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The Social and Cognitive Worlds of Young Children Reading Together

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Sarah Jean Johnson

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Social and Cognitive Worlds of Young Children Reading Together

by

Sarah Jean Johnson

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Marjorie E. Orellana, Co-Chair

Professor Frederick D. Erickson, Co-Chair

In classrooms each day children are crafting intricate social arrangements as they read in the company of their peers. This dissertation uses video ethnographic methods to reveal these children's social and cognitive worlds, worlds which have remained largely hidden from researchers and teachers alike. Detailed analyses of children's embodied language practices demonstrate that, for one, children overwhelmingly orient to achieving a mutually accountable reading framework. Sometimes these practices bear resemblance to adult activity: for example, a child who is reading closes a peer's book that is distracting him from attending to her book. Other times these practices are child-like: a youngster overlaps a peer's talk with nonsense sounds and demands her attention by putting his face nose-to-nose with hers.

Secondly, within these mutually accountable reading frameworks, children are observed apprenticing one another in learning to read. They help peers read a new word, work out the

meanings of a passage, engage in word play, and more. These collaborative activities are made more complex, however, by their peer status, and thus children are working out power and status dynamics as they build their friendships through reading.

To examine children's learning interactions, multiple theoretical frames are applied, including socio-cultural theory, John Dewey's approach to experiential learning, and interactional sociolinguistics, as influenced by the work of Erving Goffman. Close observations of children's activities are additionally contextualized with rich portraits of classroom life and instruction. The goal here is to better understand what gives rise and constitutes these positive learning interactions between children.

The portraits of children's peer reading show how fluidly children move between reading and social interaction. Peer reading is *not* a disembodied school-based task occurring in an individual mind, or through the words on the page, or within a child's talk alone. Rather, learning to read with a peer is intimately related to children's social relations and, thus, to their development of an identity as someone who enjoys reading. This dissertation argues that more robust theories of children's learning and development will come from analyses that consider the rich complexity of human sociality and interaction. Additionally, such an analyses will help guide teachers' efforts in supporting peer learning.

The dissertation of Sarah Jean Johnson is approved.

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory
of my father, Melvin Lawrence Johnson.

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Introduction

“ME AND ZIZI WR LOOKEG TH WRDS IN ISPIY” is written in bold, capital letters above a drawing of two girls reading a book and smiling. The teacher has asked the class of kindergarteners to write about how they learn to read, and this is the beginning of Sophie's response. In the invented spelling of an emerging writer, it says that she learns to read by looking at the words in the book, *I Spy*, with her friend, Zizi.

Parents, teachers, and makers of educational and social policy want children to enjoy learning to read and to read more. In her class assignment, this young girl, Sophie, claims that she experiences pleasure in reading with a friend (as evident in the drawing of smiling girls), while also learning to read. Research that examines contexts in which an adult reads to a child supports Sophie's notion; shared attention and talk about text in an enjoyable social encounter are important to developing early reading skills. These elements are also predictive of later measures of language and literacy proficiency (Cunningham and Zibulsky, 2011; Sénéchal, Oulette & Rodney, 2006).

What about a child reading with a child? What happens in these encounters? All too often, interactions between peers go unnoticed. They happen out of sight of the teacher, who must attend to so much else. And researchers have not looked closely, either. While children's emergent literacy has received intense research scrutiny, the context of children engaging in literacy activities with one another has largely been ignored (Orellana and Peer, 2013). In this dissertation, I explore these hidden social and cognitive worlds where children interact with one another while reading, asking: (1) How are children collaboratively constructing environments for learning (if at all)? And (2) What are the instructional contexts for these interactions? In addressing these questions, I aim to better understand the agentic processes by which children

enact their own literacy practices as part of participating in an everyday, teacher designed classroom activity.

In this introduction I first provide a rationale for studying the social and cognitive aspects of peer reading. I then provide an overview of the research setting, research methods and approach to analysis. I keep this discussion brief as my dissertation consists of three stand-alone chapters. Each of the core chapters (chapters 1-3) includes a discussion of the background literature and research methods that are specific to the inquiries I develop therein. I also offer a concluding chapter, which synthesizes the arguments of the dissertation and their significance.

The study of social interaction as an environment for learning

Historically researchers in the social sciences have typically chosen to study aspects of human social interaction in isolation, examining culture, learning, interaction, and language separately. It is as if they draw imaginary lines between and among the vibrant activity involved in human sociality, such as Sophie's reading with Zizi, which includes talking about the text (a cultural artifact), socializing with a friend, and learning to read. In this investigation I hope to demonstrate the error in this approach. I discuss the assumptions that frame this argument below.

First, I consider how interaction provides the primary environment for humans to make sense of their social and physical surroundings. C. Goodwin (2000, p. 1490) has argued that language should not be treated as autonomous from its context. He explains:

...actions are both assembled and understood through a process in which different kinds of sign phenomena instantiated in diverse media, what I call semiotic fields, are juxtaposed in a way that enables them to mutually elaborate each other. A particular, locally relevant array of semiotic fields that participants demonstrably orient to (not simply a hypothetical set of fields that an analyst might impose to code context) is called a contextual

configuration. As action unfolds, new semiotic fields can be added, while others are treated as no longer relevant, with the effect that the contextual configurations which frame, make visible and constitute the actions of the moment undergo a continuous process of change. From a slightly different perspective, contextual configurations provide a systematic framework for investigating the public visibility of the body as a dynamically unfolding, interactively organized locus for the production and display of meaning and action.

Investigating language and the environment as “integrated components of a common process for the social production of meaning and action” has important implications for how learning is theorized (C. Goodwin, 2000, p. 1490). As argued by Erickson (1996, p. 29), “Learning becomes not simply the internalization of knowledge and skill by an isolated mind interacting with a physical surround or even with a surround containing humanly produced artifacts. Rather, the organism-environment relation is one of interpenetration and of reflexively constitutive activity.” Significantly, by relocating the locus for the analysis of learning from within the situated mental life of the individual to that of the situated environment that the individual inhabits (and builds along with others), such cognitive structures as “intelligence,” “ability,” and “disability” are understood not as assets or deficiencies within the individual mind, but rather as socially constructed in locally organized social situations (Mehan, 1996; McDermott, Goldman, & Varenne, 2006).

Second, I assume that interaction is central to establishing intersubjectivity between co-present persons. Psychologists following in the tradition of both Vygotsky (1978) and Piaget (1954), argue that the ability to achieve intersubjectivity is the most important variable required in order for social interaction to be effective in enhancing cognitive skills (Tudge and Rogoff, 1999; Rogoff, 1998). In this investigation I examine a concept I conceive as being similar to

intersubjectivity: *co-construction* (see special issue on co-construction, Jacoby and Ochs, 1995, for examples of co-construction in studies of educational settings, see Erickson, 2008). The difference between the two is analytical. I consider *co-construction* to be constituted and historically situated in social interactions and visible through public processes as opposed to being located within individual experience. I use *co-construction* to refer to the joint creation of an interpretation, stance, action, activity, skill or emotion. With this understanding, *co-construction* covers a range of the “C-Issues” (Jordan and Henderson, 1995). These include affiliative or supportive interactions (e.g., cooperation, conviviality, and collaboration), as well as those that are non-affiliative (e.g., conflict, competition, coercion).

Third, I consider interaction to be the primary means by which humans acquire cultural knowledge (Lave and Wenger, 1991, Rogoff, 1990, Rogoff et al., 2001, and Wenger, 1999). Increasingly culture is conceived as “the organization of the conduct of everyday life” and the “locus for culture is seen as being in the ‘practices’—behavior and actions—of local communities of practice” (Erickson, 2011a; Erickson, 2000, p. 303). Learning can, therefore, be understood as a process of transformation of *participation*, in which ‘novices’ move from more peripheral to more central participation in a community of practice. Research drawing upon community of practice and language socialization frameworks tends to emphasize the efforts made by the experts (e.g., teacher, mother, caregiver) to socialize the novices (e.g. children, students) in cultural practices of the community (He, 2003). In this investigation, I demonstrate in detail how children are *themselves* an important source of cultural production in classroom communities of practice.

In brief, the analysis of face-to-face interaction as an “immediate environment for learning” (Erickson, 1982c) provides the opportunity to study culture, language, social

organization and cognition from a holistic perspective. While these domains are often conceptualized as separate fields of study, I propose to study them as they appear in the situated interaction of Sophie and Zizi reading with one another: integrated.

The neglect of social interaction in the study of learning

Research and theory construction in the Vygotskian tradition has emphasized learning as a socially situated process embedded in a culturally and historically shaped material world. This is perhaps best illustrated by Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD), which locates the locus of development within the interactions of an expert and a novice, where the more expert party guides and extends the actions and understandings of the less expert one. By centering his theoretical and analytical focus on the activities where novices are introduced to the cultural tools and practices of their community by more senior members, Vygotsky emphasizes that interactions in the ZPD are the "crucible of development and of culture" (Rogoff, 1998, p. 682; see also Cole, 1985).

In Vygotsky's formulation of the ZPD, social interaction *is* seen as crucial to learning. Nevertheless, in neo-Vygotskian research, social interaction itself has *not* been a central focus of analysis (Erickson, 1996; 2011b; Tusting, 2005 and Creese, 2005 make a related argument). The focus of attention has instead been on either the characteristics of separate individuals engaged in a learning interaction, such as the age, status or expertise of the developing learner or of the partner, or with the cognitive or linguistic changes within the individual learner. Left unexplored are the interactional processes by which peers have cognitive and social influence on one another.

As argued by Rogoff (1988) this neglect is the result of a strong and pervasive tradition in child development research to focus on the individual as the unit of analysis. The result is that

theory construction on the socially situated character of teaching and learning—often referred to as “practice-based” theory—has not advanced very far. Therefore, an important issue for many socio-cultural scholars is how to reconcile traditional empirical methods for studying cognition with the assumptions of the socio-cultural approach. In the present study, the approach I take to examine these interactional processes is to capitalize on theory and research on interaction itself. In doing so, I am influenced by the research of Erickson (2004a) and McDermott (1976), which takes an ecological perspective on examining learning as an interactional environment of mutual influence between participants as they engage in meaningful activity. I will further describe this approach momentarily. I now turn to providing the theoretical background for the study of peer interaction as a site for learning.

Children’s talk and interaction as a locus for the study of social and cognitive processes

Scholars have long recognized the importance of peer interaction in forming theories of children’s social and cognitive development. Piaget (1932, p. 409; cited in Tudge and Rogoff, 1999) argued that interaction between peers, or equals, is more effective in bringing about cognitive growth than the asymmetrical interactions between an adult and child:

Criticism is born of discussion, and discussion is only possible among equals: cooperation alone will therefore accomplish what intellectual constraint [caused by unquestioning belief in the adult’s omniscience] failed to bring about.

Similarly, Vygotsky (1978, p. 86, emphasis added), in introducing the concept of the *zone of proximal development* (ZPD), recognized the influence of peers on children’s cognitive development:

[The zone of proximal development is] the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as

determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with *more capable peers*.

One key difference in the two theoretical positions is that Piaget focused on the role of peers of similar status in stimulating cognitive growth, whereas Vygotsky emphasized that of a more skilled partner.¹ For Piaget similarity of status is necessary for children to decenter, or become sensitive to other's perspectives. His theory focuses on the social and cognitive conflict that stimulates cognitive restructuring when peers disagree. Lessons from adults are not seen to induce this kind of cognitive change as in the face of the power dynamics of adult authority children will abandon their ideas for those of the adult's.

In contrast, for Vygotsky a more advanced partner—whether child or adult—is necessary to scaffold the understanding of a child. For guidance or cooperative action within the ZPD to be effective, the tutor must, for one, possess knowledge of the task and, secondly, be able to present the material at a developmental level appropriate for the tutee (Tudge and Rogoff, 1999). In its focus on expert guidance Vygotsky's formulation of the ZPD is consistent with his broader theoretical system which emphasizes children's socialization to the dominant culture (Wertsch, 1985). Piaget's interest on the other hand was in the joint learning relationships in which peers solve problems collaboratively without the constraint of the expert who "knows better" (Damon, 1984 p. 334)

Social processes are central to both Piaget and Vygotsky's theories of peer learning. For Piaget it is the socio-cognitive conflict brought about by the sharing of divergent perspectives that is crucial for a child to aid another's learning. When children disagree they are forced to examine other points of view in relation to their own. They also learn that they must communicate effectively if they are to convince others of the validity of their own point of view.

¹ See Tudge and Rogoff, 1999; Damon, 1984 for a more nuanced discussion of these theoretical positions.

In contrast, the Vygostkyan view stresses the internalization of cognitive processes that occur when peers interact and communicate with one another (or adults). He argued that ". . . every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological)" (1978, p. 57). Vygotsky saw language as central to this process, arguing that children, through their acquisition and use of language, internalize and reproduce social and historical knowledge of their culture.

Surprisingly, while Piaget and Vygotsky found agreement on the issue of peer learning (albeit with different understandings of the mechanisms by which it takes place), neither they nor those following in their tradition have systematically studied children's actual talk and interaction as they engage with one another in learning encounters. Piaget gave marginal attention to social influences on development in his theories, but did not take up studying these influences in his laboratory. The bulk of his theories instead focused on children *as individuals* using, interpreting and organizing information in the environment and, through this activity, making sense of the world. Nevertheless, scholars influenced by Piaget have explored his ideas about socio-cognitive conflict, as occurring in interactions of peers of equal status, as a mechanism for triggering new thought patterns (see, e.g., Bell, Grossen & Perret-Clermont, 1985; Doise & Mugny, 1984). These studies have been conducted in experimental conditions and have not examined children's talk itself but rather have focused on whether interaction improved later individual performance (Mercer, 1996). In contrast, Vygotsky's theories emphasized that individual development cannot be understood without reference to the social and historical environment in which the child is embedded. However, perhaps due to Vygotsky's emphasis on social activities as a means to produce and maintain cultural systems, neo-

Vygotskian researchers have almost exclusively given focus to adult-child interaction (notable exceptions include Ellis & Rogoff, 1986; Forman, 1992; Forman & McFail, 1993).

The present research thus differs from those conducted in the tradition of Vygotsky or Piaget in that the locus of study is *naturally occurring talk and interaction* within the peer group. Such a perspective does not view the endpoint of interaction as restricted to children coming to learn adult meanings or adult solutions to problems, but instead recognizes the “child as a member of a culture that [is] different from the adult world” (Cook-Gumperz & Kyratzis, 2001, p. 591). A focus on peer talk and interaction highlights how children, through their participation in culturally organized activities, shape and share in their own developmental experiences in ways that are sensitive to context and reflective of children’s own personalities and momentary goals and agendas of the peer group (Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1986; Corsaro, 1985; M. Goodwin, 2006). This stance has been extensively adopted in studies which examine children in the neighborhood social group where they play with minimal adult oversight or in preschool settings where they are allowed relative freedom in organizing their play activities (Corsaro, 1981b; M. Goodwin, 1990; 2006; Kyratzis, Tang and Koymen, 2009; see also, for a review of this perspective, M. Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007, 2012; Kyratzis, 2004). Children’s talk and interaction with one another in school settings, however, has rarely been examined from this perspective. A primary focus of the present study is how, through interaction with peers, children are able to draw upon structures from the adult world while reformulating and transforming them so as to create their own meaningful cultural practices.

Research context

I conducted fieldwork for this dissertation during the 2011-2012 school year in Ms.

Yerevan's² kindergarten classroom or "Room B." The classroom is located in a progressive, private elementary school in Los Angeles, which I give the pseudonym, The Village School.

I chose Ms Yerevan's classroom for this dissertation as she has a reputation as an expert, veteran teacher. Through her teaching she strives to build a classroom community that supports children's social and emotional development and their relationships. (I describe her teaching approach in detail in chapter 1.) I believed this setting would support positive interactions between peers. As suggested by multiple studies of peer group processes, children's ability to solve problems collaboratively and tutor effectively may relate to the social structure of particular classrooms that do or do not support collaborative interaction. Examples are provided by classrooms that adopt peer cooperative learning groups in a piecemeal fashion, that is, students work on group projects for part of the day and the rest of the day the teacher directs communication and decision making. In these classrooms, children have difficulty with shared decision making (Patterson & Roberts, 1982; Peterson, Wilkinson, Spinelli, & Swing, 1982). Alternatively, children are successful working in collaborative and tutor/tutee arrangements when trained in communication techniques as well as the subject matter being conveyed (Cazden, Cox, Dickinson, Steinberg and Stone, 1979; Cooper, Marquis, & Edward, 1986; Damon, 1984).

The children and faculty of Room B.

Room B had 21 children (8 boys and 13 girls) between five and six years of age. The demographics of children in this classroom did not represent the wider diversity of the school in terms of ethnicity and language. (Financial aid is offered to low income families to ensure economic and ethnic diversity in the student population.) This is because many of the students

² All names are pseudonyms.

from Spanish speaking families were members of the dual language classrooms. The ethnic makeup of children in this classroom included: a majority caucasian, one African-American, one Asian, and three of mixed ethnicity (African-American and Latino, African American and caucasian, American Indian and Caucasian). Most of the children had attended at least a year of preschool with many having attended two years. I did not seek IRB approval for socio-economic information about the children's family, as it is not of direct relevance to this dissertation. (Nor from my observations did I notice children's family income as a relevant feature in their interactions. In this classroom all of the children appeared to be from middle and upper income class families). Other personal information was gained about the children from interactions with parents as well as parent visits to the classroom for "my family and I" day.

An important goal was for the fieldwork to be naturalistic so as to not alter the kinds of behaviors that would normally take place in the classroom (to the extent possible). Groupings of children were therefore not manipulated. However, I did want to focus on a cohesive group so as to understand the variation and range within children's activities as well as how talk at one point may be indexing what was said or done at another time. In my observations in the first month, I identified two groups of children that self-selected to sit at two round tables for writing. When I began filming in the second month I focused on these groups. Due to the children's preferences the groups were largely gender segregated, with one boy and one girl table (see also, Ellis, Rogoff, and Cromer, 1981; Maccoby 1986, p. 263; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1987). An exception was Amy, an African-American girl (her parents are immigrants from Ethiopia), who preferred sitting next to and playing at recess with the boys. The composition of these groups was somewhat fluid across the school year as the teacher would move children temporarily or permanently if problems were to arise with their seating partners, and at other times children

would relocate on their own initiative based on changes in their friendship networks. When children from these core groups moved to reading spots, I would spontaneously choose whom to follow, often based on how accessible the reading spot was for filming. I was limited to following two reading partnerships, due to having only two cameras (operated by myself and a research assistant).

Room B had three adults responsible for children's learning: Ms. Yerevan and Ms. Phillips (co-teachers) and Ms. Lee (teaching assistant). For the literacy activities that were the focus of this dissertation, Ms. Yerevan was the primary teacher. This was her twenty-fourth year at the school, during nineteen of which she has been a full-time teacher. During this tenure she has taught a pre-k/kindergarten class (which only became age segregated the year of this study).

My role in the setting.

My role in Room B varied. Most often I was a researcher, or outsider; other times I was an assistant to the teachers, or partial member. (I never had full status as a member, as unlike the teachers and children, I largely held no responsible role—I could come and leave as my schedule permitted.) I would occasionally sit with children and help with their classwork or play a game. I participated in everyday activities (e.g. morning singing and lunch) and special activities, such as breakfast or afternoon tea hosted by parents, field trips, school concerts and a salsa class for teachers. Additionally, I assisted university undergraduate dance majors in teaching the children of Room B dance during the winter quarter and in rehearsing for a school-wide performance of cultural dances in the spring. These various roles were important in helping me become familiar with the children—their personalities, interests, and friendship networks. This participation also provided a means to gain the children's trust.

Alternately, when videotaping, my strategy was to observe without intervening in the interactions taking place between children. (An exception was the rare case that behavior was very inappropriate or dangerous). My interest as a researcher was the observation of the indigenous organization of children's talk and activities—how they were formulating and structuring their talk with one another rather than with an adult researcher. As argued by M. Goodwin (1990, p. 23), children modify their talk when addressing an adult. I, therefore, sought to reduce my influence by not asking children questions and not engaging in their activities. In this way my role differed from other ethnographers of children who attempt to gain entry into the child's world (see Corsaro, 1981a)—I was more of a detached observer than a participant observer.

Fieldwork

I used video-ethnographic methods to document the specific practices by which children attend to both the social concerns of the peer group and the task assignment of the literacy activity. I began videotaping in early October 2011 and continued until early June 2012. I visited the classroom approximately two mornings a week and once or twice a month in the afternoon. This taping schedule was decided based on a theoretical interest in children's use of language with one another in the context of reading or writing. I documented formal literacy activities in the morning (i.e., reading a book and writing) and informal literacy activities in the afternoon (i.e., "rest and read" and painting). I excluded literacy activities such as reading alone and small group work with a teacher. In both cases, children's talk with one another was minimal. However, I did videotape both formal and informal whole class discussions. The purpose was to gather contextual information about how teachers provided deliberate instruction for the tasks children would be carrying out on their own or with peers.

Before each school day started, I set up two video cameras with the help of an assistant. (When an assistant was not available I usually used only one camera as I had difficulty managing two.) External microphones were placed on the two tables where the focus children would later sit for their writing activities. I began taping at approximately 9:00 a.m. At this time the students were gathered on the rug for the “morning message,” a time in which the teacher wrote the day’s events or other news on the board with the help of the children. More formal literacy instruction followed with Ms. Yerevan reading aloud to the children or discussing reading or writing strategies. At approximately 9:30 the children would take their writing folders to their desk or move to their reading spots (which they had self-selected at the beginning of the year). This portion of the literacy hour promised to have the most interaction between children. I stopped recording at approximately 10:15 when the children took their snacks brought from home to the outside tables.

At the outset of fieldwork, I made theoretical and technical decisions concerning videotaping procedures. For one, I shot continuously the ongoing activity of focal participants no matter how mundane it might seem. Secondly, I used an attachable wide-angle lens to capture all participants involved in the activity, using minimal panning (i.e., movement of the camera from side to side) and zooming (i.e., changes from a wide angle to a close-up). By documenting “unedited” social interaction, I aimed to reduce my influence, such as spontaneous thinking or selective focus, on what information was gathered (see Erickson, 2006a, p. 177-178). However, there were occasions that required movement of the video camera. For instance, if children were reading on the couch or rug I would follow them with the video camera and place the external microphone near them. This was necessary as I did not want to disturb the children’s normal activities by “staging” them to sit in front of the camera. Rarely did the camera appear to

significantly alter the behaviors of participants. The children and teachers quickly became accustomed to seeing me with a camera. In fact, the camera became so much a part of my attire participants would only reference it when I was without it, asking “where’s your camera?”

This method of documenting the interactions of children with one another and their teachers during literacy activities resulted in approximately 43 hours of videotape (see table 0.1). As I entered into the analysis stage of my research I decided to focus on peer reading. This activity constituted about 5 hours of the larger corpus of information sources. While my analysis narrowed to focus on one kind of activity, it was, nevertheless, informed by knowledge I gained from observing and videotaping children and teachers participating in a variety of classroom activities.

Table 0.1

<i>Synopsis of Activity Settings Video Recorded</i>		
<i>Activity setting</i>	<i>Hours of video Recording</i>	<i>Total hours</i>
Art/dance (whole class and small group)	5.3	
Writing at round desks (in the company of peers)	15.4	
Play	6.0	
Whole class literacy instruction	4.3	
Morning meeting	3.0	
Reading with an adult	1.2	
Reading alone	3.1	
Reading with a peer	5.1	
		43.4

Shaded cell indicates the focus of microanalyses for this dissertation

Additional ethnographic methods accompanied the videotaping. Field notes were used to gather information beyond the lens of the camera, such as asides told to me personally or overheard (that are out of range of the microphone), the activity of teachers and children who were not being filmed, and the posted daily agenda. I collected curricular plans from the teachers

that included information about the reading and writing concepts being introduced, resources used and how learning would be assessed.

Lastly, my fieldwork included interviews. I formally interviewed Ms. Yerevan to explore her personal history and her teaching history; how she approaches teaching; what she intentionally does to build a classroom community and how she expects children to participate in this community, and what she views the role of peer interaction to be in the classroom learning environment. Informal interviews of all the teachers took place through the duration of the fieldwork. I would often ask for their perspective on certain events that took place or about particular behaviors of children. These conversations were fruitful in providing background information that I may not have been privy to otherwise. In addition to interviews, I viewed videotaped events with Ms. Yerevan to gain her perspective on children's interactions.

Overview of research methods

The analytic approach I take to examining children's cognitive and social worlds is *microethnography* (Erickson, 1992). Microethnography shares with general ethnography an aim to examine the processes through which people make meaning as part of their everyday lives. It differs, however, from general ethnography in that its purpose is to "document those processes in even greater detail and precision" (Erickson, 1992, p. 205). The use of video as a primary data source, in addition to participant observation and interviews, makes this possible. Another difference is that whereas the analytic focus of general ethnography is to report overall narrative descriptions of what is happening in an event, microethnography aims to identify how routine processes of interaction are organized that make up the event. In educational research this level of specificity has been important in identifying the processes by which outcomes are produced

(see, for example, Erickson, 1996; Erickson & Shultz, 1982; McDermott, 1977; McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1979; Mehan et. al., 1996; Phillips, 1972).

This dissertation is interested in the interactive processes through which children co-construct learning environments. I focus on several communicative projects³ (Linell, 1998; 2009) to investigate these processes. In chapter 1, the focus is on communicative projects that the teacher identifies as significant in terms of children developing reading skills or acquiring characteristics of a learner. These events include children negotiating the taking of turns, helping one another, and solving problems together. In chapters 2 and 3, the focus is respectively the communicative project of correcting a peer and of directing a peer's embodied participation. When analyzing these communicative projects I consider how they are nested within the social situation of *peer reading time* and *the school day*. (Linell terms these overarching communicative projects that are tied to a social situation as a *communicative activity type*, or CAT). As argued by Goffman (1959, pp. 9-10), all understanding is framed by presuppositions regarding the social situation. It is through a mutually constructed "definition of the situation" participants determine what is to be accomplished and how it is to be accomplished.

I further contextualize the analysis of children's activities through the use of participant observation. As argued by Erickson (1992, p. 210), "Analyzing the interaction that occurs in a particular event in relation to the broader circumstances of choice and constraint within which the event itself occurs is what makes ethnographic microanalysis *ethnographic*." In my analysis,

³ Linell (1998; 2009) proposed the basic unit of analysis for the study of face-to-face interaction to be communicative projects. A central premise behind the notion of communicative projects is that "the speaker's single utterance act is part of a bigger project (or indeed several projects which are often hierarchically organized)" (p. 188). Linell developed this framework as a dialogical alternative to speech act theory (Searle 1969) which treats the monologic utterances of individual speakers as the unit of analysis. Elaborating on his theory of communicative projects, Linell (2009, pp. 188-212) argues that communicative projects are: (1) holistic, having properties above and beyond their constituent acts; (2) centered around a task that often requires joint effort (though often not symmetrical) by two or more individuals; (3) dynamic—the problems or goals to which they are targeted may change during the ongoing progression of actions; (4) often unplanned; (5) nested within other projects that may be non-communicative, and (6) variable in size, ranging from local to global in their structures.

I attend to: (1) who is present during the learning activity (including children and teachers); (2) the nature of the task; (3) the teacher's ideologies related to literacy learning (both articulated and instantiated); (4) how participation is structured through discourse and the physical environment, and (5) the purposes and aims of the curriculum (Gutierrez, 1995).

To better understand children's processes of interaction, I foreground the analytic concept of *participation*. Following C. Goodwin (2007a, p. 12), I analyze *participation* as a "temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events." This process is what Erickson (2010, p. 254) refers to as an "ecosystem of mutual influence" among participants (see also Goodwin's, 2010a, discussion of semiotic ecology). Such an analysis requires one to consider the interactive work of *both* hearers and speakers, that is, the relation of listening activity to speaking activity (Erickson 1986a, 2010, C. Goodwin, 2007a). Practically speaking this means I analyze children's organization of action for its sequential as well as its simultaneous properties.

In sum, by lodging participation within communicative projects I investigate how children use a diversity of resources in organizing their actions to achieve a common goal, whether establishing a correct reading, or getting a distracted partner to attend to the text, or solving a problem. The approach I take to analysis models the hierarchical inferential processes of humans. I work from whole-to-part to identify the full range and variation of: 1) communicative projects (the context), 2) participation frameworks (the simultaneous and sequential actions that form the internal organization of the encounter) and 3) the sense-making processes of the children (as inferred by observing the mutual reflexivity of their ongoing interactions) (Erickson, 1982a, p. 213). A final analytic issue I take up is to note the typicality

and atypicality of communicative projects and participation frameworks. I report on this synoptic view in each chapter. In doing so my goal is to understand the meanings of particular forms of children's participation within the larger repertoire of possible forms of participation.

Overview of the dissertation

In this introductory chapter I present my rationale for taking a sociocultural and interactional perspective for analyzing how peer talk and interaction in classrooms create opportunities for learning. I then introduce the setting for the study and discuss my approach to fieldwork. Lastly, I show how a microanalytic approach, combining ethnography with detailed transcripts of video, can illuminate the lived experiences of children as they collaboratively build their social and cognitive worlds.

In chapter 1, I probe the classroom teacher's perspectives on children's reading partnerships. Early in my fieldwork I began reviewing my videotapes of peer reading with her. She commented that she had always sensed something special was happening when children worked together; however, she never knew quite what it was. From this statement, I recognized the value for teachers to look in on children's activities through the use of video. And, likewise, I realized the importance of soliciting the teacher's perspective. This—what the teacher sees children doing, and the meanings and significance of their doings—is the primary focus of this chapter. Drawing upon Dewey's (1928, 1959) description of the chief aspects of learning, the teacher describes in detail the ways she sees children developing both the character and skills of a learner. I supplement this analysis with a broader ethnographic analysis of classroom life, giving attention to the physical set-up of the classroom and how children's social-emotional development is nurtured. By moving the analytic lens from the broader instructional context to a

close look at children's activities from the teacher's perspective, this chapter provides a multifaceted portrait of classroom life and learning.

In chapters 2 and 3, I transition to an analysis of children's social and cognitive worlds from my perspective as the researcher. Chapter 2 explores how the children of Room B orchestrate their own participation in peer book reading. I give focus to children's embodied directives—utterances or actions designed to get someone to do something—that are launched in response to a peer's inattention to the reading. In this analysis, I demonstrate: a) that reading together is achieved through children's use of complex, embodied resources (e.g., bald directive forms and touch) that close off activities competing for a peer's attention and which are calibrated in response to the child's non-compliance, and b) that the social force of directives is dependent on the way children overlay verbal directives with affective displays (e.g., forms of prosody that indicate heightened emotional involvement). I also give attention to how the teacher uses embodied directives to socialize children to exhibit "paying attention" through bodily behaviors, such as sitting side by side and mutually looking at the text. By comparing adult ways of socializing accountability with child ways, I argue that children creatively adapt aspects of the adult culture to fit the goals of the peer social group, effectively imbuing learning to read with the pleasures of human sociality.

In Chapter 3, I examine how children co-construct their own learning activities through their talk and interaction. To address this question, I focus on the multimodal design of peer correction. I draw from Erickson's (1982c) notion of the double functionality of moves involved in a learning task, where one aspect is subject matter content (e.g., correction of a misread word) and the second deals with the social relations integral to learning. In examining these features of children's corrections, I apply Goffman's (1981) notion of footing (one's "stance, or posture, or

projected self”) so as to explore the diverse modalities through which children establish their own social order. One example of two children, Holly and Perry, reading together is highlighted. I look at their interaction—in which Perry helps Holly read a new word—before learning, during learning, and after learning. By demonstrating Holly's change in participation across brief moments of time, I argue that children may positively influence one another's learning. I further argue that this analysis illustrates the value of studying cognition by examining situated activities (and their social and cognitive aspects). It also demonstrates the importance of analyzing the full array of resources participants rely on in building their interactions. Such analyses will lead to more robust theorizing on the nature of children's learning and draw into question deficit characterizations of children's interaction that currently dominate research in classroom settings.

In the concluding chapter I discuss the contributions of this dissertation to the study of peer learning and socialization and the implications for teaching practice and policy. I argue that children's interactions, which move fluidly from the linguistic, to the cognitive, to the interpersonal, illustrate how reading with a peer is intimately related to children's social relations and, thus, to their development of an identity as someone who enjoys reading. To date, researchers have not adequately appreciated the ability of peers to act as co-teachers as researchers have, for one, focused almost exclusively on adult-child contexts and, secondly, they have kept the social and the cognitive apart, in two silos. By taking an interpretive approach to examining children's activities outside of direct adult surveillance and by appreciating the childlike ways they organize their cognitive activities (ways that might be bypassed as children fooling around, or “kids just being kids”), we see children contributing to one another's learning. For example, this dissertation demonstrates that when peers read together, they achieve a mutually accountable reading framework; they develop the character of a learner, and they

apprentice one another in reading skills and techniques. Alongside this cognitive work they are additionally doing complex work negotiating, building, and maintaining friendships.

