

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Language and Social Identity Construction:

A Study of a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian School

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

by

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2012

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

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Grounded in discourse analytic and language socialization paradigms, this dissertation examines issues of language and social identity construction in children attending a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian Saturday School in California. By conducting micro-analysis of naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction combined with longitudinal ethnographic observations and interviews the study examines how young heritage language learners are positioned as Russian Orthodox Christian children in relation to others: their teachers, peers and parents. The study also explores how the children's affiliation with Orthodox Christian values and practices is socialized in their daily classroom interactions.

The dissertation concentrates on discourse analysis of specific language practices: directives in attempts to correct transgressions, accounts given in attempts to correct transgressions, hypothetical direct reported speech modeling ways of talking to parents,

stories where children are presented as knowledgeable about Orthodox Christian values and practices, and assessments of church-related practices. Through the use of language and other semiotic resources children are positioned (and position themselves) as knowledgeable about and emotionally connected to Orthodoxy, respectful and obedient toward, but sometimes more knowledgeable than the parents, part of a collective of peers, where an individual's behavior affects the group, and as pupils who need to learn not only the Russian language, but also concepts of morality from their teachers. Such positioning of children takes place not only through the use of lexical items (what is said to and around them), but also through the structure of the linguistic practices employed.

The analysis shows that these structures take into consideration the multi-party arrangement of a classroom and other individuals who may be present or absent during the interactions. Hypothetical scenarios where a child is presented as a moral character are often used in the HL classroom setting. In these scenarios contrast is often employed to demonstrate to children complex moral concepts in concrete ways. Students learn “normative” ways of being Russian Orthodox Christian children who relate to others around them in ways that are acceptable for the Russian HL school setting and who understand and affiliate with Russian Orthodox Christian values and practices.

The dissertation of Ekaterina Leonidovna Moore is approved.

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2012

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to my sons, Sasha and Nikita.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without guidance, advice and support of many people. First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to participants of the study who welcomed me into their worlds and shared so many joyful moments with me.

I also would like to thank my dissertation committee members, Professors Chuck Goodwin, Olga Kagan, Elinor Ochs, Tom Weisner, and Candy Goodwin. I deeply appreciate your insightful feedback, guidance, and thorough training. I am especially thankful to my committee chair, Dr. Candy Goodwin, who throughout many years encouraged me and always provided detailed suggestions and counsel.

The dissertation would not have been the same without feedback and support of fellow graduate students and visiting scholars at UCLA. Your advice during Chuck Goodwin's discourse labs, data sessions, graduate seminar presentations and personal interactions has influenced my work in many ways.

Finally, the dissertation would not have been possible without the patience and never-ending support of my family. My mother, father and husband have made many sacrifices to allow me focus on my research. My brother has always encouraged me to persevere, and my sons brought happiness and smiles to me at the end of the day's work. I will always be grateful to you for believing in me, being there for me, and loving me unconditionally.

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- (2013). "You Are Children But You Can Always Say..." Hypothetical Direct Reported Speech and Child-Parent Relationships in a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian Classroom. Paper accepted for presentation at "Top Three Papers in Language and Social Interaction" panel of the 84th WSCA convention. Reno, NV.
- (2012). Gender Socialization Through Literary Texts and Their Interpretations: A Study of Two Folk Tales Used in a Russian Preschool. Paper presented at the 7th International Gender and Language Association Conference. Sao Leopoldo, Brazil.
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- (2011). "I want to speak Russian because...": Language Ideologies, Identity and Motivations in a Heritage language Saturday Orthodox Christina School. Poster presented at the 5th Heritage Language Research Institute. UCLA. Los Angeles, CA.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade with an increase in immigrant populations in the United States, there has been a growing interest in the issues concerning Heritage Language (HL) maintenance (He 2006, 2012; Kagan 2003; Baquedano-Lopez 1998, Baquedano-López and Mangual Figueroa 2011). The present dissertation examines these issues focusing on social identity construction in relation to children of Russian immigrants residing in Southern California and attending a Russian Heritage Orthodox Christian Saturday School. The study examines how through the use of language and other semiotic resources, children's identities are negotiated and constructed in the course of daily routine classroom interactions in the Russian HL Saturday school.

A growing interest in the Russian people, their culture and language has been taking place both within and outside of academia in the United States. Indicators of this are such events as a special issue on Russian as a heritage language in the "Heritage Language Journal" in spring 2008, separate panels on Russian in Diaspora in 2004-2005 during the AATSEEL meeting in Philadelphia, and AILA meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, and a publication of a textbook "Russian for Russians" (Kagan, Akishina, & Robin 2002). Outside of academia, the opening of new Russian heritage schools, a growing interest in existing Russian heritage language classes and continuing functioning of various Russian cultural clubs signal an interest in the Russian Diaspora in the United States and in the Los Angeles area in particular.

Regardless of this interest, however, the question of social identity construction of Russian children residing in the United States remains under-studied. To my knowledge, there are no discourse analysis language socialization studies examining social identity construction in speakers of Russian as a HL thus far. The present dissertation fills this gap in knowledge and is the first to examine classroom language socialization practices in a Russian HL religious educational setting.

1.1 Background.

1.1.1 Identity

The dissertation looks at identity as a process of “identification and positioning”, as “continual emerging and becoming, a process that identifies what a person becomes and achieves through ongoing interactions with other persons” (He 2006: 7). Norton (1997: 417) defines identity as the ways “people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how people understand their possibilities for the future.” Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 17) note that examining identity as identification “calls attention to complex (and often ambivalent) processes.” Positioning is understood as “the process by which individuals are situated [and situate themselves] as recognizable and observably coherent participants” (Pavlenko 2003: 255). Identity is a “social construct that is both inferred and interactionally achieved through displays and ratifications of acts and stances” (Ochs 1993: 291). It is not a static categorical entity, but is formed through people’s actions and is “better understood as an outcome of language use” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 376).

Identity is not simply reflected in talk-in-interaction, but is rather “performed, enacted and embodied through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means” (De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006: 3). It is through the use of language that individuals construct a sense of self in relation to others. The present study follows Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005: 586) view of identity as a “relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories.”

Adopting such a view of identity the present dissertation examines the language socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986) processes through which a child attending the HL school learns to relate to others in his or her social environment. That is, the study considers how children are socialized into appropriate ways of conducting themselves within the context of a Russian heritage language classroom, considering the social expectations relevant to their relationships with others in the heritage language school as well as the home environment. For a Russian child attending a Heritage Orthodox Christian school, the socialization practices of identity include not only the here - and - now environment of the heritage language class and its participants, but also a larger knowledge of Russian Orthodox Christianity and Orthodox Church practices and morality. That is, part of the role of heritage language classes is to encourage an affiliation between the child and Russian Orthodoxy.

1.1.2 Heritage Language learner

The present dissertation examines social identity construction of Heritage Language learners. The term “heritage language (HL) learner” is usually used to “refer to a student of a language who is raised in a home where a non-English language is

spoken, who speaks or merely understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (Valdés 2001: 38). A HL learner is also a person for whom there is a historical and personal connection with the HL (Fishman 2001). Similarly, "heritage language, HL is the language associated with one's cultural background and it may or may not be spoken in the home" (Cho et al. 1997: 106).

HL learners are "neither typical students of a foreign language, nor of a native language" (Kagan 2003: 2). Polinsky (2008: 41) provides the following explanation of the HL learner: "an incomplete learner or heritage speaker of language A is an individual who grew up speaking (or only hearing) A as his/her first language but for whom A was then replaced by another language as dominant and primary."

HL learners are a heterogeneous group who vary in their language proficiency. What is common for them, however, is that they start acquiring a second language (that later becomes dominant) as a result of immigration (or exposure to a dominant language for children born in immigrant families in the United States) and only continue to use their first language in limited settings. This frequently results in the first language remaining at the same level where it was before the exposure to a second language.

1.1.3 Russian as a Heritage Language

As a result of such particular linguistic development in HL learners as compared to FL (Foreign Language) learners and native speakers, many scholars interested in Russian as a HL are concerned with identifying how linguistic development is different for HL, FL and native speakers of Russian, and how to best approach teaching and learning of Russian as a HL in classroom settings (Kagan 2003; Meskill and Anthony 2008; Loewen 2008).

Regardless of the growing interest in the issues of acquisition of Russian as a HL, little is yet known about Russian as a HL in general and grammatical development of Russian HL learners in particular (Polinsky 2008). Recently in the discussion of whether adult HL speakers are likely to experience under-development or attrition of Russian grammar, Polinsky (2011) has demonstrated the likelihood for attrition rather than under-development of grammatical features. This finding makes a case for why it is important to investigate language maintenance efforts in HL settings. Thus far, however, there have been few studies examining how language maintenance takes place in the Russian Diaspora in the United States, and how social identity construction takes place during this process of maintenance. In what follows I discuss the notable exceptions.

1.1.4 Maintenance of Russian as HL and identity

Andrews (1999) examines language of the third wave of Russian immigrants in the United States, i.e. those who emigrated from the Soviet Union during the cold war, and their adult children. The author looks at the linguistic aspects of language spoken by this population that significantly differ from those of native speakers of Russian, in particular, English borrowings and intonation. Intonation patterns of language used by Russian immigrants in the United States are discussed as interference from English that happens early and unconsciously as compared to other linguistic interferences (Andrews 1999: 138). Use of borrowings of English lexical items and the particular phonological and intonation patterns in the speech of Russian immigrants indexes the speaker's affiliation with American society. At the same time, the usage of Russian allows these individuals to remain part of the Russian-speaking community.

A recent dissertation by Kasatkina (2010) explicitly addresses the issue of identity in the maintenance of Russian as HL in the United States. The dissertation examined cross-generational understanding of identity of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and children born into these families. Analyses of narratives and interviews demonstrated that for many children Russia was a distant entity. According to Kasatkina, “Parental perceptions of their children’s identity became an inevitable part of the children’s sense of self” (2010: 195). A surprising finding reported in the dissertation concerns the understanding of each other’s identities by older and younger generations of the same families. The author interviewed three generations in families where children were primarily English monolingual while grandparents were primarily Russian monolingual speakers. In these situations, “language became an important marker of the ways in which these grandparents perceived their grandchildren's identities—and vice versa” (2010: 196). The children were talked about by the grandparents as Americans who spoke no or little Russian, while the grandparents were perceived as Russians who spoke no English.

With a goal of better understanding needs of heritage and non-heritage learners of Less Commonly Taught Languages, including Russian, Lee (2008) examined how these learners perceive themselves as heritage or non-heritage language learners. A large-scale survey was conducted with students of LCTL in a public university in the United States. The findings demonstrate that affiliation with an ethno-linguistic group was not enough for the learners to identify themselves as heritage learners: “Learners seem to take into consideration factors of nativeness (i.e., the privilege of having ownership to the language through birth), their degree of cultural and religious affiliation, and most importantly, their level of proficiency in the language assessed in relation to their peers” (Lee 2008: 559).

While these findings of self- and other- reports are valuable for our understanding of identity of Russian HL learners, what remains unknown is how these identities are indexed in everyday lives of individuals through the use of language and other semiotic resources. Kasatkina's (2010) finding that there exists a link between adults' perceptions of children's identities and children's own views of themselves makes a case for why we should study how in their daily interactions adults socialize children into these identities. The present research addresses this very issue in the context of organized efforts to maintain Russian as a HL.

1.1.5 Identity and Heritage Languages other than Russian

While research of Russian as a HL in general and issues of identity and Russian as a HL in particular, is still limited, more is known about issues of identity and HL in relationship to other languages. Looking at classroom interactions in a Chinese as a HL school, He (2006, 2010) proposes an "Identity theory of CHL development". The author understands identity as a process, as "identification and positioning" (He 2006: 18) and highlights it as central in learning CHL. Developing of competence in a HL is seen as a "constitutive of identity, which is accomplished in everyday social interactions" (He 2010: 8). The author demonstrates that the identity socialization for CHL learners is a process that is on-going and transformative in space and over time. It is suggested that researchers examine HL learners throughout the learner's lifespan since the identity is likely to transform with the transformation of the HL knowledge.

Lo's (2006) dissertation examined language socialization practices among Korean American children living in California. Lo's findings suggest that while most of the time children are socialized into identities of "Korean people...through forms of

language socialization which are relatively *indirect*" (2006: 172), sometimes there are *explicit* attempts to socialize the children into a "Korean" identity. While some families in the study maintained close ties to the heritage country and the Korean language, other children had a very limited knowledge of the language and preferred to speak English with their peers while non-reciprocal use of Korean was maintained in adult-child conversations. Lo reports that along with the development of the Korean language, the goal of heritage school was "the development of children's identities as "Korean" (2006: 174). Use of the Korean flag, traditional holidays and customs is seen as attempt of explicit socialization into a "Korean" identity. In addition, Lo discusses use of pronouns, gestures, "let's" and other "collective indexicals" used in attempts to socialize the "Korean" identity. Children are reported to often comply with their membership as "Korean people", but "frequently find small but significant ways to ... signify their discontent with the teacher's framing on them" (2006: 204).

Baquedano-Lopez (1998: 150), examining identity formation through narratives in religious Doctrina classes among bilingual Spanish-English speakers, states that individuals are involved in "the creation of a symbolic collective identity [that] is also an act of traditionalization which takes part in situated practice." This is done by linking the narrative in time and place with the heritage country of the children, i.e. Mexico. The religious narratives become stories about the children participating in the Doctrina classes. As Baquedano-Lopez states, "The narrative creates a collective identity as Mexicans of past and present, an identity rooted in place and time" (1998: 155). The use of verb tenses (switching to present during a narrative about past), pronouns (the collective "we"), and the imperfective aspect help achieve this goal. According to Baquedano-Lopez (1998: 38), in Spanish "the perfective and imperfective aspects in narrative serve linguistic and pragmatic functions such as marking for

affective and evidential/ epistemic stances, and the construction of narrative roles.”

The use of imperfective aspect “portrays actions as viewed from within and in progress... which allows for a more vivid and highly affiliative use of language” (Baquedano-Lopez 1998: 155), helping create a collective identity.

Although these studies of language socialization in HL settings look at populations that are very different, they share an understanding of identity as fluid and co-constructed by participants in on-going interactions. Such understanding of identity will be applied in the present study.

1.1.6 Identity in language ideology research

The study of social identity construction in HL learners falls under the umbrella of language ideology research. Language ideology has been defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979: 193) and as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255). While Silverstein’s definition highlights the speaker’s awareness of the language forms use, and Irvine’s emphasizes their construction from specific political perspectives that influence ideas about language, both link linguistic forms to social phenomena. While some language ideologies may be expressed overtly, others are implicit in that they get “naturalized”, i.e. accepted as “normal” (Kroskrity 2000: 18-19). In the case of a Russian HL School, during the process of language socialization, identity is indexed to the children utilizing both the explicit language ideologies and the “ideologies of practice that must be read from actual usage” (Kroskrity 2000: 19).

Through the chapters of the dissertation I examine how identity is both explicitly and implicitly indexed in the classroom. Understanding identity as “configured in people’s social activity together” (Harris and Rampton 2009: 103), and considering classroom settings as “sites for socializing novices into political identities associated with membership in a national or transnational community” (Friedman 2006: 193), the present research examines interactions of children attending the HL school with their Russian HL school teachers.

1.1.7 Identity and bilingualism studies

The study of social identity construction in HL learners also falls under the umbrella of bilingualism research. Language and identity are inextricably linked together. Because language “constructs the individual’s subjectivity in ways which are socially specific” (Weedon 1987: 21), these subjectivities are negotiated through discourse and interaction. Second language education, whether heritage or other, is a process through which new subjectivities are socialized and enacted. Participating in a foreign or a second language classroom, learners “first imagine themselves as a target language users, then ... realize this future self as their abilities, desires, interactional possibilities, and perspectives change” (Anya 2011). In the Russian HL setting children usually enter the school having a high proficiency in the language, and, as I will demonstrate, during the classroom instruction are positioned by teachers as Russian children who are part of a group of other Russian people.

The type of bilingualism that emerges in an individual is closely connected with the person’s perception of self and identification with an ethnic or cultural group (Baker 2000; Hamers and Blanc 2005; Giles and Coupland 1991; Rumbaut 1994). In situations

where language is considered an integral part of the group's cultural identity, additive bilingualism, leading to language maintenance in both languages in a child is more likely when a dual cultural identity develops. Hamers and Blanc (2005: 221) suggest the following conditions for achieving a balanced bicultural bilingual situation:

- (1) he (the bilingual individual) should identify positively with both of his cultural / ethnic communities
- (2) his two languages should be highly valorized
- (3) he should perceive the relative status of both his cultural groups as dynamic
- (4) he should perceive a minimum vitality for each of his reference groups; and
- (5) he should not perceive any insurmountable contradiction in his membership of the two groups.

By examining how a child attending a HL school is positioned in relation to other members of the Russian community, i.e. their teachers, peers and parents, the study contributes to a better understanding of whether and how the conditions for creating an additive bilingualism situation are met in an organized effort for maintenance of heritage language and culture. While these conditions discussed by Hamers and Blanc (2005) mention both cultures and languages, the present dissertation concentrates only on the Russian language and culture¹. I demonstrate that Russian language and culture are valorized not only through exposure of children to the cultural and religious

¹ All of the children attending the school are fluent in English and most attend an American school during the work week.

practices, such as organized celebrations, but also through more implicit means of socialization of affiliation with religious practices (see chapter 6).

The dissertation addresses the following research questions:

1. How is a child attending a HL Russian Saturday school positioned through the use of language and other semiotic resources in relation to others:

1) in relation to teachers 2) in relation to the peers 3) in relation to the parents?

2. How is a child attending a HL Russian Saturday school socialized to positively affiliate with Russian Orthodox Christianity and Church practices?

In addressing these research questions, the dissertation looks at the following linguistic practices: use of directive speech acts in correction of transgressions (chapter 3); use of account stories in attempts to correct a transgression (chapter 4); use of hypothetical reported direct speech (chapter 5) to model ways to communicate with parents; use of assessments and stories where children are positioned as knowledgeable (chapter 6).

1.2 Methodology

To answer the research questions, the study was conducted in a language socialization research paradigm, “socialization to use language and socialization through the use of language” (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986: 163). Ochs and Schieffelin (1984: 264) state that

“the process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society [and] the process of becoming a competent member of society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across situations.”

The present dissertation examines such social situations in lives of children attending a HL Russian school.

A language socialization approach combines methods of discourse analysis and ethnography. As Weisner (1996: 309) states, ethnographic research “gets us out there in the midst of some cultural place and in the midst of cultural practices and it gets at the meanings and experiences and moral significances of those cultural activities to the participants themselves.” In other words, ethnographic observations allow the researcher to evaluate how beliefs are practiced, constructed and/or reinforced in every-day interactions.

The analysis presented in the dissertation is based on longitudinal ethnographic observations and video-recordings. With respect to the language socialization approach, Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez (2002: 341) state the following:

“Language socialization research takes a longitudinal approach, documenting these processes over the course of developmental time. It is ethnographic in orientation, in that it relates these individual developmental processes to the socio-cultural contexts in which they are embedded. Finally, it is cross-cultural in perspective, recognizing that while there are universal biological and psychological components to these processes, cultural factors, which vary considerably from one time and place to another, condition and substantially influence how these processes unfold.”

Children attending a Russian HL Saturday school were observed and video-taped in their routine daily interactions in the classroom, and during lunch and recess over a period of a year and a half.

The language socialization paradigm holds a conviction that “language is a fundamental medium in children’s development of social and cultural knowledge and sensibilities” (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011: 1). As discussed earlier, while some cultural knowledge may be stated overtly, other ideologies only become apparent in the course

of detailed analysis of discourse. The present research closely examines how participants engage in daily practices and how through the use of language and other semiotic resources they make cultural norms relevant. In their discussion of context, Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 6) note that in interactions participants are involved in “strategically rearranging context to further their goals.” To understand how the context is re-arranged by participants to socially construct children’s identities, a detailed discourse analysis of video-recordings was conducted. Video-recordings were transcribed using the conventions proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). In addition, images of frame grabs that were relevant for action produced by interlocutors were used in the transcripts, as “seeable structure in the environment can not only constitute a locus for shared visual attention, but can also contribute crucial semiotic resources for the organization of current action” (Goodwin 2000: 157). The transcripts are presented in a three-line format using linguistic transliteration conventions (see Appendix 1).

1.3 Overview of Chapters

The next chapter of the dissertation (chapter 2) introduces the school where the research was conducted. I start with a brief overview of the history of the school and the parish where it is based. I then discuss how the school functions today, its curriculum, schedule, student population and the teachers. Finally, the chapter addresses language ideologies found in the school. I discuss the dis-alignment of language ideologies between the teachers and the parish’s priest. I provide a discussion of how this conflict of ideologies became apparent and suggest that in our discussion of language ideologies we need to be aware of the fact that just as “explicit” ideologies

become naturalized (Kroskrity 2000) the reverse process can take place, i.e.

“naturalized” ideologies may become explicit.

Chapter 3 examines the structure and function of directives used by the teachers to correct the students’ transgressions. The chapter argues for a contextualized understanding of directive sequences. The examination of the structure of directives suggests that in such settings as classroom interactions where multiple conflicting activities may be taking place, re-organization of participants of non-focal class activity is important for the progressivity of the main class activity. The type of directive issued to interrupt a transgressive activity takes into consideration the state and the type of the on-going main classroom activity. In the HL classroom setting a teacher designs her directives in a way that would prioritize the main classroom activity. There is usually no orientation towards contingencies that might be present for the children who commit a transgression. On the other hand, however, the effect that giving a directive will have on those individuals involved in the main classroom activity are taken into consideration. The chapter argues that in discussion of directives it is crucial to take into consideration the larger “participation frameworks” (Goodwin, C. 2003; Goodwin and Goodwin 2007; Goodwin, M.H. 2006) as they may provide an explanation for the types of directives used.

Through the use of directives the teachers position themselves as experts, and authority figures, and children as novices. The teachers demonstrate that they are not only experts in the matters of Russian language and literacy, but also in the matters of morality. Simultaneously, children are positioned as needing to learn not only how to perform certain skills, such as reading and writing, but also how to display behaviors that are considered appropriate when another human is involved in a separate activity: behave in a way that will not disturb it. In the HL classroom the children often only

partially follow the teachers' directives. Such reacting to the teachers' directives is on the one hand acknowledgement of the teacher's authority, but at the same time demonstration of their own agency.

Chapter 4 examines account stories given by the teachers in attempts to correct transgressions. These stories are explanations for why the children should stop a transgression and are hypothetical scenarios. The account story is a distinct practice used not only to regulate classroom activities (to terminate a transgression), but also to socialize the children into normative socially acceptable behaviors and stances. In these scenarios offenders are positioned in opposition to other students who are often portrayed as negatively affected by the transgression. In addition, the roles of the offenders and their victims are usually switched in these stories, i.e. a child who commits a transgression becomes a victim of a similar transgression in the teacher's scenario. The stories are usually produced in the present tense highlighting their factual nature. This, in combination with the physical presence of not just the offenders but also other children allows them to align with the projected reality. Through the use of such account stories the HL teachers position children as a certain "type" of a human with a particular set of emotions. The stories project to the children that they are to consider how their behavior would affect others, especially their peers. The children are positioned as part of a group where such considerations are very important.

Chapter 5 examines how children are positioned in relation to their parents. I investigate hypothetical reported direct speech of children to their parents produced by the HL teachers. I examine structure of the direct quotes and their framing, including entering, maintaining and exiting the quote. The data analysis suggests that quotes are usually framed with the use of a speaking verb used in imperative mood, which is an explicit way to direct them to say something to their parents. This way of framing the

quote may also help the children understand what is asked of them. A number of devices, including pitch resets are used to differentiate the quote from its framing. The closing of the quote may be also achieved with the use of multiple devices, such as deictic shifts. Unlike the beginning of the quote, however, its closing may be a gradual process of shift in voice.

The quotes are often produced in a contrastive manner, demonstrating two ways of talking to one's parent: acceptable and unacceptable. The framing of the quote orients the children towards the two possible ways of talking. The quote itself not only states that the content of what should and should not be said, but also the manner in which children should and should not communicate with their parents. Through the use of such quotes children are positioned as needing to be "respectful" and "humble." Simultaneously, the concrete understanding of what these moral concepts entail is demonstrated to the children.

Chapter 6 is a discussion of how children are socialized to affiliate with Orthodox Christian Church practices and morals. I examine the use of hypothetical stories where children are positioned as knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy. In these stories the children's expertise, real or imagined is highlighted, and they are positioned as having agency to demonstrate this expertise. Children are not passive receivers of such stories; they participate in their co-construction, and sometimes demonstrate their dis-alignment with the story.

In addition to examining such stories, chapter 6 examines how through the use of assessments positive feelings associated with Orthodox Christian practices are socialized. Frequently, the teachers use positively-connotated adjectives in their descriptions of church practices. Usually the children align with these assessments. Sometimes, however, it may take a teacher a few turns in producing such assessments

for a student to align to it. The production of assessments is not limited to lexical choice, but also involves prosody with which they are produced.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation. It summarizes the findings, providing a discussion of the results and implications of the research.

CHAPTER 2

RUSSIAN HERITAGE LANGUAGE SCHOOL: PRACTICES AND IDEOLOGIES

2.1 Overview of the School History.

In the years following the Bolshevik revolution many Russian people migrated to the United States. These were generally individuals who did not agree with the changes that were taking place in Russia during the 1917 revolution. The school where the present research was conducted is based at the parish that I will call a Parish of St. Peter and Paul (Picture 1 is an image of the Parish of St. Peter and Paul), which was built by such individuals who were later called immigrants of the first wave.

Picture 1. Parish of St. Peter and Paul



Three waves of immigration to the United States from Russia are discussed in the literature (Zemskaja 2001, Andrews 1999). The immigrants of the first wave arrived during and shortly after the October Revolution of 1917, “as those opposed to the new

regime fled the country” (Andrews 1999: 3). The second wave of immigrants consisted of two groups: those who have left Russian during or right after the revolution and settled elsewhere and later, after the Second World War came to the United States, and Soviet citizens who were displaced during the war or came to the United States through the “displaced person camp of Europe” (Andrew 1999: 4). The third wave of immigrants dates in the early 1970s, when the emigration restrictions were eased in the Soviet Union. The immigrants of the third wave were typically Jews, who came to the United States through first immigrating to Israel. The non-Jewish relatives, however, were also allowed to come to the United States as well as those who have claimed some Jewish ancestry. It is noteworthy, that the third wave immigrants from Russia were linguistically Russian, often speaking no other languages (Polinsky 1994: 9).

The founders of the Parish of St. Peter and Paul and the school where the present research was conducted were immigrants of the first wave. According to the book dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the parish¹ these people were (and still are) considered victims of the revolution: “a group of these victims of the Russian Revolution found themselves in Southern California on the distant coast of the Pacific Ocean, nine thousand miles away from their native land” (1953: 20). They were normally members of the Russian elites, who escaped Russia in hopes that the communist regime would not last long. In the 1920s they raised money and purchased land, where a small church was built. This was done as a conscious effort to “unite them all in their nostalgic feeling for the lost homeland... creating a cultural center as the custodian of the spiritual values of the lost homeland” (1953: 21).

¹ Title of the book is not disclosed due to the confidentiality agreement.

The church belongs to the denomination called Orthodox Church of America (OCA) whose ruling body is American Metropolia. The Metropolia is independent of the Russian Moscow Patriarchy and its history and actions (and the history of many American Russian Orthodox parishes) remain controversial and are well beyond the discussion of the present research. What is relevant for the present study, however, is the fact that because the Parish of St. Peter and Paul belongs to OCA, the English language is used during the church services and its use and language ideologies become a topic of discussions and sometimes conflict (see section 2.3 for more discussion on this).

Shortly after the opening of the parish a woman's society called "Women's Aid Society of the Russian Orthodox Church of [name of the city]" was organized. The society declared the following two goals: helping the Church and charity. To satisfy these goals its members organized aid to the Russian children abroad, aid to the seniors and opened a church-based school. The school is still functioning today and accepts children of Russian immigrants. In the section 2.2 I discuss the school, including its academic program and policies, structure, its teachers and students, and values relevant for life outside of school, especially for family relationships. This chapter also addresses the question of language ideologies present in the school, concentrating on the disalignment of ideologies (section 2.3) found between the school teachers and one of the parish's priests.

2.2 HL School Today.

2.2.1 Program and policies

The school contains about fifty students, who pay a small fee of \$100 a month for the services they receive in the school². It accepts children starting at the age of five. They continue their education in the school until graduation from an American high school. The school curriculum consists of Russian language, speech development, Russian literature, history of Russia, music and “Zakon Božij,” which is literally translated (and will be referred to in the present research) as “God’s Law.” The God’s Law classes teach basic concepts of Orthodox Christianity, the Bible and the church practices. The music classes are mostly chorus singing of Russian children’s songs and church prayers. The Russian language classes teach literacy skills such as reading and writing and the grammar of the Russian language. The Speech Development classes concentrate on the vocabulary development, speaking and oratory skills. The Russian literature classes cover prominent pieces by Russian authors and folk tales in earlier grades.

The policy of the school as stated on its website is to accept children of Russian descent who are baptized (or plan to be baptized) in the Orthodox Church. My ethnographic observations, however, demonstrate that this is not always the case. While most children are Orthodox Christians, some may belong to other Christian denominations, including Protestant Christian denominations, and a group of Russian Christians called “The Molokans.” Being a member of other religious groups, however,

² Up to the fall semester of 2011 the school was free for all the children and only charged for textbooks and educational materials. In fall 2011 a decision was made to charge a fee. However, those families who cannot afford the tuition can receive scholarships in return for volunteering their time in the school.

is not viewed favorably and is often criticized by the teachers. Regardless of the students' religious affiliation, everyone is required to attend God's Law classes that offer Orthodox Christian perspectives on interpreting the bible and religious concepts. While it is mostly the case that children from other religious groups do attend these classes, their parents make an effort not to bring the children to the religious services held as part of the curriculum. During morning services before the beginning of classes, Molokan children gather in the church garden waiting for the service to be over, after which they precede to class with the rest of the students. During discussions about these children among the school teachers, however, they are always talked about as being hard-working children who strive to know more about the Orthodox practices and principles.

2.2.2 School schedule

The school usually operates in accordance with the local school district's schedule with the exception of some Orthodox Church holidays. The children attend the school once a week on Saturdays from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. The school hours start with a short (about fifteen minutes) church service that is followed by five forty five-minute lessons with short five-minute breaks in between. A lunch break is about thirty minutes and starts with a prayer in the auditorium. Both the students and the teachers are expected to attend the service and the prayer that are usually led by one of the parish's priests. A few Saturdays a year

during the periods of the Great and the Christmas Lent³ the students and their family members are asked to attend special Saturday services that last about an hour and a half.

In addition to changing the school schedule during Lent, modifications in the schedule are also made during traditional Russian holidays, especially those that are religious in nature, such as Pascha (Easter) or Maslenica (a celebration of the last week before the beginning of the Great Lent). During these days the school usually holds children's performances, school-provided lunches and games. During the concerts the children usually perform songs that they learn during music classes. All of the songs are in Russian and are often traditional folk songs. Sometimes, however, children also perform modern Russian songs about Russia. During one of such concerts the children performed a song that I have never heard before, which described Russia as resembling a mother. The song also provided descriptions of the mother as having light hair, eye-lashes and blue eyes. The song also talked about the beautiful nature of Russia with its birches and fields. During the performances of these songs and the traditional folk songs the children dress up in traditional Russian costumes, which are long dresses, shawls and head decorations for girls and colorful shirts and dark pants for boys (see picture 2).

³ Great and Christmas Lents are fasting periods before Pascha (Easter) and Christmas respectively. During these periods Orthodox Christians observe abstinence from certain foods and practice among other things intensified prayer, self-examination, confession, etc.

Picture 2. Children wearing traditional Russian costumes.



2.2.3 Dress code

The concept of wearing longer skirts for females and long pants (as opposed to shorts) for males is consistent with the Orthodox tradition of dress, which is also maintained in the school during workdays.

Teachers and students are expected to dress according to the Orthodox tradition so as to be able to enter the church. Women and girls are expected to wear a longer (preferably below the knee) skirt, while men and boys are to wear long pants. It is noteworthy that unlike in Orthodox churches in Russia, there is no expectation for the women and girls to cover their heads when they enter the parish. Students are asked to wear a cross, especially during the God's Law classes, and sometimes they are asked to show the cross. They are also required to have at least one piece of the uniform (either a t-shirt or a sweat-shirt) that has a school emblem containing an outline of the parish.

