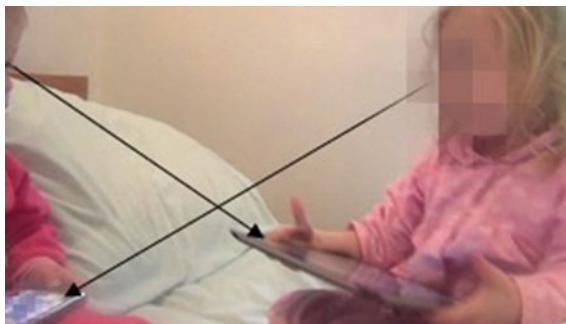
other's actions. Thus, Tina's movement opens up an ongoing opportunity for interaction.

Extract 2: Tina extends her announcement

```
37              ((Tr ☞→iPa▯))
38      F:      a::[:h, (.) °goo]:[d¿°]
39      T:         [>this is<   ] [g  ]oin
40              [>to be< the sa:me one=
41              [((T leans forward))
42      T:      =[jus=
43                [((T leans back))
44      T:      =[like=
45                [((T ☞→iPa▯))
46              (0.3)
47      T:      =Trae:¿
```

The father responds to Tina's announcement with an elongated change-of-state token (Heritage 1984a; line 38) which treats it as an "informing" (Schegloff 2007, p. 118). The father then assesses the news as "goo:d" (line 38), so that his complete utterance takes an "oh-plus-assessment turn structure" (Heritage 1984, p. 302). His assessment displays a positive analysis (C. Goodwin 1986) and preferred stance (Schegloff 2007) toward Tina's news, which ratifies it "*as* interesting news" (Maynard 1985, p. 13). Tina extends her announcement in response to the father's turn-in-progress (lines 38–39). She treats her father's token as a continuer (Schegloff 2007) signaling the continuation (C. Goodwin 1986) of her announcement. Her extended announcement (lines 39–40, 42, 44 and 47) and gaze (line 41; Fig. 4) confirms her activity is aligned with Trae's through the commonality of their apps.

In her sequence of talk Tina interacts with Trae through her gaze and movement. Though Trae lacks equal status in the talk (Danby and Baker 1998) as a preverbal participant, Tina's gaze acknowledges him as part of the multiparty interaction. Trae orients to Tina's announcement and gaze by looking at her iPad screen (line 37). Trae's timely and sustained orientation to Tina responds to the observability of her actions. By his gaze Trae tracks the course of Tina's actions in their relation to

Fig. 4 Line 41

him and engages in the interaction so that he is a member of the multiparty interaction, though not ratified as a member of the talk.

Extract 3: Tina shows the similarity in the apps

```
48              (0.9) ((T brings hand to iPa  ))
49              [((T ⟆ iPa  ))
50      iPa:    [((app response sound))
51              (0.5)
52      Tr:     hhh=
53      F:      =°that's ↑grea::t,°
54              (1.0) ((F zooms camera out))
55              [((T ⟆ iPa  ))
56      iPa:    [((app response sound))
57              ((new screen appears on iPa))
58      T:      [SEE::?
59              [((T ☞→D))
60              [((T ☞ Tr))
61              (0.5) ((F moves camera to Tr))
62      Tr:     hhh
63              (1.0) ((T swivels iPa  to F))
64      iPa:    ♫ a:[:ye,
65                  [((T ☞→iPa  ))
66                   [((T swivels iPa  to herself))
67              (.)
68      iPa:    ♫ be[e::,
69      F:          [.h[hh=
70                     [((T ☞→F))
71      F:      =a[h↑::=
72      iPa:    ♫ [cee::¿
73              [((T swivels iPa  to F))
74              [((Tr ☞→iPh  ))
75      F:        =[:r.]
76      iPa:    ♫ [dee]::¿
77              [((T ☞→iPa  ))
78              [((T swivels iPa  to herself))
```

Fig. 5 Line 63
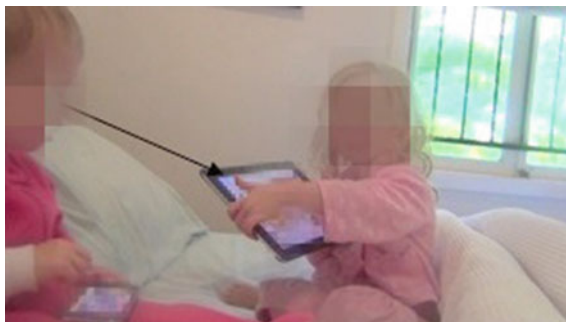
As Tina resumes independent activity using the iPad (lines 48–50), the father produces an assessment in response (line 53) to her extended announcement. The assessment upgrades the father's prior assessment (Pomerantz 1984) of Tina's change of activity as "good" (line 38) to "great" (line 53). The father also responds by using the video camera to zoom out to capture a wider aspect (line 54), suggesting Tina's talk is consequential to his use of the video camera. Tina continues her independent activity by tapping the iPad, which results in a new screen appearing (lines 55–57). Tina responds by loudly uttering the directive "SEE::", re-directing her gaze to the father, and pointing to Trae (lines 58–60). Her raised volume re-engages the father's attention, as her gaze situates him as the recipient of her directive and her gesture to Trae directs him to what he is to "see". Tina's multimodal turn directs the father to see the app that Trae is playing on the iPhone. Tina next produces a showing (Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007; Lerner et al. 2011) of the iPad screen by swiveling it toward the father (line 63; Fig. 5) to direct his attention to it. Her multi-step directive requires the father to look at the iPad and iPhone screens and acknowledge that she is playing the same app as Trae.

As an alphabet song begins on the iPad app, to which Tina immediately orients (lines 64–66), the father responds to Tina's extended announcement by turning his gaze and the video camera toward Trae (line 61). His inclusion of Trae continues the earlier manipulation of the video camera (line 54) to acknowledge him as a member of the multiparty interaction. The father next draws an in-breath (line 69) and Tina orients to his turn-in-progress by re-directing her gaze to him (line 70). Her closely aligned action suggests her orientation to the fulfilment of the second part of the directive-response pair. The father receipts the comparison implied in Tina's directive and makes accountable his understanding that she is using the same app as Trae (lines 71 and 75). Tina orients to the father in response to, and during, his elongated token by turning the iPad screen to him (line 73). Her showing makes the evidence of her extended announcement available to jointly acknowledge it. Tina then returns to her independent activity using the app (lines 77–78).

Extract 4: Tina enters Trae's activity with the app

```
...
79              (('E' appears on iPh□))
80    iPh:  [ee::,=
81              [((T leans forward))
82              [((T reaches to iPh))
83    T:     =.hhhhh
84              (0.3) ((T pushes Tr's hand from iPh))
85    T:     [°Trae::¿°
86              [((T moves finger to iPh□))
87              [((iPh falls between Tr's knees))
88    Tr:    [eh::
89              (0.2)
90    T:     [°jus::t°
91              [((Tr lifts iPh onto lap))
92    T:     Trae::[:?
93                  [((T grasps iPh))
94    Tr:          [a::::=
```

Following independent activity using the app (omitted from the transcript), Tina's next actions intercede Trae's use of the app. The letter "E" appears on the iPhone screen (line 79) and Trae's turn to trace it is signaled by the app (line 80). Tina orients to Trae's activity by leaning toward him and reaching for the iPhone (lines 81–82). Next, she pushes Trae's hand from the iPhone screen (line 84). Her gesture displays interpersonal dominance (Cekaite 2010) to gain control of the iPhone. Tina moves her finger, in a point gesture (Wootton 1994), to the iPhone screen, suggesting her tracing of the letter (line 86; Fig. 6). Her elongated address term (Wootton 1981; line 85) solicits Trae's attention to manage his actions and make space for her projected gesture.

In response to Tina's actions, Tina and Trae negotiate possession of the iPhone. The iPhone falls as Tina moves her finger to its screen (lines 86–87), and she follows its movement with her finger to maintain control over it. However, Trae also registers

Fig. 6 Line 86

Fig. 7 Line 93

the iPhone's movement and lifts it onto his lap (lines 88 and 91). His handling of the iPhone displays his repossession of it. Tina's elongated incomplete utterance (line 90) and address term (line 92) manage Trae's actions with the iPhone as she grasps it (line 93; Fig. 7). Trae responds to Tina's gesture, and "a foreseeable possible course of action" (Lerner and Zimmerman 2003, p. 100) wherein she will take the iPhone, with an elongated proto-word vocalization (Lerner et al. 2011; line 94). Trae's nascent cry opposes Tina's "incipient take attempt" (Lerner and Zimmerman 2003, p. 443) as an arguable move violating his "'possessional' territory" (Maynard 1985, p. 4). Trae displays the ability to predict from Tina's actions a likely course of action and to mobilize vocal and embodied resources in an attempt to prevent it.

Extract 5: Tina and Trae escalate their dispute

```
95      Tr:    =[A:::::=
96      T:      [I show,
97             [((T pulls iPh from Tr))
98      Tr:    =[A:::?
99              [((Tr ◉→iPa□))
100            (0.2) ((Tr leans forward))
101     Tr:    [.hhh=
102             [((Tr reaches toward iPa))
103             [((T hovers finger over iPh□))
104     Tr:    =[A:::=
105             [((Tr pulls iPa toward him))
106     Tr:    =[A:::?
107             [((Tr pulls iPa toward him))
108             [((T ◉→iPa□))
109             [((T reaches for iPa))
110            (0.6) ((T pulls iPa onto lap))
```

Tina matches Trae's resistance and challenges his oppositional move (his cry) by pulling the iPhone from him (line 97). In doing so, she accounts for her actions with the utterance "I show" (line 96). Her account displays understanding that her actions are upsetting Trae and formulates that she is going to "show" him how to use the app. Her actions show her orientation to the previous app sounds which signaled a problem in Trae's activity as he tapped, rather than traced, the letters. Tina holds the iPhone screen to her face and hovers her finger over it to project her use of the app. Her actions suggest she has observed that Trae does not have the alphabetic literacy knowledge required to trace the letters, and that she is drawing on her own knowledge to trace the letters for him. Tina's positioning of the screen to her face, where it cannot be seen by Trae, excludes him from her activity.

Trae continues to resist Tina's possession of the iPhone. His previous vocalization (line 94) increases in volume to become a complaint cry (Lerner et al. 2011; lines 95 and 98). Trae's upgraded vocalization shows that he does not honor Tina's account of her actions (Scott and Lyman 1968) as showing, but treats them as a "complainable matter" (Lerner et al. 2011, p. 53). Trae's resistance makes accountable his project to regain access to the alphabet app. Trae then orients to the iPad on Tina's lap, which is currently unused (lines 98–99). He leans forward, reaches toward it, and pulls it onto his lap, projecting his use of it (lines 100, 102, 105 and 107; Fig. 8). His actions work to manage the consequences of Tina's possession of the iPhone, replacing one form of technology for another and co-producing a new social situation. However, Tina orients to the iPad's movement, reaches toward it, and pulls it back toward herself (lines 108–110) to maintain possession of both devices. The verbal and embodied moves by Tina and Trae produce a reaction phase (Maynard 1985) in their dispute.