Additionally, by taking a microethnographic approach, analyzing the full array of resources children rely on in collaborating with one another in reading, this dissertation provides fine-grained descriptions about interactions in classrooms that foster growth (Dickinson, Freiberg and Barnes, 2011). Such information will allow us to identify what works and how it works, as we seek ways to improve language and literacy instruction.

It is unfortunate, however, that there are far too few opportunities for children—especially poor children—to experience the kinds of rich interactions with peers in book reading that this study documents. The current technocratic educational policy environment, with its focus on measuring both student and teacher achievement through standardized testing, has narrowed the conception of what early childhood education should do. A focus on rudimentary skills and basic knowledge that can be assessed on standardized tests de facto limits teachers from being able to enact an imaginative pedagogy that brings children together to think, relate, explore, and solve problems. What changes might be made to education policy and practice if we consider children’s experiences of schooling and the work teachers do to make these experiences possible?

Chapter 1

Children's social and cognitive worlds in book reading: The teacher's perspective

I always knew intuitively something special was happening in these peer partnerships, but until now I didn't know quite what it was. (Ms. Yerevan)

Introduction

This chapter presents Ms. Yerevan's perspectives and insights on her kindergarten students' interactions as they read together as part of a regularly occurring classroom activity, while also examining the instructional context for these interactions. I decided to pursue this line of inquiry following a viewing of videotaped peer reading episodes with Ms. Yerevan. The introductory quote, which expresses her surprise about what she observed in these partnerships, comes from these initial viewings. I realized that the videos presented a rare opportunity for Ms. Yerevan to look closely into children's social worlds within the activity of book reading. When in the classroom, she must attend to so much (teaching, monitoring students, evaluating, and so on) that she is unable to observe children's interactions closely. Also, when she sits with children they behave differently in the presence of an adult. I argue that such insights to children's learning interactions gleaned from the teacher's perspective, combined with an investigation of the instructional context, will provide "intellectual guidance" to the practice of teaching (Dewey, 1928, 1959). As the educational philosopher, John Dewey, maintains, "a series of constantly multiplying careful reports on conditions which experience has shown in actual cases to be favorable and unfavorable to learning would revolutionize the whole subject of method."

For this analysis, I asked Ms. Yerevan to view multiple episodes of peer reading and engage with me in conversations about what she saw happening. The two focal examples of this chapter are drawn from these conversations. I present the examples first as a descriptive narrative

in order to illustrate what Ms. Yerevan describes as “mini dramas” unfolding in these interactions; these narratives are then followed by a transcript of the interaction and Ms. Yerevan’s perceptions of them (paraphrased and written in the first person from her point of view). To contextualize these reading partnerships, I begin with an analytic description of what Ms. Yerevan describes as two environments she seeks to build and cultivate, the *physical environment*, or classroom space, and the *inner environment* of the child, or her social-emotional development. Before turning to the analysis, I will first provide background to the research, introduce Ms. Yerevan, and briefly explain my research methods.

Research Background and Context

What brought me to Ms. Yerevan’s classroom and to studying peer interaction comes out of my teaching experience. I had taught for a number of years in troubled urban schools which depended upon scripted pedagogy, abundant testing, teacher-centered classrooms and workbook activities. These schools, typical of those serving poor children, were given few resources. The schools had neither playgrounds, science labs, libraries, technology, nor art materials, and all the teachers, including myself, were novices. Among those in charge of these schools, the prevailing belief was that children and their environments must be controlled. Children made no choices of their own during the school day. They were taught the topics related to a specific theme for the curricular unit and they read the associated anthology chapters. Children had no opportunities to do inquiry projects, or to explore their interests and lives. They were not allowed to get out of their seats without permission. Also, few opportunities were provided for children to interact with one another. Classroom desks were bolted down in a U-shaped arrangement of rows with the teacher’s overhead at the fore of the classroom. In my last classroom before I left for the

graduate program at UCLA, my fourth graders had been subjected to this unimaginative pedagogy since kindergarten.

Behind this approach were at least two underlying beliefs, both of which I heard articulated by the school administrators and some teachers. One is the belief that children who are not up to grade level in reading can only learn the basics—the curriculum must be *dumbed down*. The other is that children are not capable of working together. These notions about children’s abilities contradicted what I had learned in my graduate program in childhood education and my general sense about children and the meaningfulness of their interactions with one another. Unfortunately, however, when I tried to do peer activities in my fourth grade classroom, chaos ensued. Children argued; they did not want to work with certain peers or they complained about assignments. They lacked focus and were unable to complete assigned tasks. The classroom became chaotic, with materials strewn about and children talking loudly. Rather than see this as evidence supporting the pedagogical philosophies of the administrators, I instead sensed that a lot of work needed to be put in place by myself, as a teacher, and by the school’s approaches to learning before I could help these children become successful collaborators with their peers. Upon entering doctoral studies, therefore, I sought out Ms. Yerevan’s classroom. I wanted to know: What happens when children work *together*? And, how can these collaborations be supported? I enlisted Ms. Yerevan as a co-researcher to study side by side with me in pursuing these questions (Erickson, 2006b). I now turn to introducing her.

Introducing Ms. Yerevan.

I chose to conduct my dissertation in Ms. Yerevan’s classroom because she is recognized in the school community and by faculty at partnering teacher colleges as an expert teacher, who is caring and dedicated to her profession and to her young students. (Ms. Yerevan co-taught with

another veteran teacher and with a teaching assistant. I focus on Ms. Yerevan's teaching as she primarily was responsible for literacy instruction. I refer, however, to "the teachers" throughout this chapter as each play a role in all aspects of classroom life and instruction.) At the time of my fieldwork in the 2011-12 school year, she had been teaching for 19 years at the Village School. She had been at the school longer, however, having spent her first two years as a library assistant and then two years as a teaching assistant in an early childhood classroom. She graduated with a major in both English literature and in political sociology. After graduation, her original intention was to continue graduate studies in law, an aspiration she had since she was thirteen. She changed her plans, however, after spending time with children and teachers at the Village School; she enrolled in a teacher-credentialing program through which she earned her masters degree in education.

I asked her why she changed her career path. She told me that she remembers thinking since she was a child that she did *not* want to become a teacher. Her parents were both teachers as she was growing up in Armenia. Her father was a professor of ethnomusicology at the university and her mother was a geography teacher. She thought she wanted to do something different. When she began working as a librarian at the Village School she noticed the children's joy of learning and their love of school. She wanted to discover what it was that made children feel this way about their education. The joy of learning among young students was unfamiliar to her. Her understandings of K-6 education came from her experiences in a Soviet-influenced school in Armenia. In relating her memories of kindergarten, she tells me, "I don't have fuzzy feelings about it."

As a teaching assistant in Ms. Dirocco's classroom she discovered that the children at the Village School are allowed to make associations with learning that are positive and joyful; thus

they love learning. She observed the way Ms. Dirocco had command of her classroom, while allowing children their freedom. She observed a high level of integrity in Ms. Dirocco's interactions with the children. She respected and cared for them, valued their ideas, celebrated their work and provided them with the tools to explore what interested them.

In addition to developing her understanding of pedagogy, Ms. Yerevan's experience teaching with Ms. Dirocco planted the seeds for her own artistic development. She learned alongside the children. Ms. Dirocco modeled how to use materials and then set the children free to create. Ms. Dirocco never prescribed a final product, so the children felt successful with whatever their imagination produced, whether a blue tree or squiggly lines. Ms. Yerevan would assist children with their sponge painting, hand painting, printmaking and easel painting. At the end of the day, she would go home and practice whatever the children had practiced that day. For her birthday, Ms. Dirocco gave her a watercolor set with a note saying "you have a talent, I'd like you to pursue it." Ms. Yerevan did continue to pursue her art. Her early efforts looked much like those of the children she was assisting. As her skills developed, her paintings have become large, impressive works, what she describes as "experiments of color, texture and shape."

Art is an important part of Ms. Yerevan's teaching across subject areas. In addition to open-ended exploratory experiences with using art materials, she has children use art to represent ideas and concepts. She sees art as a natural way for them to express the way they view the world and what they are learning. They often can demonstrate a wider range of knowledge and more fully express their feelings using various artistic mediums than they can through speech or writing.

Figure 1.1. Ms. Yerevan's paintings.



Ms. Yerevan also describes art as an integral part of teaching collaboration. For example, each year she has the class create a round mural to sell at the school auction. As a first step, the children draw an individual piece. Then five or six children decide how to fill the larger space with their individual drawings. More children will add to the work until it becomes a whole piece. Then groups of children will paint. The only rule is that the children have to honor the essence of what another child has contributed, whether it is the shape or size of a figure or a choice of color. Through the process of creating the mural, Ms. Yerevan says the children learn important skills like sharing materials, negotiating, problem solving, and contributing to a common goal. The children also are able to create something much grander and bigger than they would be able to on their own.

Figure 1.2 (Clockwise from top left): A mural painted by a kindergarten class. A child making a life-size self-portrait. Child made clay alphabet letters and numbers. Children’s pencil drawings of seasonal scenes.



I asked Ms. Yerevan what aspects of teaching particularly bring her satisfaction after spending so many years in the classroom. She said first, and foremost, it is the children. They never fail to impress and amaze her, and are “at the heart” of what she does. She gives them a nugget of information and they “chew it up” and give back something extraordinary. She also enjoys developing curriculum in collaboration with her colleagues and with researchers. Lastly, she gains satisfaction from being able to share her knowledge with others by giving workshops at conferences nationally and internationally and by working with pre-service teachers at the school.

The Village School.

The Village School was founded in 1882 in downtown Los Angeles as a demonstration school for preparing teachers for the growing city. Since 1947 the campus has been situated on the western edge of a windy, iconic boulevard that runs from the Pacific Ocean to downtown. The school enrolls approximately 450 children, ages 4 to 12 years. Influenced by the progressive teaching philosophy of John Dewey, the curriculum seeks to create real-world educative experiences for children while fostering a collaborative learning community. The student body is diverse in terms of terms of race, ethnicity, class, income, academic aptitude, as well as language and religious background. Tuition is moderate as compared to local private schools and financial aid is available for low-income families.

The Early Childhood level I (ages 4-5) and level II (ages 5-6) classrooms are housed in the original buildings designed by prominent mid-century modern architects, Robert Alexander and Richard Neutra. Single level buildings of masonry construction wrap around the playground, which is bordered on the eastern edge by Stone Canyon Creek, which children and teachers call “the gully” (figure 1.3). Classrooms have glass fronts, facilitating a connection among the indoor classroom space and the outdoor spaces, and allowing the southern California sun to naturally light the classroom throughout the day.

The curriculum seeks to make educational connections to the surrounding landscape. Children plant a small garden in the play yard as part of a study of plant growth. The gully serves as a living classroom as the children learn about its delicate ecosystem, which is being taken over by invasive plants, and engage in revitalizing the creek through clean-up projects and the installation of native plants. And for many years, architecture students from the neighboring

university partnered with schoolchildren in building functional bridges of various designs to cross the creek.

Figure 1.3 (From left to right): a) the early childhood playground and classrooms, b) Room B children crossing the creek to go to the library.



Also, the curriculum seeks to create opportunities for children to learn from one another. As Ms. Yerevan stated, “the big idea is we collaborate all the time.” The peer reading activity which I focus on in this chapter is part of the *Reading Project* curriculum developed by Lucy Calkins (see Calkins & Mermelstein, 2003). The children begin working with peers in January as part of unit 5, “We can be reading teachers: *Teach yourself and your partners to use all you know how to read.*” These partnerships allow children to practice reading while using (and assisting a peer in the use of) repertoires of reading strategies that are discussed in daily mini-lessons.

Teachers at the school are provided with extensive opportunities to develop their practice, engage in research and collaborate with co-workers. They participate with academicians as part of a research institute housed at the school, studying their own classrooms and practice, and presenting their findings at the school and at conferences world-wide. As part of the school’s

professional development initiative, the teachers learn from each other, visiting one another's classrooms to observe, and they meet with colleagues to share ideas, discuss curriculum, and seek advice. Additionally, there are efforts to disseminate practices at the school to the education community at large. Veteran teachers act as mentor teachers to pre-service teachers attending local colleges. The school also implements professional development programs for educators city wide. For example, on Educator Days, teachers in the city school system and other private schools visit the campus. Professional development workshops are offered on a number of topics, including how to use primary sources as an inquiry tool and how to apply innovative teaching approaches in a dual language classroom.

A note on methods

The data for this chapter is derived from a year-long video ethnography in a kindergarten classroom in which I documented peer literacy activities. My interest in pursuing this analysis was to gain Ms. Yerevan's perspectives on children's activities as they read together, and to better understand the conditions that are favorable to the kinds of rich learning interactions I witnessed among children.

For this first goal (getting the teacher's insights), I selected a representative sample of approximately one hour of video (which contains excerpts from multiple peer partnerships) from the larger video corpus of peer reading (5 hours). The first stage of the analysis involved having Ms. Yerevan watch the video while making journal entries on her general impressions of children's activities (e.g., what it is they are doing and how they are doing it). In reviewing her journal, I made a synoptic list of the kinds of things she noticed (which I discuss in the analysis section of this chapter). I recognized how the behaviors she identified aligned with what Dewey (1928, 1959) describes as the "three chief aspects of learning": knowledge, skill and character. I

thus chose to organize the analysis under the broad themes of and *acquiring socially desirable attitudes* and *developing reading skills and techniques*. (While Ms. Yerevan spoke of ways the children were learning about the knowledge content of the books, many of which were math and science books, I chose not to include this domain as I had only antedotal evidence to support the claim.)

For the second stage of video analysis, Ms. Yerevan and I discussed which instances in the corpus to select so as to best illustrate these two themes; we then viewed the videos together with an interest in further exploring Ms. Yerevan's perspective on the children's interactions with one another. We chose two different partnerships, one composed of mixed gender peers (Amy and Caleb) and the other of two girls (Holly and Perry). For these viewing, we used a modified version of a video analysis protocol developed by the Chéche Konnen Center at TERC (2014) for teacher practice-based inquiry groups. Following this protocol, I emphasized to Ms. Yerevan that I was interested in her interpretation (rather than evaluation) of the children's activities. I also outlined the following domains of interest: meanings children were making, the resources they were drawing on to make meanings, and the points of view or perspectives they were taking in regard to what was happening. We watched the videos one by one and read the transcripts of the videos aloud; during this activity she would pause the video to comment on something that grabbed her attention. Beyond providing the protocol for the video viewing, I did little to direct what she found of interest. The result of these sessions is a discussion of each of the two partnerships from "the teacher's perspective," which I discuss in the analysis section of this chapter. In synthesizing what Ms. Yerevan shared in the video analysis sessions, I keep very close to her language and do not include my own interpretations regarding the children's

interactions. I later performed member checks, sharing with her drafts of this chapter. Ultimately, her insights, knowledge, and writing sensibility shape all aspects of the research.

Secondly, to better understand the conditions which support children's interactions, I draw upon multiple sources, which include: a series of interviews with Ms. Yerevan, field notes collected across a year of observations in the classroom, curricular and planning documents, historical artifacts about the school found online, photographs of the school and classroom, as well as informal conversations with Ms. Yerevan that have occurred over the past several years of our acquaintance.

The primary sources, however, are the interviews with Ms. Yerevan. An initial grand tour interview (Spradley, 1979) was conducted early in my field work. For this interview, she showed me around her classroom and described the purposes of the spaces, how they are used, and how the classroom environment relates to her beliefs about teaching and learning. She also described the structure of the school day, from her early walks around the adjoining university campus that she takes to mentally prepare for the school day, to the moment that children file out at the end of the day with a poem in their pocket (a singing activity where children pick a poem out of a basket), and she begins to clean up and prepare for the next day. Other interviews explore her two-decade teaching history, her teaching preparation and approaches, the curriculum across content areas, and her personal background.

For the purposes of reporting, I present the material in my voice and switch to Ms. Yerevan's voice in the sections titled, "the teacher's perspective," which follow each narrative account of peer reading.

Analysis

The learning environment

Dewey (1938,1997 p. 43) maintains that education proceeds through the interaction of the individual and the environment. Elaborating on the characteristics of one's environment, he explains that it may consist of:

...persons with whom he is talking about some topic or event...or the toys with which he is playing; the book he is reading (in which his enviroing conditions at the time may be England or ancient Greece or an imaginary region); or the materials of an experiment he is performing. The environment in other words, is whatever conditions interact with personal needs, desires, purposes, and capacities to create the [educative] experience which is had. Even when a person builds a castle in the air he is interacting with the objects which he constructs in fancy.

When I spoke to Ms. Yerevan about how she sets up her classroom at the beginning of the year, she distinguished between two distinct environments that are important to build and cultivate, one is the physical environment of the classroom and the second is the inner environment of the individual child, or his social emotional development. For the purposes of focusing this discussion, I limit my analysis to these two aspects of the learning environment, while making connections to features of the curriculum and characteristics of adult-child interactions where relevant.

Physical environment.

Corinne Seeds (1957), a disciple of Dewey's and promoter of progressive education, describes the purpose of a learning environment to be something a child would feel the desire to explore and to do something with, that is, to be purposeful in her activity. According to Seeds

such an environment has four aspects: 1) there is something to play with, 2) there must be something to construct and manipulate, 3) there must be something to share with others, and 4) there must be something to be curious about.

Aligning with Seed's belief that the environment should be set up in such a way that children felt compelled to move towards it and satisfy their curiosity, Ms. Yerevan creates numerous areas for children to play, imagine and create. Play is the "work of children" she tells me as she gives me a tour of the classroom. A popular free choice activity for the girls is to play in the kitchen or the dramatic play area. In February of the school year, Ms. Yerevan announced that they would be changing the dramatic play area into a post office so that the children could share Valentines with one another. Upon hearing this announcement, the girls gave a choral and insistent "No!" Ms. Yerevan laughed and assured the girls that they would be keeping the dress-up area as they would need to dress up to go to the post office, "You can't wear your pjs to get your mail." Another free choice activity both the boys and girls gravitate to is legos, where they do the work of builders, engineers and architects, creating things from their world, such as cars, airplanes and buildings.

In addition to creating spaces that attract children, Ms. Yerevan stresses the necessity to make children know their work is valued. Thus, their creations are saved from day to day. A child will place a paper "save" sign on his or her lego project indicating that it be spared from the daily clean up. (On Fridays everything is put away). Children's artwork and illustrated books cover the classroom walls, and they spread out into the hallways and other corridors.

For Ms. Yerevan part of bringing children together in collaborative, shared activity is creating a home-like environment in which children feel cozy and comfortable. There are large round tables where children write. This configuration facilitates a social atmosphere as children

work. I frequently observed children's talk connecting to and expanding on their written stories (which were necessarily limited as they are emerging writers). For example, my field notes document a writing scene from a winter morning in December as children, donned in puffy vests, furry hoodies and wool caps, work on illustrating their holiday stories (see figure 1.4). Perry, who is coloring intently hovered over her page, suddenly gasps and sits up. The book she is working on sparks a memory and she launches into an oral story about a past Christmas, saying, "Oh and guess what? This Christmas that I'm writing about... When Santa came down..." The other children then chime in with their own stories about their Christmases past.

Figure 1.4: Perry enacting licking a snowball as the children tell stories while illustrating their holiday books.



Other areas bring children together around books, or to dine, or to run and romp around. Couches and rocking chairs are situated next to bookshelves. A bevy of children will take big sized books, such as *Where's Waldo*, to the rug for a shared reading. The sliding glass door at the front of the classroom opens to a patio with round tables where the children join one another for a picnic

style lunch, with bagged lunches brought from home. After children eat their lunches, they are free to explore the sizable playground with the multiple options for play, including, sand boxes, jungle gyms, push cars and swing sets. In our interviews, Ms. Yerevan frequently made references to the importance of play to children learning to work with one another. I also heard this claim in casual conversation, such as an afternoon where we both observe two girls struggling to push a friend up a hill in a cart at recess. Ms. Yerevan looks at the girls and turns to me with a meaningful gaze, saying, “now that’s cooperation.” Ms. Yerevan also recognizes that sometimes children need a space to be alone, and so as a class they talk about where they can go to be by themselves and how to communicate to others that they need “alone time.”

Additionally, there are areas of the class dedicated to math, literacy, technology, art and science. Art materials are readily available in many areas of the classroom, along with a changing assortment of inspiration pieces for children to draw, whether seasonal pictures of trees, mirrors for self-portraits, or animal books. “Counting collections” of brightly colored beads, buttons, and pennies fill glass jars and math manipulatives are stacked on shelves. Markers and pencils and different sizes and colors of paper are available in the communication center. A row of computers line the far wall.

Science materials and children’s experiments or inquiry projects tend to spread across multiple surfaces of the classroom. On a fall day when the children were doing a unit of study on the ecosystem, a table was covered with *living* and *non-living* things: leaves, rocks, wood chips, flowers and more. Some of the items the teachers had supplied, others the children brought from home or had collected from the small redwood forest in the backyard of the school. Magnifying glasses along with paper are nearby as part of science is children closely examining and then drawing and writing about what they see. *Science creatures* reside in terrariums along with an

assortment of plants. Children’s discoveries, such as a walking stick insect from the schoolyard, often become the object of inquiry. The child will search for information on the computer about walking sticks with the help of teachers or classmates. The teacher will consult with the librarian for additional books or other media. And the class will discuss what was discovered, while making connections to the unit of study in science and other curricular areas.

Figure 1.5 (clockwise from top left): a) reading couch with pillows. b) art materials and counting jars. c) easels for painting outdoors at recess. d) science materials. e) child portraits. f) computer stations. g) play kitchen. h) blocks on outdoor patio (center).



An additional important aspect of peer collaboration is that it allows the teachers time to work with children individually, providing feedback, helping them direct their own progress, and assess their progress. I observe Ms. Yerevan in writing meetings one morning in December as other children worked at writing tables with their peers or on free choice activities. Ms. Yerevan takes notes on where the children are, whether mapping ideas, writing, or publishing (illustrating and making a cover and dedication page). Sitting on the rug with a child, Maria, she points at scratchy marks on the page and asks the child to tell her about them. Receiving an explanation that her brother Max has a crazy wig on, Ms. Yerevan turns to me with a hint of irony and says, “that’s why it is important to ask.” She has Maria read to her and then asks what *delicious words*, or adjectives, she might add to make her writing more colorful and encourages her to add more detail to her pictures, explaining that an “illustrator does not leave a character without any clothes.” Ms. Yerevan then brainstorms a title for the story with Maria, and when the child arrives at “Max’s first Christmas,” Ms. Yerevan gives her a high five and sends the child off to further develop the story. She then calls Caleb to bring his book. He presents it and insists I count the pages. I oblige him, leafing through pages of lengthy text and elaborate drawings and exclaim, “There are 24 pages in your book!” Ms. Yerevan laughs and says “It is a kindergarten dissertation!” and tells him he can start on a new story, which he eagerly runs off to do.

Lastly, Ms. Yerevan stresses that for the environment to feel like a shared, collaborative space the children and their families must be involved in all aspects, from making choices about design, to constructing and up-keeping the space. Parents sign up for a week to deliver flowers to the classroom, arriving in the morning to arrange a bouquet on each of the round tables. Other family members volunteer to help display children’s work on the walls or to organize cubbies and closets.

Important to the children is that they are able to carve out their own designated spaces to work. In the fall, the teachers talk with the children about how readers have a particular spot they love, and how in such a spot, whether a couch, rug, or bean bag, one will feel safe and relaxed and absorbed in their reading. Ms. Yerevan reads the book, *The Best Place to Read* (Bertram and Bloom, 2010), which describes a boy's quest to find the perfect place to curl up and read where he is not disturbed by his baby sister and does not have to worry about his new book being soaked by the sprinklers in the yard. For several days the children try out different places in the room until they find a spot that feels like their own. Ms. Yerevan then posts a map on the board, which identifies each child's reading spot. When she begins hearing children asking for a new spot, they will change them so as to allow variety.

Inner Environment (social emotional).

When I walk into Room B at 8:50 this morning the children are seated in a circle on the rug singing to recorded music. "What a beautiful morning." "Won't you be my friend?" The children know all the words and have their arms linked around one another's shoulders as they sway side to side. They begin to sing a song about putting your happy face on. I cannot help but smile when I see the children's pantomime, fingers drawing an upward turned grin, to the lyrics about "turning a frown around" (Field notes, February 23, 2012).

When I spoke to Ms. Yerevan about how she supports children's social and emotional development, she described the idea of building a community where children feel respected and cared for, where they sense their ideas and experiences are validated and where they can take risks. She emphasized that one must attend to children's emotional and social world for learning to happen, or what she described as "teaching to the whole child." She then went on to share the

various ways such a community is fostered. In this section I discuss her approach, touching on each of the themes she mentioned (and I observed during my fieldwork), including: making time in the day to discuss children's feelings, interests and experiences, creating a democratic space, involving families, modeling, encouraging and reinforcing positive behaviors, and incorporating play in the school day.

Allocating time for discussing children's feelings, interests and experiences

In Room B, getting the morning started right is crucial to setting the stage for a good day together. One challenge for young children is separation, or saying goodbye to their parents in the morning. (This can also be difficult for parents. Ms. Yerevan once told me she is glad when I come in with my cameras in the morning as it encourages parents, who have a tendency to hang around with clingy children, to move out more quickly.) Other situations that arise might be children coming to school with a stomach ache or having just had a fight with a sibling. When multiple children experience these (or other) issues there is the potential of morning mayhem. The teachers put things in place, however, to transition as smoothly as possible into the school day. When the children arrive they play in the school yard. Ms. Yerevan describes this is an important time for connection: children catch up with one another and parents check in with the teachers about their child and what may be going on at home. At 8:30 the bell rings and the children gather around the sandbox to sing the *Good Morning* song ("Buenos Dias, Buenos Dias, Como Estas Como Estas...") in multiple languages. They then file into the classroom to gather on the rug for the morning message. This morning routine includes a discussion of the date and the weather and the agenda for the day. Also, a primary part of the morning message is a discussion of how the children are feeling that day. Ms. Yerevan describes this practice as important to children learning how to "read" one another, or sense, connect and empathize with

how someone else is feeling, and then attend to him. Children pair up with partners to discuss their feelings. If they, or the teachers, are particularly excited or, alternatively, upset about something one day, they can leave a message on the board for the class. For example, Ayanshi's message on April 4 reads: "I really miss my grandma and grandpa. They are in Iran."

These feelings are addressed in a number of ways; most often, however, peer support is used to comfort a child. For example, when a child, Jacky, was upset about the loss of a pet, Ms. Yerevan asked the class to think about what they might do to make her feel better. Children raised their hands with suggestions. Jacky then chose her favorite option, which was having other children support her. She chose two girls to sit by her to take care of her. Moments later, after the friends had been holding her hand, Ms Yerevan commented that she already seems to be smiling, and the girl beamed in agreement. On another day Matt was upset because he lost a toy under his bed. A child suggested he use a flashlight to look for it. Matt returned the next day elated, presenting to the class his toy that he had retrieved using his classmate's suggested method! Children look forward to these conversations about feelings. On days when this routine is skipped, the children will notice, complaining, "We didn't talk about feelings today."

Teachers also have children read and write about feelings. One of the first assignments of the year is for children to write a *feeling book*, where they write about and illustrate how they are feeling across the course of a couple of weeks. Another primary way of discussing feelings and other values is through the sharing of literature. For example, concepts such as sharing and friendship, are discussed as the teachers read to the class, respectively, *The Boy that wouldn't Share* (Reese, 2008) and *The Invisible String* (Karst and Stevenson, 2000).

Another important aspect of the curriculum is the use of children's stories and experiences as an underlying source of knowledge and expertise to build on. Ms. Yerevan

describes drawing upon this source in teaching as a way to validate who the children are as people. Following the *Writer's Workshop* curriculum model developed by Lucy Calkins, children's own lives, interests and observations are used as an impetus for their writing and for developing a "writer's voice." Additionally, as part of this model, peers are seen as a valuable resource to bounce ideas off of, to confer with about authorial decisions and to share one's writing with. This is illustrated in children's development of information books, a writing activity I observed in February of the school year. Children brought to school a *know it all box*, or a box of items that they are experts on. Boxes contained ballet shoes, model horses or planes, baseballs and other objects that represent part of a child's world. The first step for children in developing their information essays is to share their boxes with a peer. I observed Perry showing Amy a horseshoe, explaining that to stay on a horse you have to lean forward when going uphill and backwards when going downhill. She went on to tell her friend about the importance of the reins, to be able to stop or turn the horse. With the help of their friend, children then chose one object to write about, and proceeded in the project by using the computer and books to research and further develop their knowledge about their chosen topic.

Figure 1.6: Children playing in the sandbox at recess.



Creating a democratic space

Ms. Yerevan speaks frequently of the need to build a democratic space. This idea, which is often discussed as a balance of children's freedom to discover and make choices with adult control, is an enduring challenge for educators (Bartless and Turkanis, 2001, Seeds, 1957). Dewey (1938, 1997, p. 71) is critical of misinterpretations of his work, where in progressive education circles teachers avoid infringing on children's freedom: "I have heard of cases in which children are surrounded with objects and materials and then left entirely to themselves, the teacher being loath to suggest even what might be done with the materials lest freedom be infringed upon." In contrast, using a well-ordered family life as an example of participating in cooperative activity, Dewey (1938, 1997, p. 54) describes control in a community, as not being "the will or desire of any one person which establishes order but the moving spirit of the whole group," and where the parent exercises control "as the representative or agent of the interests of the group as a whole."

Ms. Yerevan describes her role as a facilitator of the classroom community, where there is dialogue between adults and children and between peers, rather than a space in which an adult dictates. The goal is for children to express their ideas and listen to one another, and for them to take an active role in classroom decision making. She gives children the tools to solve problems, organize their own activities, and then steps aside to watch the children in action. She then enters only where she needs to. As part of this process, deliberate modeling of peer curricular activities is done, such as how a child should sit and hold a book when reading with a friend, or how children might work with manipulatives to solve a math problem together. Other aspects of collaborative participation, such as turn taking, deliberating, and disagreeing, are also discussed and modeled.

The behavioral aspects of participating in a community of learners is additionally supported through a school-wide program called *Cool Tools*. A psychologist visits the class weekly with a toolbox full of props that serve as tangible connections to otherwise abstract concepts and values, such as patience, kindness, and consideration (Ong, 2006). For example, a *kaleidoscope* represents compromise or being able to see things from different points of view and a *big mistake eraser* is a tool for forgiveness. Teachers school-wide reinforce the use of these tools, along with the help of parents, with the result that adults and children understand and use a common language for mediating problems and building community.

Ms. Yerevan also describes instilling independence in children as an important aspect of a classroom democracy. One way this independence is developed is allowing children to make choices. A time of day is allocated for children to do different *jobs* of their choice in the room, whether working on a drawing program at the computer, playing with puzzles or legos, or doing an independent art project. The teachers help children make good choices and then trust that they are doing the right thing when working with one another with little adult oversight.

Ms. Yerevan maintains that it is children's ability to work independently of adults in free choice time that contributes to their success in working with one another in collaborative academic activities, such as peer reading. In peer reading, children are generally allowed to choose their partners (as they choose their playmates in free choice). She feels, however, that children should have experiences working with different children, so if children only work with playmates, she will occasionally assign partners. In the rare case that children do not want to work with an assigned partner she tells them, "I'm sorry but you don't have a choice. There are going to be life experiences where you have to work with someone you don't want to work with." As the teachers must trust that children are making good choices in free choice time, they

similarly must trust that the modeling, discussions of reading strategies, and the various behavioral foundations they put in place allow children to choose good reading strategies, focus and persist with the task at hand, and act fairly towards their partner when reading with one another.

Involving families

Ms. Yerevan emphasized the importance of involving families in the classroom community as a way of recognizing and supporting children's social emotional needs. During my fieldwork, I observed parents, siblings, grandparents or other loved ones participate in the classroom in multiple ways. For example, one morning when I arrived I saw on the board an announcement that it was "grandparent's and special friend's day." These guests read stories to small groups of children, played a card game with them, or worked on art projects. Older siblings are also frequent guests to the classroom, coming in the afternoon to help when they are able to get a pass to leave their own classrooms across the quad where the upper level classes are housed. And parents serve afternoon tea on cooler days or lemonade on warmer days to the children and teachers as an occasional welcome respite from their hard work.