2.2.4 School structure

The school is organized in a way that is similar to schools in Russia. Every group of children has a lead teacher, who is also a teacher of Russian and literature. In a particular academic year this teacher only teaches one group of children. In addition, it is preferred that the same teacher stays with the same group of students for a number of years. Similarly to Russian schools in Russia, this practice is used because of underlying assumptions about 'healthy attachment'. Russian parents and teachers believe it would be difficult for a child to have a new teacher every year. Such a view of attachment is similar to Western societies, and is very different from such cultures as Indian (Seymour 2004) and West African (Gottlieb 2004). Although the school socializes the Western model of attachment to a small number of adults (usually dyadic mother-child), children are encouraged to form bonds with a group of peers - on one level with the immediate group and on a larger level - with the whole school. Similar to other settings, such as Japanese preschools (Tobin et. al 1989) a day in the Russian HL school starts with an activity that involves the whole school, i.e. the morning before-school prayer. In addition, children also get to know other teachers (the music, God's Law, and history teachers) who teach the subjects to multiple groups of students.

2.2.5 Spatial arrangement

Every classroom in the building is usually dedicated to one subject and/or teacher. A couple of schoolrooms, however, serve multiple purposes. The music classes, for example, are held in the auditorium (which is physically separated from the main school building) and serves as a canteen and a place where school concerts and performances are held.

Similar to the rest of the school, the auditorium contains symbols of Orthodoxy, such as icons and a censer. In addition, both the American and Russian flags are displayed in the auditorium. The Orthodox icons are also displayed in other school premises, and especially in the classroom where God's Law lessons are held. Children's drawings on such topics as "What is my soul like?" are displayed in the school hallways and at the entrance (see pictures 3 for children's drawings on religious themes). Along with the religious and national symbols, the portraits of the Russian royal family members are displayed in the teachers' room.

Picture 3. Children's religious drawings



In addition to the school space being physically separated based on academic subjects, there are separate physical spaces exclusively for the teachers. There is a teachers' room where students are not to enter without first attaining permission. There is also a separate room in the auditorium where the teachers have lunch and where one would not normally see any students. These rooms are understood to be the teachers' space and any violation of this by either the children or their parents is not welcomed.

On one occasion, a student walked into the teacher's room and started opening the cabinets looking for something. The teachers quickly asked him what he was doing and told him that he was to ask first and not take the liberty of opening cabinets on his own. When the child left, his behavior was discussed by the teachers as "disrespectful" and lacking in manners. The teachers asked about his family situation and determined that he either lacked attention from his parents or was "babied" too much by his grandmother who was living with them.

2.2.6 Teachers and students

In general, the teachers in the HL school are respected and loved by the children. This especially applies to the main teacher. A few weeks into the academic year, for example, the children in the youngest group started to call their main teacher "mom." I frequently observe the teacher hug and kiss the children on their cheeks. Tokens of affection to the teachers are also given by the children, who often bring or make something special (a drawing of a heart for example) for the teacher. The teacher would sometimes bring candy or other treats for the children. When a child is disciplined, a teacher may raise her voice at him or her, but if she sees that the child becomes unhappy because of this, she may hug the child or "pet" him or her on the head. In general, physical contact between the children and the teachers is not uncommon. This especially applies to the younger children. I have frequently observed students getting on their teacher's lap during story-telling, for example. At the same time, corporal punishment is never practiced in the school. Instead, the transgressive behaviors are often corrected by invoking of public criticism.

This is often done through discussing the transgressor's behavior in front of the class. As I will demonstrate in chapter 4, the transgressor's peers are positioned as being negatively affected by his or her behavior. In general, children get along with each other very well. I have never heard or seen any instances of bullying or violence among children. On the contrary, attending the HL school allows the children's parents to find Russian-speaking friends for both their children and themselves. The children attending the school see having Russian-speaking friends as a positive thing. One girl told me that she likes it when she and her Russian friend can speak Russian in an American school because this way they can talk about things without others knowing what they are talking about. A Russian girl adopted by an American family also told me that she likes speaking Russian with her sister because they can talk about something without their parents knowing about it. It is a common occurrence for the children to form friendships that are practiced outside of the HL school. It is frequently the case that children invite their classmates to birthday parties. Through such occasions, the parents often become friends with other Russian-speaking families. Knowing other immigrants allows them to share knowledge about practical issues, such as applying for social security benefits or getting subsidized housing for elderly grandparents of the children attending the school. In addition to creating bonds among families attending the school, teachers and the children's parents sometimes form friendships as well. The teachers working in the school also consider being part of the school as a fulfilling positive experience.

The teachers told me that they like teaching at the school and receive a positive feeling from contact with the children. The teachers consider working at the school their contribution to the Russian Diaspora in California. Although the teachers do get a salary for working at the school, it is very small, (it was raised from \$175 a month to

\$200 in the 2011-2012 academic year). Most of the teachers work elsewhere during the week and consider their job at the school more of a volunteer-like participation, which comes with love for what they do. Besides spending time in the classroom teaching, the teachers also spend a significant amount of time organizing concerts and celebrations for the children, which involves making costumes at home, shopping for decorations etc.

In addition to dedicating time to the children and the school, the teachers like spending time with each other. At the beginning of my fieldwork the school director told me that nobody leaves the school when their work hours are over. Instead, they prefer to stay in school after hours talking and drinking tea and coffee with sweets that they bring from home. The teachers also celebrate each other's birthdays and other holidays after classes on Saturdays. They usually bring food and sweets and spend a couple of hours eating and talking in the teacher's room after classes.

With the exception of the God's Law classes, the teachers in the school are female. All seven women are well-educated professionals (all possess college degrees), who emigrated from the former Soviet Union. With the exception of one teacher, they all received their education in the former Soviet Union. One teacher is a graduate from a major American University, whose family emigrated from Russia after her high-school graduation. There are two male God's Law teachers, one of whom is one (of two) of the parish's priests. The other teacher is a graduate of the Orthodox Christian seminary who might become a priest in the future.

2.2.7 Moral up-bringing in the school: relevance for family relationships

According to an introductory article about the school found on its website besides the teaching of the academic subjects discussed earlier, the school assists parents in “vospitanii” [upbringing] of their children. The word *vospitanie*, translated here as ‘upbringing’ contains connotations that are absent in the English word. The dictionary of the Russian language defines it as “a process of goal-oriented formation of an individual with a goal of preparation for an active participation in social and cultural life in accordance with socio-cultural normative models.”⁴ The word “upbringing”, however, does not usually have the same connotations. I could not locate the term in the most-commonly used electronic encyclopedia or dictionaries. Bronfenbrenner (1974: 28) in his discussion of Soviet preschools gives two possible translation equivalents: ‘upbringing’ and ‘character education’ for the concept of *vospitanie*. This demonstrates that the school is not only concerned with teaching of the academic subjects, but also with the children’s moral up-bringing. Holloway emphasizes that educational institutions are “cultural institutions” which are structured accordingly to raise competent members of society (2000: 15). In a context of the Russian Orthodox Heritage Language school the children are socialized into being Russian Orthodox individuals in the United States. This means that they not only learn the rules of the school, but also how to be moral individuals and follow the moral codex that they are taught at school on Saturdays in their everyday lives. By suggesting help to the parents in their up-bringing of the children, the school emphasizes the importance of the morality they teach in children’s lives outside of the school.

⁴ Author’s translation from Russian into English is provided.

This becomes especially evident when relationships with the family members, especially parents, and Orthodox Christian values are discussed. Respect towards one's parents is a value that is often brought to children's attention in the school. Children are urged to obey their parents, as this is one of the important values in Orthodox Christianity. Being disobedient is considered sinful and children are sometimes told that if they disobey a parent they are committing a sin. In one of the Russian classes in response to a child's complaining about her mother, a teacher said: "A mother is always right, and even when she is wrong, she is right." In addition, the children are often reminded that their parents are all very smart and good mothers and fathers. The connection between the parents and their children is encouraged in the school, and their role in the children's education is emphasized. In the beginning of the academic year and throughout the year the parents are reminded that they have a big role in the maintenance of their children's Russian and are all encouraged to speak Russian to their children at home. The parents are also encouraged to join their children in their learning about and being part of the Orthodox Christianity and the Russian culture. The parents are encouraged to participate in the school celebrations of Russian holidays and lectures organized by the school on such topics as "Orthodox Christian Icons," for example. They are also invited to join their children during the morning Church services.

While children are always told to love, respect and obey their parents, there is a consensus among the teachers that some parents may not be as knowledgeable about Orthodox Christianity or as willing to encourage their children to affiliate with the Orthodox Church as they would have liked. Many families are frequently criticized among the teachers for not bringing their children to church for the long services during the periods of Lent. Some families are criticized for avoiding bringing their children,

especially some younger students to the God's Law classes. Consistent with this is the idea that children who attend God's Law classes at the school may become more knowledgeable about the matters of Orthodoxy than their parents. This sentiment is often discussed in relation to children who are not Orthodox Christians, and especially children from Molokan families. The teachers maintain a hope that the knowledge that these children will receive in this school will positively influence them when they become adults. While they are children, however, respect and obedience towards one's parent become values that are consistently communicated to the children.

The idea that children may be more knowledgeable in matters of Orthodoxy than their parents is sometimes admitted by the parents themselves. Parents of one particular child told me that through their daughter's participation in the church practices and through her faith, the whole family has started following the Orthodox Christian traditions and have developed a stronger belief in God. The girl's father has told me that the family now always prays before having a meal, and the symbols of Orthodoxy, such as icons, have become part of home. I have visited this family's home on multiple occasions and have seen Orthodox icons displayed in the home along with the girl's drawings that are religious in nature in her art portfolio.

2.3 Orthodox Christian Values and Misalignment of Ideologies.

Because the school is based at the Orthodox Christian parish, Orthodox Christian values are central in the up-bringing of morality in the children attending the school. They are emphasized through both God's Law classes and outside of them. The school's connection to the parish is central. The parish is considered a "place of unification" of Russian people that helps preservation of the Russian language abroad

(Zemskaja 2001: 212). As I mentioned earlier, it belongs to the Orthodox Church of America, an organization that is separate from the Moscow Patriarchate. Because of this the English language is used during the church services and its use and language ideologies surrounding Russian and English become a topic of discussions and sometimes conflict.

Shortly before I started my fieldwork in the school, a new priest (I will call him Father Joseph Sligar) was assigned to the parish, where the school is based. The teachers were disappointed to find out that although Father Joseph has been an Orthodox Christian for several years, has lived in Russia for two years and is married with multiple children to a Russian woman, he is unable to communicate fluently in Russian, does not make it his priority to try to do so, and is reluctant to conduct church services in what the teachers call “Russian,”⁵ but what is really Church Slavonic, a liturgical language of many branches (including Russian) of Orthodox church that is typically understood by regular church-goers.

I became aware of this issue when in the early stages of my fieldwork Father Joseph and the teachers had a conversation that explicitly discussed this problem during a meal that followed Lent church service that was conducted almost solely in English. As I stated earlier, normally the children and teachers of the school attend a short fifteen-minute service (conducted primarily in Russian) every Saturday before the beginning of classes. Twice a year, however, during the period of the Lent children, their parents, and the teachers are asked to attend an early morning service where the individuals may participate in the confession and holly communion. Members of the

⁵ Because church services in Russian Orthodox Church consist of specific prayers in Church Slavonic, individuals who attend church services regularly are very likely to know the prayers by heart and understand their meaning.

Parish and the general public are also welcomed to these services as well as any other services held in the Parish. According to the teachers, prior to Father Joseph's arrival these services were conducted mostly in Church Slavonic, and not English.

During the conversation with Father Joseph, the school personnel expressed their disapproval of his choice to use mostly English to conduct the service. In addition, the school director asked some of the parents to share their feelings about it with Father Joseph. Among the things that the parents said was an idea that their children read "Our Father" (a well-known prayer) in Russian before they go to bed and doing it in English during the service does not feel right. Father Joseph's response was a lengthy monologue about the meaning of Orthodoxy. He insisted that because the children attending the school are better in English than Russian, they are likely to have a better understanding of the service if it was held in English. He continued to emphasize that religion is not culture and language (but is above them) and that Russian culture has not in any way contributed to Orthodox Christianity, but that Orthodoxy has greatly influenced Russian language and culture. The following diagram represents Father Joseph's view of language, culture and religion:

Figure 1. Priest's language ideology.



Several months later that same sentiment was communicated by Father Joseph in an article that he wrote for a Parish newsletter entitled “On Holy Russia.” The article criticized the concept of “Holy Russia,” which embodies an idea that Russia as a nation embodies an identity that is grounded in Orthodox Christian faith. Father Joseph pointed to the contradiction that exists in the concept highlighting the fact that the Orthodox Faith is universal. He described Russia as no more holy than any other nation and pointed to the Bolshevik revolution and the existence of the Soviet Union in support for the idea.

The idea of Russian language and culture being separate from Orthodox Christianity has caused a lot of confusion and uneasy feelings among the school teachers. After Father Joseph’s response to them, they did not voice objections to his ideas, nor openly talked to him about it. They did, however, engage in extensive discussions of the issues among themselves. The teachers’ understandings of Orthodoxy discussed in the present chapter come from my observations of these informal discussions and analysis of unstructured individual and group interviews that I conducted at the school.

After attending the talk with Father Joseph and hearing what the teachers think about the meaning of being Orthodox, it became apparent to me that the two opinions dis-align drastically. In opposition to Father Joseph's separatist view of the language, culture and religion, the teachers view Russian Orthodoxy, Russian language and Russian culture as inseparable entities, which is reflected in both their informal dialogues and interview responses. Without my bringing up the discussion with Father Joseph, one of the teachers explicitly said:

"I deeply disagree with a recent speech [Father Joseph's]. I think that 1000 years of Orthodoxy in Russia...Russian culture Russian language and Orthodoxy gave each other so much... they merged, they grew into each other".

Another teacher said:

"These are inseparable parts. You can't separate them. You can't separate Russian culture from Russian Orthodoxy because it is clear for everyone."

The teachers talked about the pre-revolutionary Russia when the majority of the population who were uneducated received culture through religion:

"Russian people received culture through Orthodoxy. Russian character [personality, nature of a Russian person] formed because of Orthodoxy. So it is difficult to separate."

In addition to bringing up "Russian character" in its connection to the Russian Orthodoxy, one of the teachers explained a connection between the Russian language, culture and religion by talking about acquisition of literacy in Russian:

"The Russian language was studied through the lives of the Saints...Psalter, the New and the Old Testament were read by the children..."

As we can see, the Russian culture, language and Orthodoxy are understood by the teachers as inseparable entities. The following diagram represents teachers' understanding of Russian culture, language and religion:

Figure 2. Teachers' language ideologies



In addition, such understanding of the three concepts is seen as well-accepted knowledge (usage of “it is clear for everyone”), which if absent is seen as “wrong” and “un-smart.” The following are the comments that one of the teachers made in reference to the dialogue with Father Joseph:

“To separate the Russian culture and Orthodoxy in Russia is simply a little un-smart...And to say that the Russian culture does not have anything to do with Orthodoxy is wrong...”

In addition to providing such comments referring to Father Joseph, teachers explicitly criticized his separatist view of religion, language and culture connecting it with his general educational level⁶ and religious convictions (he is accused of being Protestant):

“[The Russian immigrants] have built this church here so that people can come and pray and so that the Father can conduct a confession in your language and not say the nonsense that he [Father Joseph] is doing...if people ask, you should meet them halfway...the man [Father Joseph] doesn't understand, the man is not a psychologist, and a Father should be a psychologist first of all... you should come and learn... you should learn first, come here watch and learn for a year... Honestly I am not certain if at this point I will be able to call Mr. Sligar “Father”... because the man knows much less than me, there is nothing I can learn from him, I cannot trust him my soul, I don't BELIEVE this man just as the whole school now I think... So now I am thinking if

⁶ Father Joseph holds a PhD in history.

Sligar is doing this on purpose, the hell is guaranteed for him as a Protestant, if he is doing it because of his lack of understanding, then you need to pray, and learn, read church books more often, go to confessions and learn in other churches and other priests if you are not knowledgeable and cannot do anything... and he came here to teach us all... living two years in Russia doesn't mean that you will know it, he got to know it to the extent that he wanted to... you should come to Russian, Orthodox priest, he knows words, but he couldn't speak, and he does not feel it, if he was a normal God's servant...he would have felt it. He doesn't feel it, he doesn't FEEL it, this is the problem."

It is clear that the teachers connect being Orthodox Christian to the knowledge of Russian and the Russian culture, and the absence of this knowledge is considered inappropriate, especially for a Russian Orthodox Priest. In addition, an explicit connection is made to "feeling," which is discussed as intimate emotions that are associated with church practices, the Russian language and culture. An example of not taking into consideration these feelings was given by one of the parents during the conversation with Father Joseph, when she talked about the fact that her child recites "Our Father" in Russian, which has a deep meaning to him. While I can only report what the parents told me about feelings associated with reciting prayers in Russian vs. English, I have witnessed firsthand that "Our Father" was not recited by the children during church services when it was performed by the priest and the chorus in English. At the same time, when the same prayer was being performed in Russian, the people present at the service (mostly the students) loudly accompanied the priest and the chorus in the prayer. This was done without any prompts or any explicit instruction to do so by the adults.

With the arrival of the new priest in St. Peter and Paul parish, two conflicting language ideologies were forced to co-exist. The HL school became a place where these ideologies were overtly expressed. Friedman states that schools often become "settings for socializing novices into political identities associated with membership in a national or transnational community" (2006: 193). The HL school is a place where the meaning

of being a Russian Orthodox Christian is produced, re-produced, and talked about. Adopting socio-cultural anthropological terminology, the HL school became a “site” where these meanings emerge as salient.

Silverstein defines sites as “institutional sites of social practice as both object and modality of ideological expression” (1998: 136). Phillips proposes a term “crucial site” to convey the sense that “more important powerful ideological work is being done in some forms of cultural activity than others” (2000: 233). She draws a distinction between the sites for meta-pragmatic commentaries about ideologies and contexts of language use. In contrast, the HL school becomes a site where not only the meta-pragmatic commentaries about identity emerge, but also a site where identity is not only produced through the use of language, but is re-produced through language socialization practices (see chapter 6).

While these socialization practices were most likely taking place in the school long before my arrival there, it is important to keep in mind the circumstances under which the overt discussions about the meaning of Orthodox identity emerged. These discussions were triggered by a very specific event - the appointment of a new priest - his decision to conduct the service in English, and talk with the teachers and parents after the service. In a sense “naturalized” ideologies became “overt” when an alternative ideology, i.e. seeing Orthodox Christianity as superior to and separate from Russian language and culture, was presented.

The occurrence of such alternative ideologies become a triggering event, a catalyst that brought to the surface explicit discussions of the practices that up to that point were probably not questioned or overtly discussed. The presence of an alternative point of view made the normative and accepted ideology visible. In addition, it reinforced it by triggering open discussions about the issue and by

positioning the person with an alternative point of view as an outsider. In a sense, what Goffman called “reading acts as symptoms” (1971: 97) took place. The alternative ideologies of the priest that were realized through his acts of having a service in English and having a discussion about the meaning of Orthodoxy with the teachers were taken by the teachers as symptoms of otherness that is undesired and threatening, and as “relevant for an appraisal of the actor’s moral character” (Goffman 1971: 97). The person with the alternative ideology became either a “protestant” for whom “hell is guaranteed” or as an “unknowledgeable” person who does not have proper feelings towards Orthodoxy (qualities that are unacceptable for an Orthodox priest).

The remainder of the dissertation addresses particular practices that are used to socialize children into what is seen by the teachers as appropriate ways of being a Russian Orthodox child. The examination of these linguistic practices supports the ethnographic observations discussed in the present chapter. Chapter 6 of the present dissertation discusses how 1) the value of being knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodox Christianity is socialized to children attending the school in everyday interactions in the Bible and Russian language classes, and 2) how positive feelings are socialized to children in connection to the church practices. Chapter 3 looks at the use of directives in a classroom setting, and what their use tells us about student-teacher relationships. Chapter 4 examines the use of hypothetical account stories used in the directives and positioning children as part of a collective in these scenarios. And finally, chapter 5 investigates the positioning of children in relation to their parents through hypothetical reported direct speech of children with their parents.

CHAPTER 3

USE OF DIRECTIVES IN CORRECTING TRANSGRESSIONS: TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

The present chapter examines the use of directives in the Russian HL classroom. I concentrate on how teachers use directives to call attention to and correct children's transgressions, i.e. behaviors that are seen as inappropriate for the classroom. As He states, "the communicative practices of teachers vary considerably across cultures and societies" (2006: 11). Examining correction of transgression by the Russian teachers in the HL school provides a way of understanding the teacher-student dynamics in the classroom.

Whenever a focal educational activity takes place in a HL classroom, "other modes and lines of activity ... will simultaneously occur in the same locale, segregated from what officially dominates, and will be treated, when treated at all as something apart" (Goffman 1974: 201). The analysis of the present chapter demonstrates that teachers often treat as transgressions and call attention to such behaviors as talking, running or playing that are seen as disturbing on-going focal classroom activities. Other side "quiet" activities that children may be involved in during the main class activity, such as drawing quietly, reading or writing something during the main classroom activity are usually not corrected. During the production of directives that attempt to call attention to and terminate the transgression the teacher tries to re-organize the children's attention from the side activity to the focal class activity. Such re-organization of attention of non-focal participants, i.e. children who are not involved in conducting the main class activity, is important for the progressivity of the main class activity performed by the focal participants (children involved in the main class

activity) as the continuation of the transgression is seen as “disturbing” and “negatively affecting” the focal participants’ ability to conduct the main activity. While the directive is given not to the focal person who is in the midst of the main class activity, but to the participants of “out-of-frame activities” (Goffman 1974), the directives are structured in a way that would avoid interruption of the focal class activity. The correction of transgressions is done through the use of directives that can either be short (“sit down”) or elaborated, i.e. contain accounts for why a transgression should be terminated.

3.1 Directives: Background.

3.1.1 Directives in Russian

Directives are usually understood as “verbal moves that solicit goods or attempt to effect changes in the activities of others” (Ervin-Tripp et al. 1984). There are several ways in the grammar of the Russian language to express a directive. Gordon identifies the following ways: mood derivables, performatives, query preparatories, permission directives. The most common way of producing a directive is what the author calls “mood derivables,” or “those utterances whose illocutionary force is signaled by their grammatical form” (1998: 96). The most common is the Imperative mood. The imperative mood may be expressed by the imperative mood forms (“ne trogaj” “don’t touch”); past tense verbs (“pošël” “go”); infinitive form of the verb (“sidet” “sit”), imperative “davaj” + an adverbial element (“davaj potishe” “quiet down”; “davaj sjuda” “come here”); future tense (“pojdes’ i vse emu rasskažeš” “you will go and tell him everything”); subjunctive mood of the verb (“chtoby zavtra byl zdes’” “You’d better be here tomorrow”). In addition, one can add utterances with no verbs that may serve as directives in Russian: noun phrases (“tišina” “quietness”), adjective phrases

("slejujuščaja" "next"), adverbs ("tixo" "quiet"). Fukuyasu (2011) has also found that interrogatives, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, prepositional phrases, particles and interjections may serve as directives in the Russian language. The analysis of the video-recorded data also demonstrates that directives may be expressed through embodied practices, such as banging one's hand on the table.

As we can see, there is a variety of means to express a directive in the Russian language. Aikhenvald in the discussion of directives wrote that the use of directives in various languages "relate[s] to a variety of social and interactive factors, as well as cultural conventions and constraints ... [such as] the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, their relative social status, the setting of the interaction and also the existing conventions appropriate for a particular genre" (2010: 301). The question then arises as to why the same interlocutors in the same interactional context may use various means to express a directive. For example, a teacher in the HL classroom may issue an imperative to a child who is speaking during class when she wants him/her to stop talking. A few minutes later, however, the same teacher may ask the same child a question concerning what that child is doing when her behavior is seen as problematic. At a different moment, the teacher may engage in producing an explanation for why a certain behavior is unacceptable as an attempt to again have the behavior terminated. Why do the same interlocutors engage in producing such different means of directing one another to do something? It is obviously not the status or any other pre-existing social category of the interlocutors that are at stake, as they do not change over the period of a lesson. It is also not the contingency/entitlement (Curl and Drew 2008) of the request for the teacher and the child to whom the directive is given that is at stake since the teacher expects that the children will follow the classroom rules and listen to her.

The findings of the present study demonstrate that the production of directives may include various grammatical forms, such as imperative verb forms, past tense verbs, nouns, interjections, interrogatives and others. The analysis of the present study also demonstrates that a directive is not limited to a production of one utterance. In addition to the use of verbs in imperative or indicative mood, a directive may contain threats, explanations for why the behavior is unacceptable, and embodied actions (Burdelski 2010; Goodwin 2006; Griswold 2007). Looking at a directive as a part of an on-going activity provides a more clear explanation for why an interlocutor may chose to produce an account vs. a verb in an imperative mood, or past tense verbs or interjections.

3.1.2 Directives as part of an activity

Directives are understood as “speech actions that try to get another to do something” (Austin 1962 in Goodwin 1990: 63). These sequences have received a great deal of attention from linguistic anthropologists, including scholars interested in language socialization. M. H. Goodwin (1990) explores directive- response sequences in African- American boys’ and girls’ peer groups. One of the major points made by Goodwin concerns the understanding of the nature of directives and challenging the traditional (Austin 1962; Grice 1975; Searle 1969 and others) approach of looking at “isolated single utterances” in the study of these speech acts (Goodwin 1990: 66). Her work examines directive sequences as part of a larger activity in which individuals are involved. A number of studies have made use of this framework to examine the production of directives in both peer- and mixed adult-child interactions. In her later work Goodwin (2006a) examined directive trajectories in American family interactions.

The author concludes that “strategies for formulating directive/response sequences involve constellations of features, including structures of control, forms of tying utterances to prior utterances, as well as facing formations” (Goodwin 2006a: 537).

Kyratzis (2000) looked at how preschool-age American girls structure their directives during pretend play. Kyratzis’ findings suggest that asymmetry in the friendship group is achieved by one member enacting ‘social affordances’ of different roles - adopting categories from adult culture - and through violation of ritual formats during the pretend play. Such an “active role that children assume in the reproduction of adult culture” (2000: 348) is performed with the active involvement of the group. During the process not only the reproduction of adult culture is highlighted. Children construct their own culture through creating asymmetries amongst themselves.

Achieving asymmetry in girls’ peer group is also discussed by Griswold (2007), who looks at how Russian school-age (6 to 9 years old) girls create authority during pretend play. Griswold demonstrates how authority is legitimized through interactive practices in the context of a larger activity - playing house. Griswold shows that participants do not just display their status, but “jointly construct them through the use of multiple semiotic fields” (language, body positioning in the physical environment, and material objects within it) (2007: 310).

Burdelski looked at how politeness routines that lay “the groundwork for the acquisition of a range of politeness practices such as using honorifics to display social action, stance, and identity across the lifespan” (2010: 1619) are socialized in a Japanese preschool. He found that teachers use multiple semiotic resources to socialize politeness routines, which in turn are used by the children in their organization of social realities.

The approach these studies adopt does not simply look at directives in light of pre-

existing categories of hierarchy, gender, or politeness as in earlier research (e. g. West 1998; Brown 1998). Instead, they look at how these categories are constructed in everyday interactions through the use of directives that may include multiple semiotic resources, such as language, body movements, alignment of multiple bodies, and manipulation of objects in physical space. The current analysis contributes to the growing body of such research. In addition, it differs from the research that concentrates on the structural design of the directive while positioning it on the continuum of directness-indirectness, mitigation-aggravation (Ervin-Tripp 1976; Ervin-Tripp et al. 1984; Karin and Thorell 2001) or entitlement-contingency (Craven and Potter 2010) in accordance with the interlocutor's social status. Coming from a social and interactive perspective, the current research looks at directives as part of an on-going activity. This helps explain the use of various means to issue a directive when social roles and hierarchies remain constant. It examines how directives are produced in interactions with Russian HL learners - a population that to this day remains understudied.

3.2 Correcting Transgressions: Structure of Directive Trajectories.

One of the most common transgressions that I have observed in the HL classrooms is talking, running or playing during class. It is, however, not all types of playing that are stopped by the teacher. Quiet playing with a toy at one's desk and by oneself is usually not treated as a transgression even when the child fails to engage in the main class activity. These behaviors of running and talking (especially loudly), however, are considered rude and disrespectful and are often corrected by the teachers and even the students themselves. The communicative project (Linell et al. 1993) of

transgression correction is often achieved through issuing of directive trajectories (Goodwin 2006a), or a series of directives. While sometimes the directive is a short imperative such as “turn around,” in other situations an explanation for why a child should turn around is given. The data analysis demonstrates that the type of directive produced (elaborated or not) depends on the state of the focal activity the class is involved in. In addition, organization of attention is critical in sustaining a framework that will allow the focal classroom activity to continue and not get disturbed by the “side” activity, i.e. the transgression.

I have observed the following recurring activities that take place regularly in HL classroom: 1) a child reading (the rest of the class is supposed to quietly follow the text); 2) a teacher explaining new material or the text to the class (usually involves asking questions to the whole class and explanations of the questions that the children could not answer); 3) a teacher dictating (children are expected to write what they hear); 4) a teacher working individually with a child, usually checking dictations and explaining mistakes (children are expected to quietly wait their turn for individual attention). These activities, however, may include elements of each other. During the explanation, for example, individual work may take place for a short while.

When children are writing a dictation, are involved in individual work, and especially when they are reading out loud, the directives to stop others from talking or playing tend to be shorter. They usually consist of imperative verb forms, past tense indicatives, adverbs, nouns, interjections, and embodied actions. When the teacher is involved in the activity of explanations to the whole group, the directives to stop the deviant behavior tend to be elaborated. In terms of the sequential organization of the focal activity, the directives tend to be elaborated when an activity is being launched, is stopped or at its completion. In what follows I provide examples of the 1) short

directives and 2) elaborated directives. I then continue to discuss what the production of such directives tells us about the nature of student-teacher relationship in the HL classroom.

3.2.1 Use of short directives

The data analysis demonstrates that non-elaborated directives tend to be used when the activity is on-going and are more frequently used during the activities of reading, dictation, or individual work. In example 3.1 the teacher issues short directives to the children who are committing a transgression during the on-going focal class activity of reading. During this class activity one child reads out loud while the rest of the class are supposed to listen to what is being read.

Example 3.1.

Children are in a Russian language class. They are practicing reading out loud. Tanja is reading (lines 01 – 06). Maša and Andrej are playing.

01 ((TANJA IS READING. ANDREJ AND MAŠA ARE PLAYING.))

MAŠA LOOKS AT TEACHER



→02 **Teacher:** Tš. Maša.
Tš Maša.

03 ((CHILDREN CONTINUE PLAYING. MAŠA GETS UP TO TAKE SOME THING FROM ANDREJ.))

ANDREJ LOOKS AT TEACHER



→04 **Teacher:** Maša sela na mesto.
Name sit.Pst. on place
Maša sit down in your chair.

05 **Andrej:** Ke:: ručku u menja zabirala.
Pen at me took
She took my pen.

06 ((MAŠA WALKS TO HER CHAIR. CHILDREN CONTINUE PLAYING AS TANJA CONTINUES TO READ.))

In the present interaction a girl is reading a text. During her reading Maša and Andrej start playing. The reaction to this transgression is a directive issued in line 02 in a form of an interjection “tsh,” followed by the term of address, a name. This directive, however is not obeyed by the children, as Maša gets up, and children continue to play in line 03. This behavior is followed by the teacher’s directive issued using past tense indicative verb in line 04, “sit.” Through the issuing of these directives and the children’s disruptive behavior, Tanja continues to read, not stopping her on-going

activity. It is logical that the teacher does not start producing an elaborated directive that might include explanations for why the talking and playing should be terminated as this has a potential to disturb the focal reading activity of the child. The result is issuing of short directives “tsh” and past tense indicative verb “sit” produced in an attempt to terminate the children’s transgression and re-orient their attention breaking the participation framework of the side activity. This is done while maintaining the participation framework that would allow for the “progressivity” of main activity, i.e. ensuring that the child will continue reading. It is noteworthy that as the children continue to play in line 06, the teacher does not issue any more directives to stop the behavior.

Similarly to example 3.1, in the following interaction the teacher issues short directives to a child involved in a side activity of playing with a hula-hoop while another child is reading.

Example 3.2.

Children are in a Russian language class. They are practicing reading out loud. Ženja is reading. Andrej is playing with a hula-hoop. He is standing in the front of the classroom trying to spin the hula-hoop on his waist.