Fig. 8 Line 105

Extract 6: The father intervenes in the dispute

```
111    F:      T[ina::¿
112             [((T lowers iPh onto Tr's legs))
113            ((Tr ☺→iPh))
114    Tr:    [a::.
115            [((Tr grasps iPh))
116    F:     [h↓a:re th↑at's=
117            [((T rotates iPa))
118    F:     =[a gir:l¿
119             [((T rotates iPa))
120             [((Tr pulls iPh onto lap))
121            (0.11) ((T rotates iPa))
```

The father intervenes to bring about a resolution to the dispute. He addresses Tina (line 111) in a quasi-interrogative manner (Bolinger 1958), in which low intonation producing a stern tone gives rise to a prosodic upturn soliciting Tina's attention and aligned recipiency (C. Goodwin 1981). His turn provides the first part of a possible summons-answer pair (Schegloff 1968) where his summons is a timed intervention in response to Trae's vocalizations. The father produces it "for cause" (Kidwell 2013, p. 240) to prompt Tina to respond to him and consequently abandon her activity with the iPhone. His summons also projects a directive-response sequence following Tina's recipiency to resolve the dispute. His summons suggests that his projected directive will take a "collaborative intervention approach" (Kidwell 2013, p. 239) by calling on Tina to observe and change her behavior.

Tina responds to her father with immediate compliance which treats his summons as a directive. She lowers her open palm to slide the iPhone onto Trae's legs (line 112). The temporality of Tina's gesture, and in particular "the duration of the 'freeze' that occurs at its completion" (Streeck 2009, p. 175), acts as a concrete offer (Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012) to Trae. In response, Trae orients to Tina's actions and grasps the iPhone (lines 113 and 115; Fig. 9). To accomplish the object transfer Tina and Trae "engage in a collaborative adjustment of their physical behaviors" (Takada and Endo 2015, p. 60), whereby they direct their bodies and

Fig. 9 Line 115
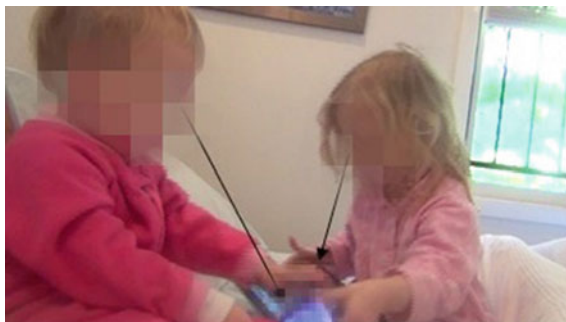
gesture toward the iPhone and each other. The falling intonation of Trae's vocal-
isation "a:::" (line 114) and his handling of the iPhone signal the resolution of the
dispute and his re-engagement in the alphabet app.

Tina, by responding to the father with her embodied action, acts on a working
understanding of summons-answers sequences. She is responsive to the summons
as "the start of a course of action" (Kidwell 2013, p. 242) designed for her to alter
her actions. By refraining from answering her father's summons she avoids situ-
ating herself as the recipient of it or the projected directive (Kidwell 2013;
Schegloff 1968). Rather, she orients to the cause of the summons and the projected
directive by resolving the conflict before the directive can be delivered. By per-
forming the action while it is still suggestive, Tina avoids the father actually issuing
a directive. In doing so, Tina does not orient to the father's projected entitlement
(Craven and Potter 2010; Curl and Drew 2008) to direct her actions, but maintains
autonomy (Kent 2012) over them in resolving the dispute. Additionally, Tina
avoids a "face-threatening situation" (Takada 2013, p. 435) by acting on the pro-
jected directive to alter the frame of interaction.

Tina's action makes relevant further talk by the father. His utterance "h↓a:re
th↑at's a gir:l¿" (lines 116 and 118) is a positive assessment (meaning "well done")
that displays his approval of Tina's actions in returning the iPhone to Trae. It treats
Tina's actions as a preferred response (Pomerantz 1984) as it resolves the dispute
(despite being a dispreferred action in a summons-answer sequence). The
re-engagement of Tina and Trae in their independent activity (lines 117 and 119–
121) further signals the resolution of the dispute.

Extract 7: Tina summons Trae's attention to her activity

```
122    T:      [Tra:e,
123            [((T rotates iPa))
124            (0.2) [((T ☻→Tr))
125                  [((T rotates iPa))
126    T:      [Trae:::?
127            [((T ☻→iPa□))
128            [((T moves iPa onto lap))
129            (0.8) ((T brings hand to iPa□))

130            [((T ↲B))
131    Tr:     [.hhh
132            ((Tr ↙ iPh□))

133            [((T B↘))
134    Tr:     [.hhh hhh
135            ((Tr ↙ iPh□))

136            [((T B↘))
137            [((Tr swivels iPh))
```

Following the dispute Tina displays a continued orientation to Trae's use of the app as incorrect. She involves Trae in her activity using the iPad to demonstrate her alphabetic literacy knowledge in tracing letters. She summons Trae as she prepares to use the iPad (lines 122–123); showing that eliciting Trae's attention is part of such preparation. Her summons makes interactionally relevant that her projected actions using the app are for him (Lerner 2003; Wootton 1981). Her actions suggest she prefers Trae to respond with embodied orientation so as to create a framework of mutual attention (Cekaite 2010) to her activity. Her gaze to him (line 124) anticipates his gaze as a "go-ahead" response (Schegloff 2007, p. 51) to commence tracing. However, Trae's continued gaze to the iPhone screen shows his commitment to an alternate activity (Filipi 2009) and consequential unavailability (M. Goodwin and Cekaite 2013) to attend to Tina's summons. Trae's non-response demonstrates his agency to organize his engagement in interaction and independent activity. In the absence of a response from Trae, Tina repeats the summons with elongation and upward prosodic rising, indicating the relevancy of his attention (line 126). At the same time she projects her imminent activity by looking at the iPad and moving it onto her lap (lines 127–128). She then brings her hand to the screen (Fig. 10) and traces the letter "B" (lines 129–130, 133 and 136).

Extract 8: Tina produces a showing of her tracing for Trae

```
138    Tr:   hhh=
139    iPa:  =bee::, (.) [((correct response sound))
140                       [((cartoon fades in on iPa□))
141          (0.6) [((T angles iPa to Tr))
142          ((T ☉→Tr))
143          ((Tr ☉→iPa□))
144    F:    [.hhhar
145          [((T ☉→iPa□))
146          (0.3)
147    F:    [good=
148          [((Tr ☉→iPh□))
149          [((Tr puts iPh on bed))
150          [(('C' appears on iPa□))
151    F:    =[jo:::b Ti::n=
152           [((T puts iPa on lap))
153    F:    =[a?]
154    Tr:    [er]:: .hhh

155           [((T  Č  ))
156           [((Tr ☉→F))
157           [((T  ⌒C ))
158    F:    [om
159          [((F reaches for iPh))
160          (1.3) ((T  C̫  ))
```

Fig. 10 Line 129

Fig. 11 Line 142

Tina uses the sequential structure of the app to demonstrate her alphabetic literacy knowledge. The app affirms Tina's actions by vocalizing "bee", producing a chime sound indicating her correct response, and displaying a cartoon (lines 139–140). Together, the responses signal a "task transition space" (Lerner et al. 2011, p. 49) between the tracing of letters. Tina uses the task transition space as a "resource for action" (Lerner et al. 2011, p. 56) by initiating interaction with Trae. She tilts the iPad screen toward Trae (line 141) to produce a showing of her literacy knowledge as displayed in her letter tracing. The showing is a first part of a potential directive-response sequence which, directed to Trae, makes relevant his attention. Tina's gaze to Trae (line 142; Fig. 11) further nominates him as the recipient and awaits his response.

Trae displays understanding that Tina's turns require a corresponding action when he provides this by turning his gaze to the iPad screen in a timely way (line 143). His sustained gaze toward it shows that he recognizes the project of Tina's showing as inviting his engagement in her activity. Trae's orientation to the screen suggests he actively participates in "co-creating meaning" (Filipi 2009, p. 226) of Tina's literacy knowledge and competency in letter tracing. Upon gaining Trae's attention Tina also moves her gaze to the screen (line 145). Their aligned gaze locates the tracing on the screen as the locus of attention (Kendon 1985). The father also orients to Tina's showing through his in-breath (line 144) and assessment (lines 147, 151 and 153). The assessment reinforces Tina's position as a competent player

of the app, enabled by her displayed alphabetic knowledge. Tina does not respond, but orients to the appearance of the letter "C" signaling the next task (lines 150 and 152). As Tina traces the letter (lines 155, 157 and 160) Trae solicits the father's help to use the iPhone (lines 148–149 and 158–159).

Discussion and Conclusions

Although each family member was initially engaged in independent activity, they coordinated their actions so that Tina's alphabetic literacy knowledge, as demonstrated in her letter tracing, became the focus of attention. For instance, Trae responded to Tina's gaze and movement toward him by orienting to her announcement and activity on the iPad. Likewise, the father acknowledged and responded to Tina's announcement and showing of her activity. When Tina's actions to demonstrate her literacy knowledge resulted in a dispute and the father's intervention, she attempted another method of sharing her knowledge. Through active engagement in such an activity, family members engage in ways of using technologies, such as to show literacy knowledge, with others in everyday interactions.

The analysis has demonstrated that the children's interactional competency was vital to Tina's demonstration of literacy knowledge. In particular, it focused on Tina's sense-making of others' actions and her competency in organizing the interaction to display her knowledge. In order to help her brother, Tina acknowledged the social consequences of her actions. She showed understanding that her actions in helping had to be accountable as "doing" showing. She mobilized the iPad and the structure of the app to observably display her knowledge of how to trace letters. In this way, her response to Trae's opposition and her father's intervention showed her ability to move the interaction beyond the dispute and employ a new way of showing her alphabetic literacy knowledge.

Additionally, Tina's demonstration of knowledge was dependent on her ability to solicit Trae's alignment in a way that accounted for his interactional abilities. She employed summons and showings of the iPad screen as embodied directives to re-orient his gaze to her tracing. In this way, Tina shaped her turns so as to generate particular embodied actions from her brother. In doing so, Tina accounted for Trae's interactional competency as she solicited his engagement in her activity. Her methods of interaction acknowledged his preverbal interactional ability by inviting embodied responses.

