ABSTRACT
        This report presents the findings of a 17-month
project whose aim was to analyze the complexity of language use in
the classroom through the examination of one classroom event or key
episode type: the "service-like event." This term covers those
situations during periods of individualized instruction in which a
child who is not working with the teacher solicits the attention of
the teacher in order to get help with a task, confirmation, or other
need. Traditionally, much of the social interaction of the classroom
has been "whole group," with the teacher as the focus of the lesson
or activity. However, many classrooms have recently been restructured
so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at
least part of the day. Deviation from whole group structure places
new communicative demands on both teacher and students. A study was
done to determine how effective teachers structure their actions and
their responses to children's actions in these situations. Results
indicate that teachers develop norms for making communicative
responses to children's initiatives and that they apply these norms
with some degree of consistency across participation structures.
Transcriptions of classroom communication are included.
(Author/PJM)

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Service-like Events During Individual Work Time
and their Contribution to the Nature of
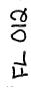Communication in Primary Classrooms

FINAL REPORT FOR GRANT NO. NIE G-78-0081 OF THE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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with

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ABSTRACT

This report presents the findings of a seventeen-month project funded by the National Institute of Education as one of a group of investigations of teaching as a linguistic process at the elementary level. The aim of the project has been to analyze the complexity of language use in the classroom through examination of one classroom "event" or key episode-type—the "service-like event". This term covers those situations during periods of individualized instruction in which a child who is not officially working with the teacher solicits the teacher's attention in order to get help with a task or confirmation or other needed attention.

Most elementary classrooms are comprised of one teacher and many children, and traditionally much of the social interaction of the classroom has been "whole group" with the teacher as the focus of the lesson or activity. However, most elementary classrooms are now designed such that part of the day is spend in an alternative participation structure. In recent years, in response to the transient and heterogeneous nature of many school populations, and in response to the schools' desires to match every child's aptitude with appropriate levels of instruction, many elementary classrooms are conducted so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at least part of the day. Thus, a class of 18 to 30 students may be divided into three or four reading groups, each of which will meet with the teacher separately at different times. Another part of the school day may involve the teacher's giving a brief lesson to the whole group and then asking the children to work on an assignment individually or in small groups, with the teacher typically working with one individual or group on that assignment.

When the structure of classroom participation changes away from whole group this places new communicative demands on both teacher and students. In particular, teachers must orient to having one primary focus of activity and many secondary ones (all the children not involved with her/him). The students must orient to either managing without the teacher's help or effectively soliciting the teacher's attention in a way that is minimally disruptive to the teacher's primary activity. This study was an attempt to fill part of the gap in our knowledge about how effective teachers structure their actions and their responses to children's actions in these situations.

Results indicate that effective teachers develop norms for ing communicative responses to students initiatives and that they apply these norms with some of consistency across ticipation structures. In order ate these patterns it been necessary to develop new concepts and formulations for describing the dynamics of classroom interaction.

The theoretical perspective that has been brought to this research can be characterized as social interactional and socio-linguistic. One of the specific objectives of the pr ject has been to explore the importance of language use in the classroom by bringing to a focus on language a consideration of non-linguistic features of communication, and the broader perspective of language use as social interaction. A second objective has been to explore the nature of continuities between norms for conduct within the class-room and norms for conduct outside the classroom, and the nature of continuities between situations within the classroom. A third objective has been to look at language in its function as conveyor of academic information in addition to its function of establishing and maintaining social contact.

The methods employed in this study have been sociolinguistic and microethnographic. The techniques involved are basically those of qualitative analysis built on linguistic and ethnographic methods. These methods reflect the nature of the data available for investigation. The study was based upon an available bank of video-taped and audio-taped data from naturally occurring classroom situations. These data were collected over the course of one school year (1975-1976) in two classrooms at each grade level (nursery through third) within one primary school. The school involved was a private independent school chosen for its reputation as an effective school as well as its cooperation and interest in research collabora ion. This N.I.E. funded study was a follower study of an earlier study funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Carnegie study was responsible for collecting the taped data, and has further provided descriptions and analyses of other portions of the total bank that have been useful for contextualizing the service-like event data of this N.I.E. study.