- 01 ((ŽENJA IS READING. ANDREJ IS PLAYING WITH A HULA-HOOP))
- 02 **Ženja:** Rjedom ja- re- re- r'jano, (.)
Close enthusiastically
Close enthusiastically,
- 03 **Teacher:** Tak. (0.8) Andrej.
Like this name
Andrej!
- 04 **Ženja:** g- g-
- 05 **Teacher:** Daj ka sjuda.
Give just.Part. here
Just give it to me.
- 06 **Ženja:** gg- ga- ge ge ge ge::
- 07 **Andrej:** xxx ((GIVES THE HULA HOOP TO TEACHER))
- 08 **Ženja:** Glazam ne po verne- poveril.
Eyes no believe
He didn't believe his eyes.
- 09 ((ANDREJ SITS ON THE CHAIR))

In the present interaction, while Ženja is reading, Andrej is playing with a hula-hoop. The teacher issues the directives to Andrej to give her the toy in lines 03 and 05. The directive starts with an attention getter “tak,” followed by the term of address “Andrej” and verb in imperative mood “give.” Similarly to the previous interaction, the child who is reading does not interrupt her activity. She seems to be having difficulty reading the text as evident by her restarts in line 2. She pauses in line 2 trying

to read the next word, which is evident by her restarts in line 06. The teacher takes the opportunity of the girl pausing to issue the directive to Andrej. The issuing of the directive does not interrupt the on-going activity of reading as evident in line 08, where the girl continues to read the text. As in the previous example, in this interaction the teacher issues short directives in attempts to stop the deviant behavior while not interrupting the on-going activity of reading. This strategy is also used when individual work takes place during the class. In example 3.3 a child is given a short directive to terminate her side activity of talking while another child is involved in individual work with the teacher. During individual work a child walks to the teacher's desk while the rest of the children are asked to sit quietly waiting for their turn to talk to the teacher.

Example 3.3.

Children are involved in individual work with the teacher. They take turns to come to her desk, where she corrects their dictations explaining their mistakes.

- 01 ((TEACHER IS CORRECTING NADJA'S DICTATION. ANDREJ IS STANDING NEXT TO MAŠA. MAŠA STARTS TO READ A BOOK TO ANDREJ.))
- 02 **Teacher:** Ne nado prosto v ma ga zi ne.
No need just in store
You don't need this, just "in store".
- 03 **Maša:** Ptički tu- <loud>
Birds.Dim.
Birds,
- 04 **Teacher:** !Tak tixo /Maša\
Like this quiet name
Be quiet Maša!
- 05 ((MAŠA MOVES HER BOOK DOWN, LOWERS HER VOICE, BUT CONTINUES LOOKING AT THE BOOK AND INTERACTING WITH ANDREJ.))

In example 3.3, the teacher also produces short directives as she is working individually with a child. Similarly to example 3.2, the directive in the present example starts with the attention –getter “tak”. This is followed by an adverb “quiet” + a term of address. The use of a name is a logical choice as it allows for an economical production of a directive while indicating whose behavior is to be stopped. As I mentioned earlier, children in the HL classroom are often involved in side activities while the focal class activity takes place. When one child reads, for example, the other children are supposed to listen. They, however, may be drawing, playing quietly or writing something. These “quiet” activities are not considered “disturbing” to the focal participants of the main class activity, as they do not get stopped by the teacher. The use of personal name indicates to the children whose activity (out of all the on-going side activities) is considered inappropriate and needs to be terminated. The use of personal names is consistent with the preference for minimization (Sacks and Schegloff 1979) to achieve the progress of an on-going central activity. As we can see, short directives are used in these examples, allowing the on-going focal activity with an individual child to continue while attempting to re-organize the attention of the non-focal participants, i.e. children involved in a transgression.

Frequently (see example 3.1) the children do not completely terminate the deviant behavior when the teacher produces the directives to stop it. It becomes apparent that the teacher issues short directives and does not ensure that the deviant behavior is stopped completely. These directives become only partially productive, as children only produce some modifications to their behaviors such as lowering the voice. This however, seems to be sufficient for the teacher, which indicates her preference for the continuation of the on-going main activity of focal participant without having to

disturb it to provide more directives to terminate a transgression. Simultaneously, the next actions of the directive is not a refusal, but a partial compliance “according some face-saving vis-à-vis the party issuing the directive” (Goodwin 2006a: 530).

In addition to the use of short imperative statements and indicative descriptions to terminate a deviant behavior, the teachers may use short accounts. The following interaction is an example of this:

Example 3.4.

The children are writing a dictation. One child is writing a sentence on the board while everyone else is supposed to do it in their notebooks. Joanna is at the board.

- 01 **Teacher:** Tak (1.0) pervoe. (0.5) značit. (0.5) pišet u nas Žoanna loslik! (2.5)
So first meaning write at us name donkey
So first then Joanna is writing “donkey”.
- 02 **Maša:** **Do we have to write it? <whispers>**
- 03 **Teacher:**

Os lik
Don key
- 04 **Maša:**

hahaha

 =
- 05 **Teacher:** =Tišina.(.) >každyj budet vyxodit' Maš<.
Quietness everyone will come name
Silence. Everyone will come to the board Maš.
- 06 **Saša:** Pisat' èto?
Write this
Do we write this?
- 07 **Teacher:** Da. vse pišet u sebja v tetradkax.
Yes all write at self in notebooks
Yes. Everyone is writing in their notebooks.
- 08 ((Teacher continues to dictate))

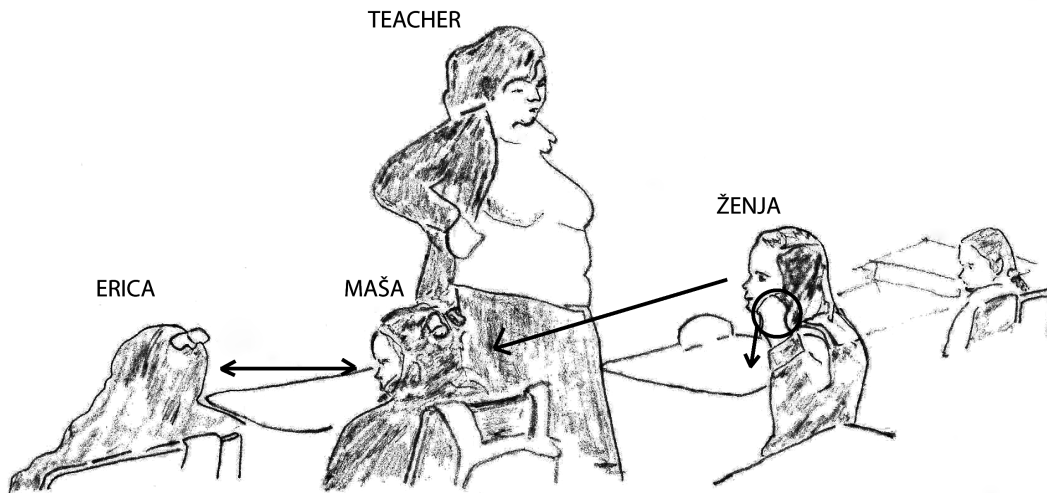
In the present interaction children are writing a dictation. Joanna is writing on the board while the rest of the children are writing in their notebooks. The children take turns writing on the board. While the child is writing on the board and everyone else in their notebooks, Maša commits a transgression of laughing in line 04. The teacher's response to this behavior is a directive to be quiet accompanied by an account for why the children should be quiet. A noun "silence" is followed by "everyone will be writing on the board," and the term of address, "Maš," indicating the person committing the transgression. While the teacher does produce an account, following the directive to be quiet, it is short. The teacher produces it fast. In addition, she uses the reduced form of the name Maša, "Maš." I discuss the nature of the accounts produced in the next chapter of the dissertation. In the meantime, it is important to keep in mind that the production of this directive takes place during the main activity that is on-going. Because children are writing (which takes time), the teacher is able to produce this account without disturbing the on-going activity of them writing. In addition, its prompt production contributes to the goal of not disturbing the activity while simultaneously attempting to re-orient the child's attention from the side transgressive activity.

While it is frequently the teachers who produce the correction of transgressions, at times the children themselves demonstrate that the side activities are disturbing the focal class activity, usually (but not always) the one they are performing. The following interaction demonstrates how a child produces a directive to interrupt the side activity.

Example 3.5.

The children are asked to read out loud a folk tale one after another. When directions for the task are given, the children are directed to sit quietly while one is reading.

- 01 ((ŽENJA IS READING, TEACHER IS STANDING NEXT TO HER. MAŠA AND ERICA ARE TALKING))
- 02 ((TEACHER CLEARS HER THROAT))
- 03 ((ŽENJA LOOKS AT THE TALKING GIRLS AND BANGS HER FIST ON THE CHAIR))



In example 3.5, Ženja is the one who is performing the focal activity of reading during which two of her classmates start talking. The teacher does not correct the girls' transgression, but Ženja does by producing an embodied directive that comes in the form of her banging her fist while looking intensely at the girls. In the next interaction children also produce directives to interrupt a transgression.

an interjection “tsh”. When it is Andrej’s turn to read, Ženja talks to another child, he interrupts his reading and looks at her (line 05). Later, when Andrej reads again and Ženja makes some noise, he once more turns around and looks at her (line 07). The turning around of the child and looking at another child is a non-verbal directive to be quiet. This is also understood as a directive by a third party, Maša, who turns around and tells Ženja to be quiet (line 10). While this example demonstrates that children monitor each other’s behaviors and notice the production of transgression, it also shows that these transgressions are taken as disturbing the main classroom activity by the children themselves. Andrej interrupts his reading twice when he hears other students talk or make noise during his reading. This is consistent with the message of the accounts that the teacher provides to the children in explanations of why their behavior is a transgression, it “disturbs other children,” “it makes it difficult to read”, “students don’t like it when others whisper when they read”. These accounts (examined in chapter 4) often become part of the elaborated directives discussed in section 3.2.2 of the present chapter.

As we can see the directives used during the on-going activities of reading, dictation or individual work are short. They are strategically used to avoid interrupting the main class activity while at the same time attempting to stop the transgression. The transgressive side activity is understood by the teacher and the children as potentially “disturbing” to the focal participant of the main activity and as interfering with the progression of the focal activity. The teacher attempts to re-organize the attention of the non-focal participants (children involved in a transgression) in order to allow the progressivity of the main class activity by focal participants. The correction of the transgression is done in a way that does not disturb the focal class activity. This tendency is consistent with what Schegloff (1979) has termed a “principle of

progressivity.” While this term is usually used in relation to on-going progression of a sequence, in my data re-orienting attention of non-focal participants and managing of side activities (termination or modification of the transgression) ensures progressivity of the main activity. This is similar to managing of non-focal participants during story-telling, where forgetfulness may be used as a device to change participation framework with one focal story-teller to a framework where multiple participants become active co-tellers (Goodwin 1987: 117). In the classroom setting managing non-focal participants allows sustaining a participation framework where the focal participants of the main activity are successful in its production. The short directives do not interrupt the main activity. The importance of progressivity of the main activity is also evident in the fact that the teachers tend to not issue additional directives even in situations when the directive was not completely obliged with.

The teacher uses a variety of grammatical means, including present tense descriptions, use of adverbs, nouns, interjection “tsh” and imperative verbs. Frequently an attention getter “tak” is used in combination with a name of a person who is committing a transgression. The use of the first name makes it an “economical” production by singling out the side activity (out of all on-going side activities) that needs to be stopped. The use of the short directives allows the teacher to sustain the on-going central activity and prevent it from being disturbed by the transgressions.

3.2.2 Use of elaborated directives

In addition to the short directives described above, the teachers also use more elaborated sequences. These sequences are usually used when the teacher launches an activity, is involved in the activity of explaining something to the children or when an

activity is stopped. These directive sequences usually starts with short directives, but become more complex (include explanations by the teacher for why children should stop the behavior and threats). In what follows I provide examples of such elaborated directives.

Example 3.7.

The children are in a Russian language classroom; it is break-time. The teacher asks the children a question of who has taken the communion that morning and who knows the meaning of the ritual. The students don't know what it means. Ženja and Nadja are standing in front of the teacher's desk, Sofia is sitting at her desk, Andrej and Maša are chasing each other running around the teacher's table. The bell rings. The teacher starts to explain the ritual of the communion to the children. Maša and Andrej are still running.

- 01 **Teacher:** Tak vy že ne znaete čto èto takoe.
So you no know what this like
But you don't know what it is.
- 02 [Čto èto takoe skažite,
What this like tell-Imp.Pl.
Tell me what is it?
- 03 **Andrej:** [AAAAA] ((running chasing Maša))
- 04 **Teacher:** Tak seli vse (.)
So sit- Pst.PL all
Sit down everyone [Ija vam tixo ob"jasnju.
I you quietly explain
I will explain to you quietly] =
- 05 **Ženja:** [È- èto] = èto
This this
Thi- this this
- 06 **Andrej:** Èto, (Andrej and Maša continue to run)
This
This
- 07 **Teacher:** !Sjad'te. (.)
Sit-Imp.Pl.
Sit down!

- 08 ((Andrej and Maša continue playing))
- 09 **Teacher:** Maša i Andrej.
Name and name
Maša and Andrej.
- 10 **Andrej:** Ja ne de=
I no
- 11 **Teacher:** =Maša i Andrej. Seli.
Name and name sit.Pst.PL.
Maša and Andrej. Sit down.
- 12 **Maša: Stop=**
- 13 **Teacher:** =lli { ja sejčas vstanu i ujdu iz klasa.
Or *I now get up.Fut and leave.Fut. from classroom*
Or I will now get up and leave the classroom.
- 14 **Andrej:** {xxxx
- 15 **Teacher:** { Ščas togda.
Now then
Now then.
- 16 { ((MAŠA AND ANDREJ WALK TO THEIR DESKS))

In the present interaction the teacher is launching an activity of explanation. The children are asked to sit down in line 4. None of the children who are not already sitting react to this directive (lines 5 and 6). In line 7 the teacher once more repeats a directive to sit down changing the grammatical form of the verb “to sit.” She changes the verb form of the directive from ‘seli’ in past tense to the imperative ‘sjadte.’ The repeating of the directive to sit down is done in an attempt to dislodge the students from a competing framework of a side activity. Modifying one’s talk through repetition is known to be used by speakers to coordinate their actions with the recipients and

establish a participation framework (Goodwin 1981: 130). By repeating the directive to the children the teacher tries to re-organize their attention and orient the children towards the main class activity. After the production of “*sjedte*” Ženja walks to her desk while Andrej and Maša are still playing behind the teacher’s back. Seeing that all children except Maša and Andrej are following her directive, the teacher produces their names after a short pause (line 9). By this time the teacher has produced a directive to sit down twice. However, in line 10 instead of following the teacher’s directive Andrej starts to speak, possibly trying to offer an account for his behavior. In response, the teacher interrupts him and recycles her directive this time starting with the names of the children and the production of the past tense indicative verb “*sit*” that was used initially (line 11). Using the children’s names initially (rather than following the imperative) demonstrates that the teacher’s addresses are towards specific individuals (Maša and Andrej) rather than the whole class, attracting their attention before the directive is issued once more. This is different from line 07, where the children’s names were produced after a pause following the imperative. The fact that other children reacted to the directive in line 07 demonstrates that they understood it as directed to everyone. In line 10 the children still did not comply with the directive to sit down, in fact in line 10 Maša starts to say something in English to Andrej. The teacher then produces a threat, “the fundamental point of [which] is to change the current action of the recipient” (Hepburn and Potter 2011: 108) in lines 13 and 15 that she will leave the classroom. She finishes the directive with “*ščas togda*” (now then) in line 15. The children walk to their desks during the production of these two words (line 16). The meaning of the threat becomes obvious before the production of these two words, but their presence allows the children to comply during its production rather than after it has already been issued.

As opposed to the short directives discussed in section 3.2.1, the threat is produced not in the midst of the activity, but as an attempt to stop the deviant behavior that keeps the activity from launching. The following is an example of the elaborated directive produced when an activity is stopped.

Example 3.8.

The children are asked to read out loud a folk tale one after another. When directions for the task are given, the children are directed to sit quietly while one is reading. Maša is reading. Ženja gets up from her desk and starts to walk around, moving a chair, saying that she knows this tale. Teacher's phone rings.

17 **Teacher:** =Vsë polnaja tišina ne mešaem. Maš čitaj načinaj.
All complete silence no bother name read.Imp. begin.Imp.
That's it complete silence. Don't bother Maša. Start reading.

18 (1.0)

19 **Teacher:** Sleduščaja Èrica potom Ženja potom Nadja.
Next name then name then name
Next Erica, then Ženja, then Nadja.

20 **Maša:** ((reads))

21 **Ženja:** **Excuse me.**

22 ((TEACHER LOOKS AT ŽENJA))

23 **Ženja:** ((makes noise))

→24 **Teacher:** ((BANGS ON THE DESK WITH HER PALM, GESTURING TO ŽENJA TO BE QUIET))

25 **Ženja:** xxx

→26 **Teacher:** Tixo. <whispers>
Quiet.Adv.
Quiet.

((Ženja gets up from her chair, walks around the classroom))

((Maša is reading, teacher helping her for about 2 minutes. Teacher's phone rings))

27 **Teacher:** Oj
Interj.
Oops.

((Children start laughing))

→ 28 **Teacher:** Tš.
Tsh.

29 (student): **Haha**

30 **Teacher:** Tišina/\ tišina.
Quietness quietness
Silence. Silence.

((Maša continues to read while the teacher is talking on the phone, Nadja and Ženja are talking. Teacher hangs up the phone))

31 **Teacher:** Žen' (1.5) tixo. ((puts her phone in the bag on the floor))
Name quiet
Ženja, quiet.

((Maša is reading, Ženja and Nadja continue to talk in lines 32 – 34)).

32 **Maša:** (Šu ril)=

33 **Teacher:** =Varil dalše. (takes the book from Maša)
Cook.Pst. further
Cooked, go on.

WALKS TOWARDS NADJA AND ŽENJA.

↓
→34 **Teacher:** Značit devočki.
Meaning girls
So girls,

35 Kogda vy sejčas budete čitat' (.) Nadja i Ženja, (.)
When you now will read name and name
Now when you start reading, Nadja and Ženja,

36 Ja skažu čtoby Ěrika i Maša načali gromko razgovarivat'.
I tell.Fut to name and name start loudly talk
I will tell Erica and Maša to start talking loudly.

37 I posmotrim kak èto vam budet prijatno ili neprijatno.
And see.Fut. how this you will pleasant or unpleasant
And we'll see whether you like it or not.

38 Davaj vot otsjuda čitaj.
Come on here from here read
Come on read from here.

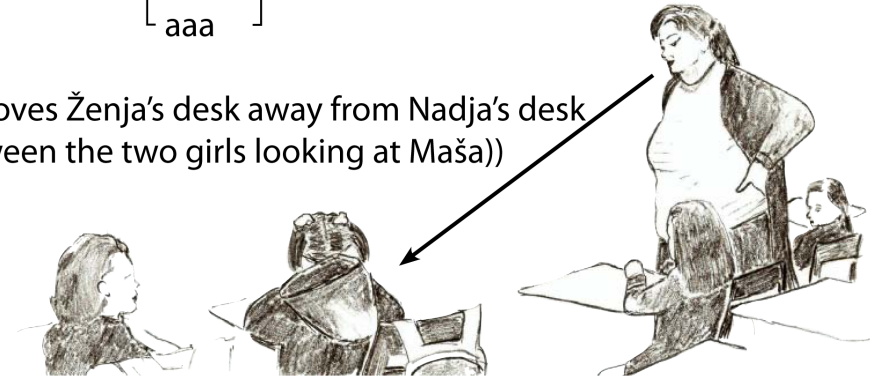
ŽENJA LEANS TOWARDS NADJA TELLING HER SOMETHING
ERICA STARTS READING



39 **Teacher:** Ty slyšiš' menja [Žen'.
You hear me name
Do you hear me Ženja?

40 **Ženja:** [aaa]

→ 41 ((The teacher moves Ženja's desk away from Nadja's desk and stands between the two girls looking at Maša))



42 ((The teacher touches Ženja's hair))



In the present interaction the teacher initially issues the directive to be quiet twice (lines 24 and 25). This directive is only partially obeyed as the student starts walking around the classroom. When the teacher's phone rings the children start laughing, to which the teacher issues a directive to be quiet three times (lines 27 and 29). When Ženja and Nadja continue to talk she addresses a directive to be quiet to Ženja specifically in line 30. After she and Nadja continue to talk she issues a threat in lines 33–36 that she will ask other children to talk while the two offenders read. When they disregard the threat, the teacher produces an embodied correction of the transgression

by physically separating the two offenders, i.e. she positions her body between the students. It is noteworthy that the embodied action comes when an activity of reading is again on-going. In line 37 after the production of the threat, the teacher tells another child to start reading, and in line 40 as the child continues reading, physically separates the two offenders. On the one hand, this action may be considered an aggravation of the directive to be quiet on the teacher's side, and her action of touching the girl's hair in line 39 as a mitigation strategy. On the other hand, however, it is produced during the activity of reading and helps avoid its interruption that an elaborated account or one more threat could have caused. The focus on the reading activity is maintained not only by not interrupting it with a longer directive, but is also visible through the teacher's eye gaze towards a reading child while she is physically breaking up a framework for the production of the transgression by standing between the offenders. The up-grade of the directive, therefore, is produced in a way that takes into consideration the simultaneous on-going focal class activity.

Similarly to the previous example, during the three times that the children are directed to be quiet, the teacher produces directives that are the same in meaning ("be quiet") but differ in form. She first uses the rise-fall intonation in line 29, followed by a falling intonation with the same noun "tishina" (quietness/silence), while in line 30 she produces an adverb 'tixo' (be quiet). This is similar to format-tying (Goodwin 1990, 2006) in that an utterance is modified when it is repeated. While in format-tying another's utterance is modified when repeated, in the present situation, the same person repeats what she says while modifying the utterance. Similarly to format-tying, this allows the modified elements (in this situation a directive to be quiet) to "be rendered salient" (Goodwin 2006: 12).

While the imperative to be quiet was issued to a group in line 02, in line 03 it is issued to a particular individual, Ženja. Similarly to the previous example when a directive, which is similar in meaning, is issued to a particular individual after it has been issued to a group, it starts with an address term to this individual, in this case Ženja.

As we can see, in the present and the previous examples, the teacher first used short directives and later threats to correct a transgression. At the same time, very frequently the teacher provides explanations for why a child should stop the transgressive behavior. These expansions (including threats in examples 3.6 and 3.7) come not in the midst of the activity (as short directives tend to), but rather at its completion or launching. Similarly to the examples above, the explanation for why a transgression should be terminated is issued after short directives had been produced in the following example. In example 3.9 it is produced after an on-going activity has been stopped.

Example 3.9.

Children are reading a text one by one. They are expected to listen to each other. Ženja and Nadja are talking. Andrej is reading

01 **Teacher:** Tš::
Tsh.

02 ((GIRLS CONTINUE TO WHISPER WITH EACH OTHER))

((Andrej stops reading for 4.0 sec))

CHILDREN LOOK AT THE OFFENDERS



03 **Teacher:** Devočki^ (1.5) vy kogda čitaete vam priyatno<
Girls you when read.Pres you pleasant
Girls, do you like it when you read,

04 <Čto (.) vas perebivajut. (.) A?
That you interrupt
And you get interrupted. Hm?

05 (0.8)

06 **Teacher:** Ili kto-to tam šuršit v klasse i šepčetsja.
Or someone there rustle in class and whisper
Or someone whispers or rustles in class.

07 (1.0)

08 **Teacher:** Davajte uvažat' drugix tože. (4.5)
Let's respect others also
Let's also respect others.

09 Vse že budete čitat'.
All will read
You all will be reading.

10 Davaj Andrijuša zz- čitaj potom peredaš' Žene.
Come on name.Dim read then give.Fut name
Come on Andrej read, and then let Ženja read.

Similarly to the previous examples, in the present interaction, the teacher first makes an attempt to stop the girls' talking by producing an interjection "tsh" while another child is reading. In line 02 the child interrupts his own reading, which results in a four-second pause. The pausing is taken by the teacher as disturbing Andrej's reading. The teacher then produces an account for why the behavior is not acceptable, explicitly stating her understanding of why Andrej made the pause – it is unpleasant to him that the girls are talking while he reads. Similarly to the previous examples the account was only produced when a focal activity of reading was stopped. It is noteworthy that it was not the teacher, but the child himself who stopped the activity of reading, allowing the teacher to produce the account. This is different from the next example, where the teacher who is in the midst of explaining stops her on-going activity to produce an account. The next example demonstrates how the elaborated directive is used during the on-going activity of explaining

Example 3.10.

The teacher is involved in the activity of explaining a text that the children have read. ((ANDREJ AND MAŠA ARE PLAYING DURING LINES 01 – 14)).

01 **Teacher:** Značit a- vot davajte s vami pa- čut' čut' pogovorim po<

Meaning here let's with you little little talk at

OK let's talk with you a little

02 <Povodu slov kotoryx vy vstretili v ètom tekste. da? (1.8)

Reasons words which you met in this text yes

About the word that you came across in this text, yes?

03 Skažite požalujsta (.) mne vot (.) čto takoe voobščè almazny.

Tell me here what this in general diamonds

Tell me what is diamonds.

04 (0.5)

05 Èto ČTO takoe.

This what this

What is it?

06 **Ženja:** È- è:: like a-

07 **Teacher:** Ne like. (0.8) čto èto takoe po ruski.

No like what this like in Russian

Not "like." What is it in Russian?

- 08 **(Child):** Ам[:::::
- 09 **Teacher:** [Èto dragocennye kamni. (.) da?
This precious stones yes
It's precious stones, yes?
- 10 **Teacher:** [Almazy. brillianty.
Uncut diamonds diamonds
Uncut diamonds, diamonds.
- 11 **Ženja:** [Ja xotela èto skazat'.
I wanted this say
I wanted to say this.
- 12 **Teacher:** Čto vot my vyxodim letom i- my vidim na samom dele
What here we walk out summer and we see on real business
 dra- dragocennye KAmni valjajutsja tam na trave.
precious stones scattered there on grass
So do we walk out in the summer and really see precious stones scattered on the grass?

- 18 **Andrej:** O[na u me- xxx
S he at me
S he my xxx
- 19 **Teacher:** [U vas čto peremena u menja naprimer eščë net peremeny.
At you what break at me for example yet no break
Is it break time for you? I don't have a break yet.
- 20 **Andrej:** Ona brala mo-moi[xxxxx
She took my
She took my xxx
- 21 **Teacher:** [Tak povernulsja ko mne,
Like this turn. Ind. around to me
So turn around towards me.
- 22 Otvečaeš' na vopro[sy.
Answer.Pres. on ques tions
Answer questions.
- 23 **Ženja:** [A kogda lanč.
But when lunch
But when is lunch?

In the present interaction the teacher is involved in explaining the meaning of the text that the children have read and the vocabulary that might be unknown to them. Maša and Andrej, however, are not paying attention to what is being said. They are playing during lines 1- 14. In line 15 the teacher produces an attention-getter “tak.” At its production Maša looks at the teacher. Then the teacher produces a directive to Maša and Andrej in the form of the description of the on-going activity and a question of what they are doing (line16). We know that the children understand this as a directive and not a request for information from the teacher from the embodied actions that they are exhibiting in response to her utterance. In line 16 during the production of the activity description, Maša interrupts her deviant behavior and lays her head on the table demonstrating through her body a change in participation framework, i.e.

disengaging from the transgression. Andrej also looks at the teacher, changing his focus of attention from Maša to the teacher. Andrej attempts to produce an account for what he was doing (line 18), the teacher interrupts his attempt in line 19 and provides an account for why the behavior should be interrupted, i.e. it is not break time. The fact that the teacher provides this account demonstrates her own understanding of her utterance in lines 15 – 16 as a directive to stop the behavior. When Andrej makes a second attempt to explain why he was not paying attention, the teacher again interrupts his utterance and produces an indicative mood description of her expectations: “turn around and answer the questions,” once more demonstrating the intention to stop the children’s transgression.

While in the previous interactions the teacher produced threats and accounts that came while attempting to launch an explanation and when the activity was terminated or stopped, in the present example the activity of explaining is interrupted by the teacher to produce an account. This is different from the account that we saw in section 3.2.1 on short directives that were produced in an economical manner. It is also different from the directives produced during individual explanations. In the present interaction the teacher is the one who is doing the act of explaining, and she is the one who interrupts it, which results in the elaborated directive in the midst of an activity. In addition, the organization of attention of recipients of teacher’s talk is important. It is the whole class whose attention the teacher tries to get to achieve the children’s understanding of the explanations as opposed to one child during the individual sessions. To organize the attention of students during the activities of reading and dictation the teacher makes use of short directives. If she were to produce such elaborated directives during these activities, the directives might interrupt the focal classroom activities that the children are involved in, writing and reading. This would

become a counter-productive method, as the goal of correcting the transgression is to allow the children a successful completion of the main class activity.

3.3 Discussion.

The present chapter discusses the correction of the most common transgression observed in the HL classroom, i. e. talking or playing while other students perform an activity. The attempts to terminate this behavior are directives issued by the teacher and sometimes the students. These directives can be either short or elaborated. The choice between the two seems to depend on the state of the on-going activity. If the activity is in progress, the directives tend to be short. If the activity is in the launching state, at the state of completion or is stopped, the teacher provides elaborated parts of the directives. This tendency is consistent with what Schegloff (1979) has termed a “principle of progressivity.” The progressivity in the classroom setting is of the activity that is considered a priority by the teacher, a focal class activity. The attention re-organization of the non-focal participants, those committing a transgression, is important for the achievement of progressivity of the main focal class activity. The short directives do not interrupt this activity in progress. The importance of progressivity is also evident in the fact that the teachers tend to not issue additional directives even in situations when the directive was not completely obliged with. The exception to this is the activity of discussion.

The activity of discussion is similar to the individual work in that in both situations the teacher is involved in explaining something. They differ, however, in an important way: in the former the teacher’s main recipients are all of the children, while in the latter – it is one child. The organization of attention seems to be a factor for

making choices for elaborated or short directives. During the group activity of discussion the attention of all the children on what is being talked about is the crucial element, hence the elaborated directive that attempts to ensure such attention. During the individual work it is the attention of one individual child; the short directive becomes sufficient to ensure that the side activity becomes “tolerable” for the focal activity to continue its course. When the children are involved in the activities of reading and writing, the attention to these tasks is crucial. The production of short directives ensures again the re-organization of attention of the participants of the side activity, or its management where the transgression gets to the “tolerable” state allowing the progressivity of the main activity in these cases.

During the course of the lesson multiple directive sequences in attempts to interrupt transgressions are given. Usually directives are looked at from the point of view of aggravation, i.e. how face-threatening these acts are towards the receiver of the directive. Curl and Drew (2008) discussed issues of contingency and entitlement as factors that need to be taken into consideration when making requests. Entitlement is understood as “pointedly not orient[ing] to any possibility of the request not being granted” (2008: 145). Contingency, on the other hand, is orientation towards the difficulties that might be present for the addressee to perform the request. Craven and Potter in the discussion of directives given by mothers to small children during dinner conversations demonstrate that “directives can be ... designed to restrict and manage the possible contingencies that could prevent compliance” (2010: 425). The situations that both studies by Curl and Drew (2008) and Craven and Potter (2010) examined differ from classroom interactions in one important aspect: there are no multiple conflicting activities taking place during dinner or phone conversations. In addition, the authors discuss situations where only two parties are involved. In the production of

directives in classroom situations when multiple activities do take place, and when interactions are not limited to two individuals, the directives are designed in a way that takes into consideration the other activity and other individuals who are non-focal participants. In the HL setting a teacher designs her directives in a way that would prioritize the focal classroom activity. There is usually no orientation towards contingencies that might be present for the children who commit a transgression, i.e. non-focal participants. On the other hand, however, the effect that giving a directive will have on those individuals involved in the main classroom activity, i.e. focal participants, are taken into consideration. In the discussion of directives, therefore, it is crucial to take into consideration the larger participation frameworks, as they may provide an explanation for the types of directives used. In multi-party interactions a directive is given in a way that not only demonstrates entitlement of a teacher, low consideration for the contingencies of the main recipient of the directive, the transgressors, but also a high consideration for individuals involved in the main classroom activity and a preference for the continuation of this activity.