Reflexively, Trae displayed interactional competency in orienting and responding to Tina's actions to coproduce her alphabetic literacy knowledge through the interaction. He made meaning of Tina's actions and their projected outcome, as illustrated in his response to Tina's attempts at taking the iPhone. Likewise, he oriented to Tina's showing of the iPad screen as an embodied action making relevant a corresponding action. He mobilized vocal and embodied interactional resources available to him to respond in ways appropriate to others' initiating actions. His orientation to Tina's showings was vital to her demonstration of letter tracing and to coproducing the sharing of alphabetic literacy knowledge.

Thus, the children's mutual orientation to the letter tracing made Tina's literacy knowledge the focus of interaction.

This chapter demonstrates how the showing of knowledge was oriented to by Tina as a way to help Trae trace letters on the app. Although previous studies have shown how siblings' literacy learning occurs in playful interactions, most notably playing "school" (Gregory 2001, 2005, 2008), relatively little is known about how they produce knowledge when it is required in everyday activities in the home. This chapter shows how a child identified her brother's lack of knowledge preventing him from progressing his activity using the app; demonstrated that she knew what to do to help her brother; and interactionally achieved a way of sharing this knowledge. Knowledge was produced in situ in the children's activities with digital technologies. The children's literacy knowledge was socially witnessable in their actions using the alphabet app. This suggests that what children know or do not know can be interactively accountable in their activities with digital technologies, and can be oriented to by others to socially initiate and produce knowledge.

Therefore, this chapter revealed how literacy knowledge was socially produced between siblings as an older child attempted to show her younger brother how to trace letters on an alphabet app. The older child's actions displayed different strategies of demonstrating her knowledge and how she accounted for how her actions were responded to. Her demonstration of knowledge was dependent on her social competency to organize her actions in a way that solicited her brother's alignment. Integral to this interaction was the children's use and manipulation of digital technologies as a resource to display and orient to knowledge. Thus, the chapter establishes that young children employ complex interactional methods to socially produce literacy knowledge using digital technologies. Further study of the interactions between young children is needed to expose the sophisticated interactional means by which they accomplish everyday activities using digital technologies together in the home.

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Chapter 18
"You Can Get Cyberbullied by Your Friends": Claiming Authority to Categorise a Past Event as Bullying

Justin Canty

Introduction

Bullying is an emotive term, one that carries substantial social and moral sanctions. It is also one that would usually not be expected in accounting for the actions of a friend. This chapter focuses on categorisation practices in a discussion between four children. The discussion focuses on a past event, in which two of the children present were involved, in the context of a classroom-based small group activity focused on their experiences of using social media. Both of the children who were involved in the event can be understood to have epistemic access and epistemic primacy in relation to the event under discussion. Where this shared epistemic access and primacy becomes problematic is when a dispute emerges over whether the event may be accounted for as cyberbullying or not. Authority becomes especially significant in the event of a dispute over knowledge claims. Whose account takes precedence? The analysis of member categorisation in this chapter concentrates on how children orient to relative epistemic and moral authority when there are competing claims to the epistemic terrain.

What Counts as Bullying?

Understanding how children make sense of cyberbullying, or indeed any bullying, is vital to understanding the phenomenon and their personal experiences. Conventionally, bullying is defined as referring to repeated, intentional negative

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acts where there is a power imbalance between the parties (Olweus 1993; Schott 2014; Smith et al. 2002). However, children's knowledges remain marginalised within mainstream bullying literature (Canty et al. 2016). This marginalisation is exemplified by the practice of imposing a standardised, adult-generated definition of bullying in research and in anti-bullying initiatives. Ways that children define bullying and use the term in their peer cultures are seldom even considered. Nevertheless, bullying is consistently constructed as highly undesirable behaviour.

Ethnomethodological investigations, including conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis, are uncommon in the research literature on bullying. Studies that have used an ethnomethodological approach to analysing children's interactions have demonstrated how granular analysis of interaction can render aspects of interactions available to analysis that are otherwise invisible, including indirect or covert bullying and social exclusion (Bateman 2012; Danby and Baker 2000; Evaldsson and Svahn 2012; Goodwin 1991, 2002b; Loyd 2012; Svahn and Evaldsson 2011; Theobald and Danby 2012). These studies have focused on observing interactions that themselves may constitute bullying. This chapter takes the ethnomethodological focus to examine how children deploy the term bullying and its associated social and cultural knowledges in conversation between peers about a past event.

Membership categorisation analysis offers a way to examine how people use social and cultural knowledge in ordinary activities to make sense of their experiences (Housley and Fitzgerald 2015; Sacks 1995; Watson 2015). This focus on categorisation practices offers insights into the 'what' of epistemic terrains, claims, and authority. As Sacks (2014) illustrated in the analysis of a child's story, member categories and categorisation devices hold and invoke social and cultural knowledges that are hearable to other members of the group or society, that is, they are inference rich. Categories also render members of the category as representative of the category for the purpose of those knowledges stored in the category (Sacks 1989). These qualities distinguish categorisation from a purely descriptive function, although categories are certainly descriptive as well as being inference rich and representative (Stokoe and Attenborough 2015). Focusing on categorisation makes it possible to examine the knowledges about which epistemic claims are made.

Membership categorisation analysis has commonly focused on person categories, emerging from the wider sociological interest in identity and social types (Housley and Fitzgerald 2015). A feature in the data excerpt discussed in this chapter is the use of cyberbullying to account for the past event in question as a type of activity and a term that invokes significantly rich inference about the activity itself as well as the persons involved. When the focus of categorisation practices is on persons, then activities become a feature of the category, especially in relation to the concept of the category-bound activity (Sacks 2014; Stokoe 2012). In this data

excerpt, the person category cyberbully is notably absent. The second viewer's maxim, that "doing a category-tied action places the doer in that category" (Reynolds and Fitzgerald 2015, p. 104; Sacks 1995), implies the person category through the explicit mention of the action cyberbullying. However, the person category of "cyberbully" was not used by the members of this interaction. The inference rich and representative qualities of cyberbullying as a type of activity that may be applied to many individual actions suggested it may be valuable to consider categorisation practices in relation to activities as well as persons. To categorise a past event as cyberbullying makes epistemic and moral claims to authority to account for that event, and a privileged status of that account over alternative accounts.

By contrast, the person category invoked explicitly in this excerpt is "friend". This created a category puzzle, where seemingly contradictory or discordant categories are juxtaposed. Initially, this interactional strategy was called a category-activity puzzle (Sacks 2014). However, the paired categories or features are not always category + activity (for example, 'male nurse' in Stokoe's (2003) discussion of gendering). The category puzzle contains a certain 'shock value' as a consequence of this juxtaposition and has also been identified in the social actions of doing joking as well as doing gendering (Stokoe 2003, 2012). In the excerpt below, Daria accuses her friend Eddie of cyberbullying. For participants in the wider study from which this data excerpt comes, one of the moral obligations of friends is that they do not bully one another. Whilst this did not preclude fighting or other activities where hurt may occur, these were routinely contrasted from activities that could legitimately be categorised as bullying.

The inherent relational quality of "friend" as a person category implies a set of social norms and moral obligations that can be accounted for through the membership categorisation analysis notion of the standardised relational pair. Standardised relational pairs incorporate moral duties and obligations based in the relationship (Sacks 2014; Stokoe 2012). Similar to other standardised relational pairs, there are things that friends do and do not do to each other. Standardised relational pairs may be asymmetrical (such as doctor-patient, teacher-student, or parent-child), where one party has different predicates such as activities, rights, and responsibilities from the other (Hester and Hester 2012). The standardized relational pair of "friend-friend" may be seen as symmetrical, as "friends" have similar duties and obligations in the relationship. Daria's claim to moral authority is intertwined with the moral implications of "friend", which are an integral part of the category puzzle that emerges in the telling of the story.

This chapter offers a case study of the interweaving of categorisation, epistemic authority, and moral authority. One of the interactional problems highlighted in the transcript below was connected with questions about claims to authority, of who is

permitted to author an account and how the category work is oriented to by other interlocutors as authoritative in the sense of justifiable or legitimate. This connects with knowledge in the notions of epistemic terrain and epistemic access. Epistemic terrain encompasses the scope of the knowledge at hand (Heritage 2013), and epistemic access addresses what a speaker or recipient knows, sometimes notated using K+/K− (Heritage 2012, 2013; Stivers et al. 2011). The asymmetry between interlocutors in regards to their relative rights to know and relative knowledge is often termed epistemic primacy (Stivers et al. 2011). Epistemic authority may then be understandable as where a speaker is treated as having primary or priority access to knowledge about the epistemic terrain, their relative rights to knowing, and how precedence is managed, especially in the event of contested claims (Heritage and Raymond 2005, 2006).

While categorisation appears in many types of social actions-in-interaction, telling stories of a past event is a notable locus for category work as a sense-making activity. Goodwin (1991) identified how stories can function as participation structures in children's interactions, and notably in disputes. Storytelling appears as an interactive and co-constructed activity that can expand the participation framework of a dispute, whereby parties not initially involved can align themselves with particular positions in relation to the dispute (Goodwin 1991, p. 239). Stories in conversation appear in order to offer "something that does something now, i.e. describes, explains, accounts for, our current circumstances—mine, yours, or mine and yours" (Sacks 1995, II, p. 465). The reason for telling a story and the categories deployed in the telling "do something now" in terms of achieving a social action or project in the present interaction (Levinson 2013; Mandelbaum 2013). Placing the category puzzle "you can get cyberbullied by your friends" in the context of a social project offers an insight into the work being done by the puzzle.

Background for Excerpt

The excerpt analysed below is taken from a larger data set of a child-centred investigation of children's accounts of bullying and using social media. The study was undertaken in collaboration with three classes at primary schools in Wellington, New Zealand. The host classes were combined Year 7 and 8, with class members aged 11–13 years. The data set was generated through a set of classroom activities where participants discussed their experiences of social media. The data excerpt below is taken from a peer video interview, where participants were placed in small groups by their classroom teacher. The task was to interview each other on

their experiences of social media. At no point were participants asked to focus on bullying, and so where this emerged in the data it was spontaneous and at their own instigation.

The video recordings were made by the child participants with no adults present. Each group had a list of questions generated by class members during a previous fieldwork activity; however, these had the status of a guide rather than strict interview schedule. The recording took place in a room separate from other classroom areas where the groups could complete the recording activity relatively undisturbed as well as unsupervised. Participants had complete control over the recording process, including having free choice over which questions they chose to ask. In this regard, the participants were engaged in small group discussion of a current social studies topic and the recordings may be analysed as naturally organised ordinary activities (Lynch 2002), based in small group discussion of a social studies topic. The video-recordings of children's peer interactions in small groups in this data set produced exceptionally rich data for analysis.