NOV

To   the anonymous twelve teachers and ten classrooms

        who have shared that spontaneity of behavior
        without which this work could not have been
        undertaken,

to   Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy

        whose foresight and intellectual energy for
        applying linguistics to social needs made possible
        the original collection of data used in this project,

and to Gary Merritt, Brienne Merritt, and Seth Merritt

                        and

                Alexis Mazzocco

        who have given the most, of that peculiar combination
        of intellectual and moral support without which it's
        not clear what would have been possible.

"The assessment of pupil progress by Calhoun teachers is a familiar routine...the gradebook and the report card provide the most functional profile of pupil progress for the teacher attempting to give evidence of competence to her constituencies, but in a personal sense they are not the most meaningful. When Diana talks about measuring pupils' progress, she, like her colleagues, dwells not on quantitative measures, but on those unpredictable moments when the behavior of a pupil manifests a step forward. "A light goes on in their faces." "They exclaim over solving a problem that has frustrated them." "They suddenly begin asking a lot of questions." These unforeseen moments may occur because of or in spite of the way Calhoun teachers proceed in the classroom, but their unpredictability does not diminish their significance. One might view these descriptions of pupil progress as personal and sentimental characterizations of role fulfillment. It is more important to understand them as embodying a central ideal, the individualization of schooling. It is an ideal which Calhoun teachers as individuals have to reconcile with more impelling features of classroom life."

> Richard L. Warren, 1975, p. 145
> (Italics added)

"...In anthropology and in personal life, much of what we know is known through narratives, anecdotes, firsthand reports, telling observations. But in our scholarly chairs we find it difficult to acknowledge their validity. If we are to extend our understanding of language to the full, so that we can fully comprehend its role in schooling, in education, in social life, in our lives, we have to find a way to come to terms with the validity of uses of language that are aesthetic. Indeed, such uses do play a vital part in decisions and perceptions, so that we handicap our understanding of educational institutions and the forces that affect them if we do not make them explicit objects of attention...."

> Dell Hymes, 1977, p. 93

"..Service systems are one of the fundamental organizational devices of public order, and their close study has hardly begun..."

> Erving Goffman, 1971, p. 37 note

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Investigator's Preface

This is a report of work accomplished under a grant from the National Institute of Education providing funds from September 1, 1978 through January 31, 1980. The grant was awarded under a special grants competition soliciting work that would deal with teaching as a linguistic process, especially targeted at understanding what goes on at the early elementary level.

The notion that teaching is a linguistic process is one that has recently acquired some currency, but the investigation of what this means - both theoretically and practically - is still very much at issue. The challenge for each project that undertakes such investigation is to make a systematic entree into the morass of data, or rather "possible data", in such a way that one can locate both manipulable and intrinsic features of the linguistic process of teaching. The approach of this project has been to select a key classroom event for descriptive analysis - the "service-like event". Briefly, this is an event that occurs during individualized instruction time, that is characterized by a child approaching the teacher and soliciting the teacher's
attention for some kind of help.

Like most research undertakings, this one came about through the confluence of a number of different happenings. In the summer of 1973 the Linguistic Society of America held its annual summer institute at the University of Michigan on the general topic of language variation and social context, and inspired with the promise of interdisciplinary exchange. As at all LSA institutes faculty and students from many schools met and mingled, and lasting friendships and working relationships were formed. A significant mix were linguistics students from Georgetown University (which included Peg Griffin, Stephen Cahir, and Donna Christian)

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and the University of Pennsylvania (which included me). The Georgetown group, largely under the guidance of Roger Shuy, Ralph Fasold, C.J. Bailey, and Walt Wolfram, came with special backgrounds in variation theory and educational linguistics. At that time I had began work on my dissertation on service encounters in stores and public service areas. (This was a topic I had first looked at in St. Louis while taking a class from David Sudnow and George Psathas in the course of graduate study in anthropology at Washington University.) My dissertation advisors included John Fought, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, and William Labov, and I came to the institute with a special background in social interaction, ethnography of communication, discourse analysis and conversational analysis (much influenced by the two years of Gail Jefferson's post doctoral association with the Center for Urban Ethnography at Penn). That summer we all learned a lot.