Family members additionally help support children's developing understandings of the world and of cultural and ethnic diversity. To celebrate Chinese New Year a mother of a second-generation Chinese boy visited the class. She read a book about a Chinese New Year's parade, titled *The Dancing Dragon* (Vaughan, 1996). The book pulls out like an accordion as the dragon is slowly revealed, from tail to head, page by page. Her son assisted by holding the tail end of the book as the other children gathered around on the rug, craning their heads to get a good look. The mother returned in the afternoons in the subsequent two weeks to lead a class art project where they created their own dragon. A large banner of red stock paper was laid out on the patio,

on which the children painted and then decorated the dragon's body using rice and colorful legumes. After a number of afternoons of work the children donned the dragon, lining up behind its colorfully decorated cardboard box head, with bulging eyes and long yellow snout, for a school parade.

Additionally each child is recognized as an individual, special member of the community through family visits on the child's birthday. I observed a visit from Edith's parents on her sixth birthday. The mother read the class a poem by A.A. Milne (2008) about turning six years old: "But now I am six, I'm as clever as clever; so I think I will be six now for ever and ever." The father then took out his iPad and showed the class a baby picture of Edith to the cooing delight of the class. Ms. Yerevan then asked the child's parents what they know about Edith that the class does not. The father shares that she likes to be carried upside down so that her hair mops the floor. The mother pauses to think, and Edith whispers in her ear. She then shares that Edith likes to play giant feet with her father, where Edith steps on her father's feet to be carried along with him as he takes giant steps. The class listens attentively as the parents share, occasionally raising their hands to tell the parents, "I have a grandma, too" or "I also play soccer."

Modeling, encouraging and reinforcing positive behaviors

The children are busy with their various free choice projects around the room. Ms. Yerevan does a rhythmic clap and the children join in, stopping what they are doing. Referring to the children as "beautiful people," she asks them to clean up and join her at the rug. As the children begin arriving at the rug, Ms. Yerevan points to a chart with a capital case *K* and a little case *k* written at the top. She goes right into a chant of the *K* sound and children join her as they sit down. Once the children are seated, Ms. Yerevan asks children to volunteer *K* words. *King*, *kitchen*, and *kangaroo* are called out in turn by

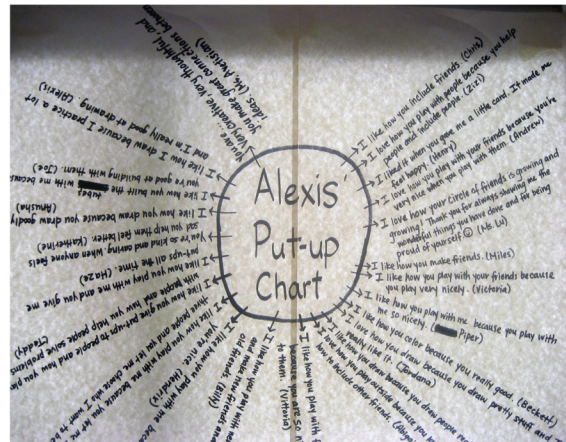
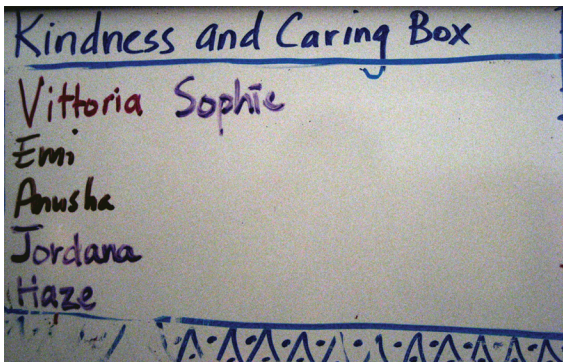
children with raised hands. One child is unable to think of a *K* word and is offered a dictionary by a friend. The children are told that they are to make a *K* page for their alphabet book. Paper is placed on the floor and children jump up and pile on one another to get a piece. Ms. Yerevan directs them to sit back down, saying that they are doing “me, me, me” behavior and only thinking of themselves. She asks the children what a better way to get paper would be. A child responds that they could wait for others. And a second child says that they can get a piece for a friend. The children then get a piece of paper in an orderly fashion (Field notes, January 6, 2012).

As this field note from the middle of the school year demonstrates, modeling and reinforcing positive behavior is an ongoing process. Despite all the groundwork laid at the beginning of the year in terms of how to talk with one another and how to move around the classroom in a respectful way, children need reminders months later. The teachers do a number of things in their daily interactions to encourage children to interact in positive ways. As seen in this field note entry, Ms. Yerevan refers to the children as “beautiful people.” She used this reference alternately with others that attributed positive identities to the children, including: “friends,” “writers,” or “readers.” When children are not successful in behaving like a collaborative community, they are gently reminded that they have the knowledge of how to act appropriately as fellow classmates. In the above case, they are told to think of others and not just “me, me, me” and are asked for their own suggestions of what might improve the situation, so that they did not need to pile on one another to get a piece of paper.

In addition to these moment-to-moment calibrations of the classroom interactions, teachers encourage positive behaviors through praise or recognition. One practice is centered upon nominating a child to be publicly recognized in the *kindness and caring box*, a designated

spot on the board where children’s names are displayed. Children are vigilant in looking out for acts of kindness and caring, and those being recognized proudly show their parents at the end of the day. A second practice is that of giving *put ups*, or saying nice things about one another. The class discusses how terrible *put downs* make one feel and how, alternatively, compliments can make one feel confident and happy. Children are encouraged to give one another put ups and each child has a put up chart, where classmates write compliments about them. The teachers encourage children to offer put ups that are more meaningful than a simple comment about liking a peer’s shoes, for example. This is reflected in the put up charts, as illustrated in figure 1.7, which appreciate a child’s thoughtfulness, talents, and friendship.

Figure 1.7 (Clockwise from top left): a) Kindness and caring box. b) Children participating in morning “feeling share” time. c) “Put up” charts. d) A child working on her “Feeling Book.”



Incorporating play in the school day.

Lastly, Ms. Yereven sees incorporating play into the school day as an integral part of teaching to the whole child . She stated, “play is a critical part of who they are at this stage. And to take that away is like taking them out of their world. It’s very unnatural.” Children spend about a half hour on the playground at the beginning of the day and another half hour at lunchtime. In addition, there is classroom play during free choice time. During recess adults sometimes engage with children by swinging one end of a jumprope that is tied to a fence for a line of girls or playing hide and seek with a group of children. Otherwise, children play amongst themselves, creating imaginary worlds, such as a spaceship out of the jungle gym house, and negotiating friendships and social hierarchies. Adults only become involved when a playground rule is broken or when a child’s feelings are hurt. In such cases, an adult sits with the children and discusses the *cool tools*, or strategies, they might use for working things out on their own. Only on occasions does discipline need to be doled out, such as a child being asked to sit out of recess.

“Well I don’t need help:” Acquiring socially desirable attitudes

It is the time in the morning when children transition from shopping for five new books to the activity of reading their selected books with partners. On this day the children are charged with finding a partner of their choice. (Partners are assigned on occasion.)

Children are sprawled out on the rug with their book bags in reach as they casually look at the books they have selected. Taylor is reading the book “Wheels on the Bus” in a sing-song voice. Alex, who is sitting near Amy, pauses momentarily listening to her read. The teacher announces that it is time to read their *just right* books to a partner. Alex

slides over to sit next to Taylor, who swaps the book he has been reading for another in his bag. Taylor reads the word “but,” and Alex admonishes him, saying in an insistent voice “you are not supposed to say “butt.”” Picking up on the word play Taylor says there is no “butt” in “coconut.” Then defiantly, he says the naughty word repeatedly and with emphasis, “BUTT, BUTT, BUTT” and slaps Alex playfully on the bottom with his book. Matt, possibly attracted to the fun the boys are having, comes over and asks to be partners. The boys discuss that they are not allowed to have three in a group. Alex suggests they do “eeny, meeny, miny, moe” to determine partners. Alex sings the song and points to Matt. Taylor goes next selecting Caleb to be his partner. The boys partner up and settle into reading.

Amy is still sitting alone. She looks around for a friend to read with. Alexia is lying on the floor with a book above her head and reading alone. Alexia soon looks up and says to Amy, “Let’s read.” Amy accepts the invitation, saying, “alright.” Amy sidles next to Alexia and in the manner of a magician producing a rabbit from her hat, she pulls a book out of her bag with an exclamatory, “ta da!” She then begins reading the book as Alexia leans her head on her shoulder. (Field notes, February 16, 2012).

This brief excerpt from my field notes demonstrates how children get their work done, whether choosing partners or reading books, while exploring the playfulness of peer group sociality. And they do so in a manner that is fair and respectful. Using Dewey’s (1928, 1959) term, they are demonstrating the *character* of a learner. Taylor and Alex are having fun with a word game when Matt approaches and requests to read with them. The boys recognize they cannot have a group of three, yet include Matt in a democratic process of choosing partners through the use of a rhyming song. The girls also successfully pair up. Alexia, a shy,

introspective girl, who frequently finds a quiet spot in the classroom to work alone invites Amy, a boisterous girl who most often plays with the boys, to join her in reading. Turn taking is also quickly accomplished. Amy makes a hat-trick performance out of selecting a book and then launches immediately into reading. There is no protest from Alexia about not getting the first turn. She is observed resting her head on her peer's shoulder, a gesture suggesting repose and comfort in being read to by her peer.

While I captured the processes of selecting partners and taking turns in these field notes, with casual observation I noticed the work behind fairness seems invisible because children so easily and quickly work things out on terms they are comfortable with. In Ms. Yerevan's journal notes in which she reviews the corpus of videos, she remarks repeatedly on how the children are demonstrating fairness. When I mentioned that I was also impressed with how the partnerships functioned so smoothly, like a well-oiled machine, she said that the reason is because the work is happening elsewhere: it is in the extensive modeling the teachers do, for example, showing children strategies for turn-taking, and it is the result of all the attention given to children's emotional worlds, talking about feelings and practicing the idea of give-and-take, or reciprocity, in play and in academics.

Fairness is just one of many socially desirable attitudes Ms. Yerevan indicated as taking place in the peer partnerships. Another important characteristic of these partnerships she found important is that children are excited and motivated to read. She describes this as being "hooked in," a term she uses frequently in class with the children, for example, asking them to "hook in" when they wiggle around on the rug during a teacher read aloud. She also describes this excitement as being related to the disciplined endurance children exhibit; they focus intently on their own and their partner's reading for extended periods of time (often 20 minutes). And when

a partner is not being a good audience member, children will redirect a peer's focus, bringing him or her back to the task (see chapter 3). I asked her if this was unusual or exceptional, and she said emphatically, "Oh, yes, especially for a five-year-old left independently to work out a reading." She went on to describe that the books are not play books or beautiful picture books (which might more readily capture and sustain their interest), but rather "basic" reader books and short chapter books (in the cases of more advanced readers) that require them to struggle a bit. The distinction she describes between these two texts is often contrasted as academic reading versus pleasure reading (Willingham, 2015). It is thus interesting then that she is recognizing that children derive pleasure from academic reading when reading with a peer.

She also attributes this being "hooked in" to the collaborative nature children employ in solving problems, and the humor and playfulness children bring to the task (for example, Alex and Taylor's word game in the opening vignette.) She describes the ways children help one another as "grown up," in that they employ many of the reading strategies they are taught in class and are respectful to "where a peer is" in terms of her reading level. She sees a good lesson in these interactions: "they are learning to help and learning to be helped." At the same time they are finding humor in what they are reading and in the learning process, often laughing with delight at mistakes.

The following narrative of Perry and Holly's reading partnership illustrates many of these elements that Ms. Yerevan identified in the larger data corpus. This narrative, however, is an outlier in that the children are having some difficulty being fair, helping and being helped, and paying attention. Holly is not allowing Perry a turn to read and Perry acts a bit like a know-it-all, doing what Ms. Yerevan describes as "stealing Holly's thunder" when she helps her peer. This drama leads to Holly's protest: "Well I don't need help."

Ms. Yerevan and I discussed whether to use this example or, instead, one of the many in which things go more smoothly— examples that are more representative of children’s interactions. We decided that this example, with all the children’s challenges and difficulties, better demonstrates what children strive for (e.g., fairness, collaboration, fun) and the processes, challenges, and the remarkable skill that it takes for achieving this. In other words, analyzing what is not working perfectly makes us smarter and perhaps more appreciative of the nature of peer reading: In the flow of children reading together they are continually negotiating, creating and learning about the social interaction that is part of this collaborative reading activity, while simultaneously learning to read. It is important to keep in mind that these are young children, and, while Ms. Yerevan spends considerable time setting up the activity (modeling turn-taking, discussing reading strategies and ways of helping) it is not as if they have a script for how it is to play out—they are working it out as they go along. Let us now turn to the narrative, which is in four parts, to see how Holly and Perry do this.

The narrative (example 1.1a).

Holly sits down next to Perry, her chosen reading partner and friend. Perry, who already has taken a book out of her bag, tells Holly that she is going to read the book first (see line 1 in the transcript which follows). In saying this, Perry is indicating which one of her five books she will read.

What becomes problematic is not which book she will read, but rather Perry’s assumption that she will read *first*, or before Holly. Holly immediately opposes Perry, interjecting in a whiny voice that she is going to read her books first (line 2). Perry, in turn, performs an embodied, stylized move (Goodwin and Alim, 2010): she sucks her teeth, rolls her eyes, and then throws her hands up in a “surrender gesture” as she utters under her breath, “okay” (lines 3-4 and images

a-c). Holly, being playfully aggressive, chomps her teeth closed and squints her eyes, glaring at Perry. Perry again utters “*Oka: :y*,” this time louder and with rising intonation.

The disagreement quickly resolves as Holly declares in a high pitched, squealing voice, “*that means I like you*” (line 7), and Perry acquiesces with the token utterance “oh” (line 8)⁴.

The detailed transcript (example 1.1a)

- 1 Perry: I’ll read this this book first
- 2 Holly: Hey, i’m (gonna~have~to) (I) read read my books **first**.
- 3 Perry: (3.1) ((teeth suck and eye roll))



A

B

- 4 Perry °okay ((hands up))
- 5 Holly: ((Chomps her teeth closed and squints her eyes))
- 6 Perry: **oka : : y?**
- 7 Holly: **That means I like you.**
- 8 Perry: Oh ::



C

⁴ See Appendix A for transcription conventions.

The narrative continued (example 1.1b).

Example 1.1b picks up several minutes after Holly and Perry disagree about who reads first (example 1.1a). Holly opens her book to the first page and begins reading the text, “Lad had a fat cat,” slowly and methodically, stretching out the vowel sounds and taking a measured pause between the words (lines 1-7). Before Holly can read the final word, “cat,” Perry reads it for her (line 8). In response, Holly turns to look up at Perry and then looks back at the book reading, “fat cat” (line 10). The girls look at one another and giggle.

The detailed transcript (example 1.1b)

((Holly is reading “Lad had a fat cat.”))

1 Holly: La :: **d**
2 (3.8)
3 ha :: **d**
4 (1.0)
5 a ::
6 (4.7)
7 fa :: **t**
8 Perry: ca: t
9 ((Holly looks up at Perry))
10 Holly: fat cat
 [((Holly looks back at the book))
11 ((Holly and Perry gaze at one another and laugh))



The narrative continued (example 1.1c).

After laughing with Perry, Holly turns the page to continue reading. The text reads, “The cat is Kit.” With a deliberate slowness, as if she is savoring the letter sounds, Holly reads “Th::e.” She briefly pauses and Perry reads the next word, “cat.” Holly immediately follows also reading “cat,” an utterance that appears ready to be spoken prior to Perry’s reading.

Holly now has a very different reaction to Perry’s turn sharking. Whereas in example 1.1b the girls both laugh, this time Holly turns sharply to glare at Perry, a look that startles Perry,

who sits up sharply as if feeling “shivers up her spine.”

Perry draws upon an authority figure, the teacher, to back up her actions, saying, “Ms. Yerevan said I could help you” (line 7-8). (In line 7 she begins to name the second teacher of the classroom and then changes course.) Defiantly, Holly explains, “Well I don’t need *he::lp*.” Perry escalates the disagreement by saying that she can help if she wants to (line 10) and Holly, in turn, explains it’s *her* book to read (line 12).

This exchange continues with Perry continuing to reference the teacher’s authority and Holly continuing to make knowledge claims. Perry says, “but she told me to and she’s the teach” (line 14). Holly, in turn, cuts Perry off with a sharply spoken rebuttal, “*I know how to read them.*”

A brief stare down ensues with Holly and Perry looking intently at one another. Perry acquiesces and looks down and Holly then also looks away and rolls her eyes. Holly once again comes out on top. Perry, nevertheless, keeps her cool exhibiting admirable patience for a five-year-old.

The detailed transcript (example 1.1c)

- 1 Holly: **Th: : e,**
- 2 (0.42)
- 3 Perry: cat.
- 4 Holly: ca: : t.
- 5 (3.5)
- 6 ((Holly gazes at Perry
and Perry sits up stiffly))



- 7 Perry: Miss Pa- Miss
 8 Miss Yerevan said I could help you.
 9 Holly: Well I don't need **he: : lp** .
 10 Perry: I could if I wa: : nt to.
 11 Holly: Well this is m-
 12 Well this is my book I'm gonna borrow.
 13 (2.0)
 14 Perry: But she to: : ld me to,
 15 and she's the te ach-
 16 Holly: **I know how to read them.**
 17 Holly: ((Perry looks down and Holly rolls her eyes))



The narrative continued (example 1.1d).

Example 1.1d takes place about 7 minutes after the contentious helping episode (example 1.1c). During these interim minutes, Holly continues to not allow Perry a turn to read; she finishes up one book and opens another, saying, “Okay, let me read all my books.” Perry at first objects, “What, read all your books, that’s not fair!” and then spunkily concedes, “Okay, never mind. I’ll shut my mouth.”

Two adults eventually intervene. First the researcher tells Holly, “Let’s give Perry a turn.” Perry is then able to begin reading, but Holly is an inattentive listener; she lays down to then sit up again and shake her foot side to side, telling Perry, “look at my foot.” Ms. Yerevan observes these behaviors from across the classroom and directs Holly to listen to her partner.

When example 1.1d begins, Holly is at last sitting quietly. It seems, however, that Perry is doing extra work to try to capture Holly’s interest in her reading. She is likely aware that her turn quickly could be usurped by any further antics on Holly’s part. Perry reads a sentence about

a rat named Zack and then checks to see if she has a listener; she looks at Holly, who is focusing on the book and seemingly being attentive (line 1). Perry begins to turn the page to continue reading but, instead, in an animated manner, says “*r : a : t*” stretching out the word, using a scary voice and leaning in towards Holly with wide eyes and an open mouth (line 2 and image a). Holly plays along with Perry’s performance, making a scared, screaming sound and then declaring that “I am scared of rats. They bite me” (lines 3-4).

Perry takes a stance on Holly’s admission of rats biting her; she scrunches up her face in a look of disgust and says, “Ew. They don’t bite me.” (Line 6). Shaking her head, she then explains to Holly that she sees rats when they are dead. This statement catches Holly’s attention; she recycles Perry’s “ew” token, asking, “Ew. Why do you see them when they are dead? (Line 8).

Perry, still in a performative mode, heightens the drama. As if telling a secret, she places her hand near her mouth and leans in towards Holly to explain that her cat gets the rats. Perry laughs and then returns to her reading.

At this moment the teacher claps and Perry displays an annoyed look as she puts away the book, which she has only just begun to read.

The detailed transcript (example 1.1d)

- 1 Perry: Zi : ck was a rat. ((Reading “Zack was a rat”))
(1.6) ((looks up at Holly))
- 2 **R : a _ : : t** _____
- 3 Holly: **A : : : h**
- 4 I’m scared of rats. They bite me.
- 5 Perry: Just kidding.
- 6 Ew. They don’t bite me. ((disgust face))
Because I-
I see them when they’re dead. ((head shake))



- 7 (2.4) ((Perry turns back to her book to continue reading))
 8 Holly: Ew. Why? do you see rats when they're dead.
 9 Perry: Because my (.)-cat gets them.
 ((makes secret gesture with hand))



- 10 Perry: (h) (h) (h) (h) ((Perry laughs))

The teacher's perspective:

This interaction demonstrates both how important fairness is to young children and their need to be seen as an equal partner in learning with a peer. These social aspects of the learning partnership need to be there for learning of the subject matter content to proceed. Of course, unfortunately, Perry and Holly are having some difficulty in this partnership. I can imagine some people looking at this interaction and thinking that the children are wasting time—“kids just being kids”—or that one might need to prevent such occasions where the peer social world emerges in classroom activities. I disagree. There is a lot that the children are doing here that educators can appreciate and learn from. These insights really lie in the details of the children's interpersonal dynamics, what might be called their learning processes. I want to discuss these further by looking closely at each episode (1.1a-d). At the risk, however, of the larger message getting lost in the details, I will state it in a summative way upfront. I think it is important that the children are given the freedom and the opportunity to try to work things out as peers, or equals. This is a learning opportunity. They are learning about what it takes socially and cognitively to cooperate with one another so as to accomplish this reading task. And they are

managing one another in a creative manner that, while not always being fair, still validates their friendship and frames the activity of reading together as fun. At the same time they are learning how to be a reader; they are practicing reading, while talking about what they read and helping one another. Lastly, of course, this example illustrates the importance of adults stepping in when necessary to help children.

I will begin by discussing the initial challenge the girls face: deciding who goes first (example 1.1a). Turn taking is one of the first lessons I and my co-teacher talk about and model when peer reading is introduced. There are opportunities for the children to work on this in other parts of class, too, such as in the morning when they pair up with a partner and share how they are feeling that day. This example shows how the fairness aspect of turn taking is fundamental for children to work together. Children most often work this out without problems; this is my observation from watching the videos, and from witnessing children's interactions on a daily basis. The example of Holly and Perry, however, shows that taking turns can be a contentious event. What is interesting about this interaction, though, is the way the children continually mitigate their disagreement. I can imagine another scenario where the conflict escalates. Instead, Perry, through her embodied stylized moves (e.g., teeth suck, eye roll, surrender gesture, muttering of "okay"), characterizes Holly as just a little bit crazy, and is thus able to maintain her sense of integrity while demonstrating an insincere deference towards Holly by backing down. Similarly, Holly also does a couple of mitigating moves. She playfully makes a biting action, signaling to Perry that she is not earnestly being aggressive, but rather having fun. Perry repeats, "Okay," in an annoyed voice, and Holly explains "that means I like you," another mitigating move. So there is an escalation of conflict and a subsequent de-escalation in a very brief period

of time. This is because the girls are tempering their interactional moves so that things do not get out of control.

The two episodes where Perry reads *cat* for Holly are fantastic in that they vividly illustrate how helping can be welcome one moment and not the next (examples 1.1b and 1.1c). The question is whether *help* is really helpful and also whether it is needed. I think it is important to recognize that for a five-year-old to determine this is no small feat. Beyond the inferences they are doing (e.g., does she need help or not) there are other things that children are negotiating at the same time, such as power dynamics and looking smart.

In considering all the interpersonal work the children are doing, it is a useful exercise to examine why Holly laughs after Perry helps her the first time and the second time she objects, saying, rather snarkily, “I don’t need help” and “I know how to read them.” One interpretation is that Perry is correcting the same word, “cat,” twice: in example 1.1b, Holly has demonstrated that she can read “cat” and thus an additional help is unnecessary. Indeed, in Holly’s objections she is claiming knowledge of how to read the word.

Why does Perry help the second time? It seems the girls are working from two conflicting places. Holly wants to struggle to figure out something on her own. She is reading slowly and carefully. She understands that this is her book to read. And this is true; each child has his or her own books to read to one another. On the other hand, Perry is demonstrating a basic understanding in our classroom: we help one another. She thus attempts to validate her helping when Holly protests by telling Holly that the teacher said she can help.

A teacher intervention would have been helpful here. I would have liked to explain that it is true that they are supposed to help one another. Part of the help, however, is listening to and watching your partner. Is she asking for help? Did you give her time to try to read on her own?

Of course, whether help is wanted and needed is not always so clear cut. In example 1.1b, after Holly has laboriously read the first few words of the sentence, Perry reads “cat” for her and the help is welcome. The result is a collaborative reading of the sentence, something that I infer from their laughter the girls enjoy. In contrast, in example 1.1c, when Holly is reading, “The cat is Kit” she slowly reads “the” and then pauses. Perry, perhaps interpreting the pause as an indication of some sort of trouble, jumps in and reads “cat.” This time the help is not appreciated and the girls argue.

In addition to the fact that Perry may sincerely want to help, there is another possible element taking place in this episode. By stealing Holly’s thunder, or reading for Holly when it is her book to read, Perry may be trying to show that she is a better reader. Holly’s strong objection (e.g., her sudden turn to glare at Perry and her claims of not needing help) seems to suggest that she feels as if her partner is trying to show her up.

While Perry may indeed be putting on airs, it is hard *not* to be sympathetic to her for wanting to participate in reading Holly’s book. After all, because of Holly’s turn sharking, Perry listens to Holly read for close to nine minutes before getting a turn. And she only gets a turn due to adult intervention.

The tension finally resolves by the concluding episode of this mini drama (example 1.1d). Perry and Holly share a wonderful moment enjoying their friendship and making connections from their life experiences to what they are reading in the easy reader book. When Perry finally gets her turn to read, it is exciting to see how she is reading for her partner, checking to see if Holly is listening and, then, perhaps sensing that she needs to do something more to keep her audience, she does a performance, animating the word “rat.” This really works in getting Holly *hooked in*. They have a discussion about rats, making connections from the text to their real life

experiences with rats. Perry's admission that she only sees rats when they are dead, really catches Holly's attention. Her exclamation, "why do you see rats when they are dead," seems to be expressing disbelief: "did I really just hear that!" This interaction is playful in the way Perry animates a rat and Holly shivers, and in the way Perry tells Holly a secret. Yet the children are demonstrating an important behavior of readers: they are talking about what they are reading, and they are interacting with the book in a way that will make the reading experience memorable. The ways children are able to make these basic books (which do not always have a lot of knowledge content) interesting and even exciting is something that I really appreciate in watching the videos. And this is what I find particularly valuable in this closing interaction.

"You know what?": Developing reading skills and techniques while reading with a peer

In viewing the videos of peer reading, Ms. Yerevan stated that she was struck with how children's work as readers and thinkers can be embedded in the events of children's social worlds, such as Holly and Perry's expressions of friendship, one-upmanship, and teasing seen in example 1.1. In example 1.2, this work and thinking is the focus.

In our conversations and in her journaling, Ms. Yerevan references numerous skills that she sees children practicing in the midst of reading. Children reenacting a story line, character or event is one. For example, a girl reading the final page of a book to two girls, whispers, "I am sleeping." The two girls, acting out the reading, recline on the floor to take a nap as the reader pats their heads affectionately.

In other cases, children question a peer about what is being read, either to check comprehension or to make sure the reader is following along. One example is a boy reading about Humpty Dumpty falling off the wall; he points at a picture of a girl standing next to the

wall and looks up at his peer asking, “Do you think she pushed Humpty?” His peer shakes her head. He turns the page as the girl listens attentively to find out who *did* push Humpty.

In still other cases, children remark on literary conventions that they recognize in one another’s reading. A boy reads the text, “I see a fly. I see a pie.” His peer remarks, “fly, pie rhymes.” And they recognize phonetic conventions (and departures from the conventions). A boy points to the word, “Shhh,” asking a girl, “What does this say?” She giggles and remarks with incredulity, “I have no idea! There are three h(s) in a row!”

Another skill for children is making connections between the text and their lives. The boy and girl reading about being quiet (“shhh”) in order not to wake the baby talk about having a baby brother who is a “cry baby.”

In other instances, children find humor in what they are reading. A boy reads about walrus herds and shares with his peer that “female walruses are called cows!” This information draws laughs from both the children, as he repeats his new learning several times with increasing emphasis and exclamation.

In other examples, children practice taught reading strategies (such as “chunking” parts of the word, looking at first letter sound, and looking at pictures); they talk about the pictures; they engage in conversations relevant to what they are reading; they make predictions, and they explain the action or event in a story in their own words.

This is the synoptic view of ways children are practicing reading skills and techniques in these partnerships. The first example, which follows, looks more closely at the interactions and Ms. Yerevan’s perspectives. In this example, Amy’s excitement in sharing information from what she’s reading—as expressed by her spontaneous utterance, “You know what?”—sparks a lively conversation among three children about the text and what is subsequently revealed, and

remarked upon by the children with humor, as Amy's misunderstanding of the text. I begin with the narrative account.

The narrative (example 1.2).

At the beginning of each week children “shop” for five books that they practice reading for the week. In example 1.2 (the transcript follows), Caleb and Amy are beginning to explore the books they selected, flipping through pages, reading short sections and looking at the pictures. There is quite a lot of bustle and noise as children are moving around, finding books and settling into a reading spot. Despite this noise Caleb and Amy are intently reading their separate books, respectively about walruses and bats. Matt is standing beside the two, listening to them read. Caleb frequently points out pictures in his book to Matt, such as the walruses' ears, which he reads “don't get cold because they are just tiny holes.” Meanwhile, Amy reads something about the importance of bats eating bugs, a reading that sparks her interest. The text reads: Bats that eat bugs help farmers. If bats did not munch bugs, the bugs would eat up all the plants the farmers grow. Amy stumbles on the word, “plant” (or what the bats eat) and stops reading mid-sentence (line 2). That she is unable to read the word proves crucial to how this sequence, which centers on her misunderstanding of “who eats whom,” plays out.

Amy turns to Caleb to share, saying, “You know what?” (line 3). She tells Caleb about how if bats don't eat the insects then the bugs will eat them. It is apparent from Caleb's and, later, Matt's responses that the two have understood Amy to be referring to the bats when she says, “them.” Caleb asks skeptically, “What?” (line 4). Amy starts to repeat what she learned about bats, but Caleb interrupts her talk as he begins reading her book (lines 5-6). He, however, starts reading mid-sentence, and Amy, seemingly feeling that it is important to read from the beginning of the paragraph, tells him to “wait” (line 7 and figure 1.8) and points to where he

should begin reading. Caleb complies and begins reading where she has indicated: Bats that eat bugs help farmers. If bats did not munch bugs, the bugs would eat up all the plants farmers grow. Wow! That really makes bats our flying friends (see transcription of reading in lines 8-10). Caleb has difficulty reading “munch” and Amy helps him read the word (lines 8 and 9). Caleb turns back to his book after reading, and Amy exclaims, “*Oh: : : ! The: : : n,*” elongating the vowel sounds. It appears her stretched out utterance is giving her more thinking time as she processes what Caleb reads. Caleb cuts her off, explaining that the bugs would eat up all the farmer’s food (if the bats did not eat the bugs) (lines 13-14).

At this point, Amy’s misunderstanding gets pointed out by Matt, who says, “I thought she said that if the bats don’t eat the bugs, the bugs will eat the bats” (line 15). Amy smiles and playfully objects to her error being made the object of attention, saying, “*Hey!*” (line 17). Caleb also attributes the error to Amy, saying, “Yeah, that’s what Amy said. She read it wrong.” (Lines 18 and 20). Matt laughs as Amy moves on to reading her next book (lines 19 and 21).

Figure 1.8. [example 1.2, line 7]. Amy points to where Caleb should read as Matt (far left) overlooks.