One of the affordances created by video-recordings is capture of gesture, body posture and facial expressions as components of the interaction. As a result, the transcript and analysis incorporates some instances of nonverbal communication that appear salient to the interaction and analysis. Increasing use of video-recordings has enabled ethnomethodological analysis of gesture as an integral component of the interaction (e.g. Keevallik 2013; Mondada 2011). Daria and Eddie's close physical proximity on the couch and relaxed physical interactions displayed their ease in each other's company. Eddie presented as a forceful persona, supported by her physical size (she was one of the tallest people in the class), speech volume, and mannerisms. These were evident throughout the data set for School 3 as well as in this excerpt. Both Daria and Eddie use highly expressive hand and body gestures, as noted in places through the following transcript, in addition to verbal expression in the interaction. Names appearing in the text are pseudonyms, in line with the confidentiality agreements made with participants in the study from which the data excerpt has been taken.

A challenging feature for categorising an event as bullying is establishing who has the authority to determine whether the interaction concerned was indeed bullying. Negative impact was a key feature that participants oriented to in discussing how to interpret an event as bullying in typical accounts from the broader data set. In a twist to the focus on the instigator in the conventional definition of bullying, it was common for epistemic authority to be vested in the recipient and their response to determine whether an interaction could legitimately be categorised as bullying. This was explicitly constructed as an interactional feature determined by the recipient's response rather than the instigator's actions. What mattered was how the

person received it and whether they were affected by it. This established an inter-pretive hierarchy, where experiencing negative impact was accorded greater relative epistemic rights to categorise the event as bullying. This feature of defining bullying offered some context for analysing the claims to authority in this excerpt. It offered insights into how categorisation of the event as cyberbullying in the excerpt below was privileged in interaction in the context of a dispute, where one party's category work was treated as authoritative and the other's rejected.

In this recording, Eddie and Daria are being interviewed by Lila and Madison. The classroom teacher had grouped participants into friendship groups to facilitate comfortable small group work. Eddie and Daria were originally grouped with Melody, who is mentioned in this excerpt. However, the teacher rearranged the groups so that Melody was placed with a different group just prior to the video recording activity. The teacher commented at the time that the request came from some of the participants due to a falling out between some group members, how-ever the individuals involved and the nature of the problem were not disclosed to me. According to the teacher, the problem that had prompted this request had resolved by the time of the recording; however, she thought it better not to rear-range the groups over again.

In this excerpt, Daria and Eddie respond to questions about whether they feel they have been affected by social media and whether they think it is safe. Eddie and Daria sit on a small couch. Lila and Madison are behind the camera. The camera remains static and focused on Eddie and Daria for the duration of the recording. Eddie and Daria identified each other elsewhere in the recording as being close friends. The pattern of interaction between Eddie, Daria, Lila and Madison was casual and friendly, often lapsing into casual conversation in between orientations to the set task of "interviewing". Some of this on task/off task switching is evident in the exerpt below.

The story goes for a little over two minutes of talk. I have broken it and the analysis into two sections for convenience. However, the two segments flow unbroken from one to the next in the recording and thus can be seen to comprise a single story.

Excerpt Part 1 CaSM_3_PI_020 Eddie, Daria, Lila, Madison

```
 1   Lila:      Okyay (.) umumumumumum where are we up to.
 2              Have you been affected by social media?
 3              Like (.) so (.) cyberbullied (2.3) badly?
 4   Daria:     Um
 5   Lila:      [Not badly?]
 6   Daria:     [she  she  ] ((head inclines sideways
 7              towards Eddie)) and her friend, I mean,
 8              yeah
 9   Eddie:     Your friend as well.
10   Daria:     Our friend (.) well (.) yeah. [She and] Mel
11   Lila:                                    [Heheh  ]
12   Eddie:     WE went through a rough patch in our
13              relationship. °Eww that sounds eww°
14   Madison:   (laughing) [Your relationship?            ]
15   Daria:                [.hhh at the start of the year]
16              or was it last year, was it,
17   Eddie:     I don't know.
18   Madison:   That sounds (indistinct)
19   Lila:      Okay carry on girls. Sorry.
20   Eddie:     We were just like we were just like ↑ ohhh
21              I hate you bitch ((typing motions)) ↓ n (.)
22              stuff like that
23   Lila:      °Oh schnap°
24   Eddie:     [°Oh schnap°]
25   Daria:     [And then  ] and then I was like by myself
26              and these two people like ↑ *beh
27              [nehnehnehneh ]
28   Madison:   [Cyberbullying]
29   Daria:     And I'm like .HHH HHH ((downturned mouth,
30              shrugging shoulders)) and then um they made
31              up before I um the night ended so
32              [um          ]
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33  Eddie:      [And then an] hour later in an hour after
34              we did it we were like °I'm so sorry that
35              felt so bad°
36  Daria:      Eneheh and they were like ↑oh I'm so sorry
37              [I'm so  ]
38  Eddie:      [No Melod]y didn't want to. Melody she was
39              just like eww and I was like °we have to we
40              have to that was horrib-° it was all Melody
41              it wasn't me.
42  Lila:       (0.5) Well why were you doing it on your
43              account?
44  Eddie:      (0.5) How do you know it was on my account
45              you stalker?
46  Lila:       Heheheh because
47  Eddie:      I wanted to swap over to her account. (.)
48              But she wouldn't let me. (.) °I'm sorry it
49              wasn't me. It was Melody.°
50  Daria:      You guys. Even [the boys]
51  Lila:                      [Hehehehe]
52  Daria:      were on your guys' side. And I was by
53              myself.=
54  Eddie:      =Yeah because boys are always on my side.
55              Coz I'm like ((tongue click))
56  Lila:       Ohhh
57  Eddie:      AHAHA[HAH]
58  Daria:          [Now] we're all on each others'
59              [side,        ]
60  Lila:       [What happened] here,
61  Daria:      We got each other's back
62  Eddie:      AHHHHHHHH
63  Daria, Lila, Madison: (laughing)
64  Eddie:      You little [bitch you    ] slap hard
65  Lila:                  [Next question!]
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Lila's question in lines 1–2 sets the scene for a focus on experience, where the question formulation "have you been affected" draws attention to personal and emotional impact in the context of using social media. Although "being affected" could include positive or negative experiences, Lila redesigns the question to offer "cyberbullied" as a specific type of "being affected" (Pomerantz and Heritage 2013). It is not immediately clear whether her further redesigns "badly" and "not badly" refer to "cyberbullied" or "being affected", although it is difficult to conceive how one might be bullied in a neutral or positive sense. However, this lack of clarity changes the valence of the candidate answer and expands the range of permitted responses (Pomerantz and Heritage 2013). Lila's hedging before "cyberbullying" (line 3) and extended pause before "badly"/"not badly" appears to orient to cyberbullying as a sensitive subject.

Daria's "um" makes a first response to Lila's question and allows her to set the focus of the ensuing discussion on a specific past event. While this does not fit "going first" in a strict sequential sense (Heritage and Raymond 2005), it is a first response and establishes a degree of control over the following discussion. She then launches into telling a story, in which she implicitly accuses her friend Eddie, who is sitting next to her, of cyberbullying (line 6–7). Daria makes a claim over the epistemic terrain represented by the event by proffering it as a suitable response to a question about cyberbullying (Pomerantz and Heritage 2013). She authors this account as a breach of the rules of "being a friend" by categorising Eddie's actions as cyberbullying. In this, Daria also produces a claim for moral authority by making Eddie and Melody's social conduct accountable as a breach of the moral order (Drew 1998; Evaldsson 2007). This breach is intensified by constructing the narrative in an oppositional "them versus me" frame, rendering Eddie and Melody's actions as a breach of the duties and obligations implicit in the standardised relational pair friend-friend.

The friend-friend standardised relational pair also appears as a resource for resisting the emerging account of the event as cyberbullying. Eddie's interjection, that "her friend" is "your friend as well" (line 7–8), attempts to reorient the narrative away from the opposition Daria sets up between herself on one side and Eddie and Melody on the other. Interestingly, Eddie does not start out disputing the indexed categorisation of this event as cyberbullying. However, she draws on "friend" to emphasise their ongoing relationship, shifting the "them versus me" to "us". Daria concedes the reframe and modifies her account to "our friend" (line 9), and restarts her narrative, this time using the absent friend's name. As becomes evident later in the excerpt, this delays but does not derail the unfolding co-construction of the event as cyberbullying.

Eddie interjects again to reframe the incident as "a rough patch in our relationship", accompanied by a sweeping arm gesture that creates a physically imposing effect along with seeking to define the narrative (line 11). This

interruption suggests that Eddie remains oriented to the persisting moral problem that she remains implicitly accused of cyberbullying her friend. Eddie's recategorisation "a rough patch" may be seen as attempting to diminish or minimise the significance of the event for the longer term, even as it simultaneously orients to Daria's category work by disputing it. Eddie's choice of words create an unintentional comic moment by inappropriate indexing of romantic relationship rather than friendship, prompting Eddie's aside "ew that sounds ew" (lines 11–12). In this reframe Eddie continues to focus on friendship as a strategy to dispute the categorisation of the event as cyberbullying, suggesting that it conforms to a temporary falling out rather than the enduring victimisation indexed by cyberbullying. The "just" in Eddie's account contributes to the diminished significance of her and Melody's actions "we were just like ohh I hate you bitch n (.) stuff like that" accompanied by typing motions with her hands (line 19–21). At this point, Eddie's echo of Lila's "oh schnap" along with a downward gaze and subdued posture suggests regret.

Daria makes her self-categorisation as the negatively-impacted party explicit in lines 24–28, where she describes being "by myself and these two people were like" and "I'm like. HHH HHH". Invoking the experience of negative impact makes a claim to being more knowledgeable (K+) about the event for the purposes of categorising it as cyberbullying. This claim orients to her relative epistemic rights over knowing her own emotional experience (Heritage 2012; Sacks 1995) and to the priority accorded to the recipient response, as observed in accounts of defining bullying from the broader data set. Daria displays her experience of the negative impact of this event using vocal and gesture combinations as syntactic elements (Keevallik 2013), including "*beneneneneneneh" (line 25–26) and loud in and out breath combined with a downward-turned mouth in an exaggerated sad face (lines 26–27). Madison formulates Daria's implicit category work with her interjection "cyberbullying" (line 27). Madison's interjection demonstrates that Daria's category work rendered this story hearable as cyberbullying, a formulation to which Daria at least acquiesces because she does not dispute it.

While not contesting that the event was hurtful for Daria, Eddie increasingly disputes Daria's categorisation and the epistemic and moral authority claims that flow from it. Eddie has equivalent epistemic access to the past event because she was involved. Where her and Daria's epistemic status are treated differently is in their relative rights (Heritage 2012; Stivers et al. 2011). As Heritage (2012) notes, possession of information on its own is not enough to be recognised as having a priority claim to epistemic authority. Eddie as an instigator is treated as less knowledgeable (K−) in light of the apparent rule that recipient response takes priority over instigator intent when determining if an action was bullying. Eddie's

interjection in line 8 emphasises the ongoing friendship between Daria, Melody, and herself to undermine the indexed categorisation of the event as cyberbullying, invoking the social norm that friends do not bully each other. Eddie's subsequent challenges appear to claim epistemic authority based on the event having a negative impact on her as well, evident in her comment "that felt so bad" (line 33–34). She then progressively distances herself from responsibility, eventually denying involvement, upgrading her denial from "we were just like I hate you bitch and stuff like that" (line 19–21) to "Melody didn't want to" (line 37) and "it was all Melody, it wasn't me" (lines 39–40, also 47–48).

Lila's challenge to Eddie's attempted resistance at line 41 similarly orients to Daria's epistemic and moral authority to accuse Eddie. Lila challenges Eddie's pattern of increasing denial by asking why the "stuff like that" was coming from Eddie's social media account if Eddie was not involved. This has the effect of supporting Daria's authoring of the account as cyberbullying. Eddie attempts to deflect this with a counteraccusation "you stalker" to Lila. "Stalker" in relation to online activity implies illegitimate access to the epistemic terrain under discussion, along with negative implicatures comparable to bullying. Eddie's categorisation of Lila appears to be an attempt to undermine Lila's orientation to Daria's authority. Eddie immediately returns to apologising to Daria while simultaneously disclaiming any responsibility for the event (lines 47–48).

Daria implicitly and then explicitly disputes Eddie's disclaimers of responsibility. Her implicit rejection can be seen in her exclamation "You guys. Even the boys were on your guys' side" (line 49–51), repositioning Eddie back into the instigator category with Melody and now also with "the boys" who had apparently joined in. This also upgrades Daria's characterisation of her social exclusion by extending the scope of the hurtful event. Eddie orients to this as a positive reflection on her popularity because "boys are always on my side" (line 53). Daria then re-appropriates "being on each other's side" to account for the resolution of the troublesome event, followed by a word play shifting the emphasis from "side" to "back" through the figure of speech "we got each other's back" (line 60). Daria emphasises the word "back" by slapping Eddie on the back in an exaggerated gesture. Eddie's reaction is equally exaggerated. Although it is not possible to evaluate how forceful the contact was from the recording, Eddie's vocal and gesture responses simulate a response to a forceful blow. The laughter responses by Lila, Madison, and Daria combined with Eddie's further comment in a normal voice suggests that Eddie's reaction was melodramatic rather than realistic and matches the volume of her laughter earlier at line 56. Daria's back slap creates a figurative and physical punctuation point in the excerpt (Keevallik 2013).

Excerpt Part 2