In the summer of 1974 I moved to the Washington metropolitan area and re-established contact with the Georgetown group. I was still working on my dissertation which was not completed until May of 1976. In 1975, through the Center for Applied Linguistics, Roger Shuy gained the financial backing of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to launch a large project to study children's functional language development and education in the early years. Peg Griffin played a major role in the development of ideas for the research and served as Project Director through the intensive period of video-tape collection in 1975-76 and throughout the ensuing period of analysis which culminated in a final report in 1978. Stephen Cahir and Donna Christian had significant roles in the project, at the nursery and second grade levels, respectively. Another Georgetown graduate student, Frank Humphrey, participated at the kindergarten

level. and was also somewhat involved at the third grade level.
I first met Frank Humphrey in the spring of 1976 when I sat in on
Ralph Fasold's course in discourse analysis and made a presentation
of some of my dissertation work.

In late 1976 and early 1977 discussion began between Peg
Griffin, Stephen Cahir, and me in which I was actively encouraged
to consider developing a research project of my own that would
involve using the large video and audiotape corpus that had then
only recently been collected. At that time a number of researchers
were working on various aspects of the data, but it was clear that
the quantity and richness of the materials were such as to almost
demand further investigation. Since I had not previously worked
in an educational setting, thinking out a research project
required some time.

By the summer of 1977 I had a fairly good idea of what I
wanted to look at. I had chosen the service-like event not only
bec   cs "keyness" in terms of types of classroom events,
at also because the social interactional phenomenon of copresent
individuals engaging and disengaging in focussed verbal (and non-
verbal) exchange was a major concern in my dissertation work and
therefore something that I might have a headstart at analyzing
in another setting. When the N.I.E. sent out a grants competition
notice in fall of 1977 I proposed my ideas and funds were awarded
for this project, which began in September 1978.

During this period of development the possibilities of who
from the original data collection project might be involved as
staff in the service-like event project went through some shifts.
Peg Griffin left the Center for Applied Linguistics and took a
position in California, Donna Christian was fully committed to
research projects with Walt Wolfram, Stephen Cahir had become

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heavily involved in completing his dissertation and was starting to think of projects of his own. Also during this time period I came to know Frank Humphrey and Judith Otteson much better. They were actively involved in discourse analysis of portions of the data bank for the Carnegie report of 1978. Also, Frank Humphrey had begun to zero in on his dissertation topic of turn-taking sanctions and he asked me to serve as one of his dissertation readers.

At the time the proposal was submitted it was expected that Frank Humphrey would be the major research associate and that Stephen Cahir and Judith Otteson would work at a more reduced level of effort. By the time the project began, however, there had been a significant reduction in the level of funding and Judith Otteson had left for Norway. As the project began Stephen Cahir was just completing his dissertation. He was able to work on the project from October through mid-January, during which time we compiled the nursery data. In December he was awarded his degree and in February he began directing another project at C.A.L. full-time.

Frank Humphrey has worked with me throughout the project, and much of what has been accomplished is owed to the strength of our working relationship. Concurrently, he has worked on his own research as a dissertation project. Happily, this work has been also concluded and Humphrey's degree awarded in December 1979. Some of the results of that work are conveyed in section IV of this report in which we contrast teacher sanctions in the service-like event data with teacher's turn-taking sanctions in whole group lessons. One of Humphrey's major contributions to the project has been the detailed transcription of large sections of the data. Over the past few years, since the original data bank collection,

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Finally, the pervasive influence of my own children, Brienne Merritt and Seth Merritt (now in 8th and 3rd grades), conversations with their teachers, and considerations of their home and school experiences is difficult to assess. And the often shared psychic energy of my husband, Gary Merritt, has been invaluable.