The detailed transcript (example 1.2)

- 1 Amy: If bats did (.) did not (.) mu : : nch bug,
 the bug- the bug would eat () a : ll (.) ((reading))
 ((Caleb is reading aloud his book about Walruses
 and pointing out things in the pictures to Matt who is
 standing and listening to him read))
- 2 (pl a : :) ((Amy is attempting to sound out the next word,
 "plants"))
- 3 You know what- ((gazes to Caleb))
 If the if (.) if one of those bats don't eat the-
 the insects ((points at picture and gazes at Caleb))
 they'll (.) the bugs will eat **them**.
- 4 Caleb: **Wha : : t?** ((Caleb leans towards Amy to read the book))
- 5 Amy: If the-
 6 Caleb: Not much bug (.) the bugs would eat all- up all
 the plants. ((Caleb begins reading the text mid sentence.))
 7 Amy: But wait. Wait. ((Points to the beginning of the paragraph.))
 8 Caleb: ((Begins reading from the beginning of the paragraph
 where Amy pointed)) Bats that eat bugs help (.) farmers.
 If bats did not much-
 did not m-uch bugs.
 9 Amy: munch ((moves hand to mouth to
 make an "eating gesture")
- 10 Caleb: Not much munch bugs the bugs would eat up all the plants
 the farmers grow. Wow! That really makes
 bats our flying friends.
 11 ((Caleb returns back to look at his own book))
- 12 Amy: **Ohhh! The : : n-** ((Amy looks up with a "lightbulb" expression))
 13 Caleb: So: : So the- So the

- 14 Caleb: Otherwise the bugs would eat all the farmer's food. *((Gazes up at Matt))*
- 15 Matt: [I thought she said that if the bats don't eat the bugs the bugs will eat the ba[ts.
- 16 [*((Amy and Caleb smile))*
- 17 Amy: **He: y!**
- 18 Caleb: Yeah. That's what Amy said. *((smiling))*
- 19 Matt: (h) (h) *h *((laughing))*
- 20 Caleb: She read it wrong.
- 21 Amy: I'm at the end of the page. Now I'm going to read my polar bear one. *((takes out a book about polar bears))*

The teacher's perspective:

I find a number of things exciting about this interaction. There is this intent focus of the children. This is despite that they can hear one another read separate books and the classroom is lively with a lot of activity. And, as Amy is reading her antennas are up: she wants to make sense of her reading and she is open to learning something new from her book. She finds it fascinating that if the bats don't eat the insects then the insects will turn around and eat the bats: *if I don't eat them before they get to me, they'll eat me up!* By announcing this new insight to her peers, she gets them interested in her book, and this sharing becomes a catalyst for the learning interaction that takes place (which I will discuss further).

Of primary importance in this interaction is that children are working on reading comprehension skills. Caleb wants to know more about what she is telling him so he reads her book aloud. In his reading and in his explanation of what he is reading, the meaning gets worked out for all the children: *its not that the bugs will eat the bats it's that they will eat the plants.* This talking about what you are reading is something I model and encourage, because in these conversations one is able to identify whether the reader (or reading partner) understands what is being read. In this case, it is not the teacher checking on the reader's understanding; instead, it is

Amy's peers. This is a classic "Vygotskian moment"—the *zone of proximal development*—where one child is able to advance the understanding of another through a teaching interaction.

It is also remarkable that the learning is going both ways: Amy is also able to help Caleb even though she is not as proficient of a reader. Caleb misreads the word "munch" (saying "much" instead). Recognizing the error, Amy provides the word for him reading, "munch" while gesturing to her mouth. This *word brokering*, or helping a peer read a difficult word, allows Caleb to read on and get to the important information about the bugs eating the plants.

Also, Amy redirects Caleb to begin reading from the beginning of the paragraph when he starts reading mid-sentence. This reading of the contextual information around a difficult piece of text is a skill I teach the children. In this case, it seems that it is helpful to have the missing information about bats being of help to farmers, as the children are able to make sense of the bats preventing bugs from eating all the farmer's plants.

Lastly, the children are finding humor in the learning process, an important *habit of mind* (Costa and Kallick, 2009) for children to develop. They laugh at the idea of bugs eating bats, as well as find humor in the discovery of Amy's mistaken understanding. They are laughing in a way that's expressing fun, not in a mean way. I did not see Amy being hurt, nor did I see Caleb's or Matt's behavior as a *put down*.

Concluding Discussion

Summing up her thoughts on the children's partner book reading, Ms. Yerevan stated, "I think it would be such a loss if the kids were reading on their own at their desk alone. *Just go practice your book*. That would be a loss. There is so much richness in these interactions. There is a greater level of engagement in the reading when they are working with each other versus when alone." Reflected in Ms. Yerevan's statement is the argument made by others that children

are “hyper-social and so reading ought to be social for them as well” if they are going to learn to love to read (Willingham, 2015, p. 11; Rich, 2015). Such an assertion is also supported by social theories of learning, which emphasize that learning occurs through a novice’s apprenticeship with other members of a community of practice (Dewey, 1938, 1997; Lave and Wegner, 1991; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978).

Creating the social conditions where such interactions can be fruitful is not always so simple, however. In a 1957 talk in which Corrinne Seeds reflects on challenges in her early years of teaching, she exclaims, in an exasperated tone, “But the philosophers never tell you what to do!” What she is expressing is what I also felt in my failed attempts at implementing peer activities (which I recounted earlier in this chapter) and what is likely behind many educators’ insecurities.

This is the value of teachers examining their own practice on one’s own or with a researcher: It provides a science of education, or tested principles of what works or does not work in a particular context upon which to guide practice (and to “build up the theoretical side of education”) (Dewey, 1928, 1959). In this case, my video cameras allowed Ms. Yerevan to examine what children are doing with one another when they are without adult oversight.

From her perspective, she sees children developing the characteristics learners, that is, acquiring socially desirable attitudes and habits and mastering reading skills or techniques. Holly and Perry are not simply goofing off (as one might conclude from casual observation). Rather, they are working on difficult concepts, such as fairness and cooperation, and they are learning to help and to be helped. They might not be entirely successful, but as Ms. Yerevan points out they are exhibiting important characteristics of learners, such as exhibiting patience, mitigating conflict, and making personal, real life connections to the reading. These mature features of their

interactions stand alongside the peer like features (teeth sucking, eye rolls, secrets), combining to form a social organization distinct of children.

In the case of Amy and Caleb, we see how a child's understanding is transformed through the sharing of information. The children also spark one another's interest in reading and in gaining new knowledge from books. They help one another; they practice reading strategies, such as reading for context, and they laugh at their own learning processes.

My fourth graders were unsuccessful working collaboratively due to my failures as a teacher to put in place the situation, or teaching context, where they might flourish. Similarly, the positive interactions between the children of Room B are influenced by Ms. Yerevan's teaching. As demonstrated here, she strives to create a physical space for collaboration while also nurturing children's inner lives. In these efforts her message to children is that "You are part of a social society. You cannot live in isolation. Instead you must build relationships with others and learn from one another."

Chapter 2

Agency, Accountability and Affect: Kindergarten Children's Orchestration of Reading Picture Books With a Friend

Introduction

Children's development as emerging readers is a topic that has received intense research scrutiny. In a growing body of experimental research, the primary locus of attention is the effects of an adult (parent, caregiver, teacher) reading to a child. These effects include (but are not limited to) the development of language and emergent literacy skills, such as the relationship between written and spoken language and narrative structure (Bus, van Ijzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995; Harkins, Koch, Michel, 1994), and the interrelated skills that are essential to decoding written language (e.g., knowledge of vocabulary (Evans, Shaw & Bell, 2000; Krashen, 1989; see reviews by Bus, van Ijzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995, Scarborough & Dobrich, 1994), print knowledge, phonological processes and phonics skills (Justice & Ezell, 2000; Justice et. al., 2005), orthographic processes (Apel, Wolter, and Masterson, 2006) and reading comprehension (Sénéchal, 2006). Additionally, longitudinal studies provide evidence that adult-child literacy experiences have a lasting and wide reaching impact on children's overall academic achievement (Dickinson & McCabe, 2001; Cunningham and Stanovich, 1997). This research has resulted in widespread recommendations that adults read to children (e.g., American Academy of Pediatrics, 1999) and the burgeoning development of programs designed to foster early reading practices in families that commonly are viewed as not enacting these middle class norms in which reading to children is a given (Reyes and Torres, 2007, offer a critical perspective on these programs).

The positive effects of reading to a child are broadly accepted, as shared reading provides a primary site for exposure to language around print. However, there is more to developing the ability to read and to appreciate reading than this orientation allows us to see. As argued by

Razfar and Gutiérrez (2013, p. 53), early childhood literacy research, along with policy reports drawn from studies of literacy development, need to account for the “complex ways in which children make meaning using multiple modalities in various contexts.” Research aligned with this socio-cultural perspective, which centers attention on the cultural practices in which literacy learning is nested, has made great strides in deepening our understanding of the multiple contexts for literacy development, including the home and community (Gregory and Kenner, 2012; Heath, 1983; Lareau, 2003; Orellana, 2009; Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez, 1992), and has expanded the definition of literacy to include the multiplicities of activities through which language and literacy are developed, including peer play and engagement in arts learning (Göncü, 1999; Heath & Wolf, 2005; Wohlwend, 2011). In the last 20 years there has been increased emphasis on technological forms of mediation, with a focus on video games, interactive cartoons and the Internet (see New London Group, 1996, for a seminal text on multiliteracies). By focusing on literacy as a cultural practice this work emphasizes the roles participants play in enacting the literacy activity and the resources they draw upon to mediate learning.

Even though the socio-cultural perspective allows us to better understand the context and practices in which development occurs, it is limited in that it traditionally gives focus only to the role of the adult in assisting the child’s learning. The result is that the child has largely been viewed as a passive learner (Griffin and Cole, 1984). While other models of *adult-child* mediation reframe the child as an active participant in his/her literacy development (Rogoff, 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin, 2009), the almost exclusive ‘parent-centric’ or ‘teacher-centric’ lenses adopted in early childhood literacy research creates the impression that children are not agents of their own literacy learning (Orellana and Peer, 2013; important exceptions which take

an ethnographic approach (without a specific focus on language and interaction) are Dyson, 1993a, 1993b, 1997; Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004, and Wohlwend, 2011).

In the present chapter I give children the spotlight by examining how they orchestrate their participation in a kindergarten literacy activity in which they read picture books with a friend. The focus of this chapter is the agentic and embodied design of children's directives, "utterance(s) designed to get someone to do something" (M. Goodwin, 1990, p. 65). I examine directive/response sequences that are launched in response to a breach in the normative participation framework for peer reading, where each child is accountable to a bodily position where she has access to the book and can gear into what is being read. In examining child-child directives, I am influenced by recent studies of family interaction which demonstrate how embodied directive sequences, through their intricate design of bodily movement and spatial practices, provide a locus for the situated, moment-to-moment socialization of a child into accountable accomplishment of routine family tasks (e.g., teeth brushing, bedtime routines, chores) (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; M. Goodwin, 2006b; M. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013; 2014). Notably, such an approach departs from a long-standing tradition of research on directives where directives are conceived as consisting of primarily spoken language (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Brown and Levinson, 1987; also, for research on directives in classrooms, see Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2006; He, 2000; Tapper, 1994). It is consistent, however, with more recent research and theorizing on social interaction which emphasizes that the "social, cultural, material and sequential structure of the environment where action occurs figure into its organization" (C. Goodwin, 2000, p. 1491; see also, Enyedy & Goldberg, 2004; Erickson, 2010), thus arguing that in order for researchers to develop adequate understandings of human communication they must holistically analyze this milieu.

With an interest in examining how children orchestrate the activity of reading to a peer through embodied directive/response sequences, the analysis for this chapter has multiple foci. I first look at how the instructional context of peer reading sets up children to be successful in attuning to the collaborative reading activity where children are expected to jointly focus on a word within a complex field of words and pictures in picture books. Additionally, as part of attuning to the reading, children must tune out various distractions of the classroom, such as other children's activities and potentially alluring objects, such as puzzles or artwork. This is notably a different approach from existent studies of children's talk, in which the role of adults tends to disappear. Nelson (2014) points out this shortcoming in an afterward to a recent collection on peer talk in learning interactions, while qualifying that this is perhaps understandable due to adults occupying almost exclusive focus in the field at large. In its multilayered design, this analysis reveals how children are enculturating and educating one another in ways that realize the adult goals of the classroom community; however, the children are accomplishing these goals in ways that draw upon the cultural practices of *both* the adult and the peer/friendship worlds.

Following the analysis of the instructional context, I turn to examining children's directives in peer reading. In this analysis, I give focus to the multimodal resources (e.g., verbal directives, haptic moves, prosody) children draw upon to shift a peer's attention from a distracting activity to the goal-oriented task of reading *together*. This analysis reveals that children overwhelmingly strive to achieve a partner's accountable participation and are successful in doing so. In the successful trajectories, we observe children drawing upon diverse resources to close off activities competing for a peer's attention and calibrating, or fine-tuning, their directives in response to a child's non-compliance. An isolated case demonstrates that a child's attempts to orchestrate

collaborative reading fail when she does not bound off activities competing for the peer's attention and, likewise, does not insist on accountable participation before continuing reading. As part of this analysis, I look at how affective features of interaction, such as emotional intensity in prosody, conjoin with verbal directives so that the multiple modalities mutually reinforce one another. This analysis demonstrates how the social force of directives are accomplished through a distinctively peer interactive style that is predicated on the children's shared understanding that reading with a friend is an enjoyable and collaborative activity. Lastly, I consider how accountable participation in peer reading provides a double opportunity space (Blum-Kulka et. al, 2004) for creating and nurturing friendships *and* for learning to read.

Erickson (2004b) argues that children's mastery of classroom interactional routines goes hand in hand with academic success. This chapter demonstrates that children are agentive and competent in building their own learning ecologies (Erickson, 1982b; 1982c), or social and cognitive worlds for reading books. I argue that these findings point to a needed revision of prevailing social theories of learning which underestimate the ability of peers (of similar capabilities) to influence learning outcomes.

Methods

Synopsis of Data for Chapter 2

The unit of analysis for this chapter is children's embodied directives used to hold another child accountable to the task at hand, which is to attend to a peer's reading. I identified 51 such directives within the data sources (see table 2.1).

The kinds of behaviors that children treat as an infraction include small offenses (such as Valerie shifting her body slightly as seen in example 2.4) and behaviors that are more disruptive, such as: a child talking (e.g., an announcement, "I'm wiggling my tooth"), a child placing his

head on a book his partner is reading, and a child looking at her book when it is her partner's turn to read. Directives are issued by both the readers and the listening parties, though most frequently by the readers. Children almost always respond to a noticeably distracted partner with a directive and are observed to be frequently monitoring their partner's participation.

As seen in table 2.1 below, children's directives take multiple forms. Children sometimes construct directives through an utterance, such as when a child uses a personal term (e.g., *Chris*) or an imperative (e.g., *stop*) to direct a partner away from a competing activity and solicit his or her attention. These utterances are often elaborated through salient forms of intonation; an example is when a child utters in a high pitch: "Tommy. *You gotta pay attention!*" Other times children use non-verbal moves alone in an attempt to gain their partner's attention, including: touching or pulling on a partner's body, moving a book into a partner's line of vision or touching while also pointing. Other times language and embodied action mutually elaborate one another, as seen when a child combines a verbal directive with haptic or gestural moves, or when a child holds up a book while using vocal directives to get the peer to *look*. Across all these forms, children frequently gaze at their partner, often exaggerating the gaze so as to key (Gumperz, 1982) the directive in alternate ways (e.g., playful, serious) (see example 2.8).

Table 2.1

Frequency of directive forms

kind of directive	Frequency	Combined Frequency
utterance		18
non-verbal		11
	haptic	6
	moving objects	4
	touch + pointing	1
language + embodied action		22
	verbal + haptic	8
	verbal + gestural	4
	verbal + moving objects	10
total directives		51

Approach

As the above synopsis demonstrates, children rely on multiple and diverse resources in building directives. The approach I use to understand the moment-to-moment processes through which these directives achieve their social force and meaning is microanalysis (Erickson, 2006a; C. Goodwin, 2000). The emphasis of microanalysis is the simultaneous and sequential verbal and nonverbal conduct through which participants achieve concerted action while “attending to both the larger activities that their current actions are embedded within, and relevant phenomena in their surround” (C. Goodwin, 2000, p. 1489).

For this analysis, there are three aspects of children’s directives I examine. I am interested, for one, in the diverse resources through which children use directives to structure their participation in the activity of reading with a peer. As argued by M. Goodwin (1990, p. 65), “directives provide a prototypical locus for study of the problem noted by Austin (1962) of ‘how to do things with words.’” However, rather than look solely at the stream of speech (as Austin would), I examine the embodied shape of directives, focusing on children’s reciprocal behaviors (i.e., directive/response sequences) as actions for doing things with bodies (M. Goodwin, 2006b; M. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013, 2014; Tulbert & Goodwin, 2011). Others have employed metaphors, such as choreography (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2011) and shepherding (Cekaite, 2010) to capture the sense of temporality, space, and embodiment involved when a participant directs others’ actions. In this analysis, I use orchestration as it invokes what Erickson (2009, pp. 451-452, emphasis added) describes as the musicality of talk and interaction in classroom settings:

The teacher uses vocal musicality (as well as gesture, gaze, and postural positioning) to summon students’ collective attention to crucial now and next moments in the communicative behavior stream, and in the collaborative thinking that is going on—

moments at which important new information will be provided. The teacher uses explicit and implicit cues and formulaic utterances to direct collective attention to matters of subject matter content and to matters of social relations. *In large and small group conversations, students may also do analogous things.*

The focus of this analysis is what I have emphasized in Erickson's citation: the reciprocal and complementary behaviors through which, moment-to-moment, children organize one another's learning environments.

Secondly, I examine the affective features of the directive. As argued by M. Goodwin & C. Goodwin (2000), it is only when emotion is examined as a situated practice lodged within specific sequential positions in face-to-face interaction that an analysis of emotion as a social phenomenon can begin to emerge. (This approach can be seen as a departure from that of "emotionology," which examines the way people identify, classify and recognize emotions (Stearns and Stearns, 1988 and Harré and Gillet, 1994)). For this analysis, I draw upon past research which examines emotion as an embodied performance (see Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012, for a collection on emotion in interaction). Additionally, this situated approach to studying affect in children's interactions during peer reading is in line with calls from researchers and philosophers of education to examine how caring, friendship and love function in an educational context (Freire and Macedo, 2013; Noddings, 2003; Orellana, 2015; Valenzuela, 2010).

A third feature of children's directives I examine is the instructional and peer group context in which directives are embedded. I consider the relationships of peers and the learning goals for the activity of peer reading, as well as the ways in which the teacher organizes the activity through her use of directives. As a wide array of research documents, the form of the directive is dependent on the particular social situation in which it occurs (see, for example, Becker, 1982;

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana and Olshtain, 1984; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Ervin-Tripp, 1976, Ervin-Tripp, 1982; Ervin-Tripp, O'Connor, and Rosenberg, 1984; M. Goodwin, 1990; Griswold, 2007; Kyratzis & Tarim, 2010; Moore, in review; Philips, 1972; Tannen, 1981; 2005; Wood, 1980).

The present analysis contributes to this body of research in its examination of young children's multimodal directives in the context of a collaborative reading activity.

In taking this three-pronged approach, the analysis for this chapter demonstrates the intricate and complex ways in which children construct their own accountable practices of reading picture books within the larger scheme of classroom life (e.g., friendships, learning goals, and curriculum). In doing so, the analysis contributes to our understanding of how children "actively participate in producing and making sense of what counts as acceptable school...behavior," a research topic which remains largely unexamined (Martin and Evaldsson, 2012, p. 54).

Analysis

Instructional context: The interworld of reading picture books together

In his work on how participants in conversation position themselves in respect to one another, Kendon (1990, p. 239) introduces the term *F-formation*, referring to the way two or more participants arrange their bodies in such a way that they are able to face (and attend) to one another or jointly direct their attention to an object or event in the situation. Linell (2009, p. 146) describes this interactive field created among participants, as they are talking or interacting in situ, an *interworld* where meaning emerges.

In Room B, peer reading provides one of multiple opportunities to build an interworld with others around books. The children begin shopping for five books to read at the beginning of the week. They read these books alone, with a peer, with upper level students who visit the

classroom, with apprentice teachers who visit from teacher colleges, with parent visitors and with a teacher in the classroom. At the end of the week the books go home for the next seven days to read with a family member.

However, unlike reading with an adult or older child, reading with a peer provides an opportunity to enjoy reading with others, who like themselves, are just entering the world of meanings in books. And such an arrangement appears to be what children enjoy the most. At reading time in the morning children frequently request to read with a friend, and on the occasions these requests are denied and children are instructed to read alone, they can nevertheless be observed doing clandestine interactional reading (Sterponi, 2007), whether showing a friend a funny picture or looking at an entire book together.

For Ms. Yerevan, reading with a peer is about collaboration in learning. She shares with me in an interview, “we collaborate all the time, and peer reading is part of this bigger idea.” Within these collaborations, she sees practice, accountability, and enjoyment as primary affordances:

When children are reading together they are getting practice reading and there is more accountability than when reading alone. ‘I better show them I know how to read.’ There is a higher expectation for self and for other. ‘I better be good and not goof off.’ ‘I better get this at the beginning of the year. I want to be able to read to my partner.’ It is another layer of accountability beyond the teacher. Also, sometimes they are more comfortable reading together than with an adult. And they sometimes enjoy it more, too.

It is evident in her teaching that Ms. Yerevan does not expect this interworld between children as they read books to happen magically. While reading strategies (e.g., looking at first letter sounds, breaking up a word into “chunks,” looking at pictures) are taught throughout the

school year, when introducing peer reading the focus of instruction is on how children should participate, including turn taking behaviors, choosing a partner, roles (e.g., helping behaviors), and bodily positions. The greatest emphasis is given to the latter behavior—that of how children build the possibility to collaborate in the activity of peer reading through the arrangement of their bodies. Children are instructed to sit *knee-to-knee* beside their partner and to place the book on the desk or floor where both children have access to it. They are further instructed to use their *magic finger* to index the word they are reading on the page.

Facing formations for reading with a friend.

The above expectations for peer reading sometimes need to be reinforced on an individual basis. I will now examine some sequences (examples 2.1 and 2.2), which occur in late February, two months after the activity is introduced, in which multiple teachers assist two children in forming a collaborative, embodied framework for peer reading. These sequences demonstrate that directive sequences in classroom instruction are a multiparty activity that occurs across a temporal trajectory in which behaviors are calibrated and modified. They also show that compliance to directives, which attempt to establish collaborative behaviors (e.g., requests for a child to *pay attention* or *help a friend*), requires the bodily assent of the child. In example 2.1 which follows, Ms. Yerevan is attempting to get Amy and Tommy to look at Tommy's book together. However, this is not the first effort by an adult to intervene. Shortly before this sequence the teaching assistant, Ms. Lee, observes Amy sitting in the rocking chair as her partner, Tommy, sits on the floor. Tommy begins to read his book, quickly flipping through the pages and saying the words as Amy is looking around the room. Standing several feet from the children, Ms. Lee says Amy's name to secure her gaze (see figure 2.1). She then directs Amy to sit beside her partner, mitigating the directive by referring to needs (Labov and Fanshel, 1977, p.

70): “You need to sit next to your partner.” Additionally, she provides an account for her directive: “You need to be able to see the pictures and the words.”

Amy immediately complies and sits down beside Tommy. Observing Amy’s compliance, Ms. Lee attends to other children. However, at this moment the camera operator walks over and sets a microphone down next to Amy, which provides a competing activity (M. Goodwin, 2006; Tulbert & M. Goodwin, 2011) to the focus activity of collaborative reading. Amy talks into the microphone, saying, “This is the police,” and then in a rapping voice, “(I’m) introducing the microphone.” Tommy meanwhile puts the book he began reading back into his folder. Ms. Yerevan observes this from across the classroom and walks over telling Tommy: “Tommy this is a good opportunity for your friend to help you learn how to read that book. So take your book out that you’d like to learn.” Thus, immediately before the directive sequence in example 2.1, the teacher sets up the expectation that the children collaborate, with the child who is observed being off-task assigned the role of helper.



Figure 2.1: The teaching assistant issues a verbal directive asking Amy to sit next to her peer





As seen in example 2.1, having achieved one child’s compliance (i.e., Tommy’s taking out of a book), Ms. Yerevan now attends to Amy. As she walks over she places her hand on Amy’s head as she addresses her by name (line 1). She then crouches down so that she is at the children’s eye level. Having established a new frame for interaction, she then produces a series of directives that alternately take the forms of imperatives and interrogatives: “You’re gonna help Tommy...;” “So why don’t you do a picture walk first?” and “Let him tell you about the pictures” (see lines 1-3 for transcription).

Example 2.1

1 Ms. Yerevan: Amy ((places her hand on Amy’s head as she walks over))
 you’re gonna help um: : Tommy figure out this word.
 ((guides Amy to move by pushing her shoulder))

A  **B** 

2 [So wh- why don’t you do a picture walk first.
 ((takes the book and places it on the table))

C  **D** 

3 Let him tal- tell you about the pictures.

By crouching down to the level of the children, Ms. Yerevan assumes a facing formation that allows the children and the teacher “easy, direct and equal access” to one another’s bodies and to their talk (Kendon, 1990, p. 239). As visible in example 2.1, when in this close alignment with the children, the teacher can use haptic action to attune Tommy and Amy’s mutual

orientation to the book. In imagine A, we see the teacher gently push Amy's shoulder as she tells her that she is to help Tommy. She releases the touch as Amy complies and is moving closer to her partner (image B). Once Amy is beside her partner, she is able to see the book he is holding—an essential frame for helping (image C). Ms. Yerevan then directs the children to “do a picture walk first” (i.e., looking at and talking about the pictures) (line 2). As she utters this, she grabs Tommy's book and places it between both children so they have equal access to it (images C-D). If she were *not* to move the book, the picture walk most likely would not involve all the participants, as both the teacher and Amy might be unable to see the pictures. (I frequently observe children playfully close off participation from a friend by holding a book so close to their face that their partners cannot see the words and pictures).

It is only after having established the children's appropriate embodied framework, which is achieved through Amy's assent to sit beside Tommy, that Ms. Yerevan asks Tommy to read the pictures. It is within this framework that Amy is able to closely follow Tommy's reading (excerpt not included in transcript).

Children's joint attention to the reading.

Minutes later, after the picture walk, Ms. Yerevan tells the children to now read the words from the beginning as they “have already said most of the words in the book” while talking about the pictures.

Ms. Yerevan frames the activity of reading Tommy's book, as a joint venture that both children and she are embarking on. She uses a “let's construction”—a joint directive form which establishes an egalitarian relationship (M. Goodwin, 1980, 1990)—in initiating the activity: “So let's look at the first word.” The children then collaboratively attempt to decode the title of the book, *Baby Chimp*. Tommy looks at the word and utters the ‘b’ sound and then pauses. Taking

Tommy's pause as an appropriate place for a change in participation status (i.e., an opportunity to be speaker), Amy reads "baby" with a short 'a' sound. A teaching sequence then takes place in which the teacher corrects Amy, explaining that it is a long 'a' sound, using the *bubble-gumming* strategy of stretching out the letter sound. Amy reads, "baby chimpanzee" with a big smile. Ms. A nods and says "yeah," affirming Amy's reading.

While Ms. Yerevan affirms Amy's contribution, the directive sequence in the following example (example 2.2), demonstrates that she is not satisfied that the children have looked closely enough at the title, which is *Baby Chimp* (not baby chimpanzee):

Example 2.2

- 1 Ms. Yerevan: so let's look at the [word
- 2 Tommy: [°baby. ((mumbling))
- 3 [(2.3)
- ((Ms. Yerevan takes hold of Tommy's index finger))
- 4 Ms. Yerevan: use your finger. **A**
- 5 Tommy: ba:::by.
- 6 Ms. Yerevan: [ba:::by::
- 7 Tommy: [°chimpan[zee
- 8 [((Tommy gazes at Ms. Yerevan))
- 9 Amy: [chimpanzee. ((Amy is not gazing at text))

- 10 Ms. Yerevan: no it's just
- 11 ch:::i:mp. ((slowly uses Tommy's finger to underline word))
- 12 Tommy: [°chim
- 13 Tommy: baby chim? ((looks up at teacher))
- 14 Ms. Yerevan: chimp. baby chimp.
- 15 Tommy: baby chimp.
- 16 Ms. Yerevan: okay?
- 17 [so you gotta pay attention to what your friend is read-
- ((touches Amy's head and then points at book))
- 18 Tommy: baby chimp. ((turns to first page and reads))



19 Ms. Yerevan: **No** I wanna see your finger on each word.
((moves her index finger up and down rhythmically with her talk))

20 Tommy: Baby chimp.

21 ((Amy is still gazing away from the book.
Ms. Yerevan touches her hand and points to Tommy's book))

22 Ms. Yerevan: See if he is writ- reading it correctly.
((Amy turns her head to focus on Tommy's book))

B



In directing the children to “look at the word,” Ms. Yerevan again uses the inclusive pronoun *us*, thus consistently framing the task of decoding the word as a collaborative project, involving all the participants (line 1). Overlapping her talk, Tommy mumbles, “baby” (line 2). Despite Tommy’s correct reading, Ms. Yerevan takes Tommy’s hand holding it so that his finger is pointing at the word *baby* (line 3). Still holding his hand she then commands him to “use your finger” (line 4). By overlaying her verbal directive with touch, these modalities mutually reinforce one another, effectively delivering the instructional message: *always underline the word with your finger*. Now Tommy is looking at the page with the teacher as they both read the word (lines 5 and 6). Importantly, this framework—a child jointly attending to the text with an adult—is argued to be central to reading development (Justice & Ezell, 2000; Justice & Piasta, 2011) and human cognition more generally (Tomasello, 2003). In this case, by assuming this framework, Ms. Yerevan is holding Tommy accountable to what he is looking at in relationship to what he is speaking. Although he reads the word, “baby” correctly in line 2, it is possible he is simply mimicking what Amy read prior, rather than decoding for himself.

Next, Amy joins Tommy in reading the word chimpanzee (lines 7-9). An instructional sequence in which Ms. Yerevan corrects Tommy and Amy’s reading of the word chimp follows (lines 10-16). However, during the correction sequence Amy is not attending to the instruction.

(She has been looking around the classroom throughout this sequence and is additionally not looking at the word chimp when “reading” in line 8). The teacher likely views this behavior as especially problematic as Amy was the one to produce the original error in reading *chimpanzee* moments earlier.

The ensuing directive sequence demonstrates the challenge of orchestrating multiple parties’ attention to a common task—a feat akin to that of corralling cats. Recognizing that Amy is distracted, Ms. Yerevan touches her head. Amy in turn responds by gazing at Ms. Yerevan. The teacher then issues the directive, “So you gotta pay attention to what your friend is readin-” (line 17).

By getting Amy to gaze at her, the teacher has established a participation framework in which the activity of complying to her directive is the explicit focus (M. Goodwin, 2006b). However, the teacher must quickly shift her attention to Tommy before she is able to ensure that Amy follows through with compliance.

Observing that Tommy has turned from the cover to the first page and is reading “baby chimp” *without* pointing at the text (line 18), she shakes her index finger as she utters an indirect directive, formatted as a desire (i.e., I want): “*No* I wanna see your finger on each word” (line 19). Tommy complies and points at the text as he again reads, “baby chimp” (line 20).

Amy still is not looking at the text to which her peer is pointing, thus repeatedly missing an opportunity to see the word chimp along with the correct reading. Ms. Yerevan again solicits Amy’s attention by touching her hand (image B), and then points to the book, directing Amy to “see if he is reading it correctly” (see transcription line 21). This touch effectively awakens Amy from her daydream and she now gazes to the book as Tommy continues reading (line 22). Ms. Yerevan has now achieved both children’s embodied assent to co-participate in the activity.

In brief, by looking at the instructional context through which an interworld is created as children read books together, we see the teacher’s focus is on the children creating an F-formation where both children have access to the book and can gear into the reading. Along with this formation the teacher additionally emphasizes that children identify what is on the page that they are reading (whether picture or text) by pointing at it. This is taught in whole class instruction and further enforced through individual instruction, as seen in examples 2.1 and 2.2.

Socializing the children to enact this participation framework takes the effort of multiple participants (e.g., the teaching assistant and the teacher) across a trajectory where children’s actions are continually monitored and modified. This calibration of children’s activity through directives increases in complexity, as when one child’s attention is reigned in, another’s is potentially lost.

In looking at these attempts of Ms. Yerevan’s to focus both Tommy and Amy, we are reminded that peer reading needs to be guided and developed, what Bateson (1972) has called “learning to learn.”⁵ In this way it is like any collaborative human activity—e.g., playing cards or dancing—that involves building skills along with learning how to orchestrate one’s doings with that of others. It is by developing these interrelated aspects of reading with a peer (e.g., decoding text *and* accountable social participation) that children are able to derive the greatest pleasure in the activity.

This example additionally demonstrates how we can view attention as an “action” rather than a “state of mind” (Pfau, 2014, p. 36)—a notion that will be helpful in analyzing how both

⁵ In this classroom, after recess, children are given time to read together in ways they want to. They get to choose which book to read, and can read alone or with groups of friends. On these occasions, children can be observed making their own “rules” for participation; for example, all children may look at and talk about the book at once and they might sit or lay in various formation around the book. I do not doubt that children are benefiting from this informal reading. My claim here is that peer reading, as the *teacher* organizes it, needs oversight and direction from adults.

the children and the teacher's directive sequences focus on bodily compliance in the examples in this paper. As seen in example 2.1 and 2.2, the teachers identify "paying attention" *not* as an increase in the child's concentration but rather as the recognition and bodily assent of a child to what deserves attention in the moment: a peer's reading.⁶ Such a view of attention does not rely on MRIs to show stimulated brain regions but, rather, on observing the embodied cooperative stance of a child looking at a book with a peer.