```
66   Madison:    Do you think it's safe. (.) and why.
67   Eddie:      ((puts  food  in  mouth))  Mmm-mmm  ((shaking
68               head and chewing)) Mmm-mmm
69   Daria:      Half half. Because you can get cyberbullied
70               by your friends .hhh and
71   Eddie:      IT WASN'T CYBERBULLYING
72   Daria:      WELL SOMETHING LIKE THAT
73   Eddie:      IT WAS MELODY
74   Daria:      Melody bullulling bullying
75   Lila:       Bullulling
76   Daria:      [(laughing)                   ]
77   Eddie:      [I don't like being accused] of something I
78               didn't do
79   Daria:      And  then  and  then  there's  like  the  good
80               side of being social to your friends
81   Eddie:      ((picks up paper butterfly from windowsill
82               behind sofa))
83   Lila:       Ooh there's a butterfly
84   Daria:      ((slaps  Eddie's  hand))  ↑Ohhehehehehe↓  I
85               just ripped it.
86   Lila:       Okay okay no Daria
87   Eddie:      Who's social bullying now
88   Daria:      The butterfly. Okay, next question.
89   Lila:       Oh you didn't even answer that
90   Daria:      Wh(h)at w(h)as th(h)e qu(h)est(h)ion,
```

Daria reasserts authority over the interaction by making the first substantive response to the next question. While Eddie's "mmm-mmm" is strictly the first response, she is unable to follow up with a verbal response due to having a mouthful of food. It is worth noting that there is no break in the talk between the beginning of this section of transcript and the end of the previous. Daria and Eddie remained oriented to the dispute, evident in their continued focus on the past event and whether it was cyberbullying. Lila's intervention to refocus on the task of interviewing with "next question" (line 64) did not produce a change of topic.

Daria's formulation of the category puzzle "you can get cyberbullied by your friends" makes explicit the category work that was implicit in her storytelling up to this point. Eddie's increasing denial of responsibility provide a basis for the confrontation (Evaldsson 2007). This statement is observable as a category puzzle in the juxtaposition of "friends" and "cyberbullying", which should be morally mutually exclusive, and in the extreme response it elicits from Eddie. The shock value (Stokoe 2012) provokes Eddie to respond with an equally explicit statement of the point of her dispute, which focuses on the categorisation of the event as "cyberbullying". Eddie is placed in the category of "cyberbully" according to the first viewer's maxim (Sacks 2014). If Eddie stands accused of the category-bound activity "cyberbullying", then as "the doer of the action" she is a bully. This clarifies the point of the dispute. Eddie does not dispute what Daria says happened, nor does she argue with Daria's account of how she was affected by the event. Her objection, as she comments in lines 76–77, is over being accused of something that she feels she did not do.

The competing claims to epistemic and moral authority illuminate the problems associated with evaluating relative epistemic and moral rights to account for an event where parties disagree. Both Daria and Eddie have access to the epistemic terrain of the event in question, so at that level they are both in a K+ position regarding the sequence of actions, which are not disputed. Where they differ is in relation to their experiences of the event, and this is the point where their relative claims to epistemic and moral authority are differentiated in this interaction. This presents an intriguing dilemma at the heart of the category work in this excerpt. How do the interlocutors orient to and assess the authority in the context of such a dispute? In this case, the intertwined epistemic primacy accorded to the hurt party and moral order implicit in the standardised relational pair of friends result in the interlocutors according greater authority to Daria's category work over Eddie's counter-arguments. Daria is in a K+ position regarding her experience of being hurt, and this epistemic primacy translates to a parallel moral authority to categorise the event as a result. This positioning effectively places Eddie in a K− position because she has less epistemic access to how hurtful her actions were to Daria. In this regard, it is not simply knowing the thing but having a specific relationship with the thing that establishes the greater authority and rights (Raymond and Heritage 2006).

The moral tension introduced by Daria accusing Eddie of cyberbullying persists through the remainder of the account due to Daria's refusal to relinquish the categorisation. Eddie continues to dispute the categorisation of the past event as bullying and her implicit categorisation as a bully. Eddie's post script statement "I don't like being accused of something I didn't do" (line 76–77) displays an orientation to the fact that she remains accused and that Daria's category work still stands and continues to be treated as authoritative. Eddie repeats her attempt to shift blame to Melody (line 72). Rather than conceding to Eddie's implicit request to be exonerated from the accusation, Daria mockingly re-frames the accusation as "Melody bullying", implicitly restating her refusal to relinquish her authority for categorising the event in question.

The Friendship Ties that Bind Activities—A Social Project

So what interactional work is the category "cyberbullying" doing in the context of this dispute? The analysis highlighted how Daria's category work deployed cultural knowledge associated with "cyberbullying" and the standardised relational pair of friend-friend to create a category puzzle and thereby achieve a series of social actions. These actions serve to accuse Eddie of breaching the moral obligations of friends and to claim relative epistemic rights over accounting for the event as a result of being the hurt recipient of Eddie and Melody's negative actions. What matters is that friends should not bully friends, and it is this moral authority that Daria invokes successfully (evidenced in Eddie's dramatic reaction to the overt accusation) through a series of actions that may be understood as a social project (Levinson 2013).

One of the complications highlighted in this excerpt is that an event may have many epistemic terrains, as each person involved has their own experiences of it. In this context, having first-hand experience of an event in question is not enough to accord authority to one person's account over another's. Both Daria and Eddie were directly involved in the incident, so have comparable entitlements to talk about their experience and make assessments about the event. For the most part, they were in agreement that it was unpleasant. Daria experienced it as unpleasant at the time, while Eddie acknowledged that the consequences were unpleasant ("that was horrib-", line 39).

Daria's authority in this co-constructed account may be understood as a confluence of the epistemic and moral authority associated with relative epistemic rights. The relational context of being the hurt recipient is treated as providing specific access to the epistemic territory of an interaction by virtue of their experience of it. They are in a position to know the negative impact directly, and the epistemic priority accorded to the hurt recipient is evident in the ways that Lila, Madison, and Eddie all orient to Daria's categorisation. This right in turn establishes an authority to categorise an activity as bullying. Similarly, she claims authority to declare that the estrangement is over and now "we're all on each other's side" (line 57–58). Daria gets to propose, refocus, retrieve and deliver an authoritative categorisation of the event in question even though it creates interactional and relational trouble.

Several studies have also documented how social control or influence is produced in children's peer interactions and friendships, notably in girls' friendships (Corsaro 2009; Duncan and Owens 2011; Goodwin 2002a, b; Karlsson and Evaldsson 2011; Loyd 2012; Svahn and Evaldsson 2011). Daria's storytelling and invoking of the category puzzle can be seen to make a moral claim to exert influence over Eddie's future actions. Daria does not have recourse to a structural authority to give instructions to direct Eddie's future actions (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012). She does have access to the moral obligations inherent in the standardised relational pair friend-friend to create a more indirect form of social control, mediated here through accusation of wrongdoing. The tension created

through the category puzzle and standardised relational pair adds moral weight to this project of influence. In this respect, Daria exploited the ties between the activity "bullying" and the person category "bully" to produce social influence in the context of a close friendship. In this respect, whether the event in question matches any definition of bullying is immaterial. Daria's category work deploys "bullying" not to provide an accurate description of the event but to pursue a project of influencing Eddie's future behaviour, to tie it closer to the moral obligation of "friends".

The event recounted in the excerpt would not fit the conventional definition of bullying criteria, and nor did it fit the children's working definitions appearing in the broader data set. It also appeared at odds with the social norm that friends do not bully friends. As such, it initially appeared to be a deviant case. However, this excerpt and analysis offers an insight into ways that "bullying" may be used to categorise activities regardless of whether they match an agreed definition. What it does illustrate is children's use of categorisation, epistemic, and moral authority in peer conversation to achieve social actions and projects, that co-construct knowledges in interaction (Corsaro 2009; Mayall 2000) but are not limited by strict accuracy to definitions. This evidence offers an insight into children's orientations to epistemic and moral authority in the context of categorisation, and management of epistemic priority to resolve competing claims over relative epistemic rights.

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Chapter 19
'It's Gonna Work': Spontaneous Activity and Knowledge Management by a Child with Asperger's Syndrome

Johanna Rendle-Short

Introduction

The activity under consideration in this paper consists of two boys (siblings aged 8 and 9 years old) jointly involved in the task of assembling a toy machine gun. The eldest boy has been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome. The activity of assembling the toy gun will be complete once the boys have taken the pieces out of the box, read the instructions, put batteries into battery holders, assembled and installed the bullet holder, and finally ensured that the gun fires. Although there are diagrammatic instructions of how the gun should be constructed, the activity and the resulting interaction are spontaneous. The aim of this paper is to examine how the siblings assert, contest and defend their understanding of 'who knows what' when interacting with each other and the artifacts and objects within their vicinity.

The paper brings together intersecting themes concerning children's management of epistemics or knowledge while engaged in a spontaneous activity, together with the fact that one of the children has been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome. Spontaneous activities require children to demonstrate an understanding of the features and properties of social structure and to engage in 'fast talking' that propels the interaction forward (Rendle-Short et al. 2014). Spontaneous activities can be variously structured, ranging from loose play, organised games, to activities arranged around a task or the construction of an object. Whatever their form, spontaneous activities provide opportunities for children to prepare for and practise everyday social life (Goodwin 1990; Sacks 1995).

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Knowledge Management or Epistemics

Epistemics is "the knowledge claims that interactants assert, contest and defend in and through turns at talk and sequences of interaction" (Heritage 2013 p. 370). In other words, it focuses on how speakers demonstrate through their talk-in-interaction 'who knows what'. Speakers can index their epistemic status with either K+ or K− valence utterances (Heritage 2012a). A K+ valence utterance, for example, might be an assertion whereby a speaker indicates their knowledge within a certain domain (Stivers et al. 2011, p. 14). A K− valence utterance might be an information request, generally said with interrogative syntax and rising intonation (Heritage 2012a).

Heritage (2012b) argues that the interaction continues in a K+ K− seesaw manner, with slight K+ adjustments, until both participants reach knowledge equilibrium (Heritage 2012a). For example, an initial K− utterance might initiate a sequence through a first pair part (FPP), such as a question. The sequence would be terminated through the provision of a K+ response, the second pair part (SPP). Heritage (2012b) argues that epistemics is the driver of interaction with each new contribution moving the interaction forward.

Epistemic balance or equilibrium can be registered through change of state tokens (Heritage 1984), through assessments, or through K+ claims that put the epistemic status on the record. If equilibrium has not been reached, it warrants the production of more talk. As Drew (2012) states, epistemics drives sequences of talk-in-interaction "either by the role epistemics play in constructing actions; or by epistemic imbalances or asymmetries between participants, imbalances that are "levelled off" through sequences of interaction" (p. 62). One of the reasons this is possible is because "speakers are exquisitely sensitive to their epistemic positions relative to addressees" (Heritage 2012a, p. 31), monitoring 'who knows what'. In other words, speakers know who is making claims to knowledge and how that relates to their own claims to knowledge; they also monitor whether the knowledge is a Type 1 or Type 2 knowable (Pomerantz 1980, p. 87). Is it a knowable that recipients have rights and responsibilities to know (Type 1), such as one's name, what one is doing, or how one is feeling? Or is it a knowable that recipients are assumed to have access to by virtue of the knowings being occasioned (Type 2), such as, something they have been told, worked out or seen?

Asperger's Syndrome[1]

Children who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome, or Autism Spectrum Disorder under the new DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association 2013) diagnostic criteria, find social interaction difficult (e.g., Attwood 2000;

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[1]Although the label of Asperger's Syndrome was officially defined in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual IV (DSM-IV) (American Psychiatric Association 2000), the label has now been removed

Fine et al. 1994; Minshew et al. 1995; Rendle-Short 2003, 2014; Rendle-Short et al. 2014; Tager-Flusberg and Anderson 1991; Wing 1981). For example, they might find it hard to know what to say at the right time, they may not look at the other person when they are talking to them, and they may not be able to successfully initiate a conversation or keep it going.

More recently, research has moved away from a biomedical deficit model with its emphasis on what the children cannot do towards a more holistic model of understanding how children diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome can make a positive, collaborative contribution to talk and interaction (e.g. Geils and Knoetze 2008; Stribling et al. 2007; Muskett et al. 2010; Rendle-Short et al. 2014). These papers emphasise the fact that what counts as possible 'social interaction difficulty' will vary according to the specific context of interaction through ways in which it is locally managed. In the case of interaction involving a child who has been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome, it might depend on how the partner scaffolds the interaction (Rendle-Short 2014) or on how the children monitor each other's behaviour (Rendle-Short et al. 2014, 2015). These papers, and this current paper, are responding to recent calls for finer micro-analysis of social behaviours of children with Asperger's Syndrome in naturalistic settings with familiar peers (Macintosh and Dissanayake 2006).

Data and Methodology

The current paper explores an extract from a collected data set of 75 min of video-recorded interaction of a 9 year-old boy called Simon and his 8 year-old brother Larry (pseudonyms). The older boy, Simon, had been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome by a Clinical Psychologist according to the DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association 2000) a year previously. The video recording was collected as part of a larger study investigating how 8–12 year old children who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome interact with siblings and friends within the home environment.

Approval for the project was given by the university Human Research Ethics committee. Signed consent was given by the parents although both boys also gave consent and were aware of the process of data collection. Parents gave permission

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(Footnote 1 continued)

from the latest 5th Manual (DSM-5) (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Children who were previously diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome are now diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder. Whereas in the 4th Manual there were a triad of impairments, namely problems in development of social skills, communication impairment and a lack of flexible thinking, under the more recent description, social and communication dimensions are classified together. The data presented in this paper was recorded in 2011 before the more recent DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association 2013). As a result, the child in this data set was diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome (DSM-IV) (American Psychiatric Association 2000) and the label of Asperger's Syndrome will be used throughout this paper.

for the use of pseudonyms and faces not to be blurred. To make the recordings as unobtrusive as possible, parents were lent a camera for a week and told to record instances of the child under investigation interacting within the home environment. Sound was recorded through the camera; no lapel wireless microphones were used. A total of 8 h of interactional data were collected across the project as a whole.

In order to collect the data, Simon's parents gave him a toy gun to assemble. They recorded the process of him and his younger brother (Larry) unpacking and assembling the toy gun. The assembling activity lasted 8 min 45 s.

Data were transcribed and analysed using conversation analysis (CA). Jeffersonian transcription conventions with additional nonverbal information are provided in italics immediately below the line of talk in the transcripts (see list of conventions in the front of this book). Images have been included to characterize what is occurring nonverbally with the image being placed immediately above the relevant bit of talk. Conversation analysis is a qualitative micro-interactional methodology that focuses on talk-in-interaction (Schegloff 1988), and specifically on what the talk is *doing,* asking the question, 'Why that now?'. A fundamental conversation analytic principle is that people exhibit an understanding and treatment of the *prior* talk and conduct through the design and timing of their *own* talk and conduct (Schegloff 1992).

Spontaneous Activities as a Site for Knowledge Management

At the beginning of the recording, the separate toy gun bits were in a large box on the floor. Although Simon was 'in charge' of the assembly activity, both boys were focused on the practical task of constructing the gun from the individual gun pieces. Larry, the younger brother, demonstrated keen involvement in the assembly process—he tried to unpack the toy gun, to find toy gun parts, to work out the next step, and to assist in whatever way possible. However, it is clear that the structure and the project of building the toy gun were in Simon's epistemic domain. He demonstrated his epistemic control and primacy (Sidnell 2011) through the way in which he resisted assistance through assertion, contestation and defending of 'who knows what' with respect to the assembly process. Evidence that Simon was 'in charge' can also be seen from the way in which Larry occasionally glanced in the direction of the video camera (and presumably the operator of the camera) in order to check how his (Larry's) level of involvement was being responded to.

Although there were instructions provided as to how the gun should be assembled, there were no instructions as to how the children should talk through the assembly process. It is through talk and action that the boys demonstrate their understanding of 'who knows what'. Thus the assembly activity becomes a site for exploring the management of knowledge and how it is made relevant for, and by, the participants. As part of this exploration, this chapter will also highlight the sophisticated way in which Simon, who has been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome, maintains epistemic primacy throughout the interaction. In particular, it will show how after K+ K− seesaw sequences, Simon uses post completion assertions to reassert his epistemic authority with respect to the toy assembly.

Analysis

As the analysis will demonstrate, knowledge is not a static thing that is owned or claimed by one speaker; it is negotiated and situated within the unfolding talk. In the segment of talk under examination, the toy gun pieces, as material objects, were the focus of attention, with toy-centred talk and gaze. Within this toy assembly activity, the siblings made knowledge, or 'who knows what' relevant 59 times through asserting, contesting and defending knowledge. K+ announcements or assertions, claims (verbal and nonverbal) and instructions occurred 54 times. K− questions, such as "How do you…", occurred 5 times. The analysis initially examines K− valence initiations before examining K+ valence initiations. It then focuses on 'doing knowledge' versus 'claiming knowledge'.

K− Valence Sequence Initiations

There were 5 instances of K− valence sequence initiations. FPP K− questions were responded to with SPP K+ answers. Extract 1 exemplifies this type of sequence with Simon asking where are the instructions. Once the knowledge imbalance has been rectified, the sequence comes to a close.

Extract 1