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A.   Why Service-Like Events

In recent years, interest in the study of classroom communication has burgeoned. Whereas much of the study of language in the classroom prior to this period focused on the evaluation of language use as output of the educational process, recent interest has turned to language in the classroom as constituting much of the process. Several studies have greatly enriched our knowledge about the diversity of functions of language in the classroom (Cazden et al. 1972, Griffin and Shuy 1978, Simon and Boyer 1969, Stubbs and Delamont 1976).

Despite the growing interest in the nature of classroom communication, it is apparent that some aspects of classroom communication have been the object of a great deal of attention while others are just beginning to be explored. As pointed out by Koehler (1977) and by Barr and Dreeben (1977) many process studies have in fact been what Duncan and Biddle (1974) have called process-product studies. These are studies that attempt to determine which teaching processes are effective in relation to specified desired outcomes or products, such as student achievement. Despite the value of this line of research, there seem to be problems with it as well. As our knowledge about the limitations of process product design have increased (see Koehler op cit, Barr and Dreeben), and as more recent studies have expanded our knowledge of the scope of functional variation to be investigated, it is clear that there is a continuing need for research of an exploratory and integrative nature.

One kind of research that addresses this need is that which views the interrelations of functions of language in the classroom in terms of rules for classroom discourse. Very recently, some studies of classroom communication have developed their results in these terms (Mehan 1979, Griffin and Humphrey 1978,

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Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Mishler 1975a, b). The interest
generated by these studies has led to the realization that we
are only beginning to understand the parameters that structure
classroom communication, and that further descriptive research
is probably the best approach to furthering this understanding.

Recent studies of classroom communication have been
significant on both a theoretical and practical level. On a
theoretical level, these studies have provided an important data
base for investigating the nature of language use. Important
questions relevant to linguistic and sociolinguistic theory have
been raised. For example, "How does the context of situation (e.g.
a schoolroom) affect the pragmatic "value" (e.g. "request",
"order") of an utterance?", "What kinds of 'conversational work'
do questions do?", "What is the nature of the relationship be-
tween referential meaning and non-referential meaning?" (Christian
1976, Griffin 1977, Mishler 1976a; especially as these relate to
theoretical perspectives raised in Cole and Morgan 1975, Goody 1978,
Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Hymes 1974). And, from the theoretical
perspective of social science generally the following question has
been raised: "How shall regularities of language use be inte-
grated into a more general theory of social interaction?" (Bauman and
Sherzer 1974, Shultz 1976; especially as these relate to theoretical
perspectives developed in Goffman 1964, Gumperz and Hymes 1972,
Sudnow 1972).

On a practical level, studies of communication in the class-
room have provided an important descriptive base for investigating
the relationship between educational achievement and the process
of communication. It has been demonstrated that educational
achievement is related not only to the child's knowledge of the
formal grammatical systems of his language, but also to the child's
knowledge of the functional systems of language use (Halliday
1975, Labov 1970, Shuy 1976, Griffin and Shuy 1978). This
"functional" knowledge is basically knowledge of the conventions

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for performing and interpreting language behavior. It is tied to the use of language in particular social situations (or types of social situations), and conventions that are more or less specific to speech communities, cultural groups, and to particular social institutions and activities within them.

We know that children from all backgrounds have learned rules for talking with parents and peers before they come to school and that new rules must be acquired for classroom communication. Recent evidence has suggested that children have more difficulty in acquiring classroom discourse rules when they are very different from "home discourse" rules (Philips 1972, Erickson and Mohatt 1980). Inadequate learning of the processes and rules of classroom discourse often results in severe consequences for the educational achievement of the child. It may lead directly to misunderstandings of referential meaning, or through misunderstanding of social meaning it may lead to lowered teacher expectations and resultant decrease in academic information presented. In both instances, the child's level of cognitive achievement is held back. Further, these problems are often compounded at another level. Studies of classroom communication have shown that teachers' evaluations of children's cognitive achievement are also affected by children's knowledge of the rules for classroom discourse (Brooks 1979, Carrasco 1979, Reader and Cherry 1978, Mehan 1973 and Shuy 1970).