Lastly and significantly, a teacher doesn't need to be present for these kinds of accountable behaviors to occur. While a teacher sets the stage for a collaborative learning activity by doing the kinds of explicit teaching discussed here, the teacher can then drift away, and what she sets up continues. However, the children have their own practices for establishing and maintaining order. I will examine this further in the examples that follow.

The Orchestration of Alignment to the Reading Framework


I now turn to examining how children, *themselves*, structure their participation in peer reading. Recognizable across the data of peer directives is an organization where a child pauses during reading, to subsequently restart upon being satisfied that his peer is paying attention. (An isolated, alternate trajectory is examined later in this analysis). This structure is clearest when looking at the talk (or reading) alone. Thus, in examples 2.3 and 2.4, I begin by presenting a

⁶ Hymes (1979, p. 5-6) argues, "The relationship between what counts as 'paying attention' and what may be the fact of attention is complex. Observation indicates that all four logical possibilities occur. A child may be seen to be paying attention, and actually doing so; of course, conversely, a child may be seen to be not paying attention, and actually not doing so. It also happens that a child may be attending, but not displaying behavior that counts as 'paying attention,' and may be displaying behavior that counts as 'paying attention,' but seem to the observer not to be actually doing so." I recognize that by assuming an f-formation the children may or may not be actually paying attention. However, my interest is the emic viewpoint on what attention is; as seen in the examples in this paper, for the teachers *and* for the children, it is a child cooperatively assuming an f-formation in which both children can attend to one another's talk and to the reading. In doing this analysis, I am fulfilling Hymes' call to carefully document "what counts as 'paying attention' and what appears to be actual attention in relation to the contexts in which both occur, and the meanings both seem to have in the various contexts" (p. 6).

transcript of the talk. I then, in examples 2.5 and 2.6, present transcripts of these same sequences, this time highlighting the multimodal features.

This interrupted reading is evident in the short sequence following (example 2.3). Caleb is reading (lines 1-3) and then abruptly pauses in response to Vicky's shifting of posture (and presumably shifting attention) (line 4). During this two-second pause, Caleb issues an embodied directive to attune Vicky's participation (line 5). When Vicky huddles around the book again (line 6), Caleb resumes reading (line 7).

Example 2.3

- 1 Caleb: ((reading)) They take the mummy to a medical school
- 2 where Dr. Henn works.
- 3 Dr. Henn asks
- 4 ((Vicky sits back in chair))
- 5  ← **embodied directive**
- 6 ((Vicky huddles around book))
- 7 ((reading)) other scientists to look at it.

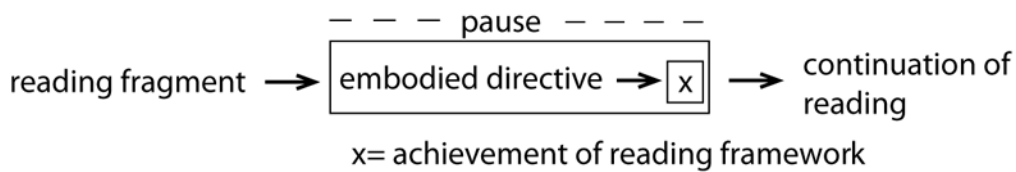
A similar sequence is presented in example 2.4. The section of the transcript set apart in the box highlights where Vee's reading is paused. During this pause in reading, she delivers multiple directives in an attempt to get her peer, Jared, to look at her book (lines 5, 6, and 7). She resumes reading after Jared complies (lines 9 and 10).

Example 2.4

1 Vee: ((reading)) fish
 2 ((Jared looks at his own book))
 3 fork
 4 (2.2)
 5 ((Vee shoves book in front
 of Jared's face)) ← embodied directive
 6 **Jared**
 7 (3.2) ← embodied directive
 8 **Put your book do :: wn Jared**
 9 ((Jared looks at the book Vee is showing him))
 10 ((reading)) fox

These sequences demonstrate a *grammar of accountability* within children's peer reading. The reader pauses upon realizing she does not have an audience; she then pursues her peer's appropriate participation by issuing an embodied directive. Once the reading framework is restored, the child continues reading. A visual illustration of this systematic structure is presented in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2:



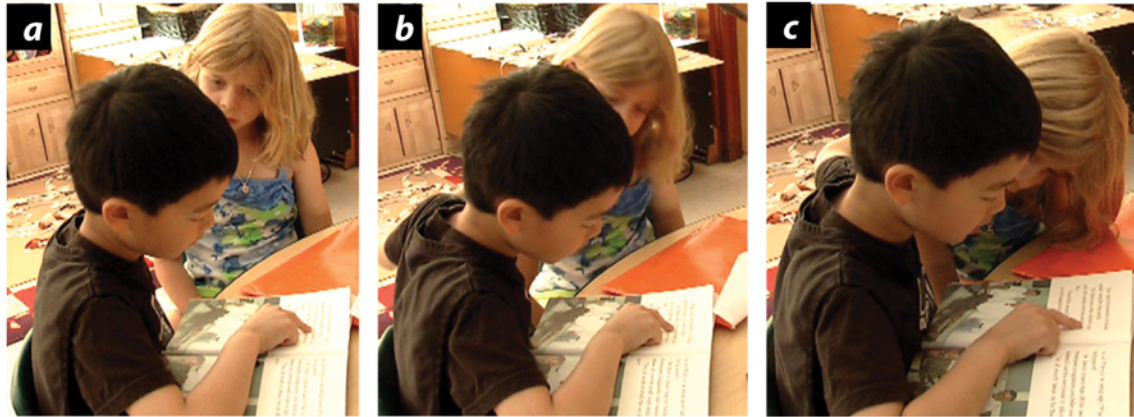
I will now look closer at both these instances, this time with an interest in the multimodal design of the action through which accountable compliance is achieved.

Achieving co-participation by attuning the embodied framework.

Figure 2.3 below shows the action that takes place during the two-second pause in example 2.3 above. Caleb grabs Vicky's arm (image a) and pulls her towards him (image b) to then wrap

his arm around her shoulder (image C). During this sequence of events his magic finger is holding his place on the page.

Figure 2.3:



Why did Caleb stop reading to grab Vicky's arm? On his work examining the procedures through which a framework of mutual orientation between speaker and hearer is achieved within the course of talk, C. Goodwin (1980) finds that a speaker will abandon a sentence being produced before the gaze of a recipient is obtained to then restart the talk, producing a coherent sentence, once the speaker has the gaze of the recipient. Much like C. Goodwin's (1980, p. 277) conversationalists who are "faced not simply with the task of constructing sentences but also with the task of constructing sentences for hearers," Caleb is concerned with not only the task of properly decoding the text but also with the task of reading with and for a partner. This orientation to making reading a collaborative project is evident in example 2.5 below, which shows the moment-to-moment action leading up to his grabbing of Vicky's arm.

Example 2.5

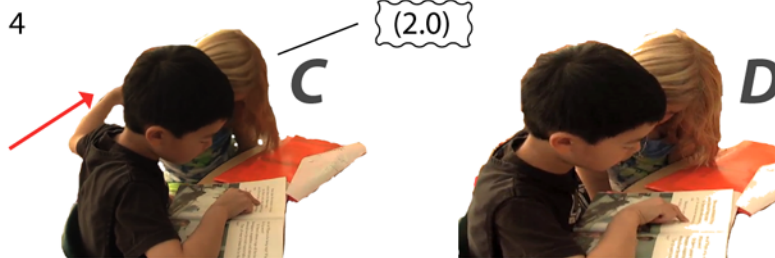
1 Caleb: They take the mummy to
a medical school



2 where Dr. Henn works.

3 Dr. Henn asks: _____

4



5 other scientists
to look at it. _____

As Caleb is reading in lines 1-3, we observe Vicky initiating a change in the participation framework. She initially is huddled close to the page (image a); she then sits back, slightly turning her head away from the book. While the proper bodily orientation for conversation is for the recipient to gaze at the speaker (Goodwin, 1980), in peer reading it is for the child to gaze at the text the reader is pointing to. Such an orientation allows the partner to not only see the words on the page but, importantly, to see the words in light of what is being read.

It is interesting that Caleb is not only concerned that his partner is gazing at the page, but also that her whole body demonstrates the proper orientation to the activity. Interpreting Vicky's change in posture as a withdrawal from co-participation, he grabs her arm, pulling her towards him (figure 2.3 above). (Vicky's gaze actually remains on the page. In image B we can see her gazing out of the corner of her eye).

By examining the progression of this sequence, we can see Caleb's haptic action to be both efficient and effective. In image C, we observe Vicky once again huddling around the book with Caleb's arm around her back securing her in the position. And in line 5 (image D), we observe that within only two seconds since the disruption in the framework, he is able to resume reading. (Due to his magic finger holding the place on the page, he is able to quickly pick up reading from where he left off.)





Calibrated directive sequences.

In other cases a child must make multiple attempts to achieve her peer's proper orientation to her reading, with the result being a multipart directive sequence in which the child upgrades her actions in response to a peer's initial non-compliance. Such sequences demonstrate children's ability to assemble diverse resources strategically in pursuit of their peer's accountable co-participation.

Let us look closer at the example introduced briefly at the beginning of this section (example 2.4). By looking at the multimodal design of the sequence, we are able to appreciate Vee's careful monitoring of her peer and the complex design of the directive sequence through which she eventually is able to secure her peer's gaze and continue reading. In example 2.6, Vee sits across from her peer, Jared, with the book facing outward in the fashion of a teacher reading aloud to her charges. It is common for children to sit in this manner, rather than side-by-side as the teacher instructs. This may be because children prefer to orient to one another rather than to the text. It also may be that children like mimicking the participation framework of a teacher reading (see Kyratzis, in review). This appears to be the case in example 2.6. Vee plays the role of a teacher, who can tell her peer what to do and what not to do. Jared is interested in reading

his own book and Vee makes repeated attempts to orient his attention to the book she is reading to him.

Example 2.6

1	Vee:	[((reading)) fish. ((turns book towards Jared who is looking down at his book))	 <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">A</p>
2		fork.	
3		((gazes at Jared))	
4		[(2.2) ((shoves book in front of Jared's face))	 <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">B</p>
5		((Vee sits back slightly still holding up the book. Jared gazes down again at his book))	
6		Jared.	 <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">C</p>
7		((Jared looks up at book and then back down at his book))	
8		[(3.2) ((Vee turns the page in her book))	
9		[Put your book do :: wn Jared. ((high pitch)) ((Vee closes the cover of Jared's book))	 <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">D</p>
10		(1.0)	
11		((Jared gazes at Vee's book))	
12		((reading)) fox.	

In lines 1-3 as Vee is reading, it is evident she is concerned with her peer who is not being attentive. She reads the word, *fish*, and then turns the book towards her peer (line 1). However, she doesn't have an audience as Jared is looking at his own book. Reading the word, *fork*, on the next page, she again gazes at her inattentive peer (lines 2-3).

In her attempt to divert Jared's attention away from his book to hers, she leans forward and extends her arms so the book is just inches away from her peer's face (line 4). However, Jared

barely responds to this overt demand for his attention: he glances only briefly up. Vee sits back slightly still holding up the book (line 5). Seemingly unsatisfied with her peer's limited display of attention, she attempts to solicit his gaze by uttering his name, "**Jared**" (line 6). Jared again provides only minimal compliance, briefly gazing at her book to again look down at his own (line 9).

As demonstrated by Tulbert & M. Goodwin (2011), in their examination of how parents socialize children to carry out mundane daily tasks, such as brushing their teeth, getting children to do something requires putting aside competing activities so that there is a single focus of attention. In Vee's next action, we witness the expert socializing skills of a young child who is able get her peer to focus on her directive by closing off other demands on his attention. Vee has just turned the page (line 8); however, before continuing to read she makes another attempt to secure Jared's participation. In a syrupy, high pitched, chastising voice, such as a mother might use to soften a scold to a toddler, Vee delivers a bald imperative: "**Put your book do : : wn Jared**" (line 9). Simultaneous with her verbal directive, Vee closes the cover of Jared's book (line 9). Combined, her directive and her action make dramatically clear the expected course of action—that Jacob will no longer look at his book but instead gaze at the book Vee is showing him. Having effectively closed off the competing activity and achieving Jared's gaze, Vee continues reading (lines 11-12).

Examples 2.3-2.6 demonstrate the systematic procedures by which children: a) pause reading when a peer is not appropriately attending to the activity, b) launch complex, embodied directives sequences in an effort to secure the peer's proper orientation, and c) resume reading once they have achieved their partner's accountable attention. In examining these sequences, we observe children's interest and preference in creating a participation framework for collaborative

reading. They do so in ways that bring in their own interests and goals (e.g., mimicking a teacher read aloud and positioning oneself as authoritative), while also picking up on forms of participation modeled by the teacher (e.g., children's shared focus on the text). We also are able to appreciate children's agency and competence in orchestrating their own participation in learning activities. In doing so they use resources from the adult culture (e.g., closing off competing activities and calibrating directives) along with those from the peer culture (e.g., shoving the book in a peer's face).

Affective Dimensions to Orchestrating Co-participation in Reading

As Cekaite's (2012, p. 641) study of affective stances in teacher-student interactions demonstrates, teacher directives are sometimes met with a child's non-compliant and resistant responses. When such a recurring stance is examined over time, we see a trajectory "across which socialization into normatively predictable cultural patterns [does] not occur" and the child emerges as having a problematic student identity.

Given the variety of ways that children respond to teacher directives, it is interesting that in peer reading there is overwhelmingly an arc towards compliance. The context of the class is likely influential here (Cazden, Cox, Dickinson, Steinberg and Stone, 1979; Cooper, Marquis, & Edward, 1986; Damon, 1984). The teachers emphasize collaboration throughout the curriculum and accommodate children's interests. However, within this context that supports peer cooperation, we can also appreciate children's skill in directing a peer of similar status.

It is often the case that we observe children especially effective in achieving swift compliance when they employ unmitigated directives. These are instances where a child demonstrates overt acts of control over his or her peer by physically controlling the peer's body

(e.g., grabbing his or her arm as seen in examples 2.5 and 2.7) or by delivering bald directives, such as “stop” when a peer is talking, as seen in example 2.10.⁷

As examples 2.7-2.10 demonstrate, these forms of bald directives do not function as isolated acts. Rather, they achieve their social force in the way they are conjoined with a variety of affective displays, such as pitch height and laughter (Tulbert & M. Goodwin, 2011). Furthermore, when these emotional displays are contextualized within the activity of peer reading, in which they are embedded, we observe their crucial function in maintaining social order.

Response cries and tactile moves.

Let us return to Amy’s and Tommy’s reading partnership examined in example 2.1. The teacher has now left the children to read on their own. Just before example 2.7, which follows, Tommy has finished reading.

Launching the reading of her book, Amy announces in an excited voice, lengthening the vowels, “My : : t u : : rn;” she then smiles and chuckles (lines 1-2). Despite it being her turn, Amy frames the activity as a collaborative endeavor, uttering, “Let’s read the bear one” (line 3). Tommy quickly agrees, quietly uttering, “yeah” (line 4). At this moment, another child, who is reading nearby, reclines backwards with his head landing in Tommy’s lap. Tommy responds by lifting up the boy’s head (line 5). However, Tommy remains turned away from Amy (image a) as she reads (with difficulty) the title of her book, *A bug, a bear and a boy go to school* (lines 6-13).

⁷ In my data I observe these kinds of controlling acts to be performed by both boys and girls, thus mirroring M. Goodwin’s (1990; 2006) findings that girls have full competence with bald or aggravated forms of action.

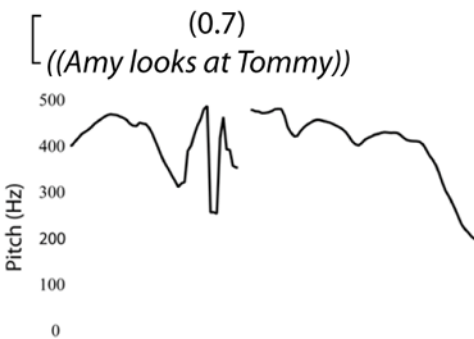

Example 2.7

- 1 Amy: My ::: tu :: rn.
 2 **huh huh** ((chuckling))
 3 Let's read the bea:r o: :ne.
 4 Tommy: ° Ye: h
 5 (4.8)
 [((Tommy looks to the book Amy pulls out of her bag and
 then to a boy who has rested his head in Tommy's lap.
 He lifts the boy's head up.))
 6 Amy: A bear ((reading))
 7 A: :
 8 (1.7)
 9 Be: : :
 10 (2.0)
 11 Amy: A bi: :g
 12 (1.3)
 [((Tommy continues to attend to boy)) _____]
 13 A bu: :g

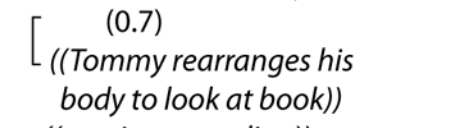



Tommy's untoward act, or inattention, prompts a strong emotional response from Amy: she emits an emphatic *response cry* (Goffman, 1981), "**He : : y**," followed by prosodic, non-lexical sounds, "**Wak u duh duh uh**." This is seen in line 15 of example 2.8:

Example 2.8

14  

15 Amy: **He: :y!** **Wak u duh duh uh**
 [((Amy grabs Tommy's arm))
 [((Amy shakes Tommy's arm))

16  

17 Amy: ((continues reading))
 A bu:g a-
 a bug
 a bear a- and a boy
go to school

How is Amy’s emotional stance—what we might gloss as disapproval or, more strongly, outrage—made visible? Her turn begins with the preface, “**Hey**,” demanding at the first possible moment in her turn that Tommy attend to her. Moreover her cry is spoken with a dramatic pitch excursion, which leaps to 500 Hz with the “Wak” sound, to then fall and sharply rise again (see line 15). (The normal pitch range for Amy is 250-400 Hz.) This language is coupled with the embodied action of grabbing her partner’s arm and gently shaking it to the rhythm of her voice (image B). While Amy does not verbally direct her peer with words, such as, “pay attention,” we see her actions conjoining with her verbal cry in a way that clearly communicate her displeasure with her partner’s current course of action and, by extension, demand that he alter his behavior.

One might expect a child to take offense to such an aggravated directive from a peer. However, such a reaction does not occur in any cases in this data. It is possible that such forceful

directives are accepted because they are keyed (Gumperz, 1982) with an overtone of play. The meta message that this is play (Bateson, 1955) is communicated, in this case, by Amy's smile as she utters the nonsense sounds, "*Wak u duh duh uh.*" In this way, peer directives can be seen as unique from that of a teacher or adult, as play provides a "seemingly innocent space" where claims to authority "can be paradoxically expressed and denied by framing the offending actions as, 'we were only playing'" (Wohlwend, 2013, p. 82).⁸

However, the meaningfulness of Amy's stance is not evident in her emotional display alone, but rather in how it is embedded in (and sequentially organized within) an ongoing project of reading to a peer (M. Goodwin, and C. Goodwin, 2000). The children understand peer reading to require both parties to participate in their respective roles of reader and listener, while displaying the appropriate embodied orientation to these roles (as examined in example 2.1). Thus, Tommy's inattention is a clear violation of this activity contract (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011). And Amy's response to this violation—her bald directive—can be seen to be warranted.

Furthermore, Amy's form of directive is designed specifically to advance the goal of the activity: that she continues reading. We see that at the juncture of the activity (just prior to reading) Amy uses an indirect and egalitarian form of directive, proposing, "Let's read..." (example 2.7, line 3). However, in the midst of the activity, she uses a bald form, crying out and grabbing Tommy's arm. In this way, children's directives during reading are similar to those M. Goodwin (2006a, p. 137) describes of adolescent girls during jumping rope:

"Bald imperatives such as "Faster. Come on!", "Not too early!", "Okay. Turn it" or "Get in more!" help regulate the activity. They are the expected or the unmarked types of actions in the midst of the activity of rope, as they promote the game's onward development or critique the

⁸ See Goodwin (2006) for an analysis of how parents enter the frame of play in directing children in a task. I am making a claim here about uniqueness in children's directives based the children's status— they do not have authority by default as does an adult and, therefore, must hedge these claims more creatively.

style in which it is being played. The situation of the moment itself may warrant the use of a directive format that in other circumstances would be seen as aggravated. At junctures in play activity, however, directives may take a more indirect form; rather than making demands, children make proposals about possible courses of action using “Let’s” as in... “Let’s play a game of snake...”

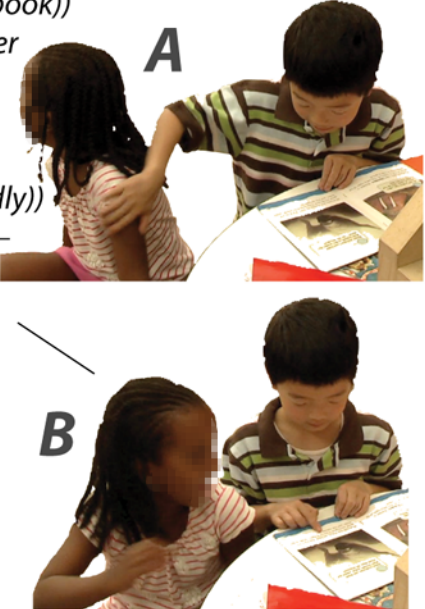
As in jump rope, children’s bald imperatives are not treated as offensive when they occur while reading is ongoing. (See also Moore, in review, on how teachers design directives in economical or elaborated forms based on whether the activity is ongoing or at a juncture). While turning back towards Amy (following her directive), Tommy smiles slightly, aligning with his peer, who is also smiling. The directive otherwise remains unmarked.

As we see in image C, Tommy is once again sitting alongside his partner and looking at the book (image c). Amy, in turn, having an audience, reads the book's title, this time with greater ease and an engaging, performative prosody (line 17).

Accountability and intersubjectivity.

In fact, rather than inciting opposition or rebuke, aggravated directives provide a space for playful intersubjectivity. In example 2.9, we evidence a strikingly similar sequence as that examined in example 2.8, except now Amy is the recipient of her peer's bald directive: a response cry and tactile gesture (line 5).

Example 2.9

- 1 Caleb: ((reading)) Walruses are clumsy
 2 Amy: O : h
 3 Caleb: [((reading)) but they are great swimmers.
 ((Amy turns her head away from book))
 4 Amy: Billy () ((calls to a boy behind her
 as she turns around))
 5 Caleb: **A::HH: A::HH**
 ((pats Amy's arm repeatedly))
 6 Amy: [(h)a (h) (h) (h) (h) ((laughing))
 ((turns back to reading position))
 7 Caleb: ((reading)) They can hold their
 breath underwater . . .
- 

As Caleb is reading, Amy is looking for another boy, Billy. She briefly attends to her partner's reading, uttering a perfunctory "oh" (line 2), after he reads, "walruses are clumsy" (line 1). However, she then spots Billy behind her and she turns around and calls to him (line 4).

Streeck (2013) argues that "shared bodily experiences are part of the intersubjective fabric of interaction, of the meanings that moments have for the parties. Laughter, touch, and physical proximity are not, in the first place, symbolic phenomena (or indices), but primal forms of intercorporeality, 'interanimate meanings'" (Sheets-Johnstone, 2012; cited in Streeck, p. 80). In children's embodied directives, we see how touch, laughter, and embodied stances are ways of expressing shared understandings about the nature of peer reading: it is a pleasurable and collaborative activity. As Amy turns and calls, "Billy" (line 4), Caleb emits a response cry, with a roller coaster dynamic, "**A: : HH: A: HH**," while urgently patting her arm (line 5).

Caleb's emotional stance, expressed through the combined cry and gestural move, is achieved in a very similar manner as that of Amy's, discussed in example 2.8. What I wish to highlight here is Amy's response. Amy immediately abandons her competing project of addressing Billy. She swivels quickly around to once again assume the side-by-side orientation to Caleb. As she turns she smiles a large, toothless grin (her front teeth are missing) and emits a gleeful, expressive laugh (line 6, image B). In her compliance, we see a different stance than we might expect in response to a teacher's directive instructing her charges to *fold their hands on their desks, put their feet on the floor and their eyes on the white board*. In the hypothetical classroom, paying attention is a debt to be paid: *I will submit to the teacher's authority until the bell rings for recess*. However, in Amy's gleeful response to Caleb's directive, we see how peer directives, with their affective and embodied features, are an invitation (as opposed to an obligation or demand) to participate with a friend in an enjoyable activity. In this way, the side-by-side reading posture is not an experience of being constrained but, instead, a learned technique of the body (Mauss, 1979) that provides the greatest affordance for creating and enjoying a shared phenomenal and cognitive world around book reading.

Elaborating bald directives with proximity and gaze.

In orchestrating the activity of peer reading, children employ a repertoire of directive forms. What form is used depends on the behavior the child is attempting to influence. In example 2.10, Caleb attempts to redirect Amy, not because she is distracted (as in example 2.9), but instead because she is asking a topically inappropriate question. Caleb is reading about walrus' tusks and she is asking if the walrus has legs. Her question would have been appropriate minutes before when Caleb was reading about walrus being clumsy. At this time another boy overhears Caleb and Amy laughing as they enact clumsy walrus, wobbling on

their bottoms and flailing their arms. The boy (who has likely read the book before) says “he was actually standing on his hind legs and fell over.” This boy’s comment about walrus’ legs seems to still be preoccupying Amy as her partner has moved ahead in the book.

Example 2.10

1 Caleb: *((reading))* People used tusks to make (.)
ca : vings carvings like these.
This kind of art is called sc- skimisow.

2 [They used the- They put- *((explaining text to Amy))*
((looks at Amy))

3 They took off the walrus’ tusks.
and used them to make drawings.

4 They killed the walrus.

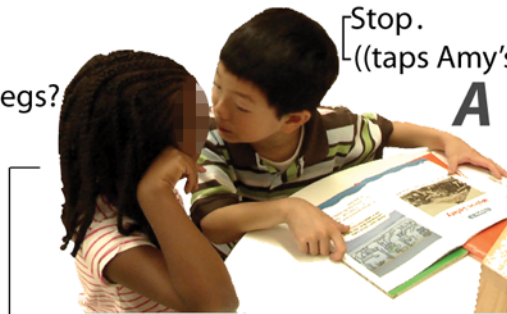
5 *((Caleb gazes back at book to continue reading))*

6 Amy: Okay~wait.

7 Do~you know () if you have legs?

8 Caleb: [Stop.
((taps Amy’s shoulder))

9 Amy: if he has legs?

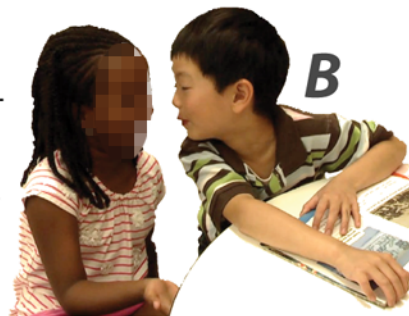


10 Caleb: [stop **stp stp stp stp stp.**
((looks at Amy and moves his face close to hers))

11 *((Caleb looks back at book and points at text where he will continue reading))*

12 Amy: [Caleb do you know if he has legs-
((smiling))

13 Caleb: [**du cum du pum pum.** *((smiling))*
((looks again at Amy))



14 Amy: [(h) (hhh) (h) (h) *((laughing))*
((Caleb points to page in preparation to read))

15 *((The teacher claps to signal the close of the reading activity.))*

In line 1, Caleb is reading about how tusks are used for cave drawings. Looking up from the book to gaze at Amy, he explains, in his own words, how walrus are killed for their tusks. A five-year old, who is reading advanced books for his age, Caleb does these teacher-like explanations and expansions of text frequently for his peers.

Caleb then gazes back at the book to continue reading. However, speaking quickly, Amy stalls his reading with a question (and a directive to “wait”): “Okay~wait, do~you know if you have legs-.” Prior to Amy’s interruption, Caleb does not look at Amy, nor does he pause allowing her a turn to speak. Thus, her question is not only topically inappropriate, but it also comes at a wrong moment in time (see Erickson, 1996). In response, Caleb taps Amy’s shoulder and delivers an imperative, “stop,” without looking up from the book (line 8). Similar to the bald directives discussed in example 2.8, Caleb’s directive is designed in an economical form so that he might, as quickly as possible, continue reading. In this way, Caleb’s behavior is in line with what Schegloff (1979) has termed a principle of progressivity—i.e., that participants in conversation orient to the forwarding of the main activity. At the same time by assuming the role of gatekeeper, who determines what questions are relevant or irrelevant, Caleb positions himself in an authoritative role.

However, directives often do not stand as isolated speech acts but instead must be repeated until they are agreed with (M. Goodwin, 2006a, p. 524). Caleb is unable to continue reading as Amy is persistent in pursuing her question. She performs a repair, replacing the *you* spoken previously with *he* (referring to the walrus), asking, “if he has legs.” (line 9). Caleb recycles his directive, *stop*, spurring out the words with increased emphasis: “stop **stp stp stp stp stp** (line 10). Rather than gazing at the book, he now establishes a facing formation where he is gazing at

Amy. As he utters *stop* repeatedly, he leans in so that his nose is only an inch from hers (image a).

Notably, this directive has a different form than those in examples 2.5, 2.8 and 2.9, where the children cry out and grab their partner's arm. In the previous examples, the children are concerned with a peer's embodied orientation. Now Caleb is attempting to stop his peer from talking, and he has designed the directive specifically to achieve this purpose. He closely gazes at his peer, a participation framework that makes attending to his directive the sole focus. And, simultaneous with this close engagement, he repeats the imperative so as to not allow turn space for Amy to interject.

However, Amy doggedly pursues a response to her question. As soon as Caleb looks back at his book to continue reading, Amy smiles while repeating her question, this time using a personal term: "Caleb do you know if he has legs" (line 12). By embedding a smile into her question, Amy is demonstrating an affective stance of fun or enjoyment to the sequence of events she is co-participating in. Such a stance demonstrates that she is formulating Caleb's directives not as a serious command but rather as a game. Caleb takes up this stance as well, repeating a similar directive to that in line 10, but now accentuating the playfulness of the move. Rather than issuing the imperative, *stop*, he makes nonsense sounds as he smiles (line 13). While making these sounds, he once again establishes a framework of close face-to-face engagement, with his nose almost touching hers. The sequence closes with Amy laughing as Caleb again places his finger on the page preparing to read (line 14). While it appears that Caleb will now be able to continue reading, we cannot be sure. At this time the teacher claps, signaling the end of the activity. However, Amy's laugh seems to suggest that she will no longer pursue a response to her question.

Examples 2.7-2.10 illustrate how direct imperative forms, facing formations, eye gaze, stance displays (e.g., emotional intensification through prosody) and active pursuit of compliance are all entailed in achieving a peer's accountable action. Children draw upon these diverse resources to enhance directives with affective dimensions that create a frame of co-participation and play. These forms thus function to preserve an egalitarian alignment between peers and, by extension, are face saving for the recipient of the directive. Despite the playful framing, such an affective form is successful in reestablishing a participation framework for collaborative reading.

Repeat Offenses and Non-accountable Participation Frameworks

An alternative participation framework is that in which a child's directives fail to achieve the social force necessary to build a collaborative framework for reading. When a partner's attention is repeatedly sidetracked by competing activities and her peer does not calibrate her directives, using a range of resources, such as affective and tactile forms, the children may not be successful in carrying out the activity of reading *together*.⁹ Example 2.11 provides a case in point. Of the twenty-three peer partnerships examined, this is the only partnership in which such a trajectory occurs (and, hence, it is the only non-compliant directive trajectory in the data).