```
1.   S   [whe:re's ] the instructions.
2.       (0.6)
3.       S looks around; sweeps arm across floor
4.       S doesn't gaze at L
5.       L doesn't gaze at S
6.       L continues doing something with the box
7.   L   (climb) up and down,
8.   S   ↑where's the ins↑tructions.
9.       (2.1) S grabs box from L
10.      S is still looking for instructions
11.  L   ↑ST[RUCTIONS ARE RIGHT THE:RE.
12.         [L points to the instructions
13.      (3.6)
14.      S picks up the instructions; frowns
15.      S takes the box from L
16.      L lets S have the box
17.      L moves away from S and the box
18.  S   I don't need your help, (.) (°I'm on it.°)
19.      (4.8) S looks intently at the instructions
```

Simon initially asks a K− valence question (FPP) although there is no accompanying gaze. This means that Simon does not clearly ensure that Larry is the addressed recipient. As shown in lines 5 and 6, Larry does not respond; instead he continues to look at the large box that holds the toy gun pieces. Simon repeats his question (line 8) with emphasis, grabbing the box from Larry while still looking for

the instructions. After 2.1 s, Larry provides a shouted response (line 11), possibly orienting to the fact that Simon should have known where the instructions are, as he is the one with epistemic primacy over the project at hand. Simon nonverbally registers the fact that epistemic equilibrium has been reached (as he now knows where the instructions are) by picking up the instructions (line 14). Once epistemic equilibrium has been achieved, Larry disengages from the process by moving away from Simon and the box (line 17).

Even though Simon asks a K− question, both boys orient to the toy gun assembly as being in Simon's epistemic domain. Simon continues to demonstrate epistemic authority through a final assertion 'I don't need your help,' (line 18), effectively cancelling out Larry's knowledge of where the instructions were. This post-equilibrium assertion (see also Extracts 3 and 4) reinforces Simon's primacy to overall K+ knowledge status. It demonstrates his perspective with respect to who is in charge of putting the toy gun together and who knows how the assembly should proceed.

K+ Valence Sequence Initiations

In contrast to very few K− sequence initiations, there were 54 K+ announcements, claims (verbal and nonverbal) and instructions. K+ sequence initiations indicate 'who knows what'. As Stivers et al. (2011) state "asserting something in first-position (whether a description or an assessment) carries an implied claim that the speaker has epistemic primacy over the claim." (p. 12).

Extract 2 shows the K+ K− seesaw that ensues until information imbalance reaches equilibrium (Heritage 2012b). The extract starts with Larry waving a bullet belt and saying 'BULLETS' (line 2) in a loud voice. By clearly naming the bullet belt as he waves it in Simon's direction, Larry demonstrates his epistemic understanding of the object and its likely role in the assembly process (Schegloff 1972).

Extract 2