Such contextualized view of directive sequences, where larger participation frameworks are taken into consideration, also allows for explanations of how up-grading of the directives takes place in elaborated sequences. Consider example 3.8 discussed earlier in the chapter. In this example the teacher gives multiple directives to the children to be quiet. The first directive to stop a transgression of talking while another child reads is an embodied action, a teacher banging on her desk with her hand and gesturing to Ženja. The next one is an adverbial imperative “be quiet”. When the teacher’s phone rings and children start laughing she gives them a directive in a form of an interjection “tsh” followed by a repeated noun “silence” pronounced with different intonation, first with a distinct rise-fall, the second with a falling intonation. The next

directive is given after the teacher hangs up the phone and when the child is still reading. This time it is a term of address followed by an adverb “quiet”. When the child stopped reading the teacher provides an account. When the account is not successful, the teacher uses an interrogative with a term of address “do you hear me Žen’”. And finally when the child is still not being quiet, she separates the two offenders by standing between them. While it is clear that each consecutive directive is given in response to the children not complying with the directive, the type of up-grade that takes place is also done with the consideration of other activities and individuals in the classroom. The following diagram schematically illustrates the form that the directive takes in relation to other on-going activities:

Table 1. Form of directive and simultaneous activity

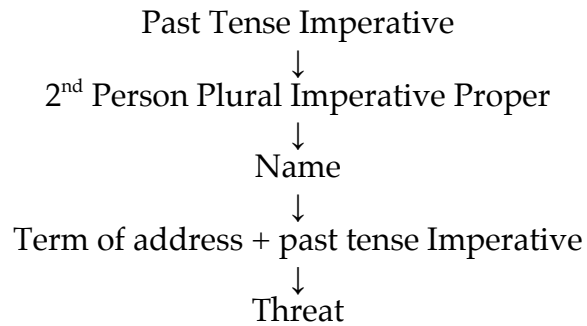
Directive	Simultaneous activities
Embodied attention getter + gesture	Reading
Adverb	Reading
Interjection+Noun	Talk on the phone / Reading
Noun	Talk on the phone / Reading
Name+Adverb	Reading
Account	-----
Interrogative + Name	Reading
Manipulation of students' bodies, gaze towards a child involved in the main activity.	Reading

Craven and Potter (2010) suggest that when two directives to perform the same actions are given, the second one is “up-graded” as compared to the first one. Replacing modal interrogative construction ([kath’rine] >c’you move< [along] a little bit please) with an imperative (“do:n’ be horrible” and “mo:ve back”), for example, is an upgrade of the directive. In a sense the authors propose that certain forms, including grammatical constructions, embody more or less entitlement of the speaker and consider more or less contingency on the recipient’s part. The modal interrogative “can

you move” considers the recipients contingencies that might get in the way of complying with the directive. The imperative on the other hand does not take these contingencies into considerations.

In the Russian HL classroom the situations with multiple, frequently more than two, directives to stop a transgression are very common. Interestingly, the data analysis indicates that interrogative constructions may be used as second, third or 8th (as in example 3.8) attempt to stop the transgression. In addition, it appears that accounts are often used as attempts to terminate a transgression, and not as a justification for why a directive was given as data from Craven and Potter’s work suggests. And finally, the data demonstrates that the up-grading of directives is not necessarily tied to use of certain grammatical constructions, at least in case of Russian. We can see that an interrogative construction was attempt number 8, which followed an imperative adverbial construction and a threat in the account. What remains constant throughout the directive sequences, however, is that the teachers tend to vary the form of the directive when they are repeated multiple times. If it is not a different grammatical construction, it may be the intonation pattern that changes. So when the teacher repeats the word “silence,” she changes the intonation from a distinct rise-fall to a falling intonation contour.

Such variation is also evident in the use of different forms of the imperative mood. Consider example 3.7 discussed earlier. Here the teacher repeats an imperative “sit down” three times. The following is a schematic representation of her directive sequence:



As we can see, the teacher not only changes the form of the directive from imperatives to a term of address and to a threat, but also changes the form of imperatives. Gordon (1998) demonstrates that Imperative mood directives are most frequently used in interactions with children in Russia. The data from the present research also demonstrate a frequent use of such directives in interactions with children. In addition, it demonstrates that when multiple imperatives are produced, their form changes. I agree with Craven and Potter (2010) that by repeating a directive multiple times an adult demonstrates his or her entitlement to insist on the action to be done. By repeating directives the teacher in the HL classroom positions herself as an authority figure. At the same time, however, by mitigating the directives (such as embodied action of touching a girl’s hair after a directive in example 3.8) the teacher positions herself as a “loving” teacher (I discuss my ethnographic observations of the teacher being “loving” and “loved” by the students in more details chapter 2).

The teacher in the HL classroom is clearly an expert, and children are the novices. Rogoff (2003) considers strict division of apprenticeship roles as part of ‘assembly line’ learning. The teacher in the HL classroom however, constantly produces assessments that are part of Rogoff’s ‘intent participation’ model, where “assessment occurs integrally throughout shared endeavors to further learning—not just as an ‘outcome.’ The goal is to help children to learn the important skills and ways

of their communities” (2003: 196). Assessing the behaviors of all the children in the classroom, and not only of a focal participant, i.e. a child performing the main classroom activity, allows the teacher to decide which behaviors of all the on-going side activities may be continued and which may not. The intense monitoring of the children allows the teacher to make these decisions.

Raymond and Heritage state that the “management of rights to knowledge...can be a resource for invoking identity in interaction” (2006: 680). The teacher in the HL classroom positions herself not only as knowledgeable in the subject matter of the Russian language and literacy, but also in what behaviors are acceptable or not during the lessons. Children in the Russian classroom are taught not only how to perform a skill (such as reading) but also how to display behaviors that are considered appropriate when another person is involved in a separate activity. Children are taught to act in a way that will not disturb it (the next chapter of the dissertation takes a closer look at how teachers position children in relation to other individuals). In other words, teachers are not only experts in the matters of Russian language and literacy, but also in the issues of morality. The children in the HL classroom are taught to not be disruptive of the other person’s activity. This is similar to what Bronfenbrenner (1974) states about the Soviet schools. While the children in the classroom setting are supposed to “obey all instructions of the teacher,” general conduct of the children should be such as “not [to] disturb others by loud noise or running” (1974: 31). The teacher’s directives that attempt to correct children’s transgressions in the HL classroom setting in the United States, seem to also display such an expectation from the children. It is noteworthy, however, that the children in the HL setting do not display the same level of compliance that Bronfenbrenner has observed in the Soviet schools.

The children attending the HL school very frequently only partially follow the

teacher's directives to interrupt the transgression. On the one hand, the fact that they do change their behaviors points to their acknowledging of the teacher's expertise and authority. At the same time, however, this demonstrates their own understanding of what is acceptable: children express their agency in making the choices of obliging or not obliging the directives, and choosing the various ways of doing it. Aronsson and Cekaite demonstrate "the display and co-construction of children's agency" (2011: 142) in their daily interactions and negotiations of "contracts" with caregivers in Swedish family settings. These displays are reformulations of agreements, such as when and how something is to be done. While the terms of these contracts are often explicitly negotiated in the Swedish family settings, in the setting of a Russian HL classroom negotiations do not take place. The children are making their own choices on what they can 'get away with' and what they can't, and change their behaviors accordingly, perhaps practicing what researchers (Kyrtziz 2000; Corsaro 1979) have called a creation of unique social realities. In these realities, children demonstrate respect for the authority of the teacher, "according some face-saving vis-à-vis the party issuing the directive" (Goodwin 2006a: 530) by modifying their behaviors, while they manage to maintain the side activities they are interested in, in ways that appear acceptable for the teacher.

CHAPTER 4

USE OF STORIES AS ACCOUNTS IN CORRECTION OF TRANSGRESSIONS: POSITIONING CHILDREN AS PART OF A GROUP

As I have demonstrated in chapter 3, in their attempts to correct students' transgressions teachers often provide accounts or explanations for why the behaviors are unacceptable. While accounts are usually understood as "statement[s] made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior" (Scott and Lyman 1968: 46), the present study examines accounts where the unacceptable behavior is being performed by the addressee of the account rather than the speaker. In other words, statements provided by the teachers explain why behaviors are unanticipated or unacceptable to the children who conduct the behaviors. Both, however, provide an understanding of morality and "an avenue for understanding how morality is enacted and negotiated in everyday interpersonal interaction" (Sterponi 2009: 442). Considering this, I will use the term "accounts" to refer to the explanations by the teachers for why certain behaviors of the students are unacceptable.

In the HL Russian classroom these accounts are usually hypothetical scenarios or stories that frequently involve children that did commit the transgressions and other individuals, whom the behavior has affected or may have affected. M. H. Goodwin states that everyday stories usually differ from those studied by literary critics in that "parties being portrayed as characters within a story are frequently present at its telling" (1990: 248). In the account stories the children who are students in the HL school are positioned as characters. The stories often discuss the negative effects that the transgressive behaviors have on others, especially other students, or position children's transgressions in opposition to the "good" behaviors of other children.

As I have discussed in chapter 3, the account stories tend to come about at certain moments of an unfolding interaction, namely, when the main class activity that is seen as being disturbed by the behavior is in the launching state, is stopped or at a completion point. In a sense, launched at this state in an interaction a story has a potential to have “full and exclusive engagement of its speakers” (C. Goodwin 1984: 228). Having discussed where in the course of an unfolding interaction these stories appear in chapter 3, in the present chapter I concentrate on the stories themselves, and the moral stance, “a disposition [rooted in community and tradition] towards what is good or valuable and how one ought to live in the world” (Ochs and Capps 2001: 45) that they project. In what follows I provide background information on stories that is relevant to the type of stories discussed in the present study. I then discuss examples of the account stories from the HL classroom and the ways that teachers position the children as actors in these stories.

4.1 Stories: Background.

4.1.1 Morality in stories

Studies of narratives conducted in discourse analysis and language socialization paradigms have demonstrated that story-telling is a complex activity that is “central to weaving the fabric of social life in that [it] forge[s] and sustain[s] social relationships and build shared lifeworlds” (Ochs 2007: 269). In cases of educational settings, such as the Russian HL school, the stories forge and sustain these social relationships by establishing the moral order that is seen as appropriate for the school setting.

Scholars from different disciplines agree that attitudes and stances are conveyed during story-telling (Labov and Waletzky 1967). White states that “where, in any account of reality, narrativity is present, we can be sure that morality or a moral impulse is present too” (1980: 26). Ochs and Capps note that “everyday narration of life experience is a primary medium for moral education” (2001: 51).

Research conducted in weekend religious and secular schools also demonstrates that stories become a major vehicle for socialization of morality in these educational settings. Baquedano-Lopez (1998) examined how morality is socialized through narratives in weekend Catholic Doctrina classes. Baquedano-Lopez concentrates on examination of the narrative of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The teachers in these classes construct the narrative to emphasize “humility before God” (1998: 117). This humility, however, is personalized in the image of a man, Juan Diego. The teacher does not simply tell the students the story; she makes a meaningful connection between the story and the students present in the class by establishing a geographical connection with the place where the events of the story took place and the student’s heritage.

Looking at interaction in Catholic community youth organizations, Barber observed, that “narrative activity...was used primarily for moral identity formation” (2007: 45). Barber examines “collated narratives,” future –oriented irrealis “what if” narratives. These narratives usually employ “what would Jesus do” and “what would you do” questions. While the first question is used to set the standard of moral behavior, the second one is used to assess the youth’s own morality. The two types are often used against each other “with the explicit goal of the teens learning to mirror Jesus’ hypothetical actions in the identical situation” (2007: 105).

In addition to religious settings, morality is socialized through narratives in secular schools as well. Lo examined how narratives in secular Korean American HL

classrooms socialize empathy, “a key component of moral development” (2006: 131). Similarly to the research by Barber (2007), Lo examines stories that involve hypothetical scenarios. These interactions are also very similar to the ones analyzed in the present chapter. The author concentrates on examination of hypothetical stories told after an inappropriate behavior was conducted. In these stories, the offenders would be put in the victim’s position: “What if Jinsok were to call “Teacher, Teacher, Teacher, Teacher, TEACHER?” , but I didn’t respond. Would Jinsok feel good or bad?” Another method to socialize empathy in Korean HL school is “raising their awareness of how their actions hurt others by explicitly narrating their pain” (2006: 143). This socializes children to the idea that other individuals’ behaviors have a direct influence on one’s feelings. In addition, by putting children who committed deviant behaviors into the shoes of the victims, the students are also socialized into perspective-taking.

4.1.2 Temporality in stories

Stories examined by scholars from different disciplines, with Aristotle (1970) being one of the first to study a narrative form, are usually discussed as having a temporal structure. While plot, with its beginning, middle and end, was the focus of attention for Aristotle, throughout time looking at stories’ temporality has revealed its complexity and remained the center of attention for many. Stories about past events and personal experiences have been widely examined, with only a limited number of studies concentrating on future or hypothetical stories.

Labov emphasized the temporal aspect of stories, defining a narrative as “any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture” (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 28). His research concentrates on the internal structure of the narrative,

identifying the following elements: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Resolution, and The coda. The events in the story are “temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation” (Labov 1972: 360). In his work the author concentrates on how stories recapitulate past experiences and the matching of these experiences to the verbal sequences.

Such structure, however, is not always found in every-day (non-elicited by the interviewer) stories. Examining occurring-in-interaction stories of the Maple street children, Goodwin (1990, 1993, 1997) finds that their structure is build with “attention to participation structure of the moment” (1997: 108). Unlike stories examined by Labov (1972), every-day stories do not always have the story-teller as a principle figure and may be about past, future or possible hypothetical events (Goodwin 1997). The way the characters of the story are presented depends not only on the past event, but also on the type of the speech event the speaker is involved in (such as dispute). In addition, in making the choice for the type of structure to employ the story-teller takes into consideration the interaction of the moment including its participants (Goodwin 1997) and may also “function to suggest future courses of action for present recipients” (Goodwin 1993: 127) .

Discussing temporal order as part of the “linearity” dimension of narratives, Ochs and Capps also note that narratives “do not uniformly thread events into unilinear time line and cause-effect progression” (2001: 41). Other dimensions of personal narratives examined by the Ochs and Capps include tellership, tellability, embeddedness and moral stance. While the authors concentrate on the past experiences of individuals, they distinguish between linear and not non-linear narratives, where the latter may include stories of hypothetical situations.

The attention to how people re-tell their past experiences in narratives is well-justified as “what ‘actually happened’ in some past event in our life is inextricably tied to the phenomenological meaning we ascribe – that is, to our experience of the event” (Capps and Ochs 1995: 15). In other words, by telling a story individuals make sense of what happened in the events that the story described. In the process, however, a person does not simply portray the events, but demonstrates his or her alignment towards the recounted events (Goffman 1974). In addition, the process of telling a story creates a new experience and meaning for both the teller of the story and the audience (Mattingly 1998).

In his discussion of future-oriented stories, Murphy (2011) contrasts them with stories of past experience. Murphy states that unlike stories of past events, future-oriented stories are not “hindered by nagging question about reflections of truth;” they are “unfettered by issues of precision” and allow “more room for creating narratives about experience of *others* that does not encroach on their personal autonomy or claims to an actual reality” (2011: 246).

The hypothetical stories discussed by Murphy (2011) include positioning hypothetical others as its characters. In his study architects use imaginary people in hypothetical scenarios in attempts to better architectural designs. Other research looked at how stories involve people who are present during the telling as characters of the story. In Goodwin’s (1990) research the non-present others as well as those who are present during the telling of the story become its characters. Maple Street girls use the format of hypothetical stories as a response of the offended party to the instigating story. These stories are carefully designed to allow involvement of the peripheral party in future events, such as a confrontation (1990: 277).

Such switching of roles is evident in example 4.1. Here the children are involved in the activity of reading. A teacher provides children with an account for why their behavior of talking while another child reads is unacceptable and should be stopped. The account is a hypothetical story where whispering and rustling when others read is unpleasant to those who are reading.

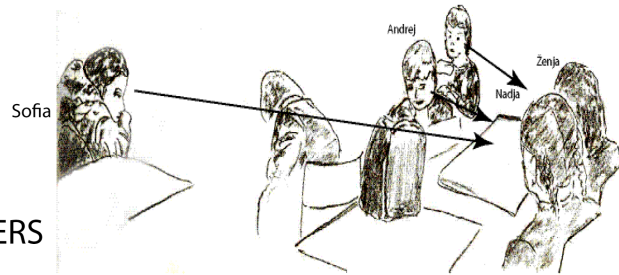
Example 4.1.

Children are reading a text one by one. They are expected to listen to each other. Ženja and Nadja are talking. Andrej is reading.

01 **Teacher:** Tš.
Tsh.

02 ((GIRLS CONTINUE TO WHISPER WITH EACH OTHER))

(Andrej stops reading for 4.0 sec)



CHILDREN LOOK AT THE OFFENDERS



03 **Teacher:** Devočki^ (1.5) vy kogda čitaete vam priyatno=
Girls you when read. Pres you pleasant
Girls, do you like it when you read

04 <Čto (.) vas perebivajut. (.) A?
That you interrupt
And you get interrupted. Hm?

05 (0.8)

06 **Teacher:** Ili kto-to tam šuršit v klasse i šepčetsja.
Or someone there rustle in class and whisper
Or someone whispers or rustles in class.

07 (1.0)

- 08 **Teacher:** Davajte uvažat' drugix tože. (4.5)
Let's respect others also
Let's also respect others.
- 09 Vse že budete čitat'.
All will read
You all will be reading.
- 10 Davaj Andrijuša zz- čitaj potom predaš' Žene.
Come on name.Dim read then give.Fut name
Come on Andrej read, and then let Ženja read.

In this interaction, the teacher positions children who have committed a transgression of whispering while another child was reading as conducting behaviors that negatively affect others. She does this by creating a hypothetical story in which the real life “offenders” (children who committed the transgression) become “victims.” To construct this hypothetical “second story” (Sacks 1992) the teacher employs a set of practices, through which the story becomes another instance of the same event, but where the position of characters is reversed. She uses the term of address “girls” to indicate who the primary recipients of the story are. Simultaneously, the teacher also positions these children as characters, who in her story become victims. The use of the pronoun “vy” (plural you) in line 03, following the term of address “girls” indicates that these two individuals, and not the rest of the children, are the ones who become the “victim” characters in the story. The teacher employs a distinct rise-fall intonation on the term of address. At her completion of the term of address, most of the children direct their gaze at the offenders. This indicates that the rest of the children, and not only those who committed the offence are paying attention to what is being said by the teacher. This also demonstrates an understanding by the rest of the children of who the

primary addresses of the story are, and which children are later positioned as victims in the teacher's story.

In addition to switching of the characters in the hypothetical story, the teacher is assigning a particular set of "feelings" to the characters. These feelings are caused by the disruptive activities of the other characters. In this way the children are socialized into a particular understanding of relationships with their peers in the setting of a Russian HL classroom, where their behaviors can negatively affect others. The children's monitoring of the teacher's production of the story allows them to align to the course of actions projected by the teacher, i.e. seeing rustling or whispering when others read as unpleasant. The teacher creates "an architecture of perception" (Goodwin personal communication) where events, such as the disruptive behavior of whispering and rustling by the girls, can be used to understand new similar events that may arise in the classroom setting. The use of the verb tenses by the teacher during the production of these stories makes the alignment to the teacher's course of action even more likely.

During the production of the stories, the teacher designs the situations not as hypothetical ones, but as the ones that do happen regularly. She uses present tense (and not irrealis) in her stories. This highlights regularity of the actions of reading, and regularity of transgressions while others are involved in the main classroom activity. In the present story, the teacher uses an interrogative form (Girls, do you like it when you read and you are interrupted?) in lines 03-04, inviting children to think about the behavior. Similarly to Sacks' discussion of second stories, the hypothetical story is "not just the telling of a story," but becomes an interactional event (1992: 765). The children are positioned as recipients of the question and are faced with the task of providing a response that addresses how they would feel during this even, and more generally

express their feelings towards this type of event, i.e. disrupting others when they participate in a class activity. The socially preferred answer to this question (Do you like it when you read and you are interrupted?) is “negative.” This is evident with the use of the utterance following the question, (Let’s also respect others) in line 08. Even though the teacher structures her talk as a request for information-she uses an interrogative construction and allows space for the children to produce an answer (pauses in lines 05 and 07)- the children do not come in with the second pair part. This demonstrates that the children understand this interrogative not as a request for information, but rather as a directive to stop the behavior. In addition, the children are positioned to take the role of a character undergoing particular feelings in reaction to the transgression. They are not simply indirectly told to stop the behavior, but through the narrative are put in the experiential position of being the target of such behavior. The teacher’s continuing talk also demonstrates that the goal of the interrogative is not to acquire information from the students, but to explain to them why the behavior should be stopped, i.e. that speaking or whispering when other students are reading is disrespectful. This explanation, however, is the one that is structured to invoke socially-organized feelings on the part of the addressee.

In addition to targeting the offenders, i.e. children who committed the transgression, the relevance of the story to all the children present in the classroom is highlighted by the teacher. This is done by again choosing not to use *irrealis* in line 09. In addition to Future tense, the teacher uses a subject “vse” (all) combined with a 2nd person plural verb “will read” (you all will be reading). By doing this, the teacher shifts the participation framework (Goffman 1981) to explicitly include all of the children and not only the offenders in the story, which in turn makes what had been stated earlier relevant for all the children in the classroom.

In the present short narrative we can see how the children who are in the classroom become characters of the story. The story starts with a term of address and use of subsequent reference “you” that positions these individuals as the “victim” characters. In this sense, the story is first structured as directed to these two particular individuals. As it progresses, however, the rest of the class become designated recipients of the story and its characters, which is visible through the use of “all” and 2nd person plural verb in line 08.

The production of the story takes a short time, but within this time the teacher provides the children with a model of moral behavior, in which children are to “respect” others. The doing of respecting is portrayed as not whispering or rustling when other individuals are involved in the main class activity. In addition, the children receive an understanding of how to feel when such a model of morality is violated. Children are positioned as “not feeling good” when others “whisper or rustle” during their performing of a class activity. Capps and Ochs in their discussion of socialization of emotion in children, state that everyday experiences told to children show them “how to build an understanding of their own experiences”(1995: 150). Through interactions as the one discussed here, children learn how to experience and express the moral behavior and what to experience when such morality is absent. The model for such understanding is demonstrated to the children by presenting a hypothetical situation as a reality in which real individuals become hypothetical characters.

The next example also illustrates how the teacher uses a story to stop children’s transgression. Similarly to example 4.1, the teacher positions the children as characters of the story.

Example 4.2.

Children are in a Russian class. They take turns reading a folk tale standing in front of the teacher's table. This is the second tale the children are reading during the class. They all have been talking and playing with each other and with the video camera while some were reading. During the class the teacher has told them multiple times to "stop" and to "be quiet". Nadja takes her turn reading in front of the teacher's table while Andrej and Maša are playing crawling on their hands and knees around the teacher's table.

01 **Teacher:** Vstali\
Get up.Pst.
Get up!

02 (The children get up and stand in front of the teacher's table)

03 **Andrej:** xxx

04 **Teacher:** Mhm

LOOKING AT MAŠA

↓

05 **Teacher:** Ne nado. (..) sejčas že ne peremena,
No need now Part. no break
Don't, it's not break time now after all.

06 Davajte slušat', uvažat' drug druga, da?
Let's listen respect each other yes
Let's listen and respect each other ok?

07 Vam že tože složno kogda (.) kto-to tam begaet prygaet<
You Part. also difficult when someone there run jump
It's also difficult for you when someone there runs or jumps

08 <Kogda vy čitaete< dal'se značit pobežala k grebenščikam.
When you read further meaning ran to tamarix
When you read. Go on then, ran to the tamarix trees.

Similarly to the previous example the teacher positions the offenders in roles of those who are affected by their negative behavior in line 07, "it's also difficult for you when someone there runs or jumps when you read." She reminds the children of the

difficulty they experience while others play when they read. In the present interaction the teacher combines the description of what is happening in the classroom now, “it is not break time now” (line 03) with the “regular hypothetical” situation, “it’s also difficult for you when someone there runs or jumps.” A description done as a negative characterizes what is happening as appropriate for a different situation, i.e. a break time, but not this one, i.e. a lesson. The fact that the children’s behaviors are not acceptable for what is taking place in the classroom at that moment is highlighted by the use of particle “že.” Here it is used in its contrastive meaning, opposing the behaviors of the children with what is taking place, “not break time.” The same particle is also used to connect the two situations described by the teacher, the “real now” and the hypothetical scenario (line 07). Here, however, the particle is used in its “likeness” sense. By using the particle in combination with “also” (line 07), the teacher highlights the connection between the real behaviors of the children and the hypothetical situation. The hypothetical nature of the story is achieved by the use of “someone there” and the use of a hypothetical plot (that someone there runs or jumps). The regularity of this hypothetical story, however, is highlighted by the use of present tense, and not irrealis. The interaction starts with the teacher giving a past tense imperative to the children to get up. Similarly to the previous example, she uses a distinct rise-fall intonation to launch the story (although in the previous example it was used with a term of address). Similarly to example 4.1, the teacher also employs the use of interrogative form in line 06. In the present interaction children are not given space (no pause) to provide the 2nd pair part to the interrogative. This points to the fact that the teacher was not using the question form as a request for information, but was probably using it to achieve children’s alignment to her proposition that they are to “listen and respect each other.” Similarly to the previous example the teacher provides the children

with the meaning of morality, and the meaning of “respecting each other.” At the same time she explains to the children that it is difficult for them when this does not happen.

4.3 Comparing Children with Others.

In examples 4.1 and 4.2 discussed above children are given explanations for why their behaviors are considered negative. They are often reminded that others talking and/or playing gets in the way of their reading in some way. In example 4.1 it is discussed as causing an unpleasant feeling, and in example 4.2 the behavior is discussed as causing a difficulty in reading to the children who are in the same classroom. On other occasions, however, the children who are committing a transgression are compared with other children from the school who are not in the classroom where the transgression is committed. Example 4.3 illustrates this.

Example 4.3.

During a reading class a teacher from another class comes into the classroom. The two teachers and myself talk about textbooks. Children also start talking among themselves. The noise level rises.

- 01 **Teacher:** DEti. (0.8) u nas urok. (0.3)
Children at us lesson
Children we are in class.
- 02 I vy mešaete svoim povedeniem (0.2) drugim detjam,(.)
And you disturb your behavior other children
And you disturb with your behavior other children,
- 03 Kotorye sejčas v klassax (.) i učatsja.=
Which now in classroom and study
Who are now in class and are studying.
- 04 **Teacher2:** =Byla peremena kora- pit' soki (0.5) Tanja,
Was break drink juices name
There was a break to drink juices, Tanja.
- 05 Ok? (1.0) Vsë.
all
OK? That's it.

In the present interaction the children are told to stop talking because their behavior affects children who are in other classrooms. The story is launched with the use of the term of address “children” in falling intonation and short pause. This term of address is used to get attention of all the children in the classroom. Simultaneously it positions all of the children as characters of the story that unfolds following the term of address. Similarly to the previous examples, the teacher uses the present tense, highlighting the factual nature of her proposition. In addition, the production of the story is very rhythmic, which is created with the use of emphasis and micro pauses. The children who are talking are contrasted with other children, who are not only physically sitting in other classrooms, but are also “učatsja” (studying). The “studying”

is emphasized by the teacher by positioning it at the end of the utterance. The use of “i” (and) combined with a preceding micro pause also adds emphasis on the word.

While in the previous examples there was one teacher providing her account, in the present interaction another teacher (Teacher 2) co-narrates the story. She latches onto the Teacher’s utterance in line 04 and provides the children with circumstances when “drinking” juice is acceptable, i.e. during break time. Teacher uses the ambiguous “your behavior” to describe what she sees as unacceptable and disturbing children in other classes, Teacher 2 points to the specific behavior of drinking a juice by a specific child, Tanja in line 04. Both teachers are oriented toward the constitution of what is considered normative in the setting of a Russian HL classroom. While the behavior of drinking juice could not possibly negatively affect children who are in other classes, the idea that this behavior is not acceptable during class time is communicated by Teacher 2. She does this by latching her utterance to Teacher’s talk that explicitly describes the children’s behaviors as being bothersome to others. In addition, she uses the plural of the word “juice” which does not accurately describes the reality as the child is involved in drinking one juice box. The usage of plural, however, has an effect of presenting the situation as exaggerated, highlighting its unacceptable nature. The use of plural “juices” also provides an idea of a pattern of behavior that is non-normative during class (drinking juices or other liquids or conducting drinking-like, perhaps eating, behaviors).

Similarly to example 4.2, Teacher 2 utilizes teaching by creating contrasts. She brings in the circumstances when the behaviors that she is observing now are acceptable, i.e. during break time. While in example 2 the “now” circumstances were described as “not break time,” in the present interaction Teacher 2 points to the fact that it is not break time any longer by using a past tense description “there was a break

time.” By co-narrating the story, Teacher 2 not only provides more information to what behaviors are not acceptable, but also aligns to the Teacher’s talk, reinforcing the message that the behaviors taking place in the classroom are not acceptable.

In examples 4.1 and 4.2 more concrete understanding of how the negative behavior affects other students is given (causing difficulty and unpleasant feelings). In the present example the teacher simply tells the children that their behavior “bothers” or “disturbs” other children. The act of disturbing and bothering is an action that the offenders commit. The teacher uses a construction that highlights this fact. She uses a pronoun “you” + verb “disturb” + “behavior” in instrumental case. She does not use other possibilities, such as “behavior” used in Nominative as a subject. The use of “you” as a subject combined with a verb in present tense portrays the talking children as offenders who are positioned in contrast to the “good” children affected by the misbehaving students.

While the teacher presents the situation as real, it is not certain or known whether the children talking affects children sitting in other classrooms. It is also not known whether the children in other classrooms are actually studying. In this sense, the teacher also describes a hypothetical situation.

4.4 Children’s Reactions to Transgressions.

In the examples above we see how children become characters in hypothetical stories that are structured in ways that present hypothetical plots as realities. The following example demonstrates how these hypothetical scenarios are implemented by children as realities. In example 4.4 two girls commit a transgression of talking while another child is reading. They are presented with a hypothetical story in which they

become victims of a similar transgression. Later, when it is time for one of these girls to read, other children in fact commit a similar transgression, in response to which the girl has an emotional reaction, demonstrating her negative stance towards the transgression.

Example 4.4

The children are asked to read out loud a folk tale one after another. When directions for the task are given, the children are directed to sit quietly while one is reading. Maša is reading. Ženja gets up from her desk and starts to walk around, moving a chair, saying that she knows this tale. The teacher directs the children to be quiet a few times. Teacher's phone rings. Children get a little louder. The teacher hangs up the phone, stands next to the reading child. The child stops reading.

WALKS TOWARDS NADJA AND ŽENJA.

↓

31 **Teacher:** Značit devočki.<

Meaning girls

So girls,

32 >Kogda vy sejčas budete čitat'^(1.0) Nadja i Ženja.

When you now will read name and name

Now when you start reading, Nadja and Ženja,

33 (0.5)

34 Ja skažu čtoby Erika i Maša (.) =

I tell.Fut to name and name

I will tell Erica and Maša

35 =Načali gromko razgovarivat'. (1.0)

Start loudly talk

To start talking loudly.

36 **Ženja:** [a xxx]
 37 **Teacher:** [I posmotrim kak èto vam budet prijatno ili neprijatno.
And see.Fut. how this you will pleasant or unpleasant
And we'll see whether you like it or not.

38 Davaj vot otsjuda. čitaj.
Come on here from here read
Come on read from here.

ŽENJA LEANS TOWARDS NADJA TELLING HER SOMETHING
 ERICA STARTS READING

39 **Teacher:** Ty slyšiš' menja [Žen'.]
You hear me name
Do you hear me Ženja.

40 **Ženja:** [aaa]

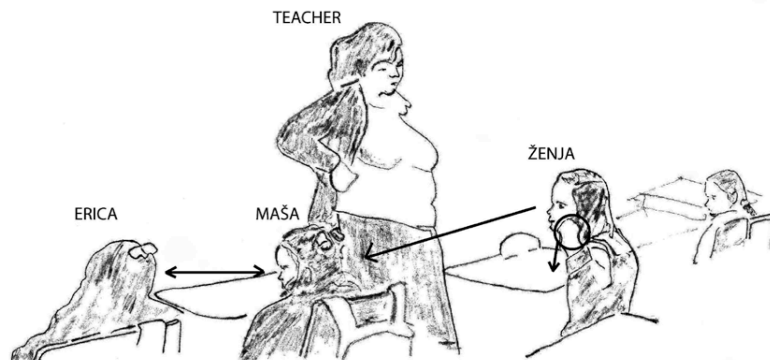
41 ((The teacher moves Ženja's desk away from Nadja's desk and stands between the two girls))

42 ((The teacher touches Ženja's hair))

((Several minutes later it is Ženja's turn to read. While she is reading Erica and Maša start talking))

43 ((TEACHER LOOKS AT ERICA AND MAŠA, CLEARS HER THROAT))

44 **Ženja:** BANGS HER FIST ON THE TABLE= ((Looking at Erica and Masha))



ŽENJA LOOKING AT TEACHER



45 **Teacher:** =Aha? (.) ne nraivitsja?

No like

Oh yeah? Don't like it?

46 **Ženja:** LOOKS AT MAŠA AND ERICA, SMILING; THEN LOOKS AT HER DESK

47 **Teacher:** hhah a khak sama, ahhh šiš uhm {a?(.)Žen,}(smiling voice)(.)

How yourself

name

When you yourself go tshshsh ah, Žen?

TEACHER LOOKING AT ERICA AND MAŠA



48 =Vsě devočki tixo ne na [do.

All girls quiet no ne ed

Enough girls don't do it.