Vicky is reading a chapter book about horses. It is a long book, and when she gets to an unfamiliar word she will frequently skip pages ahead in the text. Considerable class time is spent discussing how to pick out what the teachers call *just right* books. However, Vicky chooses too challenging of a book as she is crazy about horses; she is constantly drawing, reading, writing

⁹ While it is not the focus of this analysis, personal traits and peer power structures appear to play into what kinds of directives a child uses (e.g., bald forms versus mitigated forms) and how binding a particular child's directive is (M. Goodwin, 2006). Caleb enjoys the ability to wield power due to his remarkable proficiency in literacy (see also Christian & Bloome, 2004; Wohlend, 2007). And Amy is an energetic and assertive girl whose playmates of choice are the boys. Additionally, at home Amy plays with and cares for an autistic younger brother, and is very skilled at engaging with him. Vicky is well liked by her peers. However, a frequent playmate is a twin sister who has been in the same class as her throughout preschool and kindergarten. It is possible that having such an easy, accessible playmate makes her less assertive in directing her peers. However, such claims are beyond the scope of this analysis. Also, I observe Vicky frequently do other forms of assertive actions. For example, she uses bald forms of correction when her peers (including Amy) make reading mistakes.

and talking about them. Amy remarks about this as Vicky pulls the book out of her bag. She asks, “Why do you always read about horses?” Vicky responds, “Because they are my favorite animal.”

The situation is, needless to say, attention challenging for Amy. Vicky reads falteringly through a text neither she nor Amy can easily read, over a lengthy period of time (7.5 minutes). And Amy does not share the same interest in horses as Vicky. As Vicky begins reading, Amy huddles around the book. However, she is soon gazing around the classroom, talking to a boy, or playing with her book bag. Her behaviors become more distracting to Vicky, who is trying to focus on her reading, as minutes pass. Amy performs a large yawn and exaggerated stretch, to then rest her head on Vicky’s shoulder. Vicky ignores this display and continues to read as Amy naps. Amy then crawls behind Vicky, covering her face with her book. She tells Vicky, “I’m invisible.” Vicky mutters, “no you’re not” and without looking at her peer she keeps reading.

While Vicky mostly ignores Amy and forges ahead with her reading, she does make seven attempts to secure her partner’s co-participation. In building her directives, she uses either a personal term alone (e.g., “Amy”) or a personal term along with a perceptual directive (e.g., “look Amy”). Amy usually complies with her peer’s directive, but she attends to the reading only briefly as seen in example 2.11:

Example 2.11

- 1 Vicky: [((reading)) Horses can run
really fast.
2 [((Amy is gazing in "space."))
3 [°Look Amy. [(turns book slightly towards Amy))
4 [((Amy leans towards Vicky
to look and then sits
back and looks away.))
5 [(7.0)
[((turns page))
6 [O : : h gee : z. (.) Look at its teeth.
[((Vicky points at image))
[((Amy looks at book and
smiles slightly))
7 (2.0)
8 ((reading)) How can a horse...
9 [((Amy looks at book as Vicky reads
for 22 seconds and then sits up
and gazes in "space"))



When reading with a peer, children frequently point out a picture for their peers to look at, as Vicky is doing in this example. Such *noticings* (Sacks 1995) open up the opportunity for children to attend to an illustration from a shared perspective (Tomasello, 1995, p. 105).¹⁰ For example, pointing at a ghost in a Halloween book, Alex exclaims, “*Oh!* Look at that ghost shaking his butt!” His peer then looks at the picture and laughs. Another example is Caleb showing his partner, Vicky, a picture of a helicopter lifting a box containing a mummy. He

¹⁰ I did not include most cases of noticings in this data of peer directives as they frequently occur when a partner is already participating appropriately. In such cases they function to heighten engagement or to shift a peer’s attention to something new.

places the book in front of his peer saying excitedly, “**Look!** They might drop the mummy.”

Animating the falling mummy, he balls his hand in a fist and then, opening his hands, he slaps his palm on the table. Vicky watches with her mouth agape, and then says, “It will turn into splatter bones.” Both children laugh.

However, as seen in the present example, noticings do not always get the kind of recipient uptake (e.g., a peer’s added commentary or laugh) needed to transform a self-commentary into a collaborative, interactive event (M. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 2012, p. 273). Amy is gazing away as Vicky reads (line 1). Attempting to get her peer’s attention, Vicky uses a personal term along with a perceptual directive, “Look Amy.” She turns the book slightly towards Amy when addressing her but does not provide any deictics (e.g., this, that, or a pointing gesture) or categorization terms (e.g., horse) to help her peer locate what to look at. (There is a photo of horses running below the text.) Nor does Vicky provide keying, such as laughter or emphatic prosody, to indicate what kind of stance Amy should take towards the picture. Thus, Vicky is unable to recruit the kind of involvement from Amy that would develop the activity of “looking at the picture of horses running” into an interactive event. Amy only briefly looks at the book to then retreat back to playing with her book and looking around the classroom.

Almost immediately Vicky makes another attempt to solicit Amy’s attention. She turns the page and seeing a picture of a horse’s mouth she utters a response cry, “o : :h gee : z,” and then a directive, “look at its teeth.” She couples this talk with a pointing gesture to the horse’s mouth (line 6). This time, in her gesture and in her use of the categorization term, *teeth*, she does locate what her peer should look at. Her interjection, however, with its flat intonation, expresses the tedium of a student who, picking up his lunch tray, says, *oh geez, corn dogs again*. Thus, this noticing, with its flat delivery, also receives little uptake from her peer. Amy leans in closer to

look at the horse's mouth and smiles slightly. And, though Vicky pauses to invite Amy's commentary on the horse's teeth, Amy remains silent (line 7). Achieving little interactive response from her peer, Vicky continues reading and Amy soon withdraws into her solitary activity of gazing in space (line 9).

At other times Amy is so involved in another activity that she ignores Vicky's directive, as is the case in example 2.12. As Vicky is trying to turn the page of her book, Amy kneels forward to look at the book of a boy reading nearby (lines 1-4). Vicky utters, "**Amy**," with a quick clip, suggesting a sense of seriousness in her summons (line 5, image a). However, she does not look up from her book and, finally, getting the page turned, she continues reading, even though Amy is still talking to the boy (line 6). In image b, we see Amy laughing in response to something the boy said (which is inaudible in the recording) as Vicky reads alone.

Example 2.12

- 1 Vicky: [Ay ye yi.
((Vicky is having difficulty turning a stuck page))
- 2 [(6.5)
- 3 [((Vicky continues to try to
turn the page))
- 4 [((Amy moves to a kneeling position
to look at another boy's book.))



5 **Amy.** ((Vicky does not look up from her book))

- 6 [(4.3)
- 7 [((Amy is talking to the boy.))
- 7 [((reading)) How do it moves.
- 8 [((Amy sits back on her
heels and laughs.))



((Vicky continues to read as Amy talks to the boy))

Notably, this trajectory—Vicky reading without her peer’s participation—differs from that where a child pauses reading, only to resume when a collaborative framework is achieved (see examples 2.3-2.6). While Vicky makes repeated attempts to recruit Amy’s involvement, she is ultimately unsuccessful. Her simplified directive forms do not achieve the kind of intersubjectivity we observe in examples 2.9-2.10, where Caleb elaborates his directive with affective features (e.g., heightened pitch, touch). Nor does Vicky upgrade her directives to insist on accountable compliance. We recall, in contrast, Vee’s calibrated directives, which result in her closing her peer’s book, while commanding him to put it down—combined actions which successfully reorient his attention (example 2.6).

In brief, examples 2.11-2.12 demonstrate the relevance of achieving a peer’s accountable participation for collaborative reading to be successful. We will now look at a sequence that illustrates how children’s accountable participation in peer reading provides a double opportunity space (Blum-Kulka et., al, 2004) for children to build and nurture friendships while also learning to read.

“I think they’re gonna to get married:” Friendship and Absorption in Reading Together

Example 2.13, which follows, looks again at Caleb and Vicky’s reading partnership. While this excerpt occurs minutes after that examined in example 2.5, both children remain huddled around the book about an ice mummy. During the minutes between these excerpts (which are not included in the transcript) the children actively engage in reading the book together. Vicky looks at a picture of the mummy lying on the laboratory table and makes an expression of disgust, eyes wide, and shudders as she exclaims “ew: : : :” The children animate the body postures of the scientists examining the mummy; they fold their arms across their chests and mold their faces into intent expressions. And, as Caleb reads, both children’s eyes track the

words. When Caleb is unable to decode a word, Vicky offers help even though she is not as proficient of a reader as her peer.


As argued by Edmundson (2014, p. 31), “the capacity to pay attention is critical to the life of absorption,” which he defines as, “immers[ing] yourself in something you love doing.” In this interaction, we witness Caleb and Vicky immerse themselves in the world of books. And, significantly, it is the work children do in attuning one another’s attention that makes this kind of absorption possible. In example 2.5, (examined previously) Caleb pulls Vicky’s arm to bring her close to him and then wraps his arm around her shoulder so as to get her body appropriately oriented to the activity. Shortly later Caleb playfully rests his hand on her head where it remains for five minutes; he lifts it only to turn a page or point at a picture and then places it immediately back on her head. As example 2.13 (image a) demonstrates, this embodied posture functions to sustain the cooperative reading framework, where Vicky intently gazes at the book as Caleb reads (line 1). At the same time, it also functions to build and nurture the children’s friendship. In the following sequence this interpretation (i.e., friendship) is expressed by the children’s peers who jest that Caleb and Vicky are “gonna get married” (line 34).

Example 2.13

- 1 Caleb: ((Reading with hand on Vicky's head))
 Kept cold in the room
 the mummy is safe from rotting.
- 2 He won't rot.
 ((turns page and removes hand
 from Vicky's head))
- 3 Vicky: Rotting.
 4 (1.4)
- 5 Caleb: This is what they put next to it.
 ((pointing at picture of mummy))
 6 ((places hand back on Vicky's head))
- 7 These are
 8 **These are the-**
 9 ((Carrie and Jacky walk over to table))
 10 ((Jacky and Vicky look at each other and smile))
- 11 Now I know what these are.
 ((removes hand))
- 12 Jacky: What?
- 13 Caleb: These are the things that were next to the mummy.
 14 When he would die
 15 These things were all around the mummy.
 16 So they-
 17 (0.9)
 ((Caleb places his hand
 on Vicky's head))

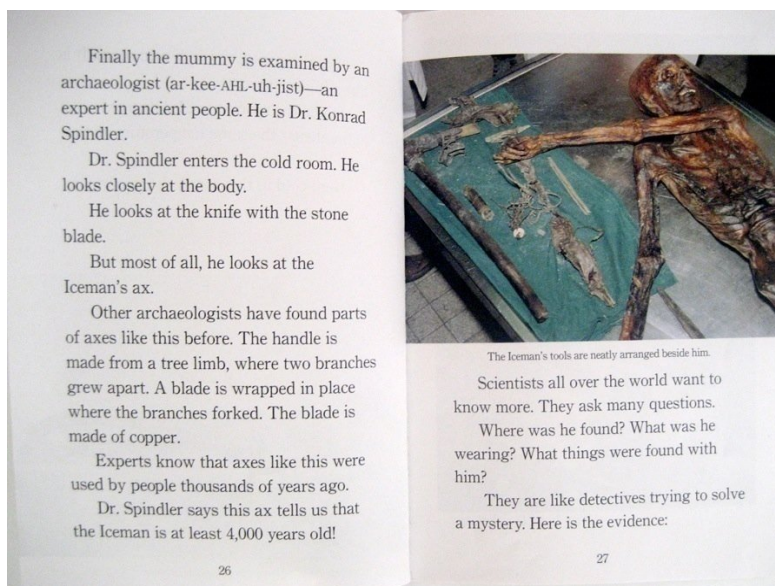


- 18 So they put it a-
 19 he: : re
 20 and the mummy's arms are he: :re.
- 21 Vicky: () ((says something inaudible to Jacky))
- 22 Caleb: It's like he's-

- 23 Jacky: (hh) (hh) (hhhh) ((laughing and gazing at Vicky))
 24 [(1.4)
 25 [((Caleb pushes Vicky's head down further))
 26 (h) (hh) (hh)-(h) (h) (h) (hh) ((laughing))
 27 Caleb: [(hh) ((laugh))
- 
- 28 Valerie: Okay keep on reading.
 29 Caleb: She is ve ::ry hilariou s : .
 [((points at Vicky))
 30 Carrie: **Told you so** Jacky ((singsong voice))
 31 (1.5)
 32 Jacky: (h) (h) ((looks at Carrie))
 33 Caleb: Um- :: ((looks at book))
 34 Jacky: I think [they're gonna get [_____
 [((mouths the word "married"))
 35 Vicky: [You're right the: : re. ((points at text))
 36 ((Vicky uses her hand as a "blinder" to block out the girls))
 37 ((Caleb continues reading with his hand on Vicky's head))

In this example Caleb and Vicky are examining a photo where the mummy is laid out with his tools beside him, seen here in figure 2.4:

Figure 2.4



Pointing at the picture, Caleb says, “This is what they put next to it” (line 5). As he says this he returns his hand to Vicky’s head (which he removes when turning the page in line 2). Caleb then realizes that the mummy was buried with his tools. He begins to explain this to Vicky but is cut off as Carrie and Jacky come to the table to read (lines 7-9). Arriving at the table, Jacky kneels down to eye level with Vicky and, making eye contact, the two girls smile (line 10). This smile appears to be a comment on Caleb having his hand on Vicky’s head. Caleb now looks up and takes his hand off of Vicky’s head (seemingly to handle the book). He gazes at Jacky, and having the girls’ attention, he restarts his utterance, saying, “Now I know what these are,” while pointing to the photo (line 11). He pauses so as to allow his peers to express their interest in his discovery. Jacky, who is the nominated speaker (as Caleb gazes at her), asks, “What?”

Caleb launches into a lengthy explanation of the photo (lines 13-22). As he is talking, he suddenly, without looking up, places his hand on Vicky’s head. As seen in image C and D, his touch guides Vicky, who is sitting upright and gazing attentively at the book (image B), to lean forward so that she is once again in a close huddle.

Why does Caleb reach for Vicky’s head? This move is similar to that where he grabs her arm in example 2.5, in that both actions encourage his peer to demonstrate a bodily orientation where the text (and his reading) are the focus. However, to understand the multiple meanings of his action, it is necessary to consider the context, that is, what occurs beyond the isolated adjacency pair (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973) of her withdrawal from the huddle and his reaction to her withdrawal. By looking at the broader context, we are able to appreciate how peer reading is at the center of children’s social worlds, the teasing, joking, etc. that occur alongside reading.

This time when Caleb brings Vicky into a huddle, rather than gaze at the book, she gazes out of the corner of her eye at her friend, Jacky (image D). Vicky utters something under her breath (inaudible to the transcriber) and Jacky erupts in laughter (lines 21 and 23). Though it is not clear what Vicky says here, her comment and Jacky's laughter characterize Caleb's touch as funny. Caleb continues to explain the picture but is cut off by Jacky's laughter (line 22). It is at this point that he first exhibits awareness of his touch being the object of the girls' amusement. He looks at Vicky and then pushes her head down further, so that her nose is almost touching the book (line 25). This move heightens Jacky's laughter to a high-pitched squeal (line 26). By playing into the role that the girls' comment on with their laughter—the overly affectionate partner—Caleb is able to participate in the joke rather than be the target of the joke. He further deflects attention by using sarcasm. He says that Vicky is “very hilarious,” thus displaying that he is aware that the girls are *making fun* (line 29).

Furthermore, in the girls' talk in lines 30 and 34 we evidence an emic interpretation as to what is going on. Vicky's twin sister, Carrie, says to her friend in a singsong voice, “***Told you so Jacky***” (line 30). Jacky (seemingly in agreement with what her friend *told her*) gazes at Carrie and says, “I think they're gonna get (married)” (line 34). (She mouths the word, “married,” without uttering it). These girls are thus interpreting Caleb's touch to mean that he likes Vicky, which in kindergarten peer culture is expressed as “they're gonna get married.”

However, Caleb's expression of friendship is not limited to Vicky (as the girls' comment seems to suggest). He frequently embraces or holds hands with other children, both boys and girls, while reading with a friend or sitting in the circle for a teacher read aloud. (Other children do this as well but not as much.) In the present interaction, Caleb's hand is eventually removed from Vicky's head by the teaching assistant, Ms. Lee. In a later conversation about this

interaction, Ms. Lee explains that they (the teachers) are trying to discourage Caleb's tendency to be touchy with peers. We thus see the school maxim of *keep your hands to yourself* being socialized to these young children. (For a critical perspective on the discouragement of affection in schools, see Orellana, 2015.)

A final observation of this sequence is that Vicky (who is in the listening role) can be seen orchestrating the activity. In line 28, as the children are laughing about her head being pushed down, she says, "Okay keep on reading." The token, *okay*, acknowledges the joke. And her directive attempts to redirect the children's focus back to the reading. Caleb complies and searches for his place to restart reading. Vicky again directs Caleb; she points at the text and says, "You're right the : :re" (line 35). Vicky turns her head away from the girls and uses her hand like a blinder to block out distractions from the side (line 36). Being closed out from the huddle, the girls leave. Caleb and Vicky continue reading with his hand remaining on her head (line 37).

In summary, example 2.13 demonstrates how children use embodied resources to build a participation framework for reading while simultaneously creating the frame of friendship. In this way, the interworld, in which peers explore books together, is a space for learning to read and for establishing and tending to social bonds with one's peers.

Concluding Discussion

I began this chapter by reviewing research on the developmental benefits of adult-child shared reading. The literature included in this review represents only a thimbleful of the existing research on the topic. In contrast, scholarship on the benefits of children reading together is virtually nonexistent. This is largely the result of those social theories of learning which emphasize children's interaction with adults as a path to learning and development (Vygotsky,

1978; see introduction of this dissertation). An unfortunate byproduct of this theoretical position is it takes our curiosity and analytic focus away from all the kinds of learning that goes on between peers, who are more or less co-equal. This is especially the case for young children, where an adult is traditionally viewed as a necessary agent.

I argue for a broader framework which recognizes the capacity of children to influence one another's development and encourages us to appreciate the social worlds children build and inhabit as they interact within adult designed learning activities. The present chapter applies a multidimensional lens to analyze the meanings children co-construct within their moment-to-moment interaction, and the way these meanings are embedded within the larger social context of classroom life (i.e., adult instruction and peer relations). Thus my analysis shines a light on everyday occurrences in peer reading—things that seem so commonplace and obvious that analysts and teachers alike miss them. Caleb pauses reading and pulls his peer's arm to bring her in a close huddle around the book (example 2.5). Amy cries out and urgently shakes her distracted peer's arm (examples 2.7-2.8). Caleb sustains Vicky's focus with an affectionate embrace—a gesture that incites teasing and joking from his peers (example 2.13).

As discussed in examples 2.3-2.6, these actions are part of a systematic organization in which a child pauses reading only to continue when a peer is appropriately attuned to the activity. As such, the examples in this chapter vividly illustrate children's orientation to making reading a collaborative activity. And, moreover, through their use of diverse resources (e.g., prosody, touch, gaze) and calibrated directives, they are overwhelmingly successful in doing so. I only identify one instance where—despite a series of directives—a child is unable to achieve her peer's cooperative participation (example 2.11-2.12).

Also, significantly, these examples illuminate how when reading is at the center of children's social worlds, it is imbued with pleasure. Caleb delivers a playful but insistent directive to which Amy complies, while demonstrating intersubjectivity through her laughter (example 2.10). The girls joke that Caleb and Vicky are “gonna get married,” as the pair return to an absorbed reading framework with Caleb embracing Vicky (example 2.13). What would it mean for children to associate sociality with reading? Might children at a very young age more readily take on an identity as a reader? By appreciating children's own practices around reading, we will better understand how to encourage children to read—a development that parents, teachers and educational policy makers all desire for children, especially children who are sensitive to the stigma of being labeled *book smart*.

Lastly, by focusing the analytic lens on both adult-child and child-child interactions, we see that when teachers set up the context for peer reading, children play out the activity in their own way while realizing the adult's goals for the activity. This chapter's examples demonstrate that children attend to the embodied participation of their partner—a participation framework prescribed by the teachers (see example 2.1). In orchestrating such a framework, both the teacher and the children use bald directives, which are elaborated with tactile moves, to direct a child's body; as well, both adults and children calibrate the directives in response to a child's non-compliance. Ms. Yerevan touches Amy's head to attune her focus on the book and directs her, saying, “You gotta pay attention to what your friend is reading” (example 2.2, line 16); moments later she touches Amy's hand and points at Tommy's book, and tells her to “see if he is reading it correctly” (example 2.2, line 20; see excerpt for transcription). Similarly, Vee (a five year old) places her book in front of Jared's face and uses a personal term to get his attention. When he continues to be inattentive, she upgrades her action. She closes Jared's book, while issuing the

directive, “put your book down, Jared” (example 2.6, line 12). However, we also see children employ an interactive style unique to the peer culture. Caleb blurts out “*stop*” repeatedly while establishing a nose-to-nose position with his peer (example 2.10). Amy utters emphatic cries and nonsense sounds as she shakes her distracted peer’s arm (example 2.8).

In these examples, we witness children creatively adapting aspects of the adult culture to fit the situational demands (e.g., what behavior they are attempting to redirect) and the peer social context. Arguably, through these adaptive behaviors children are building an intersubjective environment for reading together. Scholars of otherwise divergent theoretical positions agree that establishing intersubjectivity is primary if social interaction is to influence a child’s learning (Piaget, 2013; Vygotsky, 1978). This analysis thus demonstrates how children set up the conditions for reading development to occur.

Chapter 3

Multimodality and footing in peer correction in reading picture books

Introduction

A common literacy activity in primary grade classrooms is children reading books together, and this activity is rich in the kinds of meaningful, cognitively and socially substantial interactions it spawns. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these interactions. In doing so, I want to achieve two interrelated goals. The first is to examine how children are co-constructing the learning activity of reading with a friend. Due to the limited space here I am not able to describe the full variety of interesting ways children are learning together. I will thus focus on one way children are practicing literate activity—that of correcting one another’s reading errors. Children do a lot of correcting of each other, and as will be seen in the examples in this chapter, correction helps children master skills that the teachers describe in their curricular plans as desired reading outcomes; these include, word recognition, and identification of the phonetic sounds of letters, as well as the blending of these sounds together to make words or syllables. In other words, this analysis reveals how children are using correction as a resource to do the important work of honing one another’s knowledge and competence in early reading skills. This finding offers a contribution to an area of research that gives considerable attention to teacher corrections (perhaps due to their pervasiveness in instruction), while saying little about how corrections function within relatively egalitarian peer interactions (notable exceptions are Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2013; Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010).

Thus, as part of this first goal—examining the interactions through which peer reading is collaboratively built—I am also interested in the footings (Goffman, 1981), or social relational dynamics, that arise when a child corrects a peer. As we can imagine, a child does not

necessarily possess the authority to correct another that a teacher does. Nevertheless, as the examples in this chapter demonstrate, children are highly adept at achieving multiple alignments (e.g., egalitarian versus hierarchical) in relation to one another and are thus able to build various frames around the activity of helping (e.g., that of co-teacher *and* co-learner or that of play). These two different foci on children's interactions encompass what Erickson (1982a) calls the "double functionality" of moves involved in a learning task, where one aspect is subject matter content (e.g., correction of a misread word) and the second is a social relational aspect.

My second goal is to demonstrate children's social and cognitive processes using a framework in which social interaction is considered an "ecosystem of mutual influence among participants" and where talk is not privileged over non-verbal action and other semiotic media (Erickson, 2010, p. 254; see also, C. Goodwin, 2000). While not typically used in the learning sciences field (see Erickson, 2011b), this framework lends itself to highlighting the collaborative and multimodal aspects of children's corrections. As demonstrated in the examples in this chapter, child-to-child correction sequences are co-constructed not through talk alone but, rather, through the mutual elaboration of diverse semiotic resources, including, talk, spatial formations, embodied action, and objects, such as picture books. I thus argue it is by attending to the diversity of resources that come into play in these reading encounters that we gain a rich portrait of how children are enacting an environment for learning—a social and cognitive world, which is "both physical and interwoven with shared constructions of meaning" (C. Goodwin, personal communication, 2014).

To investigate multimodality and footing in the activity of correcting a peer, I situate this study in a kindergarten classroom at a progressive private school where children are paired with

a friend to read picture books. I proceed with this examination following a review of relevant literature, and a description of my methods and data.

Literature

Repair in conversation

The analysis of this chapter is informed by Conversation Analysts' (CA) work on repair (Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). As characterized by Schegloff et. al. (1977), repair is an interactional apparatus for handling problems in speaking, hearing or understanding, which speakers use to restore intersubjectivity. Correction is a sub-type of repair (Schegloff et. al., 1977), distinctive from its superordinate category in that correction occurs where a pedagogical issue is at stake (Macbeth, 2004).¹¹ In analyzing peer correction, I draw from Schegloff et. al's (1977) description of a ternary sequence for repairs (or repair trajectory). The first turn is comprised of a trouble source— a problematic item, or error, in the talk (or reading, as examined in this chapter). The sequential organization of the following two turns is initiation (the recognition or marking of the problematic turn as repairable) followed by repair, where the trouble source is potentially replaced. Within this sequence the canonical two party organization of self and other provides for a “four cell grid” of possibilities: self- or other- initiation and self- or other-repair (Macbeth, 2004, p. 706).

Henceforth, this sequential organization will be referred to as correction trajectory.

¹¹ The corrections examined in this study are notable (and differ from repairs in conversation) in that the problematic word is visible on the page. (Only corrections of a peer's reading are included in the data set (thus excluding conversational repair). This, however, does not necessarily eliminate the issue of ambiguity in what counts as an error, as a child's reading can be technically correct but not good. And, in fact, data for this study provide instances of children correcting one another on pronunciation, intonation (such as rising intonation on an interrogative sentence) and proper reading voice.

Studies of correction in classrooms

Studies of correction in classrooms¹² have focused on: the grammatical shape and categorical role of correction trajectories (Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Van Lier, 1994; Wells, 1993), as well as contingencies of action within this organization (Lee, 2007), teacher's prosody as an index of positive or negative evaluation (Hellermann, 2003; Margutti, 2004), the kinds of interactional contexts where particular corrections occur (Jung, 1999; Kasper, 1986; Seedhouse, 1999; Walsh, 2006), and language ideologies and authority within correction practices (Friedman, 2010; Razfar, 2006). Additional classroom studies have attended to the relationship between conversational repair and instructional correction (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2003; McHoul, 1990; Weeks, 1985) and the relevance of such a comparison (Hall, 2007; Macbeth, 2011; Seedhouse, 2007). Another line of research on correction (outside of classrooms) has focused on the emergence of self-repair as part of children's development of interactional competencies (Forrester, 2008; Forrester & Cherington, 2009; Wootton, 2007). Largely, however, research has focused on the verbal design of corrections. Few studies have given attention to the multimodal formation of action in correction sequences, detailing the ways in which embodied action, facial expression, prosody and artifacts, such as picture books, contribute to their design (Keevallik, 2010; Kääntä, 2010). Moreover, very little is known about the correction practices of young children (or children of any age) in the context of classroom learning activities.

¹² I am limiting this review to studies that take an interactional perspective to analysis of correction in classrooms. This excludes a large body of research that examines how correction influences learning, particularly in second language acquisition (Bitchener, 2008; Havranek, 2002).

Methods

Correction trajectories, footing, and epistemics

To explore the holistic design of correction trajectories I apply to the analysis Goffman's (1981, p. 128) notion of *footing*, or one's "stance, or posture, or projected self." Goffman describes a change in footing as "a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance." Recognizing that stance taking is not done through talk alone, but rather through the mutual elaboration of diverse semiotic resources (C. Goodwin, 2010b), I conflate Goffman's analysis of footing with more recent conceptions of multimodal action packages¹³ (C. Goodwin, 2007b). Such an analysis allows for the exploration of how children combine talk with paralinguistic and embodied features of interaction so as to negotiate, establish and contest the local social order.

I analyze children's footing within the jointly constructed communicative project¹⁴ (Linell, 1998) of correcting a peer's reading. I have observed that children's corrections most often deal with the task of producing an accountably correct word or correct phonetic letter sounds. The goal of early literacy curriculum is for children to string these sounds and words fluently together (i.e., word recognition and phonetic awareness) in sentences and then paragraphs, and so on, with a conjoint interest in building the children's ability to comprehend the reading. Thus, in analyzing correction trajectories I am interested in how they are embedded within the larger project of accomplishing the reading activity in which children are to read books to a peer. In this

¹³ C. Goodwin (2007b, p. 61) defines action packages as "the constellation of language, environment, body and action...the most basic semiotic fields that participants use to construct meaning and relevant action through situated interaction."

¹⁴ Regarding communicative projects, Linell (1998, p. 218) states, "In the flow of cognition and communication actors come to focus upon and indulge in communicative projects of many kinds and extensions. A communicative project aims at solving a communicative 'problem' of some kind; problems of establishing an interpretation or a shared understanding of something "done through language" (performing acts, cf. Wittgenstein 1953; Austin, 1962), of creating a communicative fact (that something has been said, made known and possibly understood). A communicative problem can be understood as a coordination problem (Clark, 1996); in and through dialogue, two, or more, people try to coordinate their mental and interpersonal activities."

way, the communicative project of peer correction provides an important locus for exploring: 1) the structure within and between turns of talk, and 2) the relationship of this structure to the larger project of learning to read with a peer.

I also analyze footing in terms of the alignment of the children to one another, how they negotiate either hierarchical or egalitarian relationships among themselves. For this analysis, I rely on past research on how hierarchical and nonhierarchical relationships among children are negotiated through using a range of sociocultural resources (e.g., directives, claims to knowledge, etc.) (M. Goodwin 1990, 2006a; Kyratzis 2007; Kyratzis & Marx, 2001; Griswold 2007; Wolhwend, 2007; also, see Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, 2012, 2014, for reviews).

Children's knowledge states provide another feature important to correction trajectories.¹⁵ In its most typical cases—including the case of teacher instruction where known answer questions are ubiquitous (Labov and Fanshel, 1977)—correction proposes that the speaker knows something (k+) that the addressee does not (k-). However, in the case of peer correction, it is often the case that a child who produces the error (k-) solicits help from (or is corrected without solicitation) from another child who does not know the correction (k-). It is therefore consequential to lodge relevant states of knowing within the organization of action. As argued by C. Goodwin (personal communication, 2014), "what participants are proposed to know is relevant to what they are doing, indeed a constitutive feature of the action itself."¹⁶

In its examination of the organization of learning in peer interaction, this chapter builds upon C. Goodwin's (2013, p. 17) notion of co-operative transformation zones, places where,

¹⁵ I do not attend to children's skill level in this analysis. I recognize that reading ability may influence corrections. However, a gross observation I can make from the data is that there are examples of *all* children (those with more *and* less proficient reading ability correcting their peer's reading (and most often with the "correct" replacement).

¹⁶ Following C. Goodwin (2013), I do not treat knowledge as private interior states of an isolated individual but instead as structures that are public, constitutive features of the actions. (For an example of how knowledge states and identities are established, sustained and contested as part of peer interaction in the classroom, see Melander, 2012.)

through co-operative action, there is a "decompos(ition) and reuse" of "current resources to create something else." In particular, I analyze the multimodal and co-operative processes through which children: 1) help their partner accomplish the reading activity, or more specifically, the sub-task of decoding a word or parts of a word (i.e., the phonetic sound of a letter) and 2) make possible a variety of forms of social organization, or footings (Goffman, 1981), between participants (e.g., hierarchal versus egalitarian). Significantly, these are the processes by which children accomplish the meaningful and accountable social action and cognitive activity of helping a peer read.

Synopsis of data for chapter 3

Ninety-four correction sequences form the basis of this chapter's analysis, and are an exhaustive representation of instances of peer correction.¹⁷ The examples I present do *not* represent the most frequent typology of correction. Table 3.1 exhibits a synopsis of corrections by typology. While I largely focus on the trajectory where a child initiates a correction allowing the reader to self-correct, the more frequent trajectory is for a child to other-correct (38). Of the 20 instances of other-initiated correction identified, 11 are instances where neither child can read the word (as examined in example 3.12). Also included in the 94 instances are word searches. These are sequences where a child does not make an error but instead seeks help (or indicates the

¹⁷ Self-correction sequences were not included as part of the data analyzed. As emerging readers, children make numerous errors reading or search for a letter sound or unfamiliar word. While these efforts at "self-correcting" (this is not the appropriate label for what the readers are doing in many cases) are certainly important in reading and cognitive development, they are not of interest to the present analysis of peer social interaction around correction. However, the fact that self-correction is the overwhelmingly most frequent trajectory may suggest that children, in their role as peer helpers, generally are not overly exuberant in this capacity and allow for the reader to attempt to self-correct. Also not included in the data set for this paper are cases where a peer does not help or is unable to help. These cases include where a child solicits help (e.g., through gaze or request) and a peer does not respond or states that he, "does not know." While not technically a correction, some cases within such sequences might be classified as what Jefferson (2007) terms an *abdicated other-correction*. In most of these cases a child will self-correct (or seek adult help). I thus exclude them in the present study to focus on cases where there is peer involvement.

need for assistance) from a peer (36).¹⁸ These cases also result in other-correction (see example 3.1). (Self-correction instances that are not *other*-initiated are not included in the 94 instances (see footnote 17)). While not the most frequent trajectory, I select these instances as they provide analytically telling cases (Merton, 1973) for examining multimodality and footing in peer correction.