One of the most important concerns of the American educational system is that of equalizing opportunity for learning and standards for evaluation. These recent studies of classroom communication strongly suggest that continued basic descriptive research is needed to better understand some of the dynamic issues involved. These include the issues of

"preparatory learning" and "interference," of knowing "when is a context" (Erickson 1977).and how to "transfer" a format or a complex cognitive processing skill from one situation to another (Cazden 1979). These issues are central to the educational salience of understanding more precisely the form of classroom communication.

Equally important issues concern the multiplicity of functions of classroom communication. Central as it is, we know that the function of providing a coding system for the transfer of academic information, is not the only one served by language in the classroom. The need for studies of the social use of language in the classroom has been widely acknowledged. In discussing functions of language in the classroom, Hymes (1972:xxix-xxx) has argued that in terms of identifying communicative acts:

> The difficult and important point is that one often
> cannot tell the act from the form of the message. One
> and the same sentence, the same set of words in the
> same syntactic relationship, may be now a request, now
> a command, now a compliment, now an insult, depending
> upon tacit understandings within a community. These
> understandings, or presuppositions, or norms of inter-
> pretation, involve recognition of certain sentences
> as conventional ways of expressing or accomplishing
> certain things--from long - established proverbs to
> lines from popular songs and currently established idioms;
> involve recognition of some utterances as pertaining to
> certain genres...; and involve specific ways of inter-
> preting speech in relation to its verbal and social
> context. The place of something said in a sequence of
> things said, the scene, and the rights and obligations
> that are recognized as obtaining between participants in

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speech, all may enter into defining the status of
what is said.

. . .

To a considerable extent, then, the use of language
that is of concern in the classroom has to do with
stylistic or social, rather than referential, meaning..."
In a recent NIE sponsored National Conference on Studies in
Teaching the panel reported that (p. 1):

...We are interested in linguistic forms only insofar
as through them we can gain insight into the social
events of the classroom and thereby into the under-
stand'ings which students achieve...the actual (as
opposed to the intended) curriculum consists in the
meanings enacted or realized by a particular teacher
and class. In order to learn, students must use what
they already know so as to give meaning to what the
teacher presents to them. Speech makes available
to reflection the processes by which they relate new
knowledge to old. But this possibility depends on
the social relationships, the communication system,
which the teacher sets up.

The potential contribution of sociolinguistic and ethnographic
research has been discussed by John (1973:229), who concludes:

Theoretical debates...are empty exercises without
the support rendered by data gathered in systematic
observations conducted by psychologists and by the
ethnographic approaches of the sociolinguists. These
are enormously useful in depicting those aspects of
learning which may be overlooked or minimized by
developmental theorists with specific biases..."

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Recently, there have been several studies designed with a more descriptive and particularistic approach, integrating into the study of language use such factors as social relationships (Walker and Adelman 1976, McDermott 1976, Miller 1979). The recognized significance of these and other studies has engendered the support of other descriptive research projects on the nature of classroom communication and interaction.

This report presents the findings of one such research project. The purpose of this study has been to investigate the nature of rules governing classroom discourse and social interaction, by analyzing in detail the occurrence of speech and communicative interchanges during "individual work" time over the course of one school year and across five grade levels (nursery through the third grade). Specifically, we wanted to find out how, during "individual work" time, children go about seeking information from their teachers and peers, in such a way that they get the information they seek and in such a way that social relationships are maintained or enhanced. The "locus of observation" (see subsection I-B) that we selected for our investigation is what I have termed a "service-like event." This label may be a bit inelegant, but it has been chosen because it emphasizes the positive aspect of the event (satisfying immediate communicative needs of students) rather than the negative aspect (interrupting the teacher's current activity).

The following are examples of this classroom "event" taken from video recordings of a second grade classroom. Both of these interchanges occurred during a period of individual work time during which many children were individually involved in writing a description of how a camera works:

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(1) Child approaches teacher with a manila folder, stops

a few feet away.

The teacher looks up from her work and asks, "What

word do you need help with, C?

Child: Lens

Teacher: Lens, L-E-N-S (turns back to her work).