49 **Ženja:**

[((reading))]

In the present interaction the teacher first positions the children as characters of the hypothetical future story. In this story the children who the teacher sees as victims are positioned as committing a transgression of talking while those who in reality have committed the transgression are reading. The transgression in the story is exaggerated, “talking loudly” as compared to the real transgression. A few minutes later, however, when the girl who has committed the transgression reads and those children who were the characters committing the transgression in the story started talking, the teacher provides reported speech of the girl’s transgression as an onomatopetic “tshsh,” describing the whispering sounds (line 47). The teacher interprets the girl’s banging her fist on the table (line 44) as not liking it (line 45). She structures her interpretation of the girl’s action as a negative interrogative addressed to the girl, marked with a rising intonation and a pause. In response to the interrogative the child first looks at Maša

and Erica and then at her desk. The teacher then continues her talk describing the prior transgression of the child. She, however, does not maintain a serious nature, inserting laughter and a smiling voice in line 47. Immediately after, she addresses the offenders, Maša and Erica, in a serious manner (no laughter or smiling voice), producing a directive to the girls to stop the behavior.

As we can see, the accounts used for correcting transgressions often include other individuals, both those physically present in the classroom and those who are not in the immediate proximity of the children. In both situations the children whose behaviors are considered unacceptable are positioned as disturbing other individuals. In addition the children with negative behaviors are positioned in opposition to those exhibiting the good behaviors.

The examples above demonstrate that the teachers often position the children with good behaviors as being negatively affected by the misbehaving children. The use of the present tense (and not irrealis) highlighting the factual nature of the proposition and the simultaneous presence of the children allow them to align to the projected reality, i.e. children being in some way affected by the behaviors of others. The fact that the children pay close attention to what is happening as evident through direction of eye gaze in example 4.1, and the fact that they themselves show that their behaviors have a negative consequence on them, as discussed in chapter 3, demonstrates that the stories used by the teachers become successful means of language socialization.

4.5 Discussion.

Account stories in a Russian HL classroom for why a behavior should be terminated seem to be built with a systematic template that involves other students,

who are positioned in opposition to the offenders or as being negatively affected by the transgression. The stories are usually produced in the present tense (as opposed to other possibilities such as irrealis) highlighting their factual nature. This, in combination with the physical presence of not just the offender but other children as well, allows them to align to the projected reality, which is in fact done by the children (as demonstrated in example 4.4 and examples in chapter 3).

4.5.1 Involvement of others in settings other than Russian HL classroom

The involvement of others in the accounts for why a transgression should be terminated is not unique to the HL classroom setting. In my previous research conducted in Russia (Moore in press) I have found that preschool teachers often ‘use others’ to regulate behaviors and affective stances, or “feelings, moods, disposition, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations” (Ochs and Schiefflin 1989: 7). This, similarly to the HL classroom setting, is frequently done in polyadic (De León 2006) or multi-participant arrangements that include active involvement on the part of a teacher and are actively encouraged by the teacher. Children are encouraged to observe each other’s behaviors and monitor how their own behaviors negatively affect other individuals, both children and teachers. The stories that the teachers use in the Russian preschool are very similar to the ones found in the HL setting with younger children. The child in a Russian preschool is often reminded of how her behaviors might hurt feelings of other children:

Example 4.5

Involvement of Others in a Russian Preschool.

01 **Music teacher:** Ty prosto eščë ne poljubila naš detskij sad .
You simply yet no love our preschool
You just haven't started to love our daycare.

02 [Da?
Yes?

03 **Valja:** [Net.] (starts crying)
No.

04 **Teacher:** Ona prišla v [pjatnicu ,
She came on Friday
She started on Friday,

05 **Music teacher:** [ty poda-
you wait-

06 Net podoždi .
No wait
No wait.

07 A to ty sejčas vse x perepugaeš' ,
Or you now all scare
Or you will scare everyone.

Similarly to the HL setting, in the present interaction the Russian preschool teacher draws the attention of a child who exhibits a behavior that is not appropriate for the preschool setting to other individuals, quickly reminding her that such behavior 'will scare everyone' (line 7).

The Russian preschool resembles other educational settings, such as Japanese schools, where attention to feelings of others is also found. In her discussion of various types of preschool in Japan, Holloway states that developing empathy for others and

“improving relationships with peers” (2000: 52) was found in various types of preschools, but was more evident in “relationship-oriented preschools.” Similarly, the teachers in the Russian preschool and the Heritage Russian classroom orient children to feelings of others through attending to how particular behaviors might affect them.

The tendency to involve other individuals in hypothetical stories is not unique to educational settings. Murphy in his discussion of architectural discourse demonstrates how “embedded skits,” future-oriented stories are used for “calibrating architectural vision” (2011: 251). In these stories hypothetical actors are positioned in imaginary scenarios that are used to transform design problems. The stories are activity-bound, orienting to the hypothetical future of imagined others. Similarly, the HL school stories are hypothetical and are bound by an activity of giving a directive to stop a transgression. In this sense, like the architects’ stories, they are used to convince others that certain actions are desirable or not desirable.

The telling of the story is an attempt of creating a social actor who adheres to certain moral values, a certain “type” of a child, regardless of his/her specific biographical or individual peculiarities. In a sense, these stories utilize the “reciprocity of perspectives” that Schutz describes as based on the “fundamental idealization that if I were to change places with my fellow-man I would experience the same sector of the world in substantially the same perspectives as he does, our particular biographical circumstances becoming for all practical purposes irrelevant” (1954: 269).

The aligning of the children to the projected reality that they are in fact negatively affected by the disruptive behavior suggests that the socialization efforts of the teachers do become successful. Research on peer interaction of children from different cultures shows that peers actively create their own culture in ways that both reproduce norms of adults and at the same time are adapted to create a unique social

reality (Kyratzis 2000; Corsaro 1979). The present chapter demonstrates that adults play an active role in such recreation as we see children aligning to the realities projected by the teachers. Although teachers most of the time do not explicitly tell children to be disturbed by the transgressions, the methods of creating a desired reality of their being disturbed become effective (as evident from example 4.4). Similar to research conducted in American preschools, where teachers actively “hold and enforce cultural assumptions [in the school setting, and children] generally conform to ... expectations in the classroom setting” (LeMaster and Hernandez-Katapodis 2002: 230-231), Russian HL teachers’ use of directive trajectories, including account stories actively contributes to children’s creation and recreation of cultural assumptions.

In her discussion of routines in a Mayan community, De León (2000) proposes that young children are involved in interactional routines that do not take place in dyadic care-giver-child interactions, but are structured as polyadic (multi-participant) interactions. Burdelski (2010) also discusses that politeness routines, including empathy towards others in Japanese preschools, are socialized in participation frameworks that include triadic arrangements and the whole class. Teachers in these settings make use of imagined future scenarios in which children are provided models for actions, such as sharing. Similarly, in the Russian HL school, the classroom routine activities are structured to appear in a multi-participant setting. Children who are misbehaving or showing inappropriate ways of conducting activities (such as talking when others read) become direct addressees, while all the other children who are present during these interactions also become recipients of directive speech acts. They hear and observe what is done and told around them, and show attempts of co-participation, understanding and creation and recreation of the realities that are demonstrated to them by the adults. In addition, the shift in participation frameworks make the stories

relevant for all children present during the interaction.

The adult teachers in the HL school project to the children that they are to consider how their behavior would affect others. In some sense, the Russian children attending the HL school learn to be part of a group where such considerations are important. In my beginning stages of fieldwork in the Russian HL school, a director of the school told me that they have “a collective” of teachers and that one needs to be accepted to become its member. I believe that the students in the Russian HL school are also positioned as individuals who are part of the group whose behavior has an effect on every one of its members.

CHAPTER 5

USE OF HYPOTHETICAL REPORTED DIRECT SPEECH: RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS

Relationships with family, and especially parents, are often discussed in the HL school (see chapter 2). Usually children are urged to be obedient sons and daughters and treat their parents with respect. The children are often told that their parents are “always right,” and even when they are “not right, they are right.” As I discussed in chapter 2, it is considered a sin to disobey one’s parents, and children in the HL school are often reminded about this.

Relationships with parents and the value of respect towards a parent are often discussed in connection with religious values. The children, for example are told that they are to be humble, especially towards their parents, similarly to how humble Jesus was when he came to Jerusalem riding a donkey:

Example 5.1.

- 01 **Teacher:** Čto takoe vxođ gospodin v Ierusalim vam rasskazyvali.
What this entrance God in Jerusalem you told
Have you been told what God's entrance into Jerusalem is?

(1.0)
- 02 Čto èto takoe. (0.2)
What this like
What is it?
- 03 Vo pervyx kak èto proizošlo. (0.3)
At first how this happened
Firstly, how did it happen?
- 04 Gospod' bog (.) smirennij. (0.9)
Lord god humble
Heavenly Father was humble.
- 05 Ljudi ždali čto èto budet kakoj-to neobyknovennyj
veličestvennyj car'.(0.6)
*People waited that this will some unusual
magnificent tsar*
People expected him to be some unusual magnificent tsar.
- 06 No on byl soveršenno smirennij.
But he was absolutely humble
But he was absolutely humble.
- 07 Krotkij čelovek. očen' tixij. (.)
Obedient person very quiet
A very obedient quiet person.
- 08 Isceljal. (0.6) voskrešal. (0.2) da? (.)
Healed resurrected yes
He healed, resurrected, yes?

- 09 I narod ob ètom uže znal. (.)
And people about this already knew
And people knew about this already.
- 10 Tak vot (.) v"ezžaja v Ierusalim, (0.4)
So entering in Jerusalem
So entering Jerusalem,
- 11 Gospod' bog Iesus XristOS uže znal čto on edet na svoju
krestnuju smert'. (.)
*Lord god Jesus Christ already know that goes on self
cross death*
**Lord Jesus Christ already knew that he was going to his death
on the cross.**
- 12 Čto ego zdes' pridadut?(0.3)
That him here betray
That he will be betrayed here,
- 13 I raspnut na kreste.
And crussify on cross
And crucified.
- 14 [I:: e-] on primet svoju (0.5) ne- è- s::mert' (.) zemnu::ju da?
And he take his no death earthly yes
And he will accept his death on earth.
- 15 **Zen:** [/oo\]
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 **Teacher:** No posle ↑ètogo voskresnet v TRETij den'. (0.4)
But after this resurrect in third day
But after this he will be resurrected on the third day.

- 18 Tak vot ètot prazdnik my budem prazdnovat' uže v sledščee
voskresen'e.
*So this holiday we already will celebrate in next
sunday*
So next Sunday we will celebrate this holiday.
- 19 Vxod gospoden v Ierusalim.
Entrance god's in Jerusalem
God's entrance into Jerusalem
- 20 ČTO èto bylo.
What this was
What was it?
- 21 Dejstvitel'no sobralas' (.) m- mnogoTYSjačnaja tolpa,
Really gathered multi-thousand crowd
In reality a multi-thousand crowd gathered,
- 22 Očen' bylo mnogo narodu. (0.3)
Very was many people
There were very many people.
- 23 I vse priVETstvovali (0.4) BOga. (.)
And all greeted god
And everyone greeted the God,
- 24 Kotoryj v"exal v Ierusalim na OSlike.
Which rode in Jerusalem on donkey-dim
Who entered Jerusalem on a donkey.
- 25 On v"ezžal očen' smirenno.
He entered very humbly
He entered very humbly,

- 26 Ne na kakoj-to ogromnoj prekrasnoj tam šikarnoj (.) a::
 zolotoj karete s kamin'jami.
*No on some huge beautiful there luxurious
 golden carriage with gems*
Not on some beautiful luxurious golden carriage with gems.
- 27 Net.
No.
- 28 On v"exal očen smirenno na oslike.
He entered very humbly on donkey-dim.
He entered very humbly on a donkey.
- (6 minutes of video skipped)**
- 29 Gospod' byl krotok i, (.)
God was gentle and
God was gentle, and
- 30 Čemu i my s vami dolžny ot nego učit'sja.<
Which and we with you must from him learn
And we all need to learn from him.
- 31 <My dolžny byt' očen' smirennymi,
We must be very humble
We must be very humble,
- 32 Èto značit poslušnymi, (.) Da?
This means obedient yes
This means obedient, right?
- 33 Krotkimi,
Gentle
Gentle.

- 34 Ne govorit' (.) net (.) ja èto ne budu delat'
No say no I this no will do
Not to say "no, I won't do this,
- 35 Potomu što ne xoču::?
Because no want
Because I don't want to,
- 36 Ja èto ne mogu::.
I this no can
I can't do this!"
- 37 A govorit' xorošo ja postorajus' ,(.)
But say good I try-Fut
But say "Ok I will try,
- 38 Ja sdelaju, (.)
I do-Fut
I will do it."
- 39 Očen' smirenno,
Very gently
Very gently,
- 40 Ne zlit'sja, (0.9)
No angry
Don't be angry.
- 41 Ne rugat'sja, (0.7)
No argue
Don't argue.
- 42 Ne v- vspyljat roditeljam što-to takoe v otvet. da?
No blow up parents somethink like in response yes
Don't blow up something like this in response to parents, yes?

In the present interaction children are told to be humble the way Jesus was when he entered Jerusalem riding a donkey. The humility of Jesus is highlighted by multiple

repetitions of the words “smirenyj” (humble) (lines 04, 06, 25, 28, 31, 39) and “krotkij” (gentle) (lines 07, 29, 33). These qualities are on the one hand contrasted with Jesus’ greatness as he “healed” and “resurrected” people (line 08). On the other hand, they are contrary to the expectations of showing his greatness by riding in a “beautiful luxurious golden carriage with gems” (line 26) by people who awaited his entrance into Jerusalem. The children are then told that they need to learn how to be humble from Jesus (line 30). They are presented with a concrete understanding of what they shouldn’t do if they were to be humble. First the teacher provides an explicit meta-linguistic commentary of the word “humble” explaining its meaning as “obedient” and “gentle” (lines 32, 33). She then provides two scenarios in which these qualities are absent and present in their interactions with parents (lines 34 – 42).

This interaction is similar to what Barber (2007) has discussed in her dissertation on the use of collated stories in Catholic community youth organizations. In the future-oriented “what if” narratives discussed by Barber, such questions as “what would Jesus do” and “what would you do” are employed. While the first question is used to set the standard of moral behavior, the second one is used to assess the youth’s own morality. The two types are often used against each other “with the explicit goal of the teens learning to mirror Jesus’ hypothetical actions in the identical situation” (2007: 105).

In the Russian HL setting, in addition to providing children with such “second stories” (Sacks 1992) that teach them to behave according to certain Orthodox Christian values, the teachers explicitly demonstrate to the children concrete understandings of morality, providing hypothetical scenarios of talking to parents in ways that entail these morals. These scenarios often involve what I will call “hypothetical reported direct speech” (“hypothetical direct speech” from here on) or modeling of direct speech of what children are to say and are not to say to the parents by the teachers.

The present chapter discusses the use of hypothetical direct speech by the teachers in the HL classroom interactions used to model ways of talking to parents. Through the use of such quotes acceptable and unacceptable actions are signaled in addition to word choice through prosody to depict appropriate stances, and contrast those with inappropriate ones.

In my discussion of hypothetical direct speech I examine the “structure” of the quotes, i.e. its’ framing, the beginning of the quotes (i.e. how the transition from its framing to the quote itself takes place), re-introducing and exiting the quotes. I also discuss how morality is projected in these quotes through the use of some of these structural elements, creating normativity and typifying social actors.

5.1 Hypothetical Direct Speech: Background.

The hypothetical direct speech is similar to reported speech that Voloshinov describes as “speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also speech about speech, utterance about utterance” (1986: 115). Discussing its central role in human communication, Bakhtin (1981: 337-338) states the following about reported speech:

“The transmission and assessment of the speech of others, the discourse of another, is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech. In all areas of life and ideological activity, our speech is filled with overflowing with other people’s words, which are transmitted with highly varied degrees of accuracy and impartiality. (...) The topic of a speaking person has enormous importance in everyday life. In real life we hear speech about speakers and their discourse at every step. We can go so far as to say that in real life people talk most of all about what others talk about – they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people’s words, opinions, assertions, information; people are upset by others’ words, or agree with them, contest them, refer to them and so forth.....”

While hypothetical direct speech can be classified as reported direct speech, it is different from our usual understanding of the phenomenon, as the hypothetical reported speech is a re-enactment of what is seen as “typical” speech, and may be words or propositions that may have never been produced by anyone. At the same time, however, reported speech (reporting of an actual rather than hypothetical event) is an act that is also a departure from the reported reality, as “the quoted utterance is characterized by transformations, modifications and functionalizations according to the speaker’s aims and the new conversational context” (Gunthner 1998: 3). Goodwin (1980) has also made a similar point in her discussion of the “he said she said” stories designed with a particular recipient in mind and changing with the change of the recipient. Consistent with the idea of transformations in reported speech, Tannen (1989: 109) proposes looking at the phenomena as “constructed dialogue,” as every utterance produced as reported speech is “an active transforming move” through which “spirit of the utterance, its nature and force, are fundamentally transformed.” Although the hypothetical direct speech does not transform specific utterances, the “typical” utterances that children produce or should produce are reported. In this sense, the teachers producing the hypothetical direct speech, similarly to speakers of reported speech, become “laminated speakers” (Goffman 1981).

Various roles, such as an animator, a principal, and an author may be performed by a laminated speaker during the production of reported speech (Goffman 1981). It is important to remember, however, that in the production of the reported speech audience plays a crucial role. Goodwin and Goodwin (2007) have emphasized this fact in their discussion of “participation frameworks.” The hypothetical direct speech in the HL classroom is designed for a particular audience of younger children learning Russian as a Heritage language. I believe that certain features of the reported speech,

such as only framing the direct quote with a saying verb rather than other possible means that the Russian language allows (see section 5.2) are used by the teachers with the consideration of their audience, i.e. younger HL children.

Producing hypothetical direct speech for children, teachers model ways of talking to their parents. In other words, hypothetical quotes come about in a context of “prompting” (Schieffelin 1990; Burdelsky 2010). Prompting is a practice in which children are directed to say something in attempts to socialize them into routines, such as politeness. Prompting usually consists of two elements: 1) a directive containing a verb “say” followed by the quote the children are supposed to say (“*Skažite, xorošo mam, ja ispravljus’.*” (Say, Ok mom, I will get better.)), and 2) a child repeating what the caregiver said. In some instances, such as socialization of politeness routines, the caregiver may repeat what a child has asked of his or her peer before prompting a response from the second child (Burdelsky 2010: 1613). The hypothetical direct speech is similar to such prompting routines in that the teachers perform the first step, telling children what to say. Because the teacher models for the children what to say and what not to say to parents, who are not present in the classroom, and because children are put into hypothetical situations, step two of the child repeating what the teacher said is not expected or performed. Hypothetical direct speech, however, is similar to the prompting routines in that it “provide[s] not only the content of talk but the form and the function as well” (Schieffelin 1990: 77). Hypothetical direct speech is also similar to prompting in a sense that the caregiver provides his or her view of what needs or needs not be said by the children, “the starting point is the mother’s [or caregiver’s] view of what should be said and what should be happening” (Schieffelin 1990: 77).

As I will demonstrate in the following section of the chapter, the teachers in the HL Russian classroom, similarly to caregivers producing the prompting routines, frame

the hypothetical reported speech with a saying verb. Framing of reported speech, as well as the quotes themselves, have been discussed in two types of contexts: written reported speech (Bakhtin 1981; Voloshinov 1986) and spoken reported speech (Bolden 2004; Grenoble 1998). While reported speech can be un-problematically and clearly marked in written language with quotations, multiple semiotic resources, including voice quality and prosody (Günthner 1998; Bolden 2004), lexical items, such as saying verbs, speech act verbs, absence of verbal framing of the quote (Kitajgorodskaja 1993: 71), facial expressions and gesture (Grenoble 1998) may be used for this purpose. Bolden (2004) has demonstrated that in Russian a saying verb, a speech act verb, a verb accompanying action, such as “call,” interjections (also see Kitajgorodskaja 1993), and quotative particles, such as “mol” and “deskat” (also see Grenoble 1998) are used as ways to introduce a quote. In addition, Bolden (2004) found that it may be marked without syntactic devices, but through a change of voice quality, prosody and pauses. The present chapter examines how the hypothetical quote is framed in the teachers’ speech. In addition, I look at how the speakers exit the quote.

One of the central issues examined by Bolden (2004) was the question of how speakers signal that they exit a reporting frame. The author notes that “the issue of how unquote is indicated has received little attention in the vast literature on reported speech, yet the offset of reported speech is of, at least as much importance as its onset” (2004: 1072). Bolden’s findings suggest that speakers employ several strategies to close a reporting frame in Russian. “Dialogue reporting” is one of the ways to perform an “unquote.” In dialogue reporting when more than one TCUs are quoted by different people, the beginning of one quote co-occurs with the end of another quote. One of the ways to mark the onset of the next quote is through sequence organizational resources, i.e. adjacency pairs such as question–answer. Another way to do this is the use of

repositioning devices. Among repositioning devices Bolden provides examples of meta-linguistic commentary, indexical expressions, including temporal, personal or locational references, and speech disfluencies. The following sections of the chapter examine how the unquote is done in the HL setting. Considering the specificity of hypothetical direct speech that is positioned as part of a hypothetical scenario, I take a closer look at indexical expressions in exiting the reported speech. In addition to the exiting devices identified by Bolden, I have also found that a use of non-lexical items such as “blah-blah-blah” (switching from the direct to the indirect quotation) or discourse markers “this and that” (pointing to prior discourse) also mark an exit from the hypothetical direct quote.

5.2 Framing of Hypothetical Direct Speech.

In interactions with younger children attending a HL Russian school, hypothetical direct speech is usually framed with the use of a 2nd person singular or plural of a verb of saying, such as “say,” “tell,” “ask” etc. It has been noted that in conversational Russian the direct speech is frequently limited to framing that contains a saying verb (Kitaigorodskaja 1993). Having found this to be true in her data, Bolden (2004) has also demonstrated that the framing of a quoted speech may be done by means other than use of speaking verbs and speech act verbs, through the use of quotative particles, interjections, or pauses combined with the change of voice quality. However, in the HL classroom interactions of adults with younger children, I did not find such cases. The hypothetical direct speech in interactions between native Russian adults and heritage language children is introduced with the help of a speaking verb. The analysis supports the argument that it could be a practice that is frequently used

with children who have a lower proficiency in Russian, such as HL learners.

The preference for an explicit framing of the quote with a speaking verb is evident in the teacher's repeating the speaking verb after an insertion TCU. In the following interaction a child is presented with a hypothetical situation of reading with his mother where he is told to ask her the meaning of new words. The quote, however, does not immediately follow the framing, but is separated from it by an insertion TCU:

Example 5.2.

→04 **Teacher:** Ty vstrechaeš' kakie- to slova novye sprašivaeš' u mamy.(.)
You come across some words new ask.2P.Sing at mom
You come across some new words and ask your mom,

05 Kotoraja (.) očen xorošo govorit po ↑russki estessno da?(.)
Who very well speak in russian naturally yes
Who speaks Russian very well naturally.

⇒06 Sprašivaeš' u nee mama a čto èto taKOe,<
Ask.2P.Sing. at her mom and what this like
Ask her, "Mom what does this mean?"

07 <Mama tebe ob"jasnjaet.(.)
Mom you explains
Mom explains it to you.

08 I u tebja tvoj jazyk (.) razvivaetsja.
And at you your language develop
And your language skills improve.

In example 5.2, the teacher repeats the present tense singular verb "ask" twice, in line 04 and in line 06, after an insertion of a description of a mother as a competent Russian speaker in line 5. While the indirect object changes from 'u mamy' (at mother) to 'u nee' (at her), the framing verb 'sprašivaeš'' (ask) stays unchanged, explicitly framing the quote as such. With a singular saying verb one particular child is prompted

to produce a quote to his or her parents. The addressee of this prompting is a child whose proficiency in Russian is much lower than that of other children in his class. In this example, a child who does not speak Russian very well is repeated the framing of the quote twice. This, however, does not happen in other cases when children who are more fluent in Russian are prompted to say something to their parents. In the following interaction that came about as a result of a child bringing a non-Orthodox book about God to school, the teacher discusses with the children books that are acceptable and unacceptable for reading based on their content being consistent with Orthodox Christian teachings. The children are urged to ask their parents whether the books that they are given to read are Orthodox Christian or not. In this example the quote is framed by the plural pronoun “you” followed by a modal verb “can” and a saying verb “say”, You-Pl. + Modal+ Saying Verb-Infin.. This do-quote, however, is separated from the frame by an insertion TCU in line 03, and the saying verb is not repeated as it was done in the previous example:

Example 5.3.

01 **Teacher:** I poètomu kogda vam roditeli dajut knigi požalujsta, (0.5)
And that's why when you parents give books please
So that's why when your parents give you books please

→ 02 Vy deti no

vy you.Pl.

 vseгда

možete skazat'; can.Pl. say.Inf.

You children but
You are children but you always can say,

→ 03 Roditelji mogu ètogo ne znat'.
Parents can this not know
Parents may not know this,

04 Mam posmotri èto pravoslavnaja knižka ili net.
Mom look this orthodox book or not
"Mom please check if this is an Orthodox book or not."

As we can see, a saying verb "say" is again used to explicitly frame the quote in this example. Another distinctive feature of this interaction is that the concern of one particular child (who brought a non-Orthodox book about God to school) is transformed into a directive addressed to all the children with the use of plurals. Using the plural verb and plural pronoun "you" in the framing of the quote positions the value of reading Orthodox Christian books and the children's ability to ask their parents about it, as applicable to all the children and not one particular child. In addition, the children are typified as individuals whom their parents give books that are religious in nature and for whom it is important to read Orthodox Christian literature.

In modeling the direct reported speech children are also presented with what they are not to say to the parents. In such situations prohibitives are used employing the same framing as do-quotes i.e.

You.Pl.+ Modal+Negation+ Saying verb-Inf.

, plus negation. It is a plural saying verb combined with a plural pronoun "you" that we see

in don't-quotes; do-quotes allow plural) (example 5.3 and singular (example 5.2) verbs and pronouns. In the following interaction that takes place during a Russian reading class, the teacher discusses how the children should behave when their parents don't follow the Orthodox Christian rule of fasting (i.e. maintaining a vegetarian diet) during Lent (i.e. they cook meat and feed it to the children). The teacher urges the children not to teach their parents, yet still understand the moral values (of fasting) presented to them. The quote the teacher provides is framed with the plural "you", a modal verb "must" and a saying verb "don't say":

Example 5.4.

- 01 **Teacher:** To što vam daju v škole, (0.8)
That which you give in school
What you are taught in school,
- 02

Vy dolžny You.Pl. must.Pl. You must
--

 konačno èto slyšat' (.) ponimat'. (1.0)
of course this hear understand
of course hear and understand,
- 03 No ne- ne učit'- ne prixodit' i

ne govorit' ? no say.Inf. not say,

But no no teach no come and no say.
But not teach, not come and not say,
- 04 Tak mama bystro perestan' gotovit' mjaso. (.)
Like this mom quickly stop cook meat
"Tak mom, stop cooking meat right now,
- 05 Potomu što tak-to i tak-to.
Because like this and like this
Because like this and like that."
- 06 Net.
No.
- 07 Vy ne dolžny ètogo govorit' no vy dolžny èto znat'.
You no must this say but you must this know
You must not say it, but you must know it.
- 08 Davaj Andrijuša čitaj potom predaš' Žene.
Come on Andrej DIM read then giveFUT Ženja
Come on Andrej read and then let Ženja read.
- 09 ((Andrej starts reading.))

In the present interaction, the teacher uses a plural "you" and a modal verb "must" to frame the quote. The use of the plural pronoun and a verb positions the

content of the quote as relevant to all the children, although it was again a concern raised by one particular child who is according to her report, is fed meat during Lent.

Another method of making the quote relevant to the whole class and not one particular individual is to use an inclusive “we” combined with a plural saying verb. In example 5.5 “we” is used in combination with a modal “must” and the saying verb “say” (We + Modal + Saying Verb-Infin.) to frame do- and don’t quotes. In this example (excerpt from example 5.1) children are urged to be “humble” similarly to Jesus, who entered Jerusalem riding a donkey. To provide the children with an understanding of what it would mean for them to be like Jesus the children are given two specific scenarios of acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking to a parent:

Example 5.5.

- 01 **Teacher:**

My dolžny We must.Pl. We must
--

 byt’ očen’ smirennymi,
be very humble
be very humble.

- 02 Ěto značit poslušnymi? (.) Da?
This means obedient yes
This means obedient, right?

- 03 Krotkimi,
Gentle
Gentle.

- 04

Ne govorit’ No say.Inf Not to say
--

 (.) ↑ne:::t (.) ja éto ne budu delat’
no I this no will do
“No, I won’t do this.

- 05 Potomu što ne xoču::?
Because no want
Because I don’t want to.

- 06 Ja èto ne mogu::
I this no can
I can't do this."
- 07 A

govorit'
say.Inf.
say,

 xorošo ja postorajus'(.)
But good I try-Fut
But say, "Ok I will try.
- 08 Ja sdelažu,
I do-Fut
I will do it."
- 09 Očen' smirenno,
Very gently
Very gently.
- 10 Ne zlit'sja,
No angry
Don't be angry.

In the present interaction the teacher first provides an explicit meta-linguistic commentary of the word "humble" explaining its meaning as "obedient" and "gentle." She then prompts the children not to produce a certain quote (line 04), but instead say a different quote (line 07). In section 5.3 of the chapter I come back to this example and take a closer look at the quotes themselves. In the meantime, however, it is important to keep in mind how the quotes are framed. As we can see, in line 01 the teacher uses an inclusive "we" combined with modal must. In line 04 she uses a saying verb "say" followed by a contrastive conjunction 'a' ("but") and a negative saying verb "not say" in line 07. Using an inclusive "we" allows the teacher to present the proposition that one needs to be humble and obedient like Jesus relevant to everyone in the classroom, including all the children and herself.

5.2.1 Typifying characters, creating normativity and morality in framing of hypothetical direct reported speech

By prompting all the children present in class to say certain things to their parents, the teachers present the children with normative behaviors that they all should do. When a quote is framed with a singular saying verb, one particular child is urged to say something to his or her parents or is described as saying something to the parents. At the same time, because the hypothetical scenarios are presented in a polyadic (De Leon 2000) arrangement (when all the children are present in the class), all children become exposed to the information communicated to one particular student. Nevertheless, singular saying verbs and pronouns are not used to frame the don't-quotes; instead we see "we" and plural "you" employed. This has the effect of maintaining the status of the quotes that the children are not to say to their parents as "typical" and simultaneously impersonal and not describing one particular child. Therefore, a particular child is not "accused" of talking in a certain manner while it is assumed and communicated that it is frequently done by all the children.

The children themselves at times admit that they behave in ways that their teachers describe in these hypothetical quotes. In the following interaction the teacher urges the children not to be disrespectful to their parents and not to talk to them in certain ways. In her framing of the quote the teacher designs it as relevant for all the children through the use of plural "be" and "you" in lines 01 and 02 respectively. After the production of a quote the teacher provides a meta-commentary on the quote describing it as done by all the children and as something that her own children do, emphasizing its "typical" nature. In response to this a child acknowledges that she frequently does the same:

Example 5.6.

- 01 **Teacher:** Bud'te smirennymi nemnožko.=
Be humble a little
Be a little humble.
- 02 =Esli vam čto-to govorjat,
If you something say
If you are told something,
- 03 Ne nado (garit').
No need say
Don't say,
- 04 ↑Ja ↑znaju. ja vuvuvu vuvuvè.
I know I
"I know I blah-blah-blah."
- 05 Skažite xorošo mam ja ispravljus'. (.)
Say.Inf.Pl. good mom I self-correct
Say, "Ok, mom, I will get better."

06 Ponjatno potomu čto èto u vas u vsej èto est'.
Understand because this at you at all this is
Understand? Because you all act like this.

07 Ja znaju po svojim detjam.
I know on self children
I know this based on my children.

08 (2.5)

09 **Ženja:**

Ja èto delaju. <i>I this do</i> I do this
--

10 (1.5)

11 **Ženja:** [xxxxxxx

12 **Teacher:** [Tak vot v sleduščee voskresen'e
So here in next sunday
So next Sunday,

In this example the child acknowledges that she does “do it” (talk in a way that the teacher modeled) in line 09. The teacher, however, does not react to the child’s comment, which results in a long 1.5-second pause (line 10). Following the pause, the teacher changes the topic of conversation getting back to the issue discussed earlier – a holiday next Sunday. The teacher’s turn is overlapped with the child’s talk (lines 11-12). The teacher, however, does not address the child’s previous comment or tries to initiate a repair of the child’s overlapped talk. By such sequential deletion of the child’s comment the teacher avoids discussing one particular child’s actual non-normative behaviors. This on the one hand helps maintain the status of the quote as typical and on the other hand allows the teacher to practice and demonstrate to the children importance of the Orthodox Christian value of not judging another.