```
1.        (1.3)
2.  L     BULL[ETS, L waves bullet belt at Simon
3.  S         [let's try putting some bullets in. hh
4.        (1.7) S takes bullet belt from L
5.  L     °maybe jus'° slide them into that container,=
6.  S     =the other wa::y Larry, S turns bullet belt around
7.        (1.9) S looks at a green object; turns it around
8.  L     NO:, that GREEN [thing has to go=
9.                        [L puts finger into hole
10.       =in the middle there.
```

```
11.      (2.3) S looks intently at gun
12. S    °that's the slide in for the container.°
13.      (2.5) S tries to put it in, then removes it
14. S    slide in for the container (from the outside.)
15.      (1.9) Simon glances briefly at person/camera
16. S    .hh put (.) that (.) went (.) in that
17.      (.) on side and then came out the °other°; hh
18.      (0.8)
19. S    °then that happens.°
20.      (1.0)
21. S    down so.
22.      (2.1) S still focused on bullet belt
23. S    °I get it now,°
24.      (13.1) S putting bullets in container
25. L    that green bit °needs° (0.4)
26.      °°to go in [that bit.°°
27.                 [L points at bit
28.      (15.1) S puts container onto gun
29. S    that (1.0) °°bit.°°
30.      (12.7) L holds lid, waiting to put it down
31. L    HAH
32.      (0.9)
```

Simon takes the bullet belt from Larry (line 4). In the ensuing seesawing epistemic tussle, Larry makes a suggestion (line 5) followed by Simon's counter assertion, 'the other wa::y Larry,' (line 6). Larry's shouted 'NO::, that GREEN thing has to go in the middle there.' (lines 8 and 10) is not responded to. Instead, Simon works on his own, trying different bits while talking himself through the process of what to do next (lines 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23). By talking the process through, Simon can avoid having to agree (or disagree) with Larry about where the green end should go. This reduces the "vulnerability to being heard as acquiescing to an inferior epistemic position" (Stivers et al. 2011, p. 15).

Simon does not look at Larry at all throughout this sequence.[2] Lack of gaze is noticeable given that abnormal eye gaze and lack of interest in others is a key

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[2]It is not possible to know whether Larry looks at Simon as he has his back to the camera during this sequence.

characteristic of Asperger's Syndrome diagnosis (Frith 1989; Lord et al. 2000) although whether the gaze aversion is due to problems with executive control of attention or a failure to respond to social cues is, according to the literature, not clear (Doherty-Sneddon et al. 2013). Whatever the reason, by focusing on what he is doing and remaining 'on task', Simon is able to demonstrate his involvement in an alternate activity and thus demonstrate his epistemic control and authority over the assembly process.

Simon eventually says °I get it now,° (line 23) in a quiet voice, followed by a further quiet K+ assertion by Larry about where the green bit goes (lines 25 and 26). The collaborative joint accomplishment of putting the bullet belt into the gun is evident both verbally and nonverbally. Simon puts the bullet belt into the gun; Larry holds the lid. Once the task is complete, Larry puts the lid down (line 30) and makes a loud 'HAH' assessment (line 31) to indicate that the activity (and sequence) has come to an end. Equilibrium has been reached. Throughout the sequence, both children oriented to the fact that it was Simon's project: Simon asserted his right to handle the gun parts and lead the activity; Larry 'allowed' Simon to take the lead.

In Extract 3, Larry again initiates a K+ announcement, thus claiming epistemic primacy. However, as before, the epistemic struggle continues until it reaches equilibrium.

Extract 3

```
1.      (5.9)
2.      L looks at S
3.      S is looking at and working on the gun
4.  L   [i::t doesn't have the st↑and=
5.      [L looking at gun
6.      =on¿ (.) [Simon?
7.              [L briefly looks at S
8.      (1.9)
9.  L   [and it doesn't-] L gazes briefly at S
10. S   [a:nd it    n]eeds the stand on (.)
11.     becAU::se? S gazes at toy
12.     (1.0)
13.     L looking down; S working on the gun
14.     No mutual gaze
15. L   >↓and it doesn't have any bullets.↑<
16.     L gazing down
17.     S gazing at toy
18.     S has v brief glance at L on 'any'
19.     (1.5) L has slight smirk/smile on face
20.     L gives slight shrug
21. L   that's (.) your problem.
22.     L fingers bullets
23.     L has v brief glance at S on 'your'
24.     (1.1)
25. S   THAT'S the pr↑oblem,
26.     (.) S holds hand out for a piece
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27. S   PASS [THAT.
28.          [S gestures for L to pass the piece
29.     (4.6) L nonchalantly passes a large piece
30.     S attaches the piece
31. S   [>↓this is the< ↑problem.=
32.     [S puts piece in
33.     = it needs to be clipped into [THERE.
34.                                    [S pushes piece in
35.     (4.2) L looking on
36.     S looking intently at the toy
37. L   >°°°otherwise it won't wo:rk.< (.) wi::ll it. °°°
38.     (8.3) S working on toy; L looking on
39. S   it's gonna w↑o::rk. S working on toy
40.     (1.3)
```

Larry looks at Simon (line 2) before making a K+ assertion 'i::t doesn't have the st↑and on¿ (.) Simon?' (lines 4 and 6). In this assertion, epistemic certainty is reduced through rising intonation and a post-Turn Construction Unit address term.

Simon challenges Larry's K+ assertion by saying 'a:nd it needs the stand on (.) becAU::se?' (lines 10 and 11), highlighting the tussle over epistemic rights. Simon's question is not responded to; instead Larry makes a second assertion, almost as an aside, with faster lower pitch talk (line 15), followed by 'that's (.) your problem' (line 21). In contrast to Larry's prosodically reduced talk, Simon emphasises his K+ claims, through louder, stressed talk (lines 11, 25, 27, 31) while utilising the same key words introduced by Larry as a way of rebutting Larry's claims and announcements (e.g. stand, problem, work).

During this contested sequence of talk, objects and gun pieces remain the focus of attention. Simon in particular does not look at Larry—he only once very briefly glances at him throughout the sequence (line 18). By making objects or the task the focus of attention, Simon is able to 'legitimately' avoid having to look at Larry. Thus gaze aversion is a resource that Simon (and to a lesser extent Larry) is able to utilise in order to maintain epistemic control of the talk and activity.

Eventually equilibrium is reached and registered through Larry's very quiet formulation '>°°°otherwise it won't wo:rk.< (.) wi::ll it.°°°' (line 37). The quietness and tag question orients to the conciliatory nature of the statement, although the epistemic equilibrium and closure of the sequence is challenged 8.3 s later by Simon who makes a strong K+ assertion 'it's gonna w↑o::rk.' (line 39) thus positioning himself as having greater K+ authority. The effect of this final formulation has the effect of cancelling the epistemic equilibrium achieved more than 8 s earlier.

In Extract 4 knowledge equilibrium is achieved through embodied actions. The extract starts with Simon unpacking 6 batteries and putting them in the battery holder. Larry looks on until he suddenly grabs the screwdriver and starts to unpack the last package (line 4).

Extract 4


```
1.  S   Looks down; puts batteries in battery holder
2.  L   Looks at S
3.      Suddenly grabs screwdriver
4.      Opens last battery package
5.  S   Looks up
6.      Takes screwdriver and battery package from L
7.  L   Gazes down; doesn't react
8.      Glances briefly to camera
9.  S   Unpacks batteries
10.     Battery package gets caught briefly on screwdriver
11. L   KUH.
12.     (2.5)
13. S   the last two batteries,
14.     S puts last two batteries in batter holder
15.     (7.5)
```

Both boys embody their display of K+ with respect to how the batteries should be unpacked with Simon indicating greater epistemic rights to the activity at hand by not allowing Larry to remove the batteries from the packaging. Once Simon has removed all 6 batteries from their package, Larry indicates closure of the sequence through a loudly spoken assessment, 'KUH' (line 11), registering both that the balance has been reached and also demonstrating his stance (excitement, fun) towards the removal of the last battery package and to the way in which the packaging was caught on the screwdriver.

Simon again makes a post-equilibrium assertion 'the last two batteries,' (line 13) with stress on key words 'last' and 'batteries'. Although again Simon has 'the last word', the slight rising intonation orients to inclusivity in terms of epistemic

authority (in spite of the tussle over the unpacking) and their joint involvement in the activity and eventual collaborative closure.

Doing Knowledge Versus Claiming Knowledge

Knowledge is not only claimed verbally through assertions, statements or announcements, it can also be demonstrated nonverbally, as in Extract 5. In this tussle of 'what goes where', Larry makes two K+ assertions, with his second assertion being accompanied by a nonverbal rush to get the next piece (line 8). However, it is Simon who reaches the box first and tries to remove the piece from the box before Larry moves away (lines 13 and 14).

Extract 5