Table 3.1

Frequency of Correction Forms		
Kind of Correction	Frequency	Combined Frequency
Other-initiation+ Self-correction		20
	K + & K - (example 3)	9
	K - & K - (example 12)	11
Other-correction		38
Word Search (example 1)		36
Total Corrections		94

Analysis

Ethnographic context of peer reading encounters

In his seminal essay, “The Neglected Situation,” Goffman (1964, p. 135) describes encounters as occurring when “two or more persons in a social situation...jointly ratify one another as authorized co-sustainers of a single, albeit moving, focus of visual and cognitive attention.” Elaborating on the characteristics of encounters, he notes they involve: a) “a preferential mutual openness to all manner of communication,” and b) a “physical coming together” or “ecological huddle wherein participants orient to one another and away from those who are present in the situation but not officially in the encounter.”

¹⁸ While word searches do not involve the replacement of one item by another, they share a similar ternary structure to correction, and are thus within the same domain.

Across the examples in this chapter we will see children, mutually in co-operative action, in such participation frameworks with their bodies arranged in ecological huddles around the books they are reading, pointing at and visually attending to. The context for these interactions is a history of practice instilled by the classroom teachers, Ms. Yerevan and Ms. Peters, who were many of the children's teachers for multiple years. While the formal peer reading partnerships I examine for this dissertation began mid-year in kindergarten, the children had been looking at books together for some time as part of an activity called rest and read. Here children pick out books they find interesting to look at either alone or with a friend as they relax following afternoon recess. A top pick, particularly of girls, is the book, *I Spy*, a themed series in which the pages are filled with colorful animals, letters, treasures or other objects, with corresponding I spy riddles that identify the objects. The children play a game where one child or team spies an object on the page and the player(s) points to possible suspects while requesting clues, such as color or shape. The children huddled around the book in figure 3.1 are playing this game. In the beginning only three children are playing; however, over a period of six minutes two more children independently join (as shown in the successive frames).

Figure 3.1: Children gathering around a book during a rest and read activity



This swarming to the honey pot, seen as children are drawn spontaneously to reading a favorite book with friends, is what Ms. Yerevan and Ms. Peters capitalize on in setting up the

formal reading activity, called just right books. (Just right books is introduced by reading multiple versions of the fairytale Goldilocks and the Three Bears. The children (with the guidance of the teachers) decided that a book is just right when you like it and you can read the pictures and most of the words). The teachers notice the moment when children are able to look at and talk about books cooperatively together as part of rest and read, and articulate this development as an important sign that they are ready to begin reading just right books with partners. At this juncture, the teachers' goal is to replicate in formal reading encounters the embodied participation framework and mutual focus seen in figure 3.1, as children gather around a book, pointing at and talking about objects that catch their attention.

The teachers' role in deliberately setting up and enforcing how children participate in peer reading highlights the typically unnoticed importance of participation frameworks, which are generally designed to bring attention to the activities they frame rather than their own organization (Kendon, 1990; C. Goodwin, 2007b). When initially introducing the peer reading activity, the teachers ask the children to sit knee-to-knee (side-by-side) with the book placed so that both the reader and her partner can see it. The reader is to use her magic finger to underline the word being read. This strategy helps children to track the text from left to right on a page filled with a complex array of words and pictures. Also, as seen in the examples in this chapter, the magic finger creates an index for children's joint attention (Tomasello, 1995) and collaborative action on the word being pointed at. Turn-taking rules are also explained to the children; one child is to read her book while the other child helps, and then they are to switch roles.

Children are held accountable to this participation framework with frequent reminders. In figure 3.2, Holly and Perry are sitting across from one another. Observing these and other

children's breach of conduct, Ms. Yerevan issues an imperative (said loudly for all children to hear): "I want you to sit knee to knee so you can see. You need to help your partner." As seen in figure 3.2, Perry immediately complies and scuttles on her knees to rearrange her body next to Holly.

Figure 3.2: Perry moves to sit next to Holly following the teacher's directive



In Ms. Yerevan's directive, she provides an account for why children must sit knee-to-knee: They need to be able to see what their partner is reading so they can help. What she is communicating is the educational value of the encounter; it "creates a public structure of shared orientation within which other kinds of sign processes, such as gesture and talk, can flourish" (C. Goodwin, 2010b, p. 110; Kyratzis, in review). Arrangements with such a structure are central to dialogic theories of learning, which understand cognitive development to occur through children's participation, with the guidance of more competent members, in the cultural practices of their community (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff, 1990). And, indeed, it is within the context of the encounter, we witness (in the examples that follow) children enacting a peer apprenticeship, where they monitor, evaluate, and correct one another's reading, making possible transformative and collaborative action (such as mutually learning to read a new word as seen in example 3.12).

The relevance of picture books in the organization of peer correction

In this section and the next, I present two examples which, together, demonstrate how books are an integral part of reading and talking about books. This point might seem self-

evident; however, analyses rarely consider the place objects have within the organization of human action. This is also true of analyses of correction in classrooms—a setting in which text is central to the learning of subject matter content. This tendency to ignore objects in the environment largely can be attributed to a focus on the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction. However, equally important is the simultaneous, concurrent organization of action—such as children talking while pointing at a word in a picture book.

In this first example (3.1), where Holly and Perry are preparing to read, we see the children, themselves, invoking the relevance of the book to the interactive organization of peer reading. As Holly is attaching the microphone to her dress, Perry gently shakes Holly’s bag of books uttering, “Oka: y. Let’s read your books” (line 1). Holly, who is gazing at the researcher (who is filming), does not immediately respond to Perry’s proposal. Perry thus repeats the proposition, "Let's read your books," (line 3), this time adding a bald imperative performed with a high pitch: “Get them out: :t (.) read them” (line 4). As she utters this directive she simultaneously pulls a book from the bag and presents it to Holly with a smile. (This is shown in figure 3.3 below the transcript.)

Example 3.1

- | | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 1 | Perry: | Oka: y~ Let’s read your books. |
| 2 | | ((Perry touches Holly’s book bag))
(2.6) |
| 3 | | Let’s read your books- |
| 4 | | Get them ou: :t, ((shrill pitch)) |
| 5 | | ((Perry reaches in Holly’s bag and pulls out a book)) |
| 6 | Holly: | oka: :y |
| 7 | | ((Perry hands Holly the book)) |
| 8 | | This one? ((looks at front cover)) |
| 9 | Perry: | You can ((shrugs shoulders)) |
| 10 | | If you want to- |
| 11 | Holly: | I’m gonna read this one. |
| 12 | Perry: | Okay |



Figure 3.3: Perry hands her peer a book (example 3.1; line 7)

In this example, we see the children repeatedly introduce the place the book will have in their activity. For instance, there are Perry's multiple directives which attempt to get Holly to choose a book to read (lines 1,3 and 4), and there is her shoving of a book towards Holly in line 7. This can also be seen in Holly's use of the deictic *this*, referencing the book her peer has handed her (line 11).

The interactive organization of correction in reading picture books

The way in which picture books are incorporated into the interactive organization of peer correction is demonstrated in the following example where Edith provides the word, *clown*, (line 3) that her partner, Ayanshi, is unable to read.

Example 3.2

((Ayanshi is reading the text, "Monkey flies his clown kite," to Edith))

1 Ayanshi: Monkey flies his

2

(2.6)



A

B



3 Edith:

Clo :: wn.

4 Ayanshi:

Clown.

5

Clite kowt kite

Ayanshi

Edith



C



How is it that Edith knows to read the word clown in line 3 (example 3.2) when it is Ayanshi's book to read? Looking at lines 1 and 2, we see that Ayanshi pauses reading mid-sentence. This interruption makes visible not only the unavailability of the word, but the relevant unavailability—one that is hindering the progress of her reading (C. Goodwin & M. Goodwin, 1986, pp. 55-56). During the pause, as seen in image a, Ayanshi's gesture, or magic finger, locates the specific word on the page that is problematic: clown. As she looks at the word, Ayanshi performs a thinking face (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986) denoting a meaningfulness to the

silence: she is involved in an effort to decode the word being pointed at (image a). The children are taught a number of strategies to help when they are stuck on a word—one of which is to skip the word and continue reading, as context clues in the sentence may help reveal what the word is. However, important to the structure of reading with a peer is the availability of another child to help. And, indeed we see in image b that Ayanshi moves her gaze from the page to look at Edith.

The movement of Ayanshi's gaze to her peer demonstrates: 1) she has abandoned her attempt to decode the word, and 2) she is inviting a change in participation status. Whereas it might have been inappropriate for Edith to intrude earlier, her participation is now appropriate and even solicited. This information is available to Edith who is able to see her peer pointing and hear that she has paused reading. Notably, if the picture book were not visible to Edith, she would be faced with the task of guessing which word her peer needs help reading. However, this is not the case. As we can see in image a and b, Edith is actively scrutinizing the page jointly with her partner (image a) and then alone (image b), as her partner's gaze shifts to her face. Thus, by interpreting the range of structurally different resources available to her (gesture, a pause in reading, gaze, and the picture book), Edith is able to, in her utterance "clown" in line 3, provide the specific word Ayanshi needs help reading at the appropriate moment when her help is sought.

Likewise, it is through a similar constellation of language, structures in the environment, and embodied action that Ayanshi recognizes, with the help of her peer, the word on the page to be clown. We observe in image c that Ayanshi's finger continues to point at the word clown as she gazes to Edith. Simultaneous with Ayanshi's pointing, Edith utters softly, with non-salient intonation, "clown" (line 3). In the absence of sentence structure, Edith's minimized utterance is dependent upon Ayanshi's gesture, to tie the spoken word, clown, to the word being pointed at in

the picture book. It is through this co-operative action package (C. Goodwin, in press), where Edith's talk is combined with Ayanshi's gesture that the categorical structuring of clown is accomplished. As seen in line 4, Ayanshi looks down to the page and recognizes the word as that just provided by her peer, and reads "clown."

In summary, Edith could not help Ayanshi read clown by attending to her peer's reading (i.e., her talk) alone. Rather, peer correction takes place within a complex ecology of diverse meaning making practices, where language, gesture, and objects, such as picture books, are brought together to build action by mutually elaborating each other (C. Goodwin, 2013). The intelligibility of such diverse properties is possible because of the configuration of participants' bodies which creates a shared and public focus for the organization of attention and action, indexically grounding the talk and action that occurs within that focus. In this case the object of shared focus is the picture book which is central to the organization of peer reading, and actions that are part of the activity, such as peer correction.

Identifying the trouble source and cooperatively constructing a correct reading

The accomplishment of social action requires for all parties—the speaker and the addressee(s)—to establish reflexively the particulars of what others can and do know. In pedagogical encounters this intersubjective process is of importance in achieving a common understanding of the problem while also assessing the learners' ability to reach a solution. Correction trajectories, and the multimodal phenomena that are implicated in them, provide a means to examine the ongoing negotiation by which parties reach a common understanding of what is happening and what events are projected to happen next. This is possible because of the visibility of human action, such “that an addressee can build not just another independent action, but instead a relevant coordinated next move to what somebody else has just done” (C. Goodwin,

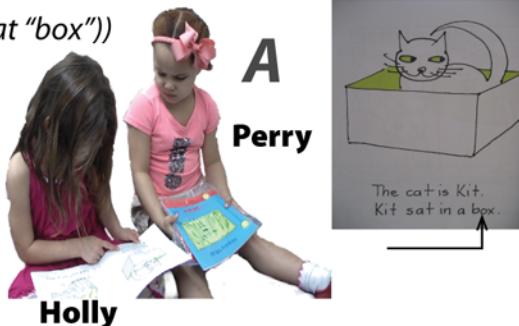
2000, p. 1491).

It follows that in order to understand how children use correction to modify their partner's reading and to build various alignments with one another, one must look beyond the correction alone to the diversity of resources upon which children themselves are relying in interpreting one another's ongoing actions. The next example of Perry helping Holly, which I examine in sections 10-12, provides an illustration of how facial expression, intonation, embodied action and cooperatively constructed corrections are entailed in peer apprenticeships.

In example 3.3 Perry and Holly have an asymmetrical participation status in that Perry is able to read the problematic word, *box*, (k+) and Holly is unable to (k-). The trajectory of the correction sequence results in Holly reading *box* (k- & k+ → k + & k+):

Example 3.3

	1	Holly:	Ki :: t	
	2	Perry:	(.) hmm :, wha :: t,	
	3	Holly:	s :a :: sa :t	
	4	Holly:	(.) in o :: n <i>in</i>	
	5		(2.0) ((∅ reading of "a"))	
	6	Perry:	((shakes head))	
	7		° (th-) ((pointing at "box")) (1.6)	
→	8	Perry:	uh (("ə" sound))	
	9	Holly:	i :n o :: x.	
	10	Holly:	[in ox :? ((gaze to Perry)) (1.0)	



→ 11 Perry: [No it's **buh buh buh buh** (“b” sound”)
 ((points to “box”)
 (2.5)

→ 12 **bo ::**

13 Holly: In a **bo :x**

14 Perry: ° N :: i :: ce Ho :: lly

As seen in lines (1-5) the progressivity of Holly’s reading is interrupted by multiple restarts and self-corrections. This cognitive struggle is made publicly visible through her interrupted reading as well as her gesture to the text; her finger pauses beneath each word as she slowly and falteringly reads: “Kit sat in...” (see lines 1-4 for transcription of reading). Her gesture then passes across a with no accompanying reading, to pause and press into the page beneath *box*, the problematic word that is the trouble source for the correction sequence in lines 7-13.

Correction-initiation is often described as “locating” or “pointing” to the trouble source as opposed to correcting the speaker (M. Goodwin, 1983; Schegeloff et. al, 1977). However, a first issue in accomplishing such an action, which is apparent in this example, is the need to identify the problem. Here the co-operating processes of correction *and* repair are visible (Macbeth, 2011). Although Holly is still pointing at *box* as she quietly utters “th” (θ) (line 7), Perry initially does not recognize *box* to be the trouble. It appears she instead is orienting to the skipped reading of *a* in her correction; as seen in line (8), she utters “uh” (⊖ or the *a* sound). Holly, in turn, treats Perry’s correction as a first sound, or correction-initiation, to the word *box*. Building from the ⊖ sound in Perry’s talk, she reads “in ox” (line 9). She then gazes towards Perry, and repeats with an upward-rising, questioning intonation, “in ox,” inviting her help. (line 10).

Perry's next actions make evident that a common understanding of the problem has been achieved. She now also points at box, so that both girls' fingers are underlining the word (line 11). As she makes this gesture she utters, "No it's **buh, buh, buh, buh,**" articulating the *b* sound with a staccato emphasis. What Perry is doing here is a taught reading strategy the teacher calls *bubblegumming*, or stretching out the phonetic sound of a letter so as to decode an unfamiliar word. In this case we see Perry and Holly using this reading strategy to incrementally and cooperatively build the word *box*. After bubblegumming the first letter sound, Perry pauses for 2.5 seconds to provide due consideration for Holly to self-correct. When Holly still is unable to perform the correction, Perry calibrates her action uttering, "**bo: :**" elongating and emphasizing the second letter sound *o* (line 12). By both incorporating the resources Perry has provided (i.e., the *b* and the *o* sounds) and examining the word being pointed at, Holly is able to successfully complete her reading; in line 13 she reads "in a bo:x." Recognizing her peer's accomplishment, in the next turn Perry provides a positive evaluation in her utterance, "nice Holly" (line 14).

Other-initiation in a k+ and k- peer partnership: comparisons to teacher correction

Notably, while Perry clearly knows the correction (k+), *box*, and has multiple opportunities to do it, she withholds her correction, and instead provides the resources for Holly to self-correct. The organization of this sequence is trouble in the first turn, followed by peer or other-initiation, and self-correction in the third turn (example 3.1, lines 9-13):

Holly:	in ox :?	trouble
Perry:	No it's buh buh buh buh bo : :	other-initiation
Holly:	In a bo :x	self-correct

This format is strategic and pedagogically sophisticated; by withholding the correction, she presupposes the maximum amount of ability of the learner. And indeed, in her utterance, "ox," Holly has already demonstrated that she knows the ending sounds of the word. Perry's correction

initiations (lines 11 & 12) thus point to where Holly's reading of *box* is in error, specifically in the omitted *b* sound.

McHoul (1990) has identified a preponderance of such an organization (other-initiation + self-correction) in teacher instruction. Consider the following example (3.4) from McHoul's (p. 362) materials where the teacher repeats part of the student's answer in a question form so as to indicate a needed revision (lines 6 & 9) or, alternately, a "filling in" (i.e., where an answer is partially acceptable but requires specification or expansion) (lines 4), or where the teacher re-initiates a correction by reformulating the question (line 10). (In the transcript A, B, C, etc. refer to students that were called upon by the teacher).

Example 3.4

- 1 T: ... What's going on here
(1.5) ((hands go up))
- 2 T: Yes
- 3 A: Mining
(0.5)
- 4 T: Mining, what sort of mining?
(2.0)
- 5 B: Open cut mining
- 6 T: Open cut?
(0.5)
- 7 C: Ir-on ore
- 8 D: | Iron ore
- 9 T: Iron ore. Why iron ore?
(1.0)
- 10 T: Don't they mine other things (in) open cuts?

The multiple initiation turns function to withhold teacher correction and allow space for the student to self-correct. In this way, McHoul argues, such turns constitute a form analogous to correction-initiation in adult conversational repair, where there is preference for a self- over

other-outcome (Schegloff et al., 1977).¹⁹ The following example (3.5) of adult conversational repair from Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 377) provides a clearer organizational comparison to that seen in the example of Perry helping Holly:

Example 3.5

Ken:	E' likes that waider over there,	trouble
Al:	Wait~ er?	other-initiation
Ken:	Waitress, sorry,	self-correct

In brief, an important feature that characterizes other-initiated correction (or repair) across these examples is that the operation of pointing to the trouble (other-initiation) and offering a correction (self-correction) are performed across separate and distinct turns. This format is mitigated or modulated in that it delays or offsets other-correction. Based on Mchoul's analysis, such a format can be seen as a general feature of classroom teaching and learning. Perry and Holly's incremental and cooperative building of the word *box* is comparable to this teaching structure in that other-correction is withheld. Thus, by drawing comparisons to McHoul, we are able to see how Perry—a young child who is newly acquiring reading skills herself—is able to competently teach her peer.

Other features of this correction trajectory are distinctly characteristic of peer interaction, however. This will be examined further in the following section.

The achievement of alignment in peer correction

In example 3.3, by focusing on the lexico-semantic content of the talk we at first see a single evaluation in the final turn of the sequence when Perry utters, “nice Holly” (example 3.3, line 14). However, looking again, this time analyzing the embodied and public displays available to the participants themselves as they build their ongoing action, we witness a dramatically

¹⁹ Preference here is used to indicate structural frequency of occurrence as opposed to liking.

different scene. We are now able to more fully appreciate the “environment of mutual monitoring possibilities” (Goffman, 1964, p. 135) that is definitive of face-to-face interaction and in which corrections are embedded. Furthermore, and importantly, we are able to consider how stance is implicated in participants’ ability to achieve various alignments vis-a-vis one another as they participate in the events that make up their phenomenological world, in this case the girls’ co-participation in correcting an error.

As seen in example 3.6, immediately below, correction arises from a systematic process whereby Perry first examines the indexed word being pointed at on the page (or trouble source) in light of what Holly has read (or not read, as in the case of the word *a*), and then subsequently displays her stance through paralinguistic and embodied resources. This second turn position of evaluation is relevant to correction as the stance Perry takes determines whether a correction (or correction-initiation) is appropriate in the third turn. This organization is highlighted in the right column of the transcript.

Example 3.6

<p>1 Holly: Ki :: t</p> <p>→ 2 Perry: (.) hmm :: wha ::t?</p> <p>3 Holly: s : a :: sa : t</p> <p>4 Holly: (.) in o :: n in</p> <p>5 (2.0) ((∅ reading of “a”))</p> <p>→ 6 Perry: [((facial expression + head shake))</p> <p>7 Holly: ° (th-) (1.6)</p> <p>8 Perry: uh ((“ə” sound))</p> <p>9 Holly: i:n o : : x.</p> <p>10 Holly: in ox :? ((looks up to Perry))</p>		<p>Trouble source A</p> <p>Evaluation + Correction-initiation</p> <p>Trouble source Evaluation</p> <p>Continuation of trouble</p> <p>Other correction Self-correction/ New trouble source</p>
---	--	--

→ 11 Perry: (1.0)
 ((Facial expression + mutual gaze))

12 Perry: No it's
buh buh buh buh
 (2.5)

13 Holly: **bo::**

14 Holly: In a **bo:x**

→ 15 Perry: ((Pats Holly on the back))

16 N::i::ce Ho::lly

17 Holly: Lad ((continues reading as Perry is patting her back))

→ 18 Holly: ((leans towards Perry while making a fist))

Evaluation
Correction-initiation

Self-correction

Evaluation

Contesting of action

Before further examining the moment-to-moment action of this sequence, it is best to first look at the outcome of this correction sequence (lines 15-17).

Whereas in teacher instruction sequence completion is considered to occur when the student receives a positive evaluation (Mehan, 1979), here we observe an altogether different trajectory. In image D of example 3.6, notice how Perry couples her utterance, “Nice Holly” with a pat on her partner’s back. A literal interpretation of what is happening here is that Perry is

commenting on the adequacy of Holly's reading of *box*—a typical discursive action in the context of teaching. However, it is apparent that Holly has a different formulation; she treats it as patronizing, as if she has been one-upped by her peer. In her immediate next action, Holly contests her partner's move; she stops reading and leans towards Perry while making a fist (image E).

Looking at the intonation of Perry's evaluation, the basis for Holly's formulation is evident. Seen in line 15, Perry's utterance "Nice Holly" is marked, having a sharply rising pitch with the elongation of the *i* sound (jumping approximately from 100 HZ to over 400 HZ), which then falls again as she softly utters "Holly." The combination of her soft tone, stretched out sounds and salient pitch results in a condescending register, which—when additionally elaborated by the patting gesture—brings to mind a master congratulating an obedient puppy. Thus, in this action, Perry can be seen to be displaying her superordinate alignment to her peer. How is such an alignment achieved (even if momentarily)? To begin to answer this question, we must further investigate how stance—in its embodied, linguistic and paralinguistic forms—functions to modulate or, alternatively, aggravate (M. Goodwin, 1983) a correction turn.

First, consider Perry's response to Holly's hesitant reading of *Kit* (line 2). Initiating a correction, Perry utters "hmm : : wha : :t?" with rising intonation on *what*. This questioning intonation is common in teacher instruction; it displays uncertainty and requests that the speaker clarify or modify what the teacher has constructed as a problem (McHoul, 1990). However, by looking at Perry's embodied expression, we see how she is taking a stance towards Holly's reading. Simultaneously, as she utters, "hmm : : wha : :t," she scrunches up her face (i.e., squinted eyes and flared nose) (example 3.6, image a). In the way her body expression mutually elaborates her talk, we see that she is not simply displaying uncertainty (which presents herself,

as the recipient, potentially faulty in understanding) but is instead challenging Holly, marking her utterance as unmistakably incorrect. (Holly does not take up this challenge and, in fact, has not made an error). A similar facial display is observed, coupled with a head shake, during the pregnant pause when Holly fails to read the word *a* (image b, example 3.4). Her grimace here seems to suggest a stance of disbelief or possibly confusion (a more mitigated stance) towards what she sees as Holly’s trouble reading the word *a*.

These embodied displays escalate and after Holly reads *in ox* with rising intonation and a gaze towards Perry, indicating her uncertainty (line 10, example 3.6), Perry responds by sharply twisting her torso and head to meet Holly’s gaze, while once again displaying the disbelief facial stance—this time while gazing at Holly (image c, example 3.6, and figure 3.4 below).

Figure 3.4: Perry’s embodied oppositional stance in response to her partner’s error



Perry’s oppositional stance is further elaborated through her correction-initiation: “No, It’s *buh, buh, buh, buh*” (example 3.6, line 12). The turn initial position of her use of the polarity

Examples 3.9 and 3.10 are similar to Perry's correction (example 3.6) in that the children format their correction-initiation (a mitigated form of correction) using aggravated features. For example, in both examples 3.9 and 3.10 the children use polarity turns in the turn initial position (line 2 in example 3.9 and line 2 in example 3.10). They also, in a manner similar to Perry's examples, elaborate the correction with oppositional embodied expressions, in these cases, firm head shakes (line 2 in example 3.9 and line 2 in example 3.10).

Example 3.9

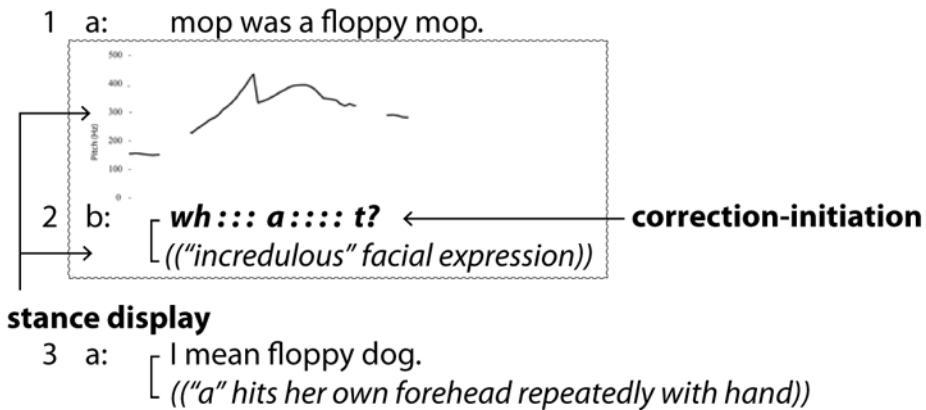
((a is reading the book "Oh No Chickenpox"))
 1 a: o::h
 2 b: **no::** that's not **oh** ((head shake))
 polarity term ↑ correction-initiation
 ↑
 that's oh ((points at a different word))

Example 3.10

1 a: plastic dog
 2 b: **not** dog. ((head shake)) ← correction-initiation
 ↑
 polarity term
 3 a: donkey ((smiling))

Example 3.11 (below) also demonstrates combined aggravated and modulated forms. In her uttering of the interrogative, *what* (line 2), *b* challenges *a*'s reading. This challenge is evident in the way *b* overlays her verbal response with forms of prosody and amplitude that display heightened emotional involvement (Selting, 1994). *B*'s utterance, *what*, is spoken loudly and further intensified with a sharp upward gliding pitch (reaching close to 450 Hz) and an extreme lengthening of the vowel sounds (line 2). In addition, a challenge is communicated in *b*'s facial expression, which in its display of incredulity, closely resembles that of Perry's in example 3.6.

Example 3.11



Notably, the situation in which correction occurs in these examples is one of classroom learning. It is thus quite different than that of games or contests from which M. Goodwin’s materials are drawn. Yet, this is not to say that competition is absent from classrooms. In fact, the evidence of hybrid trajectories (with their aggravated features) suggests that, in these examples, children are building competitive alignments as they help their peers. (See also, Cazden et. al, 1979; Steinberg, 1979; Steinberg and Cazden, 1979. These authors similarly report how young children, who are assigned to teach their peers, attempt to establish authority within the teaching encounter. The authors argue that this asymmetry is necessary for children to gain credibility with their peers as the knowledgeable expert.)

Returning to the moment in which Perry pats Holly on the back we see further evidence for this point. Holly is alert to being placed in an inferior position, and by making a fist she is opposing the categorization of being subordinate (as suggested by Perry’s pat). Figure 3.5 shows Holly’s defensive stance in moment-to-moment detail:

Figure 3.5: Holly contesting a peer's evaluation (Example 3.6, line 17)



M. Goodwin (in press) describes the body as a canvas for the synchronization of action. This is seen in Holly and Perry’s choreographed movements—a fiery tango through which alignments, in just brief moments, are challenged and reversed, with Holly eventually assuming the helm. Perry quickly withdraws her hand from Holly’s back as Holly torques her head and shoulders towards her, hair flying wildly (figure 3.5, image a). Perry’s initial smile, as she looks up to Holly (figure 3.5, image b), keys the frame that this is play (Bateson, 2006). However, this stance evolves as Holly amplifies her actions: She leans towards Perry holding eye-to-eye contact; Perry in turn dips backwards, maintaining the frame of their bodies—shoulders catercornered towards one another and a locked eye gaze—as she withdraws from Holly’s advance (figure 3.5 image b). Perry’s facial expression turns gradually more submissive as she retreats: her upward turned lips form a straight line, and her crinkled, smiling, eyes widen as they gaze towards Holly with a look of consternation (figure 3.5, image c).

Notably no words are exchanged between the children during this brief interactional dance. By bristling her tail Holly is displaying a warning message to her partner. At the moment Perry’s submissive stance is achieved, Holly rearranges her body to once again assume a reading frame.

Holly's actions remind us that while teachers have a clear authority to correct, peers do not. An underlying assumption in teacher instruction is that correction serves as "an identifying task and achievement of classroom teaching" (Macbeth, 2004, p.705), within the taken-for-granted hierarchical relational constructs of teacher and student. As observed in this example, children also are highly capable of identifying and modifying errors in their partner's reading. However, more so than teachers, peers must navigate a delicate interactional terrain. Relational roles are not clearly delineated but rather negotiated within co-operative transformation zones (C. Goodwin, 2013) through which children demonstrate their alignment or non-alignment toward another's actions through moment-to-moment interaction and in doing so transform the immediate social order.

Flexible footing in k- and k- peer partnerships

In the example of Perry helping Holly we have a child who clearly knows how to read the problematic word and a child who does not. What happens when both peers encounter an unfamiliar word? As we can imagine there are instances in the data where a child is unable to help her peer read a new word and they either abandon the project or they seek adult help. There are more cases, however, where such peers are able to cooperatively discover the word. Interestingly, this feat is accomplished using strikingly similar resources as we examined in the case of Holly and Perry: turn-by-turn the children progressively and cooperatively build the word by parsing it into parts. However, in this case, the correction is unknown to both parties (k- and k-) and is thus not intentionally being withheld.

How this happens is illustrated in example 3.12 where Tommy and Amy are reading together. Tommy has selected a book with *z* words to read to Amy. Looking at the title page (which shows the letter *z* above a photo of a zebra) he utters the *z* sound repeatedly. Amy

enthusiastically calls out “*z for Ze: : bra: : :*” with an exaggerated lengthening of the vowels. Opening the book to the first page, which also pictures a zebra, Tommy picks up Amy’s prosody and makes it a second, also uttering “*Ze: : bra: : :*,” while looking up to Amy with a large smile.

This shared involvement in reading continues. Tommy repeats zebra, this time without emphasis, and then reads “*z: :ero*”; Amy revoices “*z: :e: :ro:*,” stretching out the word while underlining it with her finger.

On the next page, printed beneath a frog hopping in a zig-zag pattern, is the word “zig-zag,” the problematic word which triggers the following correction sequence.

Example 3.12

- 1 Tommy: *hhhhh ((raises right arm))
- 2 Amy: **Z: a: per.**
((points at “zigzag”))
- 3 Tommy: (.) Za: p?
- 4 Amy: No, Ze::: Z::: ((points at z))
- 5 Tommy: **Zoom.** ((gazes at Amy))
- 6 Amy: **No:** It has a ‘G’
Oka: -y? ((points at ‘G’))



- 7 Tommy: Z: oo: mg.
- 8 **Z: oomg.** ((gazes at Amy))
(.) ((Amy smiles))
- 9 Z: oomg.

10 Amy: Z : : e : : Z : :
 11 What sounds like 'ih'?
 12 (.) 'I' always says 'ih.' (('I' sound))
 13 Z : : i : : **g** za : : **g**.
 14 Tommy: Zigzag?
 (1.3)
 15 Zi : : **g** za : : **g**.
 ((turns page))
 16 Amy: **Z** : : **i** : : **pper**.
 17 Tommy: **Zipper**.