While the choice between singular or plural saying verb in the framing of the quotes helps typify certain behaviors rather than present an individual child's behavior, the avoidance of other possible devices to frame the quote seems to play a role in positioning the children as young HL learners. The fact that teachers usually use a speaking verb in the framing of quotes in the HL classroom is probably due to the fact that it is an explicit way to provide prompting, to direct the children to say something to the parents. During this process the students are on the one hand modeled how to talk to their parents, and having a saying verb used in imperative mood prepares the children to anticipate that the quote is coming, i.e. it is an explicit way to direct them to say something to the parents. At the same time, such explicit framing of a hypothetical direct speech may help avoid misunderstanding on the children's side. While teachers sometimes may choose not to employ direct speech, its use and explicit framing through the use of the saying verbs may help children understand what is asked of them as it "may be a simplifying device for speakers, particularly immature ones, because it allows them to avoid some of the more problematic aspects of syntactic and semantic incorporation, such as deictic shifting required on the indirect mode" (Romaine and Lange 1991: 268). Simultaneously with achieving this goal, however, the teachers position the children as Heritage Language learners who are young and who need an explicit way of framing hypothetical reported speech in order to ensure understanding.

5.3. Hypothetical Quote.

5.3.1. Multimodality in entering the quote

A variety of devices are used to distinguish a quote from the rest of the speech. The framing of the quote prepares the hearer to anticipate that it is coming. However, as I have demonstrated above, not always does the quote immediately begin after the speaking verb (see example 5.3). How does a hearer know when the framing of a quote ends and the quote begins? In the HL classroom setting a term of address for “mother” is often used in the beginning of a quote, signaling the shift from framing to the quote. It is, however, not the use of the lexical item alone, but its combination with pitch reset that allows us to understand where the framing of the quote ends and the quote itself begins. The use of the term of address in the beginning of the hypothetical quote positions children as initiating a conversation with their mothers, and simultaneously as children who speak with their mothers in Russian. At the same time, the mothers are also portrayed as speakers of Russian. The use of the term of address for mother combined with a pitch reset can be seen in the following examples. In example 5.7 the Bible teacher tells the child who has informed him and the class that her mother does not love her grandmother, to talk to her mother about the issue. In this interaction a term of address for a mother is used in the beginning of a quote

Example 5.7.

39 **Teacher:** Vot naprimer (.) ty dolžna (.) kak to (.) pogovorit' so svoej mamoj.<
Here for example you must somehow speak with your mom
So for example you should somehow speak with your mom,

→40 < Mama počemu ty ne ljubiš' babušku. (.)
Mom *why you no love grandmother*
"Mom why don't you love grandma?"

41 A vdruk (.) babuška umrët,
And if grandmother die
What if grandma dies?"

Similarly to using "mama" a contracted term of address for mother, "mam" is also a common way to address a mother in Russian. Example 13 (also example 3) demonstrates the use of a contracted term of address for a mother, "mam":

Example 5.8.

02 **Teacher:** Vy deti no vy vseгда možete skazat'.
You children but you always can say
You are children, but you always can say,

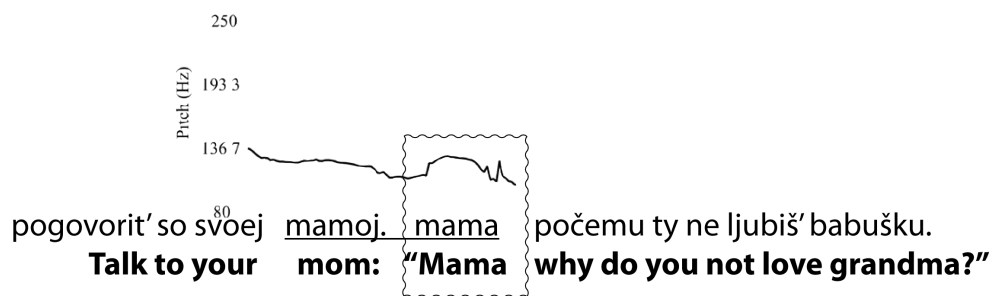
03 Roditeli mogu ètogo ne znat'.
Parents can this not know
Parents may not know this,

→04 Mam posmotri èto pravoslavnaja knižka ili net.
Mom *look this orthodox book or not*
"Mom please check if this is an Orthodox book or not."

A distinctive feature of these interactions is the teacher's beginning of the hypothetical quote with the terms of address for "mother," "mama" and "mam." Contrary to Grenoble's observations that "in spoken Russian it [reported quote] is

bounded by pauses before and after the quoted sentence,” (1998: 123), in the HL classroom interactions this frequently is not the case. The term of address “mam” (and “mama”) is not separated from the previous talk by pauses; in fact the quote is latched to the prior TCU. Instead, what separates the quote from its framing in these cases is a reset in pitch that takes place at the term of address. In example 5.7 the downward intonation of the framing “you must somehow talk to your mother” reaches its lowest pitch at the word *mamoj* (112 Hz), and the term of address *mama* that opens the quote is produced at a higher pitch (132 Hz) at its first syllable /ma/:

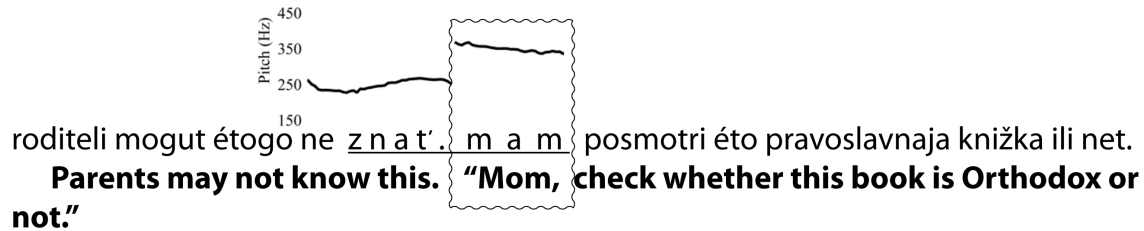
Figure 5.1. Pitch reset at quote boundary.



The use of the term of address “mama” produced with the pitch that is distinct from the previous TCU intonation pattern, is an anchoring device that signals to the children a shift from the quotative frame to the quote itself, and positions the talk in a hypothetical situation – a conversation with a mother. This observation is consistent with what Bolden has noted about “re-anchoring” in reported speech: “..indexical expressions within the quotation are anchored in the context of the reported situation – and not in the context of the current reporting situation” (2004: 1091). The same happens in example 5.8, where a term of address “mam” is used. In this example the term of address “mam” is produced at a higher pitch than the previous TCU, “parents may not know it.” Although this TCU is an insertion between the frame and the actual

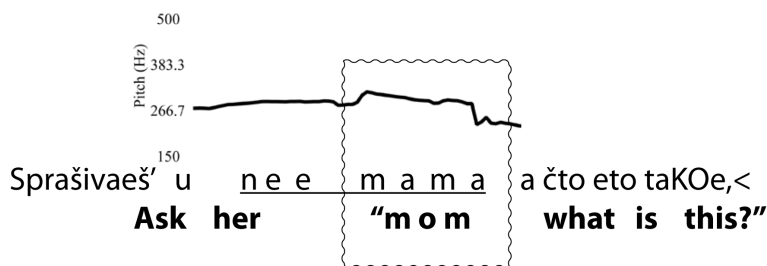
quote, the same strategy of higher pitch on the term of address is used, signaling the shift in frame to a quote:

Figure 5.2. Pitch reset at quote boundary.



Similarly, in example 5.2 , the teacher's pitch goes up on the first syllable of the term of address "mama":

Figure 5.3. Pitch reset at quote boundary.



While a term of address for "mother" is frequently used in quotes, sometimes it is not the first word of the quote. In these situations it is again the differences between the intonation patterns of the frame and the quote absent a pause that help identify the beginning of the quote. In example 5.9 the quote starts with the word "tak" that is followed by a term of address "mama." In this interaction the teacher urges the children not to "teach" their parents that they shouldn't cook meat during the fasting period of a Lent:

Example 5.9.

03 **Teacher:** No ne- ne učit'- ne prixodit' i ne govorit' ?
But no no teach no come and no say
But not teach, not to come and not say,

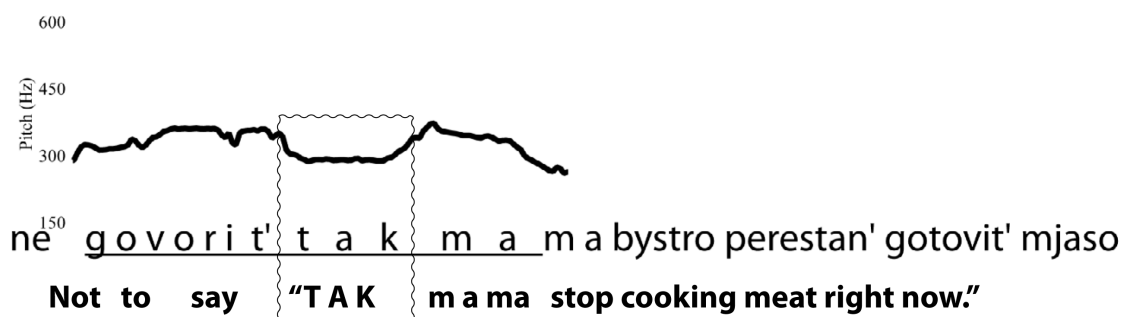
→04

Tak
Like this
"Tak

 mama bystro perestan' gotovit' mjaso. (.)
mom quickly stop cook meat
"mom stop cooking meat right now."

Here the pitch of «tak» is noticeably lower (299Hz mean pitch of the word) than in the previous word, «govorit'» (340Hz mean pitch) that has a rising intonation contour:

Figure 5.4. Pitch reset at quote boundary.



“Tak” is a polysemous word that can be used as an interjection or an adverb. If we were to remove the intonation pattern from the transcript, the teacher's talk can be interpreted in a different way, where “tak” serves not as an interjection, but as an adverb «like this» describing a manner of speaking and is part of the quotative frame and not the quote:

**No ne, ne učit' , ne prixodit' i ne govorit tak: "Mama bystro perestan' gotovit' mjaso."*

**But not, not to teach, not come and say like this: "Mom, stop cooking meat right now."*

The use of the conversational “tak” combined with an intonation that is distinct from that used in the frame of the quote helps identify that the quote begins with “tak” and not “mama.” “Mama,” however, is the most prominent word as its first syllable is produced in high tone. Such production of the reported quote again highlights that the dialogue takes place between the child and her mother, whom she can speak to in Russian.

While the previous examples discussed the use of the term of address for «mother» as one of the features that help identify a shift from framing to the quote, it is not always used in hypothetical direct speech. In situations where no term of address is used, various ways of indicating a quote are employed by the teachers. Consistent with Grenoble's (1998) observations, a pause may separate a quote from its framing. Similarly to the examples that include the term of address, in those without it, pitch resets preceded by a pause may indicate a quote. This can be seen in the following example (excerpt from examples 5.1):

Example 5.10.

01 **Teacher:** Ne govorit' (.) ↑ne::t (.) ja èto ne budu delat'.
No say no I this no will do
Not to say, “No, I won’t do this.”

In example 5.10 a micro pause precedes a quote that starts with “no” produced with a significantly higher pitch than the preceding verb of saying “govorit’” (talk) framing it. In example 5.11 Ženja is urged to let her parents know that the book she was given to read is not appropriate. Here the quote is separated from its framing with a long pause:

Example 5.11.

01 **Teacher:** Žen'(.) poslušaj sjuda.(.)
Proper name listen here
Žen' listen to me.

→ 02 Priděš' domoj (1.5) i skažeš'. (2sec)
Come(FutPerf) home and say-FutPerf
You will come home and say,

03 Moja učitel'nica (1 sec) Irina Borisovna,(0.8)
My teacher proper name patronimic
"My teacher, Irina Borisovna,

04 Skazala ètu knižku mne (0.8) ne čitat'.
Said this book me no read
Told me not to read this book."

05 **Child:** Po čemu.
Wh y?

06 **Teacher:** Ty ponjala? (1.5 sec)
You understand(Pst)
Do you understand?

In this example while the long pause is employed, there is no noticeable pitch reset. The long pause followed by a shift in pronoun to "moja" (my) indicates the beginning of the quote. As I have noted above, however, the pause is often not present between the framing and the quote. In the next example a quote is framed by an imperative proper "skaži" (say) that is followed by a quote with no pause between the two words. The teacher urges a child to tell her parents that she is not allowed to read the book about God that they gave her because of its non-Orthodox content. The quote opens with a deictic "vot":

Example 5.12.

- 01 **Teacher:** Èto čto za izdevatel'stvo nad pravoslavnoj veroj. (0.3)
This what Part. mocking over orthodox faith
What kind of mocking of Orthodox faith is this?
- 02 Značit skaži vot èto mne (0.3) čitat' ne razrešajut.
Meaning tell here this me read no allow
So, say, "This I am not allowed to read.
- 03 Dajte mne skaži požalujsta bibliju (1.2) slyšiš' pravolsavnuju.
Give me say please bible hear orthodox.
Give me," say, "please, a bible," do you hear me, "that is Orthodox."
- 04 (0.8)
- 05 Ponjala? (.) pravoslavnuju.
Understood orthodox
Do you understand? Orthodox.

The deictic "vot" "can function as [a] signal(s) for the organization of the topical structure of the discourse [including openings that] occur at the beginnings of topical units [and] bracket topical units " (Grenoble 1998: 829). Grenoble observed that "vot" is used in Russian with a higher intonation and without a pause following it, to introduce a new discourse topic. In the present interaction "vot" is used with a slightly higher level intonation (the maximum pitch of /vot/ is 404, while the maximum pitch of the preceding word /skaži/ (say) is 368) and is not followed by a pause. This example demonstrates that in addition to the introduction of the new topic, "vot" may serve as a shift marker from the framing of the quote into the quote itself in the Russian language.

As we can see, in addition to lexical items, such as a term of address for "mother" ("mama") pitch and intonation help identify where the actual quote begins.

These cues help the listeners (HL children) understand what it is they are actually prompted to say / not say to their parents. The frequent usage of “mama” in the beginning of a quote and its prominence when it is not the first word positions the students as children who have mothers. While using the word “mama” as a term of address positions children as initiating a dialogue with their mothers, its frequent use also positions mothers as individuals the children can talk to in Russian. Such portrayal of the use of Russian in families is consistent with the fact that mothers of the children attending the school are frequently native speakers of Russian. It is, however, inconsistent with the fact that regardless of their native knowledge of the Russian language, many parents do not speak the language with their children, which becomes an explicitly discussed topic in the school. Portraying the children and their mothers as individuals who do speak Russian with each other, however, allows the teachers to present such behaviors as frequently occurring and normative (which is further demonstrated by the teacher’s use of such lexical items as “naturally” when describing a mother’s ability to speak Russian as demonstrated in example 5.2 of section 5.2).

5.3.2 Using contrast in presentation of quotes

In their modeling of the hypothetical quotes to a parent, the teachers produce acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking to one’s parents (the “do-quotes” and the “don’t-quotes”). These ways of talking are usually modeled to the children in a contrastive manner, i.e. teachers first demonstrate how not to talk and immediately after models how a child should talk to his or her parents. Here the same devices that help identify the beginning of the quote from its framing, i.e. pitch, intonation and voice quality are employed to demonstrate the contrast. Modeling the direct speech rather

than describing what is acceptable and what is not, and positioning the two ways of behaving against each other “provide[s] not only the content of talk but the form and the function as well” (Schieffelin 1990: 77). The two types of quotes (acceptable and unacceptable) are framed in a contrastive manner with the repetition of the saying verb, a use of a contrastive conjunction and addition of a negative marker that remains salient when the saying verb of framing remains the same. The following example (excerpt from example 5.1 discussed earlier) demonstrates how the teachers contrast the two ways of talking to one’s parents.

Example 5.13.

- 01 **Teacher:** My dolžny byt' očen' smirennymi,
We must.Pl. be very humble
We must be very humble.
- 02 Èto značit poslušnymi? (.) Da?
This means obedient yes
This means obedient, right?
- 03 Krotkimi,
Gentle
Gentle.
- 04

Ne govorit'
<i>No say.Inf</i>
Not to say

 (.) ↑ ne:::t (.) ja èto ne budu delat'.
no I this no will do
"No, I won't do this.
- 05 Potomu što ne xoču::?
Because no want
Because I don't want to.
- 06 Ja èto ne mogu::.
I this no can
I can't do this."
- 07 A

govorit'
<i>say.Inf.</i>
say,

 xorošo ja postorajus'(.).
But good I try-Fut
"Ok I will try.
- 08 Ja sdelaju,
I do-Fut
I will do it."
- 09 Očen' smirenno,
Very gently
Very gently.
- 10 Ne zlit'sja,
No angry
Don't be angry.

- 11 Ne rugat'sja, (0.7)
No argue
Don't argue.
- 12 Ne v- vspyljat roditeljam čto-to takoe v otvet. da?
No blow up parents somethink like in response yes
Don't blow up something like this in response to parents.
Yes?

In example 5.13, the teacher frames the quote with a saying verb “say,” which is directly followed by the quote itself. The teacher repeats the framing verb “say” in lines 4 and 7 contrasting the two actions with a conjunction “a” (but). The children are urged to not say “no” to their parents. In addition, they are discouraged from providing accounts for why they cannot do something.

This is contrasted with the proposition that the children should agree to do what they are asked, saying that they will try and do it. In addition to the content of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable to say to the parents, the teachers model the manner in which they should and should not speak. This modeling is framed by meta-linguistic commentary of the two ways of talking. Before providing the modeling the teacher describes the quotations that are about to come in lines 01–03; and after having provided the quotations such commentary is again provided in lines 9 and 10.

The “don’t” quote starts with a word “no.” “No” is treated as a second pair part to the request that is not explicitly stated, but that is implied and articulated later in the interaction, “Don’t blow up something like this in response to parents. Yes?” (line 12). The use of the deictic “èto” (this) in the beginning of the quote (line 04) points to the imaginary situation, in which the two characters are “in the know,” probably referring to the hypothetical unstated request. “Net” (no) is produced with a much higher pitch (as compared to the preceding framing), a stretched vowel sound /e/, and a wide (232

Hz) pitch range in the word with the maximum pitch being 461 and a minimum pitch being 229 Hz. There is also stretching of the sound /u/ in “ne xoču:” (don’t want to) and “ne mogu:” (can’t). It is noteworthy that the stretched /u/ in “ne xoču” (don’t want to) is the most prominent syllable in line 05, with /u/ produced in high tone. In addition to the stretched sounds and the wide pitch range of “no,” the teacher employs a distinct rising intonation in line 05, and falling in line 06. The TCU in line 06 is latched to the TCU in line 05. The combination of the stretching and emphasizing of sound /u/, its production as part of the most prominent syllable in high tone in “ne xoču” (don’t want), a rising intonation in line 05 contrasted with the stretching of /u/ and falling intonation in line 6 create a perception of a complaining, angry voice. The latching of the TCU creates a perception that a child might be not be listening to the parent as no adequate space is provided between the TCUs for a parent to come in with his or her input. Such an exaggerated way of speaking is contrasted with how children should speak to their parents that is modeled for them immediately following the undesired way.

The second quote is also framed with a saying verb “say,” that is followed by a quote “Ok I will try, I will do it.” The structure of the second quote and its frame is almost the same as the structure of the preceding quote. Here the teacher also starts with a second pair part, “OK,” a positive agreeing response to a request that is not stated, but is implied and articulated later in line 12. In addition to its proposition of agreement (“xorošo” OK), willful trying (“ja postorajus” I will try), obedience (“ja sdelaju” I will do), the form of the quote differs from the previous one. “Xorošo” (OK) is produced with a much more narrow pitch range (53 Hz as compared to 232 Hz in “No”) with a minimum pitch being 331 and a maximum pitch being 384 Hz. There is no distinct contrastive rising and falling intonation and no stretched sounds produced in

high pitch, which creates a perception of calm manner of speaking.

The following pitch tracks demonstrate the difference in the pitch range and intonation patterns of the two quotes:

Figure 5.6. Rise-fall intonation in a “don’t” quote.

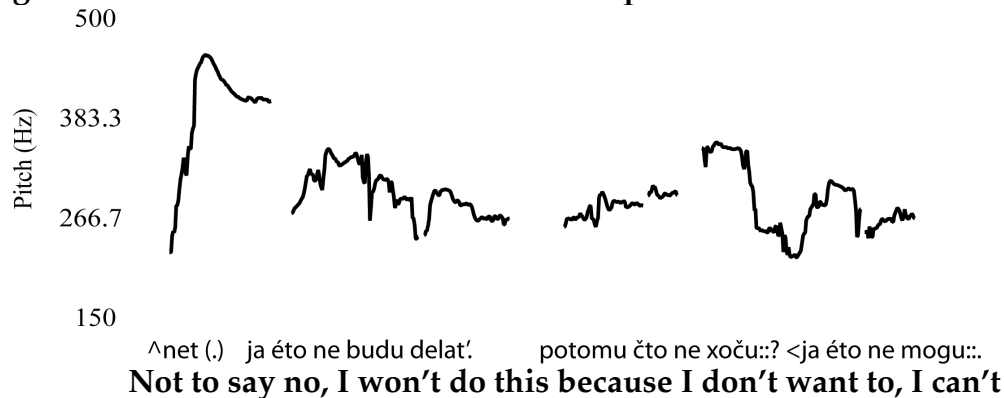
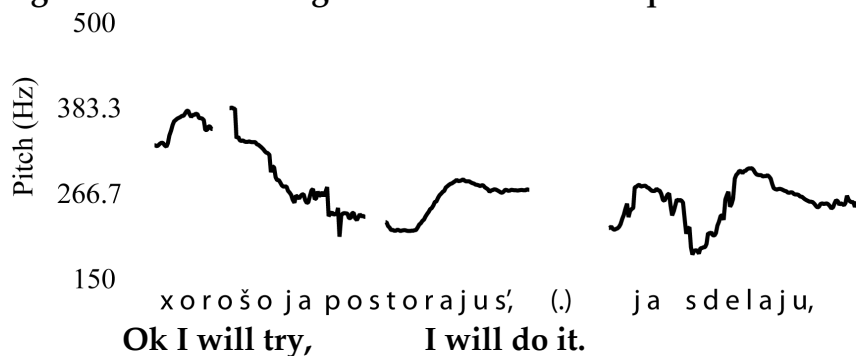
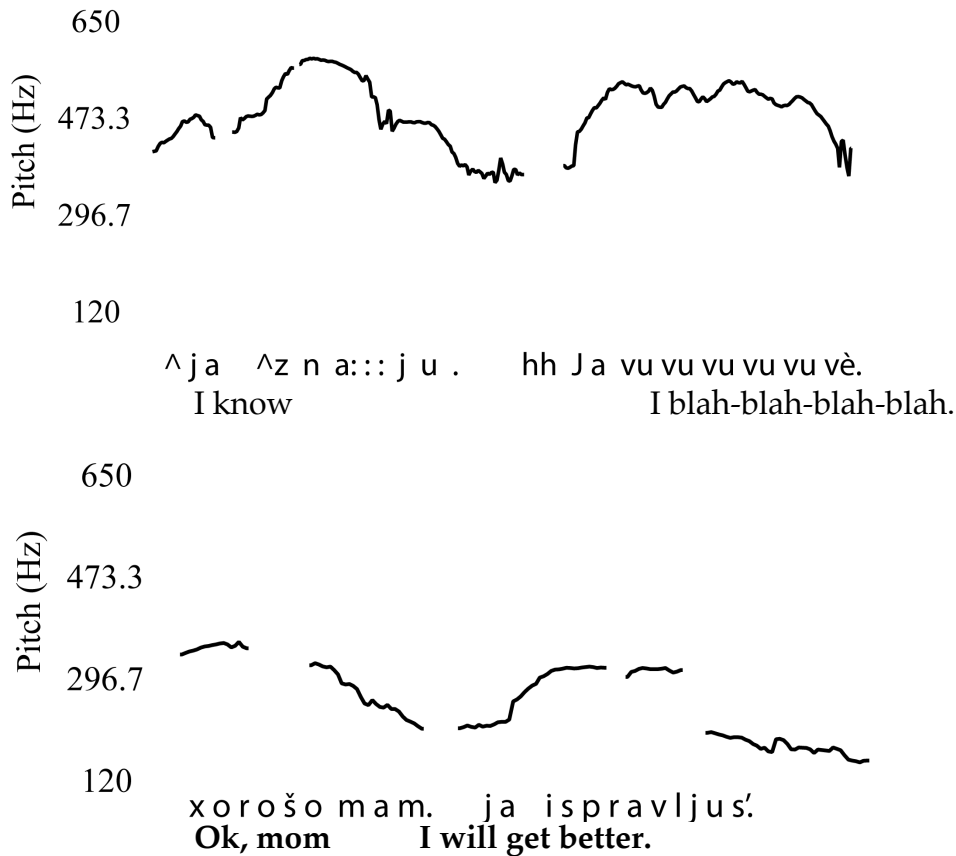


Figure 5.7. Continuing intonation in a “do” quote.



Similarly to this example, in the following interaction the children are taught to obey their parents by agreeing to do what they are told. Simultaneously a model of how to say that they will do what they are told is presented. Similarly to example 5.13, in the following interaction that addresses the need to be “humble” and “obedient,” the children are told to respond with “Xorošo” (Ok, good), an agreement token produced in a “calm” manner:

Figure 5.8. Contrast of intonation in a “don’t” and a “do” quotes.



When the teacher demonstrate to the children how not to speak to the parents, her pitch goes up to 489 Hz on the first word of the quote, ja (I), from the maximum pitch of 234 Hz in the last word of the frame “garit’,” a contracted form of the verb “govorit’” (to speak). The quote consists of two TCUs, one of which is non-lexical “blah-blah-blah.” Using this non-lexical item, the speaker “presumes that the addressees can imagine/predict the words for themselves” (Grenoble 1998: 122). By choosing not to use particular words, but a non-lexical item, the teacher highlights to the children that such manner of production is unacceptable regardless of what words they use. At the same time, by using this non-lexical item, the teacher projects her own negative stance towards such was of speaking to one’s parent.

It is through the use of pitch that contrasts with that of the don't-quote that the teacher demonstrates the acceptable way of talking to a parent. She frames the do-quote with a plural imperative "say," which is also produced in a lower pitch than the quote following it, "Ok mom, I will get better." The production of this quote contrasts sharply with the previous one. It is produced in a much lower pitch where in the first word of the quote the maximum pitch is 372 Hz (more than 100Hz less than a first word in a "don't" quote). Also, the first word in a "don't" quote is produced with a rising intonation, while 'xorošo' (OK) in a "do" quote has a falling intonation contour. Such differences in production create a perception of "irritated" manner in the "don't" quote and a "calm," "cooperative" manner of talking in the "do" quote. By presenting the two ways of talking in such a contrastive manner the children are presented with normative behaviors not by the demonstration of the correct or incorrect ways of behaving alone, but by being provided an alternative behavior. In addition, they are presented with very concrete manifestations of possibly confusing concepts of what being good obedient and humble Russian Orthodox children might mean.

5.3.3 Speaking in a humble way when disagreeing with parents

In the model of the normative behavior, "humility" and "obedience," complex moral concepts, take a very concrete form that is re-enacted through hypothetical direct speech. While the children are frequently told and modeled through hypothetical direct speech how to be humble, respectful and to obey their parents, sometimes they are also provided with ways to demonstrate to the parents that the parents may not know something or may not be right about something. This usually comes up in the context of issues of Orthodox Christian practices. In chapter 6 I further discuss how children

attending the HL school are positioned as knowledgeable as compared to both other children and parents. In this section I concentrate on the quotes that the children are prompted to say to the parents when a teacher finds parents' behavior wrong or inappropriate. In such cases various means including pitch and intonation are again employed to demonstrate how to show to the parents in acceptable ways that they may be wrong or not know something. In the following interaction (same as example 5.11 discussed earlier) the acceptable way of telling a parent that they were wrong is modeled to the child who was given a non-Orthodox book about God by a parent. The teacher tells the girl not to read the book, either at home or school, and let her parents know that she shouldn't be reading it.

Example 5.15.

- 01 **Teacher:** Žen'(.). poslušaj sjuda.(.)
Proper name listen here
Žen' listen to me.
- 02 Prideš' domoj (1.5) i skažeš'. (2.0)
Come(FutPerf) home and say-FutPerf
You will come home and say,
- 03

Moja učitel'nica (1.0) Irina Borisovna,(0.8) <i>My teacher proper name patronimic</i> "My teacher, Irina Borisovna,
--
- 04

Skazala ètu knižku mne (0.8) ne čitat'. <i>Said this book me no read</i> Told me not to read this book."

- 05 **(Child):** Po čemu.
Wh y?
- 06 **Teacher:** Ty ponjala? (1.5 sec)
You understand(Pst)
Do you understand?

In the present interaction the teacher provides the following quote that the girl should tell her parents: "My teacher, Irina Borisovna, told me not to read this book." The quote is clearly framed by the saying verb "say" followed by a long pause. In her production of the direct speech, the teacher uses her own self as an authority figure for why a child may tell the parents why the book they gave her is not acceptable. The manner in which the quote is produced is similar to the manner that was demonstrated in the do-quotes. It is not rushed, but is filled with pauses, creating a perception of non-contradictory way of speaking. Such way of talking to the parents is present in the quotes addressed to parents that may doubt them in any way. In the following interaction (also example 2 above) a girl told the teacher in class that her mother does

not love her grandmother. The teacher then advises the girl to talk to her mother and provides a hypothetical direct speech of talking to the parent:

Example 5.16.

39 **Teacher:** Vot naprimer (.) ty dolžna (.) kak-to (.) pogovorit' so svoej mamoj.<
Here for example you must somehow speak with your mom
So for example you should somehow speak with your mom.

→ 40

< Mama počemu ty ne ljubiš' babušku. (.)
Mom why you no love grandmother
"Mom why don't you love grandma?"

→ 41

A vdrug (.) babuška umrët,
And if grandmother die
And what if grandma dies?

→ 42

I vy togda ne budete ljubit' drug druga, (0.2)
And you then no will love each other
And then you won't love each other,

→ 43

I čto polučitsja.
And what happen
And what will happen?"

44 ((Maša shruggs her shoulders))

Similarly to the previous example the way the quote "Mom why don't you love grandma? What if grandma dies and then you don't love each other, what will happen?" is produced in a manner that creates a perception of being non-contradictory. This means leveled intonation, not wide pitch range, no prominent syllables in high tone, and use of pauses as opposed to latching units.

As we can see, children are often presented with concrete understandings of acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking to a parent through the hypothetical

quotes. In modeling the two distinct ways of speaking the teachers on the one hand demonstrate to the children two possible ways of communicating. In addition, we hear their own stance towards these ways of speaking both during the production of the quotes and their explicit framing of quotes as acceptable and unacceptable. The teachers produce a “layering of voices” (Bakhtin 1981). This layering serves a double function. The layering of voices is used to present to the children normative behaviors; an addition of a voice also serves as an exiting strategy from the quote. The following section of the chapter addresses how a hypothetical reported quote is re-framed and closed.

5.4 Re-framing and Exiting a Quote.

While a lot of studies have addressed how the beginning of a quote is signaled by the speaker, little is known about how a quote is maintained beyond a single TCU (Bolden 2004). The discussion above demonstrates that in a HL classroom setting a quote is usually clearly framed with a saying verb. It is the saying verb that is also used to re-introduce the quote. The following example (also example 5.8 discussed earlier) demonstrates a repetition of a saying verb to re-introduce the quote:

Example 5.17.

01 **Teacher:** Èto što za izdevatel'stvo nad pravoslavnoj veroj. (0.3)
This what Part. mocking over orthodox faith
What kind of mocking of Orthodox faith is this?

→02 Značit

skaži
tell
say,

 vot èto mne (0.3) čitat' ne razrešajut.
Meaning here this me read no allow
So, "This I am not allowed to read.

→03 Dajte mne

skaži
say
say,

 požalujsta bibliju (1.2) slyšiš' pravolsavnuju.
Give me please bible hear orthodox.
Give me," "please, a bible," do you hear me, "that is Orthodox."

04 (0.8)

05 Ponjala? (.) pravoslavnuju.
Understood orthodox
Do you understand? Orthodox.

In this interaction the quote is first introduced with an imperative verb “say” (line 02). The same verb is again used in line 03, signaling to the hearer that the speaker is still “in the quote.” This phenomena is referred to as “re-framing,” or “repeated use of framing devices that mark the current turn constructional unit as being a continuation of the quoted material” (Bolden, 2004: 1088). When a quote goes beyond one TCU in the HL classroom, it is the repetition of the saying verb that is frequently, but not always, used to re-introduce the quote. When a saying verb is not used, other re-framing devices may be employed. In the following example (example 5.7 discussed earlier) the quote contains more than a single TCU; a pronoun “you” and the noun phrase “each other” are used as anchoring devices to maintain the discourse in the reported frame. In this interaction the teacher discusses with the class a value of loving one's family members. Prior to the interaction the class have established that the

children in class all love their parents and Maša loves her grandmother. The girl, however, has shared with the class that her mother does not love her grandmother.

Example 5.18.

39 **Teacher:** Vot naprimer (.) ty dolžna (.) kak-to (.) pogovorit'
so svoej mamoj.<
Here for example you.Sing. must.Sing.Fem. somehow speak.Inf.
with your mom

So for example you should somehow speak with your mom.