```
1.           (2.0)
2.    L      goes through the:re¿ looking at gun
3.           (1.0)
4.           S is still attaching things to the gun
5.           L looks at other side
6.           S also looks at other side
7.    L      and [>then you need–< this one.
8.               [L dashes to get next piece from the box
9.           (2.6)
10.          L nearly gets next piece
11.          S rapidly follows L; puts hand on the piece
12.          (1.0)
13.          S struggles to take piece out of box
14.          L moves away; still monitoring S
15.          Loud click as S eventually pulls piece off
16.   L      th[e:n we need to (.)] (play) with it,–
17.   S        [AGHH.  HHH        ]
18.          (.)
19.   L      [on the other s↑ide.]
20.          [ S  moves  to  gun ]
21.          (2.2) S puts in piece; L looks on
```

Larry claims knowledge through his K+ assertion 'goes through the:re¿,' (line 2) followed by 'and >then you need-< this one.' (line 7). In order to make his meaning clear, Larry needs to indicate what the indexical 'this one' is referring to. In his rush to point to 'this one' and to get to the box (line 8), Larry demonstrates his understanding of the next step in the assembly process through the embodiment of *doing knowledge*.

Simon, however, also embodies his epistemic understanding of the next step in the assembly process. He also rushes to the box and gets there first. As Simon struggles to take the piece out of the box (line 13), Larry moves away while still monitoring Simon (line 14). Equilibrium is reached when Simon removes the piece from the box (line 15) in order to put it in it correct place (line 21).

On completion of Simon's removing action, Larry makes another K+ statement, "the:n we need to (.) (play) with it,- (.) on the other s↑ide." (lines 16 and 19). It is during this statement that Simon physically produces a grunting sound (line 17). It is as if Simon is ensuring that his embodied action of actually being the one to remove the piece from the box is verbally heard. The grunt, heard a few seconds after the completion of the piece removal, emphasises Simon's epistemic primacy with respect to the task at hand. It emphasises the difficulty and strenuous effort required to successfully complete the doing activity. It also highlights how in reaching equilibrium each child displays different sorts of knowledge: embodied *doing* knowledge and verbal *claiming* knowledge.

In the final extract, Simon again demonstrates his epistemic primacy with respect to the assembly task through *doing* K+ by pushing the piece in. Larry is not 'allowed' to do K+; instead he *claims* knowledge.

Extract 6

```
1.      (10.4)
2.  L   that's: [(.) to ↑hold it,
3.             [L has L hand on the holder
4.      (1.8) S continues to work on gun
5.      S gazing at gun
6.  L   [that's to ↑hold it=
7.      [L has L hand on holder; R hand at front
```



```
8.      =if you're [#↑using it >↑like ↑this.#<=
9.                 [L lifts gun slightly
10. S   =°wai:t,°
11.     loud clack as S pushes the piece into place
12. S   °waihh° ((said after he puts piece into place))
13.     (2.7) S looks at other side
14.     S puts fingers in place to push piece in
15. L   [and ↑pu:::::::-   [(mm- ehm)=
16.     [S pushes piece in [S repositions gun for better access
17. S   =°mm° .st hh °whh° S grunts to indicate hard work
18. L   an[d ↑pu:::: [:::sh  ((says 'sh' after click sound))
19.       [S pushes  [loud click
20. S   erhh:  ((makes erhh sounds after piece in place))
```

Larry claims knowledge by commenting on and telling Simon what he knows. For example, he initially says 'that's: (.) to ↑hold it,' (line 2) and then repeats the sentence exactly with 'that's to ↑hold it' (line 6) indicating that he clearly knows how the gun should be held. The second way in which he claims knowledge is evident in lines 15 and 18 when he says an elongated 'push' (lines 15 and 18) as Simon pushes the piece into the hole. Larry withholds the 'sh' sound on both occasions until the piece is in place and can be heard as a clicking sound (lines 18 and 19). Through the withholding of the 'sh' sound, he is able to demonstrate his own understanding and knowledge concerning where the piece should go and also the inherent difficulty in positioning the piece. So although he is not the one who actually puts the piece in place, he is working alongside and demonstrating his own knowledge with respect to the task.

In this case both boys are orienting to the emergent and dynamic nature of knowledge, whether that be through *doing* knowledge or *claiming* knowledge. Knowledge equilibrium is achieved once the piece is in place, as expressed verbally by Simon (lines 12 and 20). The embodiment of their actions orients to knowledge being locally occasioned within the contextualised space.

Discussion

The above analysis highlights the way in which two young boys used embodied actions as a resource for displaying 'who knows what' and appropriate ways of responding to 'who knows what'. Simon, the older boy, was able to demonstrate his primary rights to the toy assembly activity—he had control of the gun and the parts that went to make up the gun. But "knowing is not simply a matter of having information. It is a source of disagreement and a resource for reaching agreement" (Stivers et al. 2011, p. 23). In this data under analysis, the two boys asserted, contested and defended knowledge through the use of syntax (statements, interrogatives, tag questions), through gaze or lack of gaze, actions, gesture and body position, and through their interaction with objects (gaze, taking parts out of the box, reading instructions, touching and interacting with the partly constructed gun).

The younger brother Larry was able to comment, make claims about what to do next, and embody his engagement with the task at hand (through gaze and action); but Larry had reduced epistemic rights. Within this reduced epistemic domain Larry used a variety of different means to claim knowledge status—he looked at Simon, he gazed at objects, he swung gun parts around, he rushed to get bits, he put his finger in the hole that held the next moving part. He also, for example, kept on making K+ claims, as in Extract 2, about the piece that should slide through the hole, over and over. Thus although Simon had primary epistemic authority in terms of rights to assemble the toy gun, Larry displayed a fine balancing act of acknowledging a reduced epistemic status while also making it clear that he knew exactly what to do next. Simon responded to Larry's K+ claims with counter assertions (Extracts 2, 3, 4) and statements such as 'I don't need your help,' (Extract 1). Although these assertions carried features of first

status Larry did not respond to them, highlighting to his reduced epistemic authority within this domain.

Given that children who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome tend to avoid eye contact (e.g. Frith 1989; Lord et al. 2000; Sawyer et al. 2012), Simon was able to successfully utilise non-gaze as an interactional resource not only to challenge Larry's epistemic claims, but also as a means for holding onto his own epistemic authority within this toy assembly activity. The high use of indexicals meant that Simon needed to monitor what Larry was referring to, but he (Simon) did this minimally and covertly. Indeed, he was able to use gaze-avoidance as a way of indicating non-involvement with the K+ speaker (Larry in this case) and with the K+ declaration of knowledge. Thus "knowledge in interaction is emergent and dynamic, being achieved by the participants actions and thus locally defined by them in an occasioned way… knowledge in interaction is variably distributed not only among the participants but also within the material environment as it is both shaping and shaped by the actions" (Mondada 2011, p. 49).

A final comment concerns the way in which the boys oriented to the fact that knowledge disparity was eventually equalised, both nonverbally and verbally.

Nonverbally through embodied action, the boys would move away or avert their gaze once knowledge balance had been achieved, in order to demonstrate a shift in interactional focus from one task or activity to another. Verbally, they would use exclamations or assessments to demonstrate their understanding or completion of the task. Similar to the way in which Heritage (2012a) identified the 'oh' change of state token as a possible way to demonstrate acknowledgement of knowledge balance, the boys seemed to use exclamations such as 'HAH' (Extract 2), 'KAH' (Extract 4), 'AGHH' (Extract 5), 'erhh' (Extract 6) to demonstrate understanding or completion of the task. Such acknowledgements highlight the boys' awareness of the sequential unfolding of the interaction and confirm the idea that interaction proceeds until knowledge equilibrium is achieved (Heritage 2012b).

Conclusion

This paper has examined the management of epistemics by a young boy who has been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome while engaged in the spontaneous activity of assembling a toy gun with his younger brother. In the data under consideration, knowledge was made relevant through the giving of instructions, through assertions concerning what piece goes next and through embodied actions, such as racing to pick up the next piece. If a particular claim to knowledge was not acknowledged or accepted by the other participant then a possible site of epistemic struggle ensued.

Participant responses included ignoring the knowledge claim, challenging the knowledge claim, making a different knowledge claim, initiating a new and different task or activity unrelated to the knowledge claim. If a knowledge claim is not accepted, the holder of the knowledge claim has to decide what to do in their next

turn (in response to the prior turn). Do they drop the claim? Do they justify the claim by appealing to different information, such as written instructions? Do they pursue the claim until it has uptake, verbal or non verbal? Or do they modify their claim in order to find a collaborative solution, as a way of ensuring there are no observable imbalances or asymmetries in relative knowledge. In the data we saw instances of all these types of responses.

In terms of understanding children who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome, the analysis adds to the body of research that focuses on how children with communication difficulties interact within familiar contexts. Assembling a toy with a sibling at home on the lounge room floor is exactly the sort of activity that children routinely engage in. Throughout the gun assembly process it is possible to observe interactional differences between Simon and his brother, Larry. First, Simon does not initiate many of the knowledge claims or assertions. Not initiating FPP knowledge claims about what he is doing or how the gun should be put together increases Simon's epistemic primacy with respect to the task at hand. It shows his disinclination to engage with his brother concerning the assembly process. It also fits with research that shows that children with autism spectrum disorders generally initiate fewer bids for interaction (Jones and Schwartz 2009). Second, Simon does not look at his brother very often, although covert monitoring occurs from time to time. Instead of looking at Larry, Simon focuses on the material objects in his immediate surrounds—on the gun, the pieces, the instructions. This lack of eye contact is in direct contrast to Larry who looks at Simon at key times during the interaction. Not using gaze enables Simon to hold onto his epistemic primacy—he is the person in charge of the gun assembly. Further research is required in order to understand the role of gaze and epistemics for both neurotypical children and children with communication difficulties. In particular, attention should be paid to whether children who have been diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome find it more difficult to manage interaction in contexts in which there are few or no objects in the vicinity. Third, the above analysis has shown the importance of *doing knowledge*. It is a reminder that inferring social deficits from verbal communication alone can be problematic. The above data make clear that appropriate social responses might be being made, just not verbally.

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Afterword from the Editors

We are grateful to all authors in this book for sharing their work and insights into the everyday lives of children. All chapters have detailed the practices of talk-in-interaction that display and develop children's knowledge. The research collected here makes a compelling case for studying children's competencies in the settings and situations where their learning and participation actually happens, so that we can see what it is that children know and do.

Most importantly we thank the children, families and teachers who have generously allowed us into their lives and to document the practices of their social domains. We are always indebted to research participants for their contribution to knowledge, even more so when a video camera is part of the process. We hope that the outcomes of the research collected here include: providing insights into the how of high quality learning interactions in early childhood education and care; a guide for expansion of teaching practices; understanding of socializing practices with very young children, and an increasingly clearer picture of how children manage to navigate knowledge-in-interaction.