(2) Child comes running up to a teacher who is sitting

on a desk while students are working individually:

Child: I can't do it, Ms. H. I can't do it

(while approaching)

Teacher: What can't you do, D?

Child: I can't do it. I can't write it all down.

Teacher: O.K. Go get your folder and I'll help you

with it. (Child goes and gets her folder;

teacher works with child several minutes;

ends by taking dictation from the child and

writing in the folder for the child.)

In principle, this event may involve either teacher-child
or child-child participation. An example of a child-child
service-like event is the following:

(3) Individual work time on a third grade classroom. G

has just finished one assignment and walks over

to where the assignment sheet is posted.

G: (to self) Better do my dictionary work.

(scratches head and scans room, walks over

to E., who is working alone nearby)

G: Elizabeth, can I borrow your dictionary?

E: Yeah.

G: (looks down at E's work, does not leave table area)

E: "You can use it" I said. (without looking up)

G: Where is it?

E: (looking up at him, slightly quizzical expression)
      It's in my <u>tray</u>
G: Oh. O.K. (leaves table)
G: (finding E's tray and pulling dictionary out)
      Dictionary work for me.

However, because the child-child social relationship is so
highly variable (depending on their relative academic status,
age, gender, friendship relationship, other arenas of coinvolve-
ment (after school, etc.)) from one dyad to another and because
it is so structurally different from the teacher-child relation-
ship in terms of classroom dynamics (the teacher being a focal
point for all the children), the child-child type of service-
like event has not been the focus of our investigation.

    With either teacher-child or ch'ld-child service-like
events we reasoned that it was the teacher who is basically
responsible for establishing the social environment that
makes such learning communication possible. Accordingly, we
anticipated that, in ur description of the nature of the
rules for communication, it would be useful to incorporate
a notion of managing ritual equilibrium (Goffman 1956, 1971,
1976 and Merritt 1976a) among the classroom participants.

    The specific focus of the service-like event for our
descriptive investigation of classroom interaction seemed
especially appropriate for a number of reasons.

    <u>First of all</u>, very little descriptive work has attended
to individual work time activities and virtually none have
investigated the kind of service-like "event" that we set out
to study. In general, a teaching situation can be thought
of as involving both <u>conveyance resources and query resources.</u>
Whereas most studies of classroom discourse have focused on
conveyance resources, our study has focused on query resources.

Conveyance resources are those resources which the teacher has for conveying information -- including level of language development and devices for focusing attention. In school, a teacher usually spends a good deal of effort in teaching children his/her instructional formats. Children must learn to focus their attention in accordance with formats or they will miss the instructional information that is being conveyed there. (An all too familiar occurrence, for example, is a teacher's saying "You don't know the answer because you weren't paying attention".)

Query resources are those resources which the student has for confirming already conveyed information and/or asking about new instructional information. In school, a child must learn how to ask for confirmation and for new information. Open classroom situations and periods of individualized instruction are especially dependent for their proper functioning on students' acquisition of these query resources (see John op. cit.). Though query resources puts the focus on what the students do, it should be kept in mind that query formats are set up and reinforced by the teacher.

Most studies of classroom discourse rules have focused on whole group or small group lessons, and teachers' development of these formats as conveyance resources (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Griffin and Humphrey 1978, Mehan 1979). Inasmuch as "lessons" are the times during which most teachers focus their instructional presentation this is as it should be. However, recent evidence (Cahir 1978) has suggested that "transition time" between lessons or other organized activities is frequently used very effectively as a teaching time, and studies in multicultural settings have reported that the most effective participant structures are sometimes not those involving the teacher as the major focus of a group session (here, see the

several Indian studies reported in Cazden et al. 1972, Erickson and Mohatt 1978).