40 <Mama počemu ty ne ljubiš' babušku. (.)
Mom why you no love grandmother
"Mom why don't you love grandma?"

41 A vdrug (.) babuška umrët,
And if grandmother die
And what if grandma dies?

→42 I

vy
you

 togda ne budete ljubit'

drug druga,
each other
each other,

 (0.2)
And you then no will love each other
And you then won't love each other,

43 I čto polučitsja.
And what happen
And what will happen?"

44 ((Maša shruggs her shoulders))

45 **Teacher:** Nu vot predstavljajes' èto očen' grustno na samom dele budet.
So here imagine this very sad at real business will
So imagine it will be very sad really.

In the present interaction the teacher starts the quote with a term of address "mama" that follows a framing saying verb "talk" (lines 39-40). In line 42 a plural pronoun "you" and "each other" (referring to the mother and the grandmother) are used to re-anchor the quote.

In addition to using such re-anchoring devices, Bolden (2004) discusses “dialogue reporting” as one of the ways to perform an “unquote.” In dialogue reporting when more than one TCUs are quoted by different people, the beginning of one quote co-occurs with the end of another quote. One of the ways to mark the onset of the next quote is through sequence organizational resources, i.e. adjacency pairs such as question –answer. While reported dialogues are not frequent in the HL setting, the present interaction might be an example of one. It is not possible to say whether Maša shrugging her shoulders in line 42 is done “in the quote” or in the “here/now.” Maša’s action could be her contribution to the reported dialogue, and a switch to another speaker, possibly the mother answering the question. On the other hand, it might demonstrate her misunderstanding of teacher’s talk and treat it as a question to her (in the “here/now”) rather than a hypothetical quote. Regardless of the reason for her action, however, the action of Maša’s shrugging her shoulders ends the teacher’s hypothetical quote of Maša as a character (Maša’s telling her mother “Mom, why don’t you love grandma, what if grandma dies and you won’t love each other then, and what will happen?).

In line 43 the teacher exits the hypothetical situation by using “vot” that as I discussed in section 5.3.1 signals a shift in framing. He also employs a 2nd person singular verb “imagine” directed to the child. This is followed by a discourse deictic “this” that refers to the situation described in earlier talk of the mother not loving the grandmother and her dying, and finally, a teacher’s assessment of the reported situation, a “repositioning device” that is “used to bring the recipient of the talk from the reporting frame back into the current situation” (Bolden 2004: 1099). Among repositioning devices Bolden provides examples of metalinguistic commentary (in my data it is assessments of the quote or the hypothetical situation as in example above),

indexical expressions, and disfluencies.

While I did not find examples of disfluencies in my data, the use of indexical expressions is a common way to end the quote in the HL classroom. Indexical expressions are understood by Bolden (2004) as temporal, personal or locational references that ground talk in the current context, rather than the reported situation. The following example (also example 5.2) demonstrates the use of the personal pronoun “you” to mark a shift from the quote to the “here – and – now.” The teacher encourages a boy to read in Russian with his mother, explaining what happens when he reads Russian books.

Example 5.19.

- 04 **Teacher:** Ty vstrečaeš' kakie-to slova novye sprašivaeš' u mamy.(.)
You come across some words new ask at mom
You come across some new words, ask your mom
- 05 Kotoraja (.) očen xorošo govorit po ↑ russki estessno da?(.)
Who very well speak in russian naturally yes
Who speaks Russian very well naturally.
- 06 Sprašivaeš' u neë mama a čto eto taKOe,<
Ask at her mom and what this like
Ask her, “Mom what does this mean?”
- 07 <Mama tebe ob"jasnjaet. (.)
Mom you explains
Mom explains it to you.
- 08 I u tebja tvoj jazyk (.) razvivaetsja.
And at you your language develops
And your language skills improve.

In this example the use of the personal pronoun “you” combined with a verb used in third person singular marks the shift from a boy’s voice to the narrator’s voice

that the teacher enacts describing the hypothetical scenario. As the transcript demonstrates, there is no pause marking the boundary of the quote. In fact, although “tebe” (you) is used to exit the quote, it is not used to exit the hypothetical scenario of the child reading a book in Russian, asking his mother for explanations, and mother explaining it to him.

As this example demonstrates, in cases of hypothetical direct speech, the quote may end and the interlocutors may stay in the hypothetical situation or they may exit the hypothetical scenario and get back to the “here-and-now.” The boundary of where this happens is not always straightforward. Bolden (2004) defines indexical expressions as positioning the speaker in the current context, or the “here-and-now.” In cases of hypothetical direct speech, however, “tebe,” a personal deictic combined with a 3rd person verb indicate a shift to the narration, but is not used to ground the talk in the current context.

In addition to the personal, locational and temporal indexical expressions, the analysis of data from the HL school indicates that “discourse deictics,” expressions that point to prior discourse, and non-lexical items may be used in hypothetical reported speech. These deictics are different from “meta-linguistic” commentary discussed by Bolden (2004), as they do not comment of the quote itself or the hypothetical situation itself, but other prior discourse. In the following interaction (also example 5.4 discussed above) the teacher uses an expression “tak-to i tak-to” (this and that) that points to discourse that took place prior to the introduction of the hypothetical situation and the hypothetical quote. In the interaction the teacher discussed the concept of fasting and reasons why people should maintain a vegetarian diet during Lent.

Example 5.20.

- 01 **Teacher:** To čo vam dajut v škole, (0.8)
That which you give in school
What you are taught in school,
- 02 Vy dolžny konečno èto slyšat' (.) ponimat'. (1.0)
You.Pl. must.Pl. of course this hear understand
You must of course hear and understand,
- 03 No ne- ne učit'- ne prixodit' i ne govorit' ?
But no no teach no come and no say.Inf.
But not teach, not come and not say,
- 04 Tak mama bystro perestan' gotovit' mjaso. (.)
Like this mom quickly stop cook meat
"Tak mom, stop cooking meat right now,
- 05 Potomu čo

tak-to i tak-to. <i>like this and like this</i> like this and like that."
--

Because
Because
- 06 Net.
No.
- 07 Vy ne dolžny ètogo govorit' no vy dolžny èto znat'.
You no must this say but you must this know
You must not say it, but you must know it.
- 08 Davaj Andrjuša čitaj potom peredaš' Žene.
Come on Andrej DIM read then giveFUT Ženja
Come on Andrej read and then let Ženja read.
- 09 ((Andrej starts reading.))

In the present interaction the teacher starts the quote with a conversational "tak" (discussed in section 5.3.1). The quote itself is two TCUs in lines 04 and 05. While line 04 "mom stop cooking the meat right now" is clearly the teacher's enactment of a child's voice, line 05 is more problematic. "Mom, stop cooking the meat right now because"

should be followed by an account for why the mother should do as the child says. “Like this and like that” is clearly not a direct quote that a teacher expects a child to say to her parents. Instead, these words (“like this and like that”) point to the long discussion about why people should fast that took place in class earlier. With the use of the discourse deictic “this and that” the teacher on the one hand adds her own voice in that she points to her own prior talk, but at the same time stays in the hypothetical situation while still enacting the child’s voice. It is understood that instead of these specific lexical items, the child could provide reasons that the teacher discussed in class earlier. With the use of the deictic the teacher assumes that the recipients, the children, have an understanding of what the deictic refers to (reasons why people should be fasting discussed earlier during the lesson). In addition, its use positions the children as capable to recite these reasons, therefore presupposing that they now possess the knowledge of the reasons that the deictic refers to.

With the use of this deictic, the teacher invokes multiple temporalities in a hypothetical scenario. The children are positioned in a hypothetical, possibly future scenario during which the knowledge that they have received in the past is employed and cited. The use of “this and that” on the one hand marks an addition of teacher’s own voice to that of the child, and another layer of temporality, while still maintaining the hypothetical scenario. In addition, the use of this deictic allows the teacher to maintain the focus on what is important for the teacher at this point, i.e. not the reasons for keeping a vegetarian diet, but on what children are and are not to say to their parents. In this situation the value of “not teaching” the parents is brought up. In the line following this, the teacher makes a complete shift to her own voice. The production of “net” in line 06 is a commentary on the reported quote produced earlier, and can only be understood when prior talk is taken into consideration.

As we can see, in the present situation the teacher gradually moves from a quote to the present here-and-now. She first adds a layer of her own voice while still producing the child's voice, while simultaneously invoking another temporality and then makes a complete shift to her own voice.

Another example of such gradual shift from a reported quote to the here-and-now is the use of non-lexical "blah-blah-blah." In the next interaction (also discussed as example 5.14 in the context of acceptable and unacceptable quotes) a child is told what to say and what not to say in response to a parent:

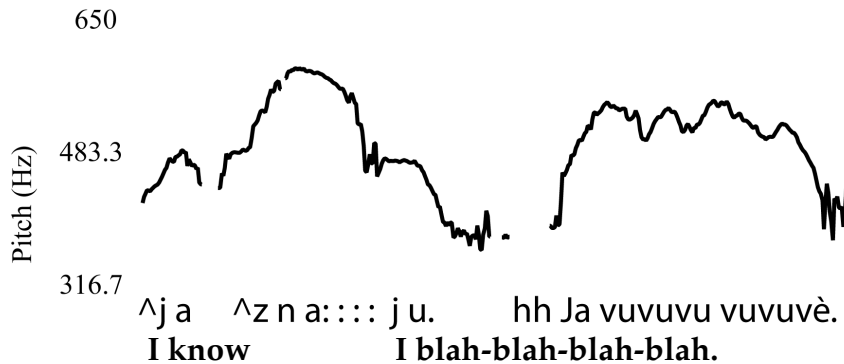
Example 5.21.

- 01 **Teacher:** Bud'te smirennymi nemnožko.=
Be humble a little
Be a little humble.
- 02 =Esli vam čto-to govornjat,
If you something say
If you are told something,
- 03 Ne nado (garit').
No need say
Don't say,
- 04 ↑Ja ↑znaju. ja vuvuvu vuvuvè.
I know I
"I know I blah-blah-blah."
- 05 Skažite xorošo mam ja ispravljus'. (.)
Say.Inf.Pl. good mom I self-correct
Say, "Ok, mom, I will get better."

Here a teacher frames the quote with a negative modal followed by a contracted verb of saying "garit'" (say). The child's voice is clearly heard in "I know." (line 04) In the next TCU, however, in addition to citing a child's voice the teacher adds another

layer of her own voice through the use of the non-lexical “blah-blah-blah.” The intonation patterns of the quote’s TCUs are very similar as they are both produced in a hearably higher pitch and with a distinct rise/fall intonation:

Figure 5.9. Intonation in “I know” and non-lexical “blah-blah-blah.”



It is the intonation and the higher pitch that allow us and the participants themselves to understand “blah-blah-blah” as a quote produced in the child’s voice. With the choice of the non-lexical item, however, the teacher adds her own voice to that of the child. By doing this she not only demonstrates how the quote is produced, but also communicates her own stance towards the quote. The previous section of the chapter looked closer at the teacher’s stance projected in the quotes through the layering of voices. It is also with the layering of voices that the teacher gradually moves from the hypothetical quote to the present “here and now.” After the production of the “blah-blah-blah” the teacher completely moves from the quote and produces a framing for the next quote in line 05, where a pronominal shift to plural “you” addressing the children in the class situates talk in the present.

In addition to devices discussed earlier, Bolden (2004) and Vlatten (1997) have addressed “fading out” as a way to exit a quote. Through “fading out” the speaker “attempts to achieve a degree of ambiguity about the identity of the ‘author’ of her current talk” (Bolden 2004: 1106). While it can be suggested that the use of discourse

deictic and non-lexical items such as “blah-blah-blah” can be defined as “fading out,” their production does not fit neatly into the understanding of “fading out” proposed by Bolden (2004), as it is suggested that “faded-out units are grammatically and prosodically-unmarked and contain no overt indication of who the speaker or the address of the current talk is” (2004: 1106). The examples from HL classroom data indicate that exiting the quote may be a process, and not a singular usage of a certain practice, such as a pause or a shift in deictic. Layering of temporalities and voices and their continual modification may be used by speakers to exit a hypothetical reported quote.

5.5 Discussion.

Silverstein (1985) considers reported speech a “meta-pragmatic activity” in which a speaker expresses his or her language ideology. This chapter demonstrates how through the use of hypothetical reported speech teachers not only express their own ideologies towards certain ways of speaking, but also present to the children models for normative behaviors towards their parents.

Hypothetical direct speech is chosen by the teachers as a means of normativity production because it allows the creation of a situation where absent parties (in this case a parent) are active characters. On the other hand, hypothetical situations are de-personalized, which allows avoiding accusing a particular child of behaving inappropriately towards one’s parent.

The quotes appear in hypothetical situations and are framed using a saying verb. The explicit framing is an attempt to ensure understanding on the children’s side and their simultaneous positioning as young HL learners. While the acceptable “do-quotes”

are framed with both singular and plural verbs that could be used with or without personal pronouns, the unacceptable “don’t-quotes” are framed using plural verbs and pronouns. Such use of verbs in framing of the quotes allows maintaining the nature of the “don’t-quotes” as typical while at the same time presenting the children with normative linguistic behaviors in relation to a parent.

The beginning of the quote itself is marked through a variety of devices including lexical items combined with pitch and intonation resets. The quotes present to the children not only the lexical content of the propositions, but also acceptable and unacceptable manners of their production presented in a contrastive manner. The teachers produce a “layering of voices” (Bakhtin 1981) in the quotes. This layering serves a double function: an addition of a voice serves as a gradual exiting strategy from the quote; at the same time, the layering of voices is used to present to the children acceptable norms through creation of typified characters. These characters talk to their parents in a calm, non-contradictory manner. They are careful not to say “no,” and are willing to become “better children” by doing what their parents tell them to do. They are also considerate of what their parents have to say to them as their way of talking can be described as “calm” and “cooperative.” Such portrayal of the children is not done by lexical choices alone, but is achieved through the use of multiple semiotic resources, including pausing, pitch, and intonation.

CHAPTER 6

USE OF STORIES AND ASSESSMENTS: AFFILIATION WITH ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY

The present chapter examines how children attending the HL school are socialized to affiliate with Orthodox Church practices discussed in chapter 2. As I mentioned in the second chapter of the dissertation the recent assignment of a new priest in the Parish where the HL school is based, has caused a lot of controversy and uneasy feelings among the teachers and parents of the children attending the school. The lack of alignment of language ideologies between the teachers and the priest, and his open communication of these ideologies to the teachers has caused discussion among the teachers of how wrong, in their opinion, Father Joseph's ideologies are. The analysis of informal discussions and interviews with the teachers demonstrate that 1) being knowledgeable in matters of Orthodoxy and 2) having positive feelings associated with Orthodox Church practices is highly valued amongst HL teachers and parents (see Chapter 2 for discussion). The present chapter discusses how 1) the value of being knowledgeable in matters of Orthodox Christianity is socialized to the children attending the school in everyday interactions in God's Law and Russian language classes, and 2) how children are socialized to associate positive feelings with Orthodox Christian religious practices. While the former is frequently done through the use of stories where children are positioned as "knowledgeable,"

positive feelings in relation to church practices are socialized through the use of assessments.

6.1. Socializing the Value of Being Knowledgeable Orthodox Christians: Use of Stories.

6.1.1 Being more knowledgeable than hypothetical friends

Religious teaching is an explicit goal of the Russian HL school examined in the present study. Similarly to other settings (Baquedano-Lopez 1998; Fader 2009; Klein 2007), children attending the school are socialized into religious practices in explicit ways through exposure to religious teaching, uniform requirements (wearing a cross, for example) and attending church services (see chapter 2 for discussion). In addition, in their daily interactions with the children, teachers at the Russian HL school frequently employ more implicit ways of socialization, such as positioning children as knowledgeable in the matters of Russian Orthodox Christianity and concepts of morality. Frequently this is done by creating hypothetical stories, where children are positioned as characters (refer to chapter 4 for literature review on stories). Although this tendency is mostly observed during the God's Law classes, the Russian language teacher also sometimes positions children as knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy and morality.

In the following interaction children are involved in creating of a poster of a Russian church. The main point of the exercise is for children to learn and review church practices. This is the second lesson the children spent creating the

poster. The children are asked to color, cut out and glue on a poster paper the images of material objects, people, and events that happen in the church. The objects include icons, candleholders and the altar. People represented include the priest, his helpers, the choir, and the parishioners. The events represented in the poster are a baptism, a wedding, a funeral, communion, etc. While the children are involved in coloring or cutting out the images, the teacher presents the children with hypothetical situations that would require the children's knowledge of church practices.

Example 6.1

- 01 **Teacher:** *Vot vy (.) naprimer vy prišli v cerkov'.
Here you for example you come.Pst. to church*
Here you for example you came to church,
- 02 Pervyj raz v žizni naprimer. (1.0)
First time in life for example
For the first time in your life for example.
- 03 Ili vot (.) prišel k vam drug i govorit,
Or here come.Pst. to you friend and says.Pres.
Or here a friend came to you and says,
- 04 Nadja ili Andrej ili Maša ili èh=
Nadja or Andrej or Maša or,
- 05 **Ženja:** =Ili Ženja.
Or Ženja,

06 **Teacher:** Ili Ženja ili Sofija.
Or Ženja, or Sofija.

07 **Maša:** ili Sofi.
or Sofy.

08 **Teacher:** A skaži mne (1.5) a č::to >takoe cerkov'.<
And tell me and what this church
Tell me what is a church?

09 Ja xoču pojti s toboj v cerkov'. (1.0)
I want go with you to church
I want to go to church with you.

10 I vot predstavljajte i vy voz'měte ego za:: ruku,
And here imagine and you take.Fut. him by hand
So imagine you take his hand,



11 Vašego druga ili podругu (.) i priveděte v cerkov'. (1.5)
Your friend.Masc. or friend.Fem. and bring to church
Your friend, and bring him or her to church.

12 Predstavljajte čto (.) on budet sprašivat' vas. (.)
Imagine what he will ask you
Imagine what he will ask you.

- 13 °A čto sejčas delajut.° (.) a čto sejčas delajut. <whispers> (.)
And what now do? And what now do
And what are they doing now? And what are they doing now?
- 14 A čto vot èto. a čto vot èto. (.)
And what here this and what here this?
What is this? And what is this?
- 15 I kak vy emu ob"jasni::te.
And how you him explain
And what will you explain to him?
- 16 Vot čto vy (.) naprimer sami (.) možete (.) vspomnit',
Here what you for example yourself can remember
What can you yourselves remember,
- 17 Iz togo čto delajut kogda idët služba.
From this what do when go service
From what happens during the service?
- 18 Vot my uže skazali,
Here we already said
So we already said,
- 19 A vot èto poët xo::r.
And here this sings chorus
This is a chorus singing.
- 20 A vot èto ljudi kre::stjatsja.
And here this people cross
These are people crossing themselves.
- 21 A vot èto ljudi moljatsja. da?
And here this people pray yes
These are people praying, yes?
- 22 A vot- i potom vyxodit vot takoj čelove::k.
And here and then come out here this person
And this- and then this person comes out,

- 23 Vot takoj vot. ((shows a picture))
Here this here
Like this.
- 24 Takoj kak zdes'. ((points to a picture))
This like here
Just like here.
- 25 I u vas vaš drug sprosit,
And at you your friend ask.Fut.
And your friend will ask you,
- 26 Hha? a kto èto tak krasivo ode::tyj. (1.5)
And who this so beautifully dressed
And who is this dressed so beautifully?
- 27 A vy emu skažete što,
And you him say.Fut. what
And will you tell him what?
- 28 (2.0)
- 29 **Andrej:** Èto (.) èm- svjaščennik?=
This priest
This is em- a priest?
- 30 **Teacher:** =Èto svjaščennik. da:::
This priest yes
This is a priest, yes.
- 31 A on spro::sit a kto vot èto vtoroj takoj tože- (0.2)
And he ask.Fut. and who here this second like this also
And who is this second one also,
- 32 Tože očen' krasivo odetyj.
Also very beautifully dressed
Also dressed very beautifully?

- 33 Vtoroj (on) nemnožko po-drugomu u nego [netu] kresta:?: (1.5)
Second (he) little differently at him no cross
The second one is a little differently, he doesn't have a cross.
- 34 **Andrej:** a
- 35 U nego netu kresta a u svjaščennika krest est'.
At him no cross and at priest cross is
He doesn't have a cross while the priest does.
- 36 A vut e:::togo (.) čeloveka netu kresta.
But at this person no cross
But this person doesn't have a cross.
- 37 I on spro- a kto vot èto takoj kotoryj pomogaet svjaščenniku.
And he ask- and who here this so whick help priest
And he'll ask, who is this one who is helping the priest?
- 38 (3.0)
- 39 Teacher: Vy emu skažete,
You him tell.Fut.
You will tell him,
- 40 (1.0)
- 41 **Teacher:** Čto vy emu skažete.
What you him tell.Fut.
What will you tell him?
- 42 Èto (.) dja:::
This
This is de-
- 43 **Andrej:** D'javol.
Devil

44 **Teacher:** [Net] vy čt(h)o(h):: kak(h)o(h)j d'(h)ja(h)vo(h)l.
[No] you what what devil
[No] **what are you saying <(h)what devil (h)>**

45 **Ženja:** [A]

46 **Ženja:** Djavol [(.) èto] TOL'KO V ADE.=
Devil this only in hell
Devil is only in hell.

47 **Teacher:** [haha]

48 **Teacher:** =Èto užas. net. èto djakon.
This horror no this deacon

This is horrible. No. this is a deacon.

(Lesson continues. Teacher explains the children the roles of different people during the church services, including the discussion of the deacon. About 7 minutes)

49 **Teacher:** I vot (.) vaš drug naprimer ktorogo vy v pervyj raz
priveli v cerkov',
*And here your friend for example which you for first time
brought to church*
**So your friend for example whom you brought to church for
the first time,**

50 I on sprašivaet,
And he asks
And he asks,

51 .hhh da:: èto svjaščennik. a kto pomogaet vot èto svjaščenniku.
Yes this priest and who help here this priest
Yes this is a priest? And who is this helping the priest?

52 [(On)
He
53 **Andrej:** D'jakon.
Deacon.]

54 **Teacher:** D'ja::kon.
Deacon.

In the present interaction the teacher structures his talk to find out what children remember about what happens in church as a hypothetical scenario in which children are positioned as knowledgeable in church practices. The teacher first starts his story of going to church with a hypothetical scenario where the children are the novices who come to church for the first time (lines 1 and 2). After a short pause, however, he re-does a beginning of the story to where a novice-friend comes to the children. The teacher uses the past tense to introduce the fact that the friend came to the children and then switches to the present tense to introduce reported speech of the friend. He then uses the children's names as terms of address that the friend would have used (line 2). At this point the children co-participate in the production of hypothetical reported direct speech by inserting their own name (line 5) and name of their classmate (line 6) in the teacher's story. They almost repeat the teacher's utterance, producing format-tying (Goodwin 1990; 2006), which allows "the new elements [(children's names)] of the utterance [to] render salient" (Goodwin 2006:12). Such use of format tying demonstrates that the children are not only following the content of the talk, but are aligning to the produced narrative and their positioning as characters of the story.

The teacher then goes on to produce reported direct speech by first asking the children what the church is (line 8), which positions the friend as a novice. He then produces a self-repair quickly telling the children that he (the friend) wants to go to church with the children (line 9). By producing this line the teacher positions the children as churchgoers. He does not ask a question about whether

they will go to church, but uses a declarative sentence in which each child is individually told (usage of singular familiar you) that the friend wants to go to church with him or her. In the remainder of the narrative the children in the classroom are positioned as “bringing” the friend to church (line 9) after they had taken the friend by his hand as one would a small child. The gesture that the teacher produces in line 10 visually demonstrates to the children how they would “bring” the friend to church by his hand, as opposed to possibly having the friend walking next to them and coming to church on his own.

In the next lines the teacher positions the friend as a novice. He uses a whispering voice (possibly indicating the friend’s lack of certainty or to demonstrate the way one speaks at church) to illustrate how the friend would ask the children his questions about church practices when he is at church. He uses repetition of “what” questions four times to emphasize the fact that the friend is not knowledgeable about the practices. The questions are also asked using the present tense and an adverb “now”, which makes the situation described more vivid. After the production of the question the teacher switches back to future tense and asks the children how they would answer the questions and brings them back into the present classroom situation asking what they themselves can remember about what happens during the church services.

From the interaction it is evident that the children don’t know answers to all of the teacher’s questions. By producing a wrong answer in line 37, the children demonstrate that they in fact don’t know the name of the person who helps the priest (Deacon). The teacher then continues to explain to the children

the various roles that priests and his helpers play during church services, including repeating the word “deacon” multiple times. Similar to interaction observed in law school classrooms (Mertz 1998), the teacher mostly uses the Socratic approach, where he asks children a series of questions leading to the correct answer. The strategy of “using questions with known answers,” where “students know that teachers know the answers to their own questions” (Macbeth 1994: 317) is used. The fact that the teachers know the answers to the questions is visible in how the students are “led” to the correct answers. Sometimes the teacher provides the first sounds of the correct answer (usually a single word) and allows the children to complete it (line 37). The teacher also allows the children to complete his utterances, which would include more than a production of a single word. In line 27 the teacher produces a pause. He also uses a continuing list-like intonation that in combination with the pause signals to the children that a completion of the utterance is expected from them. Lerner states that “any aspect of the organization of talk in interaction that includes a projectable compound turn-unit format therein provides the resources for completion by another participant” (1991: 450). In the HL Russian classroom this signaling frequently includes a pause combined with a continuing, as in reading a list (apples, oranges, grapes), intonation pattern.

The completion of the utterance is produced by Anderj in line 28. It is, however, done with a rising intonation indicating the child’s uncertainty. The teacher’s utterance in line 29 is a recycling of the child’s utterance produced with a falling intonation.

After about seven minutes of instruction explaining the different roles people have at church and emphasizing the role of the Deacon, the teacher returns to the story of the novice-friend (line 43). He re-introduces the friend and performs reported speech in line 45. The surprise in-awe-like inhaling precedes the question about the priest and the person who helps him (the deacon), which was just discussed with the children. In line 46 Andrej provides a correct answer to the question, which is done with a falling intonation.

This interaction positions the children as church goers and provides them with a possible scenario, in which because they are church goers and knowledgeable about church practices, they can teach someone about it, bring him to church and demonstrate one's knowledge. It is evident, however, that the children don't necessarily have such knowledge. The production of hypothetical stories with reported direct speech, however, portrays the status of being knowledgeable as desirable. Going back to the story after seven minutes of instruction provides the teacher with an opportunity to allow the children to produce correct answers to the novice-friend's questions, which strengthens the positioning of children as knowledgeable.

Interactions as the ones described above are not infrequent in the HL school, especially during the God's Law classes. When I first started my research at the school, I observed the teacher positioning children as more knowledgeable than their hypothetical American friends in the matters dealing with Christmas traditions. The children were again put in a hypothetical story, where an American friend would ask them about Santa Claus, and they would be able to

tell him the true story of Saint Nicholas. While it is more frequent to position the children as experts in relation to other children, especially hypothetical American friends, sometimes the children are positioned as more knowledgeable than their adult family members.

6.1.2. Being more knowledgeable than adult family members

Sometimes during classes, both God's Law and Russian language, children start talking about things that happen in their homes. These dialogues include things that parents and other family members do and that children seem to find troublesome or not corresponding to what they are taught in the HL school. In these instances teachers may position children as possessing knowledge or qualities that would allow them to talk to the parents in ways that would challenge the correctness of the parents' behaviors. The following interaction took place during the God's Law class.

Example 6.2.

- 01 **Maša:** Moja ma- mama ne lju- ne ljubit moju babušku.
My ma- mama no no love my grandmother
My mo- mom doesn- doesn't love my grandmother.
- 02 **Teacher:** Nu zdra::vstvujte <smiling voice> počemu?
Interj. hello why
No way. why? <smiling voice>
- 03 **Maša:** Ja ne znaju ona na eë kričit.
I no know she at her yell
I don't know, she yells at her.
- 04 **Teacher:** A ty kogda-
And you when-
And when you-
- 05 **Maša:** Ona govorit ne prixodi domoj.
She says no come home
She says don't come home.
- 06 **Teacher:** a ty kogda vyrasteš' tože ne budeš' ljubit' svoju mamu.
and you when grow (fut) also no will love self mother
So when you grow up you won't love your mom either?
- 07 **Maša:** BUDU::?
be(1st P S fut)
I WILL.
- 08 **Teacher:** vot. Vldiš'.
here see
Here you see.
- 09 **Maša:** ja ljublju MAMU.
I love mama
I love my mom.
- 10 **Teacher:** a babušku ljubiš'.
and grandmother love
And do you love your grandmother?

- 11 **Masha:** Da.
Yes.
- 12 **Teacher:** Vot vidiš, ty molodec. ty ljubi i mamu i babušku.
Here see you good girl you love and mother and grandmother
Ok you see you are a good girl. You should love both your mother and grandmother.
- 13 **Sofia:** Ja tože.
I also
Me too.
- 14 **Teacher:** Nado ljubit'- a papu kto ljubit?
Need love and father who love
You need to love, and who loves your dad?
- 15 ((children raise thier hands))
- 16 **Nadja:** Ja.
I
Me.
- 17 **Teacher:** A:: konečno. A vot vidite a u menja papa u::mer.
Of course. And here see and at me papa died
A:: Of course. And you see my father died.
- 18 Ja by- ja ego i ljubil a potom on umer.
I I him and love (past) and then he died (past)
I was- I loved him and then he died.
- 19 I vot ja teper' očen' žaleju čto on umer.
And here I now very sorry that he died
And now I feel very sorry that he died.

- 20 Potomu što inogda s mamoj [ne pogo-
Because sometimes with mama no
Because sometimes with my mother I can't tal-
- 21 **Maša:** [**Why didn't you**] **take a**
picture of him and [**then XXX**
- 22 **Teacher:** [Nu u menja est' konečno est' u menja
interj. at me be ofcourse be at me
pictures and everything
Of course I have, I do have pictures and everything
- 23 No ja ž ne mogu [razgovarivat's fotografij.]
But I though no can speak with picture
But I can't speak with the picture.
- 24 **Sofy:** [A kak on uner?]
And how he died
And how did he die?
- 25 **Teacher:** U nego zaboleti legkie (.) u nego trudno bylo dyšat' ?
At him hurt lungs at him difficult was breathe
His lungs got sick, it was difficult to breathe,
- 26 I on pol goda mučalsja i potom on umer ot etogo. (1.5)
And he half year suffer(past) and after he died from this
He suffered for half a year and died because of this.
- 27 Èto nazyvaetsja rak. (1.5) rak legkix. (2.0)
This call cancer cancer lungs
It's called cancer, lung cancer.
- 28 Vo:t i bylo očen' gru::stno,
Here and was very sad
So, and it was very sad.
- 29 I teper'- èto uže slučilos' sem' let nazad.
And now this already happened seven years ago
And now, this happed seven yers ago.

- 30 I vot poetomu u kogo iz vas est' babuški(.)
deduški,(.)
*And here because at whom from you be grandmothers
grandfather*
So that's why if you have grandmother, grandfather,
- 31 Papy i mamy.(.) vy ix objazatel'no ljubite.
Fathers and mothers you them certainly love
Fathers and mothers, you should definitely love them.
- 32 Potomu čto kogda to oni stanut staren'kimi (0.6) i(.) oni
peresTAnut žit'. (1.5)
*Because when interj. they become(fut) old and they
stop live*
Becuse one day they will become old and stop living.
- 33 I kogda to [vse- každyj čelovek
And when interj. all every person
At some time all- every person
- 34 **Maša:** [U menja babuška ne staren'kaja.
At me grandmother no old
My grandmotehr is not old.
- 35 **Teacher:** Kogda- kogda nibud' umret.
When ever die (fut)
Will die some time.
- 36 I potom vam stanet žalko čto vy ploxo k nim odnosilis',
And after you will sorry that you badly at them treat
And then you will be sorry that you treated them badly.

- 37 Potomu čto esli oni umrut a vy s nimi ne pomerites'
i budete k nim ploxo odnosit'sja,
*Because if they die and you with them no make peace
and will to them badly treat*
**Because if they die and you didn't make peace with them and
treated them badly,**
- 38 I potom oni umrut i eto budet očenč' grustno čto i vam
prосто tjaželo budet žit'.
*And then they die(fut) and this will very sad that and you
simply difficult will live*
**And then they will die and you will be very sad and it will be
difficult for you to live.**
- 39 **Maša:** (sighs)
- 40 **Teacher:** Vot naprimer (.) ty dolžna (.) kak-to (.) pogovorit' so svoej
mamoj.<
*Here for example you must somehow speak with your
mom*
**So for example you should somehow speak with your
mom.**
- 41 <Mama počemu ty ne ljubiš' babušku. (.)
mom why you no love grandmother
Mom why don't you love grandma?
- 42 A vdrug (.) babuška umrět,
And if grandmother die
And what if grandma dies?