Trouble is experienced by both parties almost simultaneously. Tommy looks first at the *zig-zag* page and takes a deep and audible pre-speech in-breath while raising his right arm (line 1). This embodied movement appears to be an attempt to hold his turn space while taking thinking time. However, Amy, who now also directs her focus to the word *zig-zag*, usurps his turn. She utters “**z: a: per**” with enthusiastic emphasis while pointing at the word *zigzag* (line 2).²⁰ In his next turn, Tommy expresses uncertainty about Amy’s reading, uttering “za: p”—a partial repeat of Amy’s turn—with rising intonation (line 3). The rising contour of Tommy’s utterance, which indicates that he is clarifying his understanding of Amy’s reading, is notably modulated (see example 3.11 for an example of aggravated intonation). This deference is observed throughout the sequence, as Tommy uses a rising pitch contour or alternately a gaze to Amy with each candidate word he proposes (lines 8, 11, 19).

While Tommy’s actions grant epistemic authority to Amy, the issue remains that she does not know the word *zigzag*. This brings to question who the addressee is of Amy’s correction-initiation turns in lines 4, 6 and 11. To address this question, it is necessary to explore how through the sequential and simultaneous organization of the children’s actions, Amy is able to achieve multiple alignments in relation to her talk, specifically that of teacher *and* learner. In this

²⁰ Amy’s lack of visible acknowledgment to Tommy’s hesitation, such as gazing to the speaker as he conducts a “word search” (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), as well as her excitement in reading suggests that her “turnsharking” (Erickson, 1996) is continuation of her reading rather than an effort to help her partner.

way, she—along with Tommy—are *both* the addressees of her talk. (This alignment, nevertheless, produces an asymmetrical participation status as Tommy aligns towards the talk as only a learner.)

By uttering “zap” with rising intonation, Tommy has signaled the possibility of error in Amy’s reading (line 3). Looking at Amy’s immediate next action, it appears she is opposing him. She uses the polarity term, *no*, in the turn preface and in the same turn bubblegums the letter *z* (line 4). However, an alternate reading of what is happening here, which I will pursue further, is that she is conceding to his correction-initiation, and rethinking her initial reading. Her utterance notably lacks the kinds of remedial interchanges (Goffman, 1971) that are often present in self-correction turns, such as *I mean* or *oops*. Yet, she modulates *no* through her use of soft, almost introspective intonation, suggesting that she is not indicating outright opposition to Tommy’s action. (The use of contrastive stress, in contrast, would indicate that she is bracketing the talk as somehow different than what was said in Tommy’s prior turn.) And, in fact, Tommy did not err in the first sound. Thus, in uttering the *z* sound, she is not countering her partner’s last turn but instead is absorbed in an ongoing effort to search for the correct word. However, Tommy *does* treat Amy’s turn as a correction-initiation. He is familiar with the response format of instruction where an initiation is followed by a response. He responds to Amy’s initiation (i.e., her utterance “no”) with another *z* word, “zoom” (line 5).

This correction-initiation/response format continues with Amy assuming the teacher’s role: Her correction-initiations provide the resources that project an upcoming correction completion, while Tommy’s increasingly far-off responses build off of the resources provided in Amy’s prior action. However, we are reminded that unlike the situation shown by Perry in example 3.1, Amy

is not intentionally withholding the correction but, in fact, is unable to propose the correct word. In this way, her correction-initiations additionally point to her initial error.

In response to Tommy's candidate correction, *zoom*, Amy takes an unambiguous oppositional stance, placing emphasis on *no* in her utterance, "**no** it has a 'G' oka : : y," as she points to the *g* at the end of the word, *zigzag* (line 6). Tommy understands Amy's talk and her gesture to be indicating that his reading was incorrect in its final letter sound. Behaving as a dutiful student, in the next turn, he utters "z: oo: mg," emphasizing the letter *g* (line 7). Notably Tommy's action here is similar to Holly and Perry's cooperative building of the word "box" (example 3.1). In both of these examples the children achieve collaborative action, constructing something new from what is provided by their partner and, thereby, changing their understanding of the text to which Amy is pointing and to which both children are gazing (see line 6).

Tommy repeats "zoomg" twice more, gazing to Amy for confirmation (lines 8 & 9). Here we observe Amy's only embodied stance display towards Tommy's actions: she meets Tommy's gaze and smiles slightly as she moves closer to the book to examine the word (line 8). In contrast to Perry's stance displays which build opposition to her partner's moves, Amy's smile suggests that she recognizes the humor in the outcome of her and her partner's coordinated actions, and in this way is aligning with Tommy.

Through their ongoing actions we are able to observe the public and cognitive processes through which the children put the puzzle pieces together. They have mutually established that the word begins with *z* and ends with *g*. Amy's focus now shifts to the letter *i*. She again begins to bubblegum the beginning sound, *z* (line 10). Apparently with the intention of sounding out *i*, as well, she asks, "what sounds like "ih?" (the *i* sound) (line 11) and subsequently answers her own question in the same turn, "I always says ih" (line 12). It is interesting that she has formatted

this utterance as a known answer question—a common feature of teacher instruction. However, she has actually inverted the question in a *Jeopardy-like* format, by first stating the answer.²¹ Thus, within this utterance we observe one of those momentous occasions when a learner discovers she knows more than she initially realized. And, indeed, this revelation appears to lead her towards a correction completion.

While Amy assumes a teacher register (e.g., asking a known answer question), the sequence does not proceed as would turn-taking in teacher instruction. She does not pause to allow due consideration for Tommy to respond with the correction. Instead, she reads “zig-zag” in the same turn space in which she provides the correction initiation ([trouble] + [correction-initiation] + [other-correction]) (line 13).

9	Tommy:	Z :oom g .	_____	trouble
10	Amy:	Z :: e :: Z :::		
11		What sounds like 'ih'?	_____	correction-initiation
12		(.) 'I' always says 'ih.' (("'I" sound))	_____	
13		Z :: i :: g za : : g .	_____	other-correction
14	Tommy:	[Zigzag?		

M. Goodwin states that by not allowing the party who made the error to self-correct, such turns propose self's incompetence to complete the correction. This format provides a contrast to that demonstrated by Perry in example 3.1 (and to prototypical correction trajectories in teacher instruction); by decomposing the word so as to provide a scaffold for her partner's reading, Perry indicates confidence in her peer's ability to self-correct.

The current example, however, is unique in that both children experience trouble in their initial turns. It can thus be argued that Amy is self-correcting (as opposed to other-correcting) at the moment she discovers the correction. At the same time, throughout this sequence, she has

²¹ The children generally know the alphabet letters but not necessarily the corresponding sounds, thus the question when looking at the letter 'I' would naturally be “What sound does I make?”

formatted her talk in a teacher-like manner. Thus, Tommy understands her utterance to be an other-correction. Partially overlapping her talk, he utters “zig-zag” with rising intonation, indicating uncertainty (line 14). However, he ratifies the replacement in the same turn; elongating the vowels and giving emphasis to the ending sounds, he utters “zi: **g** za: **g** with a downward intonational contour suggesting finality (line 15).

13 Amy: Z : : i : : **g** za : : **g**.
 14 Tommy: └ Zigzag?
 (1.3)
 15 Zi : **g** za : **g**.

In this example we see Amy and Tommy—emerging readers who are both encountering an unfamiliar word—progressively shape the word through their coordinated actions in a way that gradually reveals to both of them what it may be. This transformation of knowledge demonstrates the potential within an epistemic democracy, where neither party is privy to the answer at the outset. The children discover the word *zig-zag* through a dynamic shifting of participation frameworks in which Amy aligns towards her talk as both learner and teacher (or speaker and addressee), thus leading both herself and her partner to new understandings, such as recognizing the distinction between the phoneme /l/ (e.g., *zigzag*) versus the phoneme /æ/ (e.g., *zap*).

Learning to read with a friend




Thus far I have provided a descriptive account of the multi-semiotic ways through which children construct the activity of correcting a peer. In this account I have highlighted how children are building, modifying and transforming the frame of helper and helpee (or teacher and student) within the moment-to-moment conduct of social interaction.

Finally, it is important to underscore that through the social and cognitive behaviors observed in this analysis children *are* learning to read.

To consider this assertion further it will be helpful to return to the interaction of Holly reading to Perry. We saw in example 3.3 that Holly initially is unable to read the word *box*; she pauses reading and pushes her finger into the page while intently examining the word. We recall that moments later she is able to read *box*, albeit with the help of her friend, Perry. Perry points to the word and first shows Holly how to read the letter sound, *b*; then, when Holly is still unable to read the word, she demonstrates the blending of the *b* and *o* sounds. Building from these phonetic parts, Holly reads, “box,” thus demonstrating a change in understanding from moments earlier.

Let us now look a little further downstream in this interaction to see what happens when Holly encounters the word *box* once again. Example 3.13 takes place several minutes after Holly first reads “box;” however, she has only advanced a couple of pages. In the transcript we can see that she is now seeking help from the researcher (SJJ) rather than Perry. This is because the researcher intervened when the girls were talking, telling Holly, “Let's keep hearing you read.” Holly complies and continues reading as seen in the following partial transcript of her reading the sentence, *Kit sat and sat in the box*.

Example 3.13

<p>1 Holly: In :</p> <p>2 (3.4)</p> <p>3 th the: :</p> <p>4 (4.5)</p> <p>→ 5 [Is this a B? ((points at "B"))</p> <p>6 ((looks at SJJ))</p>	<p>Holly</p> <p>Perry</p> <p>A</p>	
<p>7 SJJ: I heard you read that word uh</p> <p>8 several times already.</p> <p>9 (1.4) ((looks at book))</p>	<p>B</p>	
<p>→ 10 Holly: B : ox.</p> <p>11 ((looks at SJJ))</p>	<p>C</p>	

In lines 1-3, Holly's reading is deliberate and slow with pauses and elongations of letter sounds. When her finger and gaze land upon the word *box*, she pauses for 4.5 seconds as she examines the word (line 4). She gazes up to SJJ asking, "is this a *b*" (Line 5 and image A)? Aware that Perry helped her read the word moments earlier, SJJ does not oblige her with an answer but rather says: "I heard you read that word several times already." (She has actually only read it once with Perry's help). Holly looks down at the word again, scrutinizing it for 1.4 seconds (image B), and then emphatically reads, "*box*" (line 10). In image C, we see her dramatic stance display upon achieving this correct reading. She looks up to SJJ with a self-satisfied scowl, reminiscent of a mustached, old-western actor who has rescued a distressed damsel.

By closely describing the engagement of Holly reading a picture book with a peer (examples 3.3, 3.6 & 3.13), we are able to see changes in the interaction across time, specifically from before learning, during learning, and after having learned (Erickson, 1982c). In each of

these successive moments in time, we observe Holly, with the help of others, gradually move towards self-sufficient competence, where she can read the word without assistance. (Although in example 3.13 she still requires minimal scaffolding before reading *box*, we can imagine that in time she will be reading single syllable words that begin with *b* without hesitation.)

Concluding discussion

What we are witnessing in observing Holly read *box* with a friend is learning at a *microgenetic* scale, defined by Vygotsky (1978) as the unfolding of an individual perceptual or conceptual act which occurs over a relatively small period of time (e.g., milliseconds, seconds, minutes or a day). There are a number of implications to be taken from this. For one, appreciation of this microgenetic change takes a re-conceptualization of the study of learning, thinking and teaching. It is inadequate to imagine learning as the internalization of knowledge or skill by an isolated mind interacting with the environment (i.e., the natural world, other individuals and human made artifacts, such as picture books). By establishing a dichotomy between inside and outside, this view largely relegates learning to the obscurity of the mind. Such a view also suggests an unproblematic process in which knowledge is transmitted from the environment to the individual (Lave and Wegner, 1991). And, furthermore, by treating the learner as the object of the teacher's initiative, this model ignores the agentic footing of the learner (Erickson, 1996).

Contrary to the assertions of this model, the examples in this chapter demonstrate the process of learning to involve "a reflexively adaptive transaction between the environment and the individual, in which each stimulates change in the other" (Erickson, 1982c, p. 151). In example 3.12, Amy and Tommy do not discover the unknown word *zigzag* by simply looking at the page. Instead they achieve a correct reading by talking and pointing to the page, identifying

what they see, such as the letter *g*, until they incrementally are able to decode the word.

Likewise, in examples 3.3 and 3.6, Holly does not passively receive information from Perry or the text. Rather, we see her actively looking at the page and bubblegumming the phonetic sounds of letters. We also see her look to her peer for help as well as assert her competence when her peer positions her as a subordinate.

Secondly, we are reminded to enlarge the frame of an analysis of learning. The interactions between young children as they learn new words in these examples speak to how integrated social relations are with cognitive development. And, they also demonstrate the diverse resources that come into play as part of the teaching and learning interaction. To date the bulk of research on peer interaction seeks to correlate peer talk (and talk alone) with learning outcomes. In a survey of research on classroom interaction (conducted primarily in British primary schools) Howe and Mercer (2007) conclude that the majority of dialogue among peers is impoverished and unproductive. There is certainly agreement in the field with the authors' conclusions that task design of the activity as well as classroom climate matter in terms of how well children are able to collaborate in an activity (Cazden, Cox, Dickinson, Steinberg and Stone, 1979; Cooper, Marquis, & Edward, 1986; Damon, 1984; Patterson & Roberts, 1982). We might come, however, to different conclusions about the quality of children's talk if we ask: productive of what? After all, if talk or interaction is happening, it must be doing something—i.e., have some function and not just be a waste of energy. In this sense all social action is productive—the issue is to identify in terms of members' way of making sense, their own purposes, what it is that is being produced (personal communication, Frederick Erickson, 2012). In other words, we gain only a partial, and inadequate view of what children are doing with one another when we consider academic outcomes without accounting for the social context in which they are constituted.

Moreover, analyses that consider talk alone provide little understanding of how children interact, and thus do not illuminate the processes by which outcomes are achieved. By taking an ecological approach—analyzing the array of resources through which action is built—we see that the co-construction of peer correction involves the mutual elaboration of diverse semiotic resources, including talk, spatial formations, embodied actions, and picture books. In example 3.2, we observe how Edith is able to collaboratively build a sentence with Ayanshi by interpreting that Ayanshi’s pause and her gaze to Edith are a request for help. And, example 3.6, where Perry helps Holly read *box*, demonstrates how children systematically overlay talk with varying forms of stance, expressed through intonation, facial expression and embodied action. It is through these displays children negotiate their footing; Perry attempts to assert her role as teacher by evaluating her peer and doing teacher-like corrections, and Holly attempts to save face by aggressively contesting being positioned as a subordinate (e.g., her making of a fist). In these, and across all the examples in this chapter, by looking at how children coordinate talk and embodied action around reading a book together, we are able to appreciate children’s ability to: 1) establish social order within the peer group, and 2) monitor, correct, evaluate, as well as modify and transform their partner's reading.

In summary, by locating the achievement of reading a new word within the specific activity of peer reading, we are able to see children’s competence and agency in enacting an environment for learning. By correcting a peer, children collaboratively engage in a public practice of shaping knowledge that is important to the kindergarten learning community, such as word recognition and phonemic awareness. At the same time they are enjoying reading with a friend. Considering both of these—children’s moment-to-moment actions within the context of the assigned task *and* the peer social group—will lead to more robust theorizing on the situated

and social nature of children's language and literacy learning, while also opening our awareness for further maximizing peer instruction.

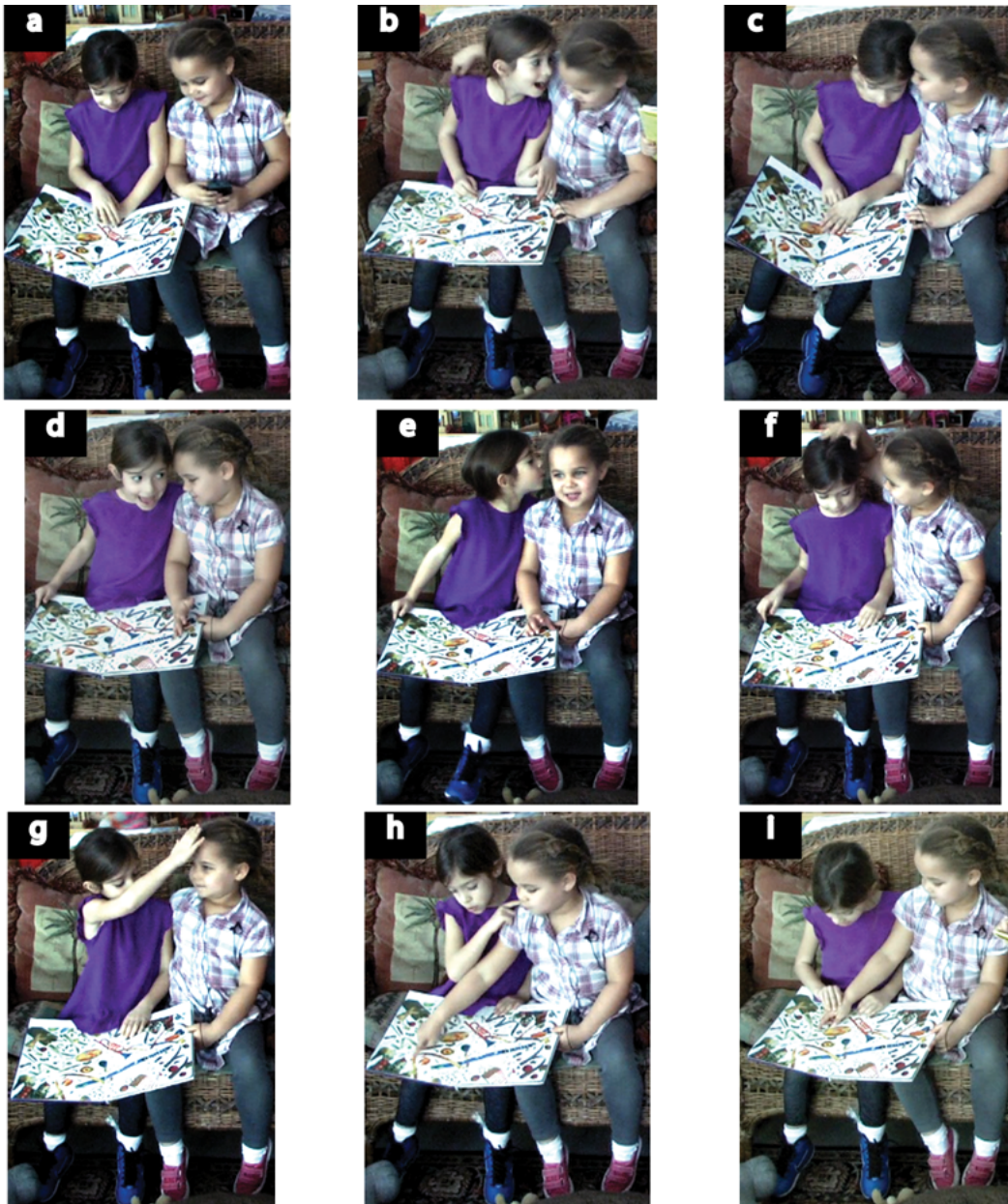
Chapter 4

Conclusion

It is the afternoon; the children have just returned from recess and are settling down to enjoy a book with a friend. Perry and Jacky are sitting on the couch with the book *I Spy*. Jacky is the *spy*, or the player who provides clues for her friend to guess what she is spying. Jacky examines the page filled with colorful musical instruments, banners and balloons (Image a). Upon choosing an object she begins to say the opening rhyme of the book, “I spy with my little own eyes...” On the word *little* she playfully modulates her voice up and down an octave, leans in to Perry and looks at her friend closely with wide eyes (Image b). Perry, picking up on her friend’s playfulness, responds by wrapping her arm around Jacky and puckering her lips while making a kissing sound (Image c). Perry immediately withdraws her embrace and with a chuckle she tells Jacky, “just kidding.” When Jacky looks away with a surprised look and a timid smile, Perry explains, “I didn’t really kiss you.” Jacky continues with the verse, saying “something that is yellow;” once again, she dramatically modulates her pitch and opens her eyes wide on the word *yellow* (Image d). Perry now joins her so that both girls’ voices are rising and lowering in counterpoint to one another. As they “sing,” Jacky suddenly sneaks in a kiss with her lips several inches from Perry’s cheek (Image e). Perry exclaims, “Ewww!” and wipes her cheek. The girls’ game continues in this copycat pattern. Perry pats Jacky’s head (image f), and Jacky, in turn, pats Perry’s head (Image g). Looking back to the book, Jacky repeats “yellow.” Perry, with a contemplative look, utters “yellow” as she begins to now search for the yellow object. Her finger moves across the page and she makes a buzzing, bee-like sound. Jacky, also making a buzzing sound, joins her; she moves her finger

across the page and then up Perry's arm to tickle her cheek (Image h). Perry points at an object and asks, "Is that it?" Jacky shakes her head. Perry begins to rapidly make guesses pointing and saying "that? that? that?" Jacky, unable to keep up with Perry, takes Perry's hand in hers so that Perry is pointing at the yellow object, and asks "Did you guess this? It's that." (Image i). Perry says, "oh" and takes the book for her turn to spy.

Figure 4.1. Jacky and Perry reading *I Spy*.



In this example we witness Perry and Jacky move effortlessly from engaging with the text to social and affectionate interaction. The girls examine the page, playfully sing the rhyme, hug and pat one another, pucker their lips to kiss (without actually kissing), and subsequently deny kissing (e.g., Perry's utterance, "I didn't really kiss you."). They reciprocate one another's actions (e.g., Jacky kisses Perry in return). They make the activity of searching the page engaging by adding sounds effects (e.g. the buzzing bee) and continually move between the reading game (providing clues and searching for spied objects) and playful, social behaviors such as making faces and tickling.

As I bring this dissertation to a conclusion, I believe Jacky and Perry's interaction illustrates the fundamental argument of this study. Just as Jacky's finger moves with ease from the page to her reading partner's arm, so, too, I have tried to show the flow between the linguistic, the cognitive and the interpersonal as the young children in Room B learn to read. I argue that peer reading is not a disembodied school-based task occurring in an individual mind, or through the words on the page, or within a child's talk alone. Rather, learning to read with a peer is intimately related to children's social relations and, thus, to their development of an identity as someone who enjoys reading.

Contributions to studies of peer learning and socialization

The approach I have taken to studying peer social relations as part of the activity of reading with a friend is consistent with interpretive theories of childhood learning and socialization that maintain that "children's peer cultures have an autonomy and irreducibility that make them worthy of documentation and study in their own right" (Corsaro and Eder, 1990, p. 200). Traditional views in educational psychology assume that socialization and learning is unidirectional; important understandings, norms and values for development are guided and

mediated by an adult. In this view childhood is seen as a “period of apprenticeship that prepares children for competent membership in adult society” (Corsaro and Eder, 1990, p. 199). While adults do provide an important context for learning and development, I argue in this dissertation that peers contribute to one another’s learning in ways that complement and extend adult-child teaching (Cekaite, Blum-Kulka, Grøver, and Teubal, 2014). In reading with a peer children appropriate adult norms, such as a focus on achieving mutual attention to the text through calibrated directives (chapter 2), and adult modes of teaching, such as correction (chapter 3); yet, these adult practices are reinterpreted in that the children incorporate practices and resources that are peer specific and make reading more playful, more joyful, more fun, and more connected (e.g., stylized stance displays, aggravated corrections, and expressions of friendship). (See also, Zadunaisky Ehrlich and Blum-Kulka, 2014; Cekaite and Aronsson, 2014.)

By focusing on children’s activities outside of direct adult influence, and appreciating aspects of their activity that are specific to peer culture, this dissertation suggests that the ability of young peers of similar status to influence one another’s learning has been underestimated. They are learning in ways that are valued by adults, as well as creating novel literacy practices that adults might learn from. For example, the analyses in this dissertation demonstrate that children are competent in structuring their own participation in peer book reading. They achieve a mutually accountable reading framework (chapter 2); they demonstrate the character of a learner (e.g., learning to take turns, learning to help and to be helped, finding humor in the learning process) and apprentice one another in reading skills and techniques (e.g., making connections from the book to their lives, working out the meaning of a passage, practicing sounding out an unfamiliar word) (chapter 1 and chapter 3). Moreover, an examination of the moment-to-moment interactional processes of peer book reading shows how a child is able to

influence a peer's learning. In chapter 3, we follow Holly from before learning (when she is unable to read the word *box*) through the process of learning (when she receives help from her friend) to after learning (when she reads *box* with minimal assistance). This kind of apprenticeship is also possible in cases where *both* children find it challenging to read a problematic word; they cooperatively discover the unknown work taking on simultaneous identities of teacher and learner.

Additionally, alongside and as part of the work children do organizing one another's participation and helping one another learn to read, they build friendships. Gaining access to play groups, achieving collaborative action and making friends are complex processes for young children (Corsaro and Eder, 1990). The routines and practices involved in building friendships are almost exclusively examined in non-academic settings, such as play activity in the neighborhood (M. Goodwin, 1990), school day recess (M. Goodwin, 2006), preschool pretend play (Corsaro, 1981b) and the lunchroom (Mishler, 1979) (see, however, Dyson, 1993b, 1997). This dissertation contributes to this literature in its examination of children's friendship practices as part of an everyday classroom activity where children read together. Chapter 2 provides an account of how affective displays serve *both* to maintain joint attention to the reading *and* to show affection. A female peer observes Caleb's hand placed on Vicky's head as the pair reads and proclaims to another girl, "I think they're gonna get married." While Caleb's embrace expresses friendship (as the girl's comment suggests), we observe that it initially functions to direct Vicky's gaze to the text. Other examples in chapter 2 show how children's use of bald directives which are delivered in response to a peer's inattentiveness provide a space for intersubjectivity, or joint activity (as opposed to offense), as they are keyed with the notion that *this is play*. And in chapter 1, we observe how children mitigate disagreements, displaying

deference at the same time as maintaining an “I’m cool” posture. By mitigating potential conflicts the children are making it possible for the primary activity of reading to progress. Taken together, the examples in this dissertation demonstrate that peer reading is *not* a routine, mundane school-based task. Rather, dynamically changing forms of participation, as children build friendships while also attending to the cognitive task at hand, provide the conditions for children to become absorbed in the world of books. Additionally, this dissertation provides further evidence that peer talk and interaction provides a *double-opportunity space*, serving as both a locus for the co-construction of children’s social worlds and peer cultures and, also, as an arena for the development of language and literacy skills (Blum-Kulka, Huck-Taglicht and Avni, 2004).

The methodology of microanalysis combined with ethnography employed in this dissertation provides a powerful means to examine the complexity of children's peer learning. I produced detailed, multimodal transcripts of videotaped interaction to document both children’s listening and speaking behaviors. Such an approach departs from a focus on children's talk alone as part of collaborative learning (Barnes, 1993; Mercer, 1996) or on individual outcomes resulting from peer collaboration (Johnson, Johnson & Scott, 1978; Slavin, 1980; Webb, 1989). Instead it allows for an examination of the *diversity of resources* children rely on to *mutually* build their phenomenal and cognitive worlds. This dissertation has documented precisely both the linguistic resources and the embodied practices through which stance and affect are displayed, positions are negotiated, and new understandings are co-constructed. We see children perform complex interpretive work, examining their partner's facial expressions (e.g., "thinking face"), or her pauses in reading, or her body movement (e.g., a gaze that solicits help), or her gesture to the page to determine whether a peer needs help (chapter 1 and chapter 3). These

interpretations are important as help from a peer can either be welcomed or, alternatively, be contested as seen when a child makes an angry face and declares, “Well I don't need help” (chapter 1). Additionally facial displays, intonation (e.g., heightened emotional affect in response cries), laughter and gestures (hands thrown up in a surrender gesture) are used to mutually elaborate talk so as to take a stance on a peer's error (chapter 3), or to protest when a peer is not attentive (chapter 2), or to mitigate a disagreement (chapter 1).

While children’s collaborative language and literacy practices unfold within a childhood experience, they are shaped in and through their participation in a classroom instructional context that supports positive peer relations. As argued by Cekaite, Blum-Kulka and Teubal (2014, p. 9), “understanding the outcomes of learning exchanges...is dependent on systematic consideration of the larger sociocultural context, societal ideologies and values within which interactions are embedded, and which inevitably structure their nature, meaning and impact, shaping both the participation structures and the availability of learning/teaching interactions.” Drawing upon interviews with the teacher, curricular documents, and field notes which describe classroom activity and the school’s teaching philosophy, I provide in this dissertation rich portraits of classroom life and instruction. A number of aspects are important in shaping children’s learning experience in Room B. For one, a community of practice approach (Rogoff, Turkanis, & Bartlett, 2001) is followed school-wide, which emphasizes collaboration across curricular areas and in which the teaching seeks to make connections to children’s experiences, knowledge and interests. Secondly, Ms. Yerevan focuses on creating a physical environment in which children have opportunities to choose their activities and which compels children to play, imagine, discover and create with one another. As well, she employs a number of strategies to support

children's social and emotional development, including discussing feelings, modeling and reinforcing positive behaviors, and involving families in the classroom community.

Lastly, this dissertation suggests there is value in gaining the teacher's perspective in education research through collaborative research design. Children's worlds in book reading were hidden to Ms. Yerevan (who is closest to the children) until my video camera provided a lens through which she could observe her students. Through looking closely at children's interactions, she is able to more fully appreciate what children are doing together when she is not directing their activities, and better understand ways that she can support their interactions. She is also better able to articulate the value of what she observes children doing and make connections between teaching method and philosophy to what happens "on the ground" when children work together—insights that might provide "intellectual guidance" to the practice of teaching (Dewey, 1928, 1959).

Implications for teaching practice and policy

In this dissertation I have argued that reading with a peer imbues a school-based task with the pleasures of human sociality, while also supporting the learning of academic content. Too often, especially in schools serving poor children, opportunities for meaningful engagement with peers are lacking (Sterponi, 2007). Thus, a primary implication of this dissertation is the importance of setting up classrooms to encourage the kinds of interactions and behaviors between children that this dissertation analyzes in detail. Chapter 1, which documents the teacher of Room B's beliefs about teaching and learning and how she sets up her classroom to support positive peer relations, provides a model for such efforts. Creating the conditions for children to read together (and collaborate across curricular areas) could change the social and cognitive landscape of early grades classrooms. It may also have a lifetime impact on children who grow

up to be not only good decoders but, also, to be individuals who view reading as something they like to do.

It is notable, however, that the Village School is a private school and thus less affected by the education policy environment as public schools. For more children to have opportunities for rich learning interactions with peers such as those observed in this dissertation, there must be a change in policy from a current narrow conception of early childhood education as a time for children to gain rudimentary skills and basic knowledge that can be easily assessed by standardized tests to one that envisions teaching to the whole child, to his or her social, emotional *and* cognitive self (as described by Ms. Yerevan in chapter 1). The current narrow conception of teaching and learning *de facto* limits teachers from being able to enact an imaginative pedagogy that brings children together to think, relate, explore, and solve problems. Reflecting on how the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* and the Obama Administration's 2009 *Race to the Top Initiative* have constrained notions of what education, learning and achievement is, Rose (2015, p. 21) argues, "You will be hard pressed to find in federal education policy discussions of achievement that include curiosity, reflection, creativity, aesthetics, pleasure, or a willingness to take a chance, to blunder. Our understanding of teaching and learning, and of the intellectual and social development of children, becomes terribly narrow in the process." This dissertation suggests teaching practice and school reform can learn from the experiences of children, such as Jacky's and Perry's fluid exploration of both the worlds of books and friendship (figure 4.1), and from the work of the teachers that make these experiences possible.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Data are transcribed following the system developed by Jefferson and described in Sacks et al. (1975, pp. 731-733; see also M. Goodwin, 2006, pp. 256-257). The following are the transcription symbols most relevant to the present dissertation.

- ° A degree symbol indicates that talk it precedes is low in volume.
- A dash marks a cut-off in sound or an interruption.
- WORD*** Bold italics indicate some form of emphasis, such as changes in pitch and/or amplitude.
- [A left bracket marks where there is overlapping or simultaneous talk.
- : Colons indicate that the sound immediately preceding has been noticeably lengthened.
- . A period indicates a falling intonation.
- ? A question mark indicates a rising intonation.
- , A comma indicates a falling-rising intonation.
- = An equal sign marks where an utterance is “latched;” there is no interval between the end of a prior turn and the start of the next turn of talk.
- *h A series of *h*’s preceded by an asterisk marks an inbreath.
- h A series of *h*’s (without an asterick) marks an outbreath
- ~ Tildes indicate rapid speech.
- (()) Double parentheses enclose material that is not part of the talk being transcribed, for example, a comment by the transcriber which describes the talk or other non-verbal action.
- (0.0) Numbers in parenthesis mark silence in seconds and tenths of seconds.

- () Material in parenthesis indicates that the transcriber was uncertain about what she was hearing.
- (h) An *h* in parenthesis indicates plosive aspiration from laughter.

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