- 43 I vy togda ne budete ljubit' drug druga, (0.2)
And you then no will love each other
And then you won't love each other,
- 44 I čto polučitsja.
And what happen
And what will happen?
- 45 ((Maša shruggs her shoulders))
- 46 **Teacher:** Nu vot predstavljajaeš' èto očen' grustno na samom dele budet.
So here imagine this very sad at real business will
So imagine it will be very sad really.

In the present interaction the child brings up a conversation about her mother not loving her grandmother. The girl did not use any pre-sequencing to her story that would link it to prior talk. The teacher responds immediately with a disbelieving “zdravstvujte,” and with a question “why” (line 2) asking why her mom doesn't love her grandmother. The usage of the word “zdravstvujte” [hello] is a negative evaluation of the girl's proposition. In addition, an elongated /a/ in the word [zdra::stvujte] and a use of “smiling” voice index the teacher's disbelief of the girl's proposition. The disbelief is also emphasized by the teacher's request for an explanation for why the child thinks that her mother doesn't love her grandmother, which the girl provides in lines 3 and 5. Although the girl provides a very concrete understanding of what “not loving grandma” means to her (yelling and telling her not to come home) she softens her assertions by inserting an evidential “I don't know” in line 3.

Having provided the negative evaluation and disbelief of the child's statement, the teacher challenges the girl with a question concerning whether she

will love her mother when she grows up (line 6). The question is asked after a negative assessment has been provided. This makes a positive answer a desirable second pair-part to the question. The child indeed answers with a positive “budu” [will], which is produced in a higher volume and with a smile after a short pause (1.5 sec). Such a production of “will” demonstrates that the child herself understands the question as having a preferred positive answer.

This interaction establishes a “good” moral character of the child, which contrasts with the teacher’s negative evaluation of the child’s mother’s feelings expressed by the girl in line 1, and which is further explicitly stated by the teacher’s repetition of “you see” (lines 8 and 12) and an explicit positive evaluation of the child, “good girl” (line 12). The teacher then follows to further establish the good character of all the children in class by asking a question: “who loves the daddy” (line 14). Similar to the previous question asked by the teacher, having assessed not loving one as a bad thing, makes a positive answer to the question about whether the children love their fathers, more desirable. In addition, the socially preferred answer to this question is also positive. The question is used as a first pair part that allows for an opportunity to introduce a “second story” (Sacks 1992)

After again receiving the positive second pair part from all the children (they raise their hands) the teacher inserts a personal narrative about his father, whom he loved, but who died and now he is sorry that he is dead (lines 24 – 32). In line 16 he concludes the previous discussion of the question of who loves their fathers by “Ah, of course” and provides a pre-sequence to his story with “And

you see" (line 17). He concludes the story by returning to the children and telling them that one day all people will die and if they don't love them they will regret it (line 38). It is noteworthy that Maša tries to distance her own story from that of a teacher (everyone will get old and die one day) by saying that her grandmother is not old (line 34). The teacher, however, does not react to her utterance, completing in line 35 the utterance that he started in line 33, and by doing that, deleting the child's utterance. Such an erasure of the whole utterance and never returning to it, on the one hand positions it as irrelevant for the teacher's goal and the moral of his lesson, and on the other hand allows to maintain focus on his message.

Providing a personal story allows the teacher to do a few things simultaneously. First, it proclaims to the children that loving family members is in their best interest (they will regret it if they don't after the loved ones die). In addition having a personal story makes the moral lesson more real and believable. And finally, it provides further reinforcement to the claim of the teacher's assertion that children should love their family members. Sacks' (1992) claim that the second story demonstrates agreement with the first story (5-6) is supported in the present data. The stance that was negotiated in the first story, i.e. one needs to love her relatives, is apparent in the teacher's personal narrative, which "shed[s] light on a previous narrative of personal experience" (Ochs and Capps 2001: 33).

After finishing the personal story the teacher addresses Maša (line 40), who initially brought up the proposition that her mother does not love her

grandmother and tells her that she needs to find a way to talk to her mother about the issue. In lines 41 and 42 he inserts a hypothetical direct reported direct speech (see chapter 5 for a more in-depth discussion of the phenomenon and the child-parent relationships). He uses Maša's voice to demonstrate to the child what she can say to her mother regarding the issue, starting with the use of address term "mama" (line 41) to introduce reported direct speech. It is noteworthy that the teacher does not tell the child to talk to her mother about the issue immediately after the girl brings it up. Similarly to the first interaction, positioning the child as knowledgeable (here in the matters of morality) becomes a process. Although the interaction starts with Maša's proposition that lacks evaluation, starting with the teacher's response (line 2) the moral stance of the teacher becomes apparent and "remains constant" (Ochs and Capps 2001: 50) through the rest of the interaction. The teacher first negatively assesses the girl's proposition, establishes a good moral character of the child, provides a reinforcement of the assertion through the use of a personal second story and only then inserts a scenario for talking to the mother.

The positioning of a child as knowledgeable happens quite often and is not limited to one teacher. In one instance a Russian language teacher told the child to talk to her mother about the reading materials that are available for the girl at home. Similarly to the interactions discussed above the teacher inserted a reported direct speech to demonstrate to the child how she can talk to her parent:

Example 6.3.

- 01 **Teacher:** I poètomu kogda vam roditeli dajut knigi požalujsta, (0.5)
And that's why when you parents give books please
So that's why when your parents give you books please,
- 02 Vy deti no vy vseгда možete skazat',
You children but you always can say
You are children, but you always can say,
- 03 Roditelji mogu ètogo ne znat'.
Parents can this not know
Parents may not know this.
- 04 Mam posmotri èto pravoslavnaja knižka ili net.
Mom look this orthodox book or not
Mom please check if this is an Orthodox book or not.

While in the previous interactions the teacher does not explicitly say that the hypothetical friend or the parent may be less knowledgeable than the children, in example 6.3 she explicitly states that parents may be less knowledgeable than the children (line 3). The children's status as children is highlighted in line 2 (You are children). Sacks (1992) in his lectures discusses the importance of categorization for any society. He states that "programmatic relevance of categories is utterly central to the working of the community of culture users" (1992: 494). The teacher's categorization of the students as children provides us with a better understanding of how the children attending the school are positioned in relation to their parents. The students are strategically positioned in this utterance as agents who may be more knowledgeable than their parents and can demonstrate this knowledge to the parents (You are children but you can always say. Parents may not know this).

Although I have frequently observed that teachers highlight to the children their obligation to obey the parents, such interactions as the ones described above position children as having agency and highlight their expertise, real or imagined, in the matters of Orthodoxy.

6.2 Socializing Positive Feelings about Church Practices: Use of Assessments.

As I discussed in chapter 2, the teachers in the HL school see Russian language, culture and orthodoxy as inseparable entities. For them, the meaning of being Orthodox Christian is intimately connected with knowledge of the Russian culture and language, which in turn is connected with an intimate “feeling” associated with church practices, Russian language and culture. The present section of the chapter takes a look at how children are socialized to associate these positive intimate emotions with church practices. To examine this, I evaluate how assessments are used during discussions of practices associated with Russian Orthodox Christianity.

One of the features of assessments is their ability to “display [the] agent’s experience of the event, including their affective involvement in the referent being assessed” (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987:9). While the teachers in the HL school do not use the word “affect” to describe how they feel in relation to church practices, it is the affective displays that allow us to understand how these feelings are socialized to the children during their interactions with the

teachers. Affective stance is a “central meaning component(s) of social acts and social identities” (Ochs 1996: 419-420). Affect can be displayed through “multimodal features such as intonation, prosody, voice quality, [and] facial expressions.” (DuBois and Kärkkäinen 2012: 435; also Godwin and Godwin 2000). In the HL classroom these devices in addition to lexical items are employed to index affective stances.

My observations of the God’s Law and the Russian language classes demonstrate that very frequently positively-connotated adjectives are used in descriptions of church practices. Most often these adjectives describe the clothes worn by the priest and other people participating in services, such as deacons and servitors. When the children were working on the poster about the church, the words “krasivo” [beautiful] and “narjadnyj” [beautifully dressed] were used multiple times by the teacher. In addition, such metaphors as “angel’skaja odežda” [angelic clothes] and comparisons as “korona kak u carja” [crown like the king’s] were used to describe the clothes of the servitors and priests participating in the service. In addition to using adjectives describing visual appearance, positive adjectives associated with smell were used during class. The smell of the censer was described as “očen’ dušistoe blagouxanie” [very fragrant smell], where both “dušistoe” and “blagouxanie” are poetic words. The use of such vocabulary is not unique to the Russian HL setting, but is similar to practices in Ukrainian public schools studied by Friedman (2006). In the setting of Ukrainian schools teachers frequently use “affectively loaded” and “poetic”

lexical items” in a discussion of topics such as “Summer,” “model[ing] an appropriate stance to take towards summer” (2006: 301).

In the HL Russian school children usually align with these assessments. In the following interaction, for example, a girl’s positive alignment with such assessments is demonstrated by her co-production of the teacher’s utterance. In example 6.4 the teacher describes clothes worn by a priest in Russian Orthodox Church:

Example 6.4.

Teacher is discussing the clothes worn by priests in church.

- 01 **Teacher:** A na rukax u nix u vsej vidite kakie krasivye. (.)
And on hands at them at all see how beautiful
And on their arms they all you see have these beautiful.
- 02 [Vešči s kr] estom.
Things with cross
Things with a cr oss.
- 03 **Ženja:** [Uzo::ry. Patterns] [uzory. patterns]
- 04 **Teacher:** [Uzory.] oni nazyvajutsja poručni.
patterns they called armlets
Patterns. They are called armlets.

In line 1 the teacher hesitates (probably in search of a word), which results in a short pause. Ženja, in turn, takes this pause as an opportunity for a turn and completes the teacher’s utterance with a word “pattern,” which is produced simultaneously with the teacher’s “things with crosses” (line 2). The girl then repeats the word “pattern”, which is in turn used by the teacher in line 4. The use of the word “uzory” (pattern) by the girl demonstrates her positive stance

towards the picture that she is describing. In Russian the word “uzor” is positively- connotated and is usually used to refer to an elaborate design that uses “a combination of lines, colors and shades” (Ožegov’s e-dictionary of the Russian language). The teacher’s alignment to Ženja’s word choice is also demonstrated by his use of the word in line 4.

Sometimes, however, this type of alignment does not take place right away. In the following interaction it takes the teacher a few turns of producing positive assessments for the student to align to it. In the present interaction the teacher describes incense that is used during church services.

Example 6.5.

01 **Teacher:** Znaete čto takoe incense?

Know what this incense

Do you know what incense is?

02 **Children:** No

03 **Teacher:** Èto takoe-

It like

It is a-

04 Očen dušistye takie kamuški kotorye sdelany iz smaly dereva.

Very fragrant this stones(dim)which made from sap tree

Very fragrant these rocks which are made out of tree sap.

05 (0.6 sec)

06 **Ženja:** Smaly?/\= <high pitch>

Sap?



07 **Teacher:** =Iz smaly dereva i smala očen' dušistaja.

From sap tree and sap very fragrant

From tree sap and the sap is very fragrant.

(Nadja raises her hand)

08 I kogda smalu derevjannuju (0.3 sec) i dushistuju lozhish na ugol',

(0.3)

And when sap tree and fragrant put on coal

And when you put the fragrant tree sap on the coal,

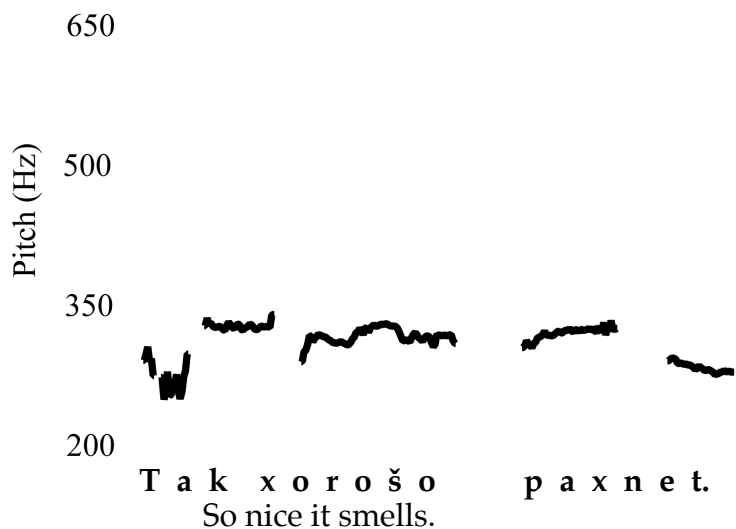
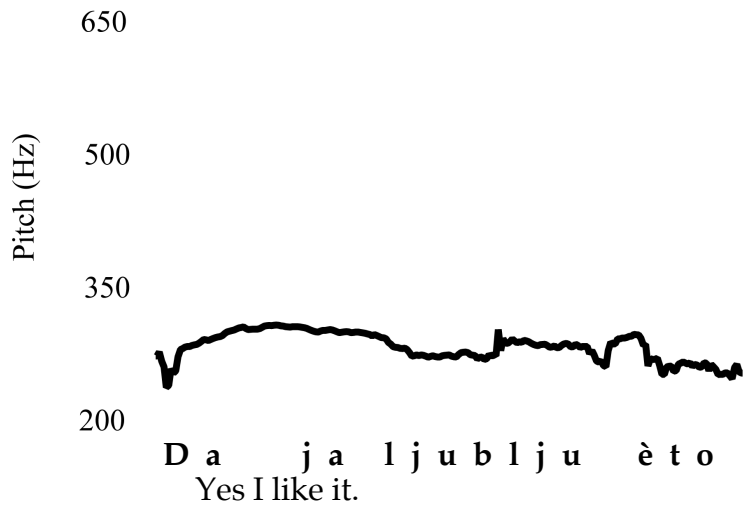
09 °Nachinaetsja takoe ochen ochen dushistyj dym.°

Start this very very fragrant smoke

This very very fragrant smoke starts to form.

- 10 **Ženja:** Da:: ya ljublj[ju et[o.]
Yes I love th is
Ye::s I love it
- 11 **Teacher:** Èto] tak zdorovo.]
This so nice
It is so nice
- 12 **Nadja:** [Možno v tualet sxodit'.]
May to bathroom go
May I use the restroom
- 13 **Teacher:** Da xorošo idi tol'ko ne dolgo.=
Yes good go just no long
Yes ok go but don't take long.
- 14 **Ženja:** =Tak xorošo [paxnet.]
So good smell
So nice it smells.
- 15 **Teacher:** [Èto očen'] èti- eto očen' zdorovo paxnet.
This very these this very nice smell
It's very, it smells very nice.

During his descriptions of the censer and the way that it smells the teacher asks whether the children know what incense is (line 1). In lines 3, 4 and 7 he explains what incense is and uses positively-connotated adjective “dušistyje” (fragrant) and an intensifier “očen’” (very) to describe the smell that they produce. In addition, he uses a diminutive form of the word “stone”, which also helps project his positive affective stance. After having provided this information there is a 0.6 sec. pause that allows input for the production of the second pair part. Taking this opportunity for input, Ženja produces a word “sap” (line 6). Its production (both the facial expression of the child and the vocalization of the word), however, does not align with the positive stance



The teacher's production of the positive assessments in lines 6-8 seems to affect the child's stance towards the use of tree sap and more generally the practice of using a censer. In line 6 the teacher does not allow for any more of the evaluations from the students by latching his utterance to Ženja's. He produces "format tying" (Goodwin 1990, 2006) of the girl's utterance "smaly" [sap] changing both the intonation and the pitch of the utterance. The teacher uses a very even intonation pattern (pitch range 20 Hz) and maintains a relatively low

pitch (about 113 Hz). By recycling it this way, he adds a different, more positive and intimate “coloring” of the utterance, which is intensified by the repeated use (3 times) of positively-connotated word “fragrant.” His use of a lower volume in line 8 also contributes to the perception of a positive assessment and creation the “feeling” of intimacy associated with the practice of using the censer that both the teachers and the parents bring up in their discussions of Orthodoxy.

6.3 Discussion.

As we could see in the previous section of the chapter, analysis of data collected at the HL Russian school demonstrates that for the school teachers the Russian language, culture and Orthodoxy are closely connected. In addition to viewing the possession of the knowledge of the three concepts as necessary for a Russian Orthodox individual, it is closely tied to intimate feelings associated with Orthodox practices. The findings of my analysis of daily classroom interactions demonstrate how these values of being knowledgeable about Orthodox Church practices and experiencing positive feelings in connection to these practices are presented to the children attending the school.

The language practices involved in the process of socialization (described in the previous sections of the chapter) in the HL school do not usually involve explicitly telling the children that they are to like certain church practices or to acquire the value of being knowledgeable in these practices. The practice of language socialization “take[s] place over the course of daily social life, through interactions in which more experienced, expert members display to novices

culturally expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting” (Capps and Ochs 1995: 138). The insertion of hypothetical stories in which children become knowledgeable actors highlights the value of such knowledge. At the same time inserting a personal story (example 6.2) not only allows them to perceive the situation as possible, but also “show[s] children how to build an understanding of their own experiences” (Capps and Ochs 1995: 150).

The analysis of the classroom practices makes it clear that children are not passive receivers of these socialization practices. They participate in co-construction of the stories (example 6.1), attempt to distance themselves from the stories (example 6.2), and at times dis-align from proposed assessments (example 6.5). Nevertheless, it becomes apparent (example 6.5) that teachers do become successful in at least some aspects of their socialization attempts. These attempts in the HL school setting provide situations for the children where they can test and shape their understandings of the world.

In addition, during these language socialization attempts children at the HL school learn how to use the Russian language. They learn, for example, new vocabulary (as an example of the word “deacon”), and pragmatic features such as intonation patterns associated with the feelings of intimacy (use of even intonation contours with a small pitch range), or ways to talk to parents demonstrated by hypothetical reported direct speech (for more on this see chapter 5), including address term and politeness (use of “please” and “mom” in example 6.3, line 4).

As we can see, the Heritage language Russian school becomes a place where children are exposed to practices that are multi-functional in nature. When learning the Russian language or the content of the Bible and the church traditions and customs the children are simultaneously exposed to the teachers' values and ideologies associated with Orthodox Christianity. While the value of being knowledgeable about Orthodox Christian practices may be absent in the parents of the children attending the school (see chapter 2 for more on this discussion), the teachers hope (and frequently overtly communicate this to the children) that once they grow up they will be able to practice these values and transmit them to future generations.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The present dissertation was written based on research conducted in a Russian Heritage Language school located in Southern California. While the children attending the school are involved in multiple hours of Russian language instruction during school hours, learning and maintaining the language is an important but not a sole goal of the school teachers and administrators. The children in the school learn how to be competent members of their community, Russian Diaspora in Southern California in general, and its Orthodox Christian members in particular. For the Orthodox Christian members of this community it means that one needs to be competent not only in the Russian language, but also in relating to other members of the community in appropriate ways. A child attending the Heritage school based on the Orthodox Christian parish learns how to be a good student in relation to his or her teachers, how to be a good peer in relation to his or her class- and school-mates, a good child in relation to his or her parents, and finally a good Orthodox Christian who understands and affiliates with (and displays understanding and affiliation with) church practices and values.

The dissertation examined how children are taught to relate to the surrounding members of the community in appropriate ways and how the aforementioned Christian values are socialized in these children. In other words, the dissertation examined how social identity is constructed in children attending a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian School in Southern California. The dissertation approached identity

as a process of “identification and positioning”, as “continual emerging and becoming, a process that identifies what a person becomes and achieves through ongoing interactions with other persons” (He 2006: 7).

One of the aspects that the parents of the children attending the school found important and children found to be enjoyable is the exposure to Russian cultural and religious events in the school. This means that the school organizes and makes efforts to involve the children in these events while providing opportunities to spend multiple hours communicating with native speakers of Russian (their teachers and administrators). What is equally (or possibly more) important, however (but not overtly discussed by the parents, teachers or the children), is the mundane everyday interactions of the children with their teachers through which children learn “cultural pathways” (Weisner, 2002) of the HL school community and the Russian Diaspora more generally. Through these routine daily interactions the students are socialized into being “good Russian Orthodox children.” Such children treat others around them in ways that are appropriate for the setting. The children are also knowledgeable in matters of Orthodox Christian values and church practices and display appropriate stances towards these practices.

To be a good student in relation to his or her teachers means not only completing homework assignments and learning the Russian language, but also demonstrating behaviors that are acceptable for the setting, including adhering to the projected by the teacher instructor-student roles. The teachers in the school usually show love for the students, and students in return demonstrate their affection towards the teachers (see chapter 2). The teachers and the students, however, are not equal partners: teachers position themselves as knowledgeable experts in the matters of literacy in the Russian

language and the knowledgeable parties in matters of discipline and classroom management. This can be observed through how directives are given in response to a transgressive behavior in the classroom (chapter 3).

The directives I examine differ from directives usually studied in that I do not focus on a two party interaction where directives are produced and responded to between two focal participants engaged in a common activity. Instead, I looked at directives that are given by a teacher to a non-focal participant, a child who is committing a transgression while another child is involved in a focal class activity. An example of this is telling a child who is speaking to be quiet while his/her peer is involved in an activity of reading.

The manner of production of such directives is important for our understanding of how children are socialized to act in relation to their teachers. In addition, it is important for our understanding of the classroom management strategies used by teachers in the context of a Russian Heritage language school. I found that in this setting the teachers produce directives without taking into account the students' ability to comply with the directive. Instead, the manner of production of such directives takes into consideration the state of the on-going main class activity. The goal of the directive is organization of attention towards the main class activity and its progressivity done in a way that would have a minimal interference on the activity and the child conducting it. The re-organization of attention of non-focal participants allows for the progressivity of the activity conducted by the focal participants, i.e. students involved in the main class activity.

By repeating the directives to terminate the transgression multiple times the teacher demonstrates the entitlement to demand compliance as well as her authority. At the same time, however, the students' only partial compliance with the directive demonstrates their understanding of what is acceptable and "passable" as acceptable behavior in the setting. By only partially changing their behavior the children are perhaps practicing what researchers (Kyratzis 2000; Corsaro 1979) have called a creation of unique social realities. In these realities, children demonstrate respect for the authority of the teacher, "according some face-saving vis-à-vis the party issuing the directive" (Goodwin 2006: 530) by modifying their behaviors, while they manage to maintain the side activity they are interested in, in a way that appears acceptable for the teacher. The teacher's intense monitoring of the activities of all the children in the classroom and not only the participants of the focal activity allows her to assess the state of multiple simultaneous activities and issue an appropriate directive.

Through the production of directives in the HL classroom setting the children are positioned not only as students in a language class, but also as individuals who co-exist with others, teachers and peers who need to be considered during their production of actions. Through production of directives, therefore, teachers position themselves not only as experts in Russian language and literacy, but also in the matters of morality. This can be seen in how accounts are given by the teachers when attempting to correct students' transgressive behaviors.

In these account stories (chapter 4) children are positioned as part of a collective, where each child's individual behavior directly affects well-being of other members of the group. Accounts for why a behavior should be terminated given in a Russian HL

classroom seem to be built with a systematic template that involves other students, who are positioned in opposition to the offenders or as being negatively affected by the transgression, and utilize the “reciprocity of perspectives” (Schutz 1954). The stories are usually produced in the present tense (as opposed to other possibilities such as irrealis) highlighting their factual nature. This, in combination with the physical presence of not just the offender but other children as well, allows them to align to the projected reality, which is in fact done by the children. By their issuing of directives containing the account stories the teachers simultaneously position themselves as the experts in morality, and the students as members of a collective who still need to learn how to conduct themselves in an appropriate way, i.e. taking into consideration other children and the activities that they are involved in.

While morality is taught in relation to those who are immediately present in the school, it also is a proclaimed policy of the school (as well as an observable practice) to emphasize the importance of moral up-bringing in children’s lives outside of the school (chapter 2). This becomes especially evident through observations and analysis of discourse about relationships of students with their parents. While students are frequently explicitly taught that they need to be “humble” and “obedient” children towards their parents, the concrete understanding of the concepts of “humility” and “obedience” are presented to the children through hypothetical direct reported speech (chapter 5).

Examining hypothetical direct reported speech I analyzed the structure of such quotes, including how entering the quote, its maintenance and exiting are done. The hypothetical reported speech prompts children to talk to their parents in a certain way

through “do-quotes” while simultaneously providing them with models of talk that are not acceptable, explicitly framing it as “don’t quotes.” In modeling the two distinct ways of speaking the teachers on the one hand demonstrate to children two possible ways of communicating. In addition, we hear their own stance towards these ways of speaking both during the production of the quotes and their explicit framing of quotes as acceptable and unacceptable. The teachers produce a “layering of voices” (Bakhtin 1981). This layering serves a double function. An addition of a voice serves as an exiting strategy from the quote. At the same time, the layering of voices is used to socialize children into acceptable behaviors through creating normative characters.

Hypothetical direct speech is chosen as a means of socializing the norms of speaking to one’s parent because it first allows the creation of a situation where absent parties (in this case a parent) are active characters. On the other hand it de-personalizes the quote, as the teachers do not claim that any particular child performs these quotes, thereby avoiding accusing a particular child of behaving inappropriately towards one’s parent. At the same time, the choice of hypothetical scenarios and hypothetical direct speech allows the presentation of “typified” and possible behaviors to the children. Complex hypothetical moral characters are created in addition to word choice through prosody to depict appropriate stances and contrast those with inappropriate behaviors. Plural pronouns “you” and “we” are usually employed in framing of the “don’t” quotes. They are not framed with a singular pronoun, name or a singular verb. This has the effect of maintaining the status of the “don’t” quotes as “typical” and simultaneously impersonal and not describing one particular child. Through the use of hypothetical direct speech way, the teachers provide concrete understandings of what it means to be a

good child to one's parent, a concrete understanding of such complex moral concepts of Orthodox Christianity as "humility."

The understanding of Russian Orthodox Christianity is not homogeneous among all of the parties involved in the school. There is an obvious misalignment in how Orthodoxy, Russian language and Russian culture are viewed by the newly-assigned priest of the parish where the school is based and the school teachers (chapter 2). An analysis of interviews and ethnographic observations demonstrated that the teachers view Orthodoxy, Russian language and culture as inseparable entities. Through their criticism of the parish's Father's separatist view, the teachers also demonstrate that they assign value on views other than their own and emphasize the importance of "being knowledgeable" about and "feeling" the connection with the Orthodox Christian Church practices and morality. The discourse analysis of their interactions with the students demonstrate that through the production of assessments and stories where children are positioned as "knowledgeable" in the matters of Orthodoxy, an affiliation with Russian Orthodox Christian practices is socialized (chapter 6).

As we can see, when attending a Russian Heritage language school, the children not only receive instruction in the Russian language and other subjects, but are also socialized into being Russian Orthodox Christian children. Recent research on religiosity of Russia as a country demonstrates that while the majority of populations are self-proclaimed Orthodox Christians, Orthodox Christianity for the most part holds a status of a nominal religion (Andreeva 2008). In other words, most self-proclaimed Orthodox Christians are not knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy and only attend church on significant occasions of one's life, such as baptism and funeral. Considering the secular

nature that the country maintained during the Soviet times, and the situation in the country today (it is one of the most secular countries in Europe), it comes as no surprise that many of the children who attend the HL school discussed in the present dissertation, become more knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy than their parents. This knowledge is celebrated by the teachers and the parents who consider themselves Orthodox Christians. In addition, a sense that the school is preparing a new generation of parishioners is discussed by the teacher, but is talked about as “not seen by the parish’s clergy.”

The positioning of the children as “knowledgeable” of Orthodox Christian values, “feeling” the connection with Orthodoxy, “obedient” and “respectful” towards one’s parent, “considerate” towards peers, “learning” from their teachers, takes place in daily interactions in the HL school. By positioning children in these ways, their identities are socialized in daily interactions through the use of language and other semiotic resources.

The creation of a normative Russian Orthodox Christian child takes place in the school. The normativity is frequently created and presented to the children through hypothetical scenarios and situations. Teachers present to the students hypothetical scenarios of being affected by a transgression after they have conducted a similar behavior (chapter 4). They also present the children with hypothetical scenarios of talking to one’s parent (chapter 5). And finally, hypothetical stories and scenarios where children become characters knowledgeable in Orthodox Christian values and practices are used during class (chapter 6).

One feature that is common to all these hypothetical situations is positioning a child who is present during the interaction as a complex moral character of the scenarios.

The telling of the story is an attempt of creating a social actor who adheres to certain moral values, a certain “type” of a child, irrelevant of his/her specific biographical or individual peculiarities. The “good” moral child is frequently presented in a contrastive manner. When modeling for the children how to speak to one’s parent, for example, teachers also provide ways of talking that are not acceptable (chapter 5). When a child is provided an account story to stop a transgression, his or her own behaviors are presented as negatively affecting other children, “who are in class and studying” (chapter 4). And finally, the non-knowledgeable others are presented in opposition to the children characters who are knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy (chapter 6).

Through exposure to such “hypotheticals” a child attending a Heritage Language school does not simply learn how to be a speaker of Russian; she learns how to be a moral individual. The specific understandings of what moral concepts entail are communicated to the children in these hypothetical situations and scenarios in very concrete ways. Being respectful towards a peer, for example, means not interrupting him or her when the child is in the midst of a class activity. And being a humble child to one’s parent means speaking to the parents in certain “non-contradictory” ways that employ certain prosody and lexical items. Children learn how to be competent members of the Diaspora in general and the school community in particular while learning how to be Russian Orthodox children. This knowledge is on the one hand grounded in the acquisition/maintenance of the Russian language, customs, history, and Orthodox religious practices and on the other hand in the ability to present oneself as a Russian child in relation to others around him or her.

In concluding the dissertation, it is important to note that competence in Russian is an important factor for all the participants involved in the school. Discussion of how teachers can improve language learning and maintenance both take place informally and in scheduled meetings. Children usually start their education in the school speaking Russian fluently. While for this project I concentrated on younger children whose proficiency in Russian is high, this is not always the case for Heritage language schools. In many of the situations scholars note a lack of language proficiency in the Heritage Language learners (Avinery 2012; Lo 2006). Even for these settings, however, the issues of identity remain salient as practices the students and teachers are involved in are “identity-building” (Avineri 2012).

As I have noted in the introductory chapter of the dissertation, social identity is linked to the type of bilingualism that develops in an individual (Baker 2000; Hamers and Blanc 2005; Giles and Coupland 1991; Rumbaut 1994). As I have demonstrated, Russian language, Orthodoxy and culture are seen as inseparable entities by the native speakers of Russian who are part of the HL school, i.e. school teachers and parents (chapter 2). In such a bilingual situation, where “language has become a salient feature of group identity it plays an important role in the development of the individual ethno-linguistic identity” (Hamers and Blanc 2005: 204). As we have seen, the HL school teachers make strong attempts to position the children attending the school as “Russian Orthodox children” in relation to individuals around them and in relation to Orthodox Christianity, thereby constructing their identities as Russian Orthodox Christian individuals.

While not all children attending the school will “keep” their Russian, as attrition rather than underdevelopment of the grammatical features of the language usually takes

place in HL situations (Polinsky 2010), re-learning of a HL at a later stage in life (usually during college years) has been noted as an often-occurring phenomenon (Hinton 1999: 240; Nash 2012; Karapetian 2011). At this time in life students who decided to re-learn their HL express “a sense of love for their heritage language” (Hinton 1999: 243).

Whether the training in the HL that the children of immigrants, including the Russian children examined here, receive in childhood influences the ease of language learning at a later stage in life is a topic that needs to be examined in future research. It is possible, however, that the socialization into the social identity of a Russian individual that takes place in the HL school discussed here, is one of the reasons that influences the individuals’ later choice and efforts to re-learn and maintain their Heritage language.

APPENDIX

Conventions of transliteration from the Cyrillic alphabet:

А	a	П	p
Б	b	Р	r
В	v	С	s
Г	g	Т	t
Д	d	У	u
Е	e	Ф	f
Ё	ë	Х	x
Ж	ž	Ц	c
З	z	Ч	č
И	i	Ш	š
Й	j	Щ	šč
К	k	Ь	'
Л	l	Ъ	''
М	m	Э	è
Н	n	Ю	ju
О	o	Я	ja

Transcription Conventions:

[]	overlapping or simultaneous talk
=	latched utterances
(0.5)	length of silence in tenths of second
(.)	micro-pause
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
¿	rising intonation stronger than a command but weaker than a question mark
::	the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them (the more colons, the longer the stretching)

- a cut-off or self-interruption

WORD some form of stress or emphasis, wither by increased loudness or higher pitch (the more underlining, the greater the emphasis)

(h) Laughter

.h inhaling

° ° the talk following it was markedly quiet or soft

> < the talk between them is compressed and rushed

< > Voice quality

↓ Indicates where the embodied action occurs in relation to the produced talk

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