Secondly, the focus on service-like events may have implications for the theoretical contrast between formal and informal education (Scribner and Cole 1973). Most often formal and informal educational practices are defined in terms of setting variables, so that education in formal settings like schools is called formal education whereas education in non-formal settings like "home" is called informal education. Yet another variable would seem to be that derived from mode of instruction, such that within the home setting direct instruction from caretakers (see Miller 1979) is more formal than that provided by opportunities to observe and sometimes "help" accomplish a task. Just how to characterize instruction that occurs in classrooms using a lot of individualized instruction time is not clear. In some cases we might want to say that academic instruction that occurs during whole group lessons is more formal than that which typically occurs during service-like events. On the other hand "one on one" tutorials, whether set up by the teacher or initiated by a service-like event, are probably the clearest instances of the direct instruction model at work.

Thirdly, service-like events are of interest to the study of classroom management. Though research in classroom management has not specifically focussed on the kind of incident I have called service-like event, some studies have begun to approach the issue of classroom management in terms of teacher behaviors that are responsive to child behaviors (see especially the recent work of Walter Doyle and associates). Further, a recent study by Tikunoff and Ward (1979) reported that when teachers were involved in research design and collaboration the topic

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the teachers chose for investigation was (teachers') coping
with distractions in the classroom. Though the focus of our
investigation has been away from the negative perspective of
"interrupting", service-like events do fit into some general
category of "interrupting teacher's ongoing activity".

Fourthly, the study of classroom communication during
individual work time highlights social meaning. Because
children's interaction during this "time" involves initiation
of verbal exchange, a child must learn discourse rules which
regulate "conversational accessibility" -- that is, the degree
to which one individual is accessible conversationally to another
(note that management of conversational accessibility is
analytically prior to turn-taking which is relevant once the
conversation is underway). This, of course, depends on the
situation and the relationship or relative status of the
particular individuals (e.g. child-child, teacher-child).

Management of conversational accessibility involves
control of the mechanisms by which individuals signal their
availability and successfully enter into a state of verbal
interchange. It is a notion derived from a model of social
interaction in which conversational prerogatives are viewed
as a form of territoriality (Goffman 1971), and which has
proven useful in the analysis of adult service encounters
(e.g. buying something at a store, Merritt 1976a). Managing
conversational accessibility is one of the major ways in which
individuals monitor the ritual equilibrium between themselves
and other copresent individuals.

It should be noted that management of conversational
accessibility applies generally to situations of conversational
language use, and thus is not new to the child when he enters
school. Rather, the school presents him with new situations

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(and status relationships) in which he must manage. Before
school, the ritual brackets "Hi" and "Bye-bye" are among the
first things most children are taught (see Gleason and Weintraub
1976); and almost every parent has anecdotes about teaching a
young child "not to interrupt" (i.e. recognize that the parent
is not conversationally accessible) when the parent is talking
to another adult or is "on the telephone".

Whenever a child initiates an exchange, then, the timing
and the form (whether verbal or non-verbal) he/she uses to do
so, automatically carry an element of social meaning. The
social meaning derives from the "value" of the initiating
move as appropriately attentive to the rules for managing
conversational accessibility. Accordingly, a child must
acquire strategies for "remedializing" the initiation of con-
versation in certain situations. For example, when a child
approaches a teacher for help, he/she may see that the teacher
is engaged in some other activity and that he/she will be in
some sense encroaching on the activity. The child will usually,
then, adopt one of several strategies for remedializing the in-
trusion: For example, he/she may approach and "wait" nearby
to be addressed first by the teacher; or he/she may use a verbal
routine like "Excuse me". The teacher's social interpretation
of the child's choice of strategies may vary according to the
teacher's background, the age or cultural backgroun of the child,
or in terms of what strategies have been talked about or taught
in class, perhaps as politeness formulas (Ferguson 1976), and
which have been adopted informally (with attention to variation
across grade levels and over the year).

This focus on managing conversational accessibility also
dovetails with other approaches to the study of social meaning.
For one thing, we can note that managing conversational

accessibility involves attention to the general question of
when, with respect to the activities of one's interlocutors,
it is appropriate to talk. This is, of course, the same
general question that is addressed by the study of turn-
taking (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Duncan 1976,
Humphrey 1979). For another thing, we can note that strategies
for remedializing initiating often involve "request" behavior.
This may remind us that the analysis of the social meaning of
linguistic forms in terms of their pragmatic "value" -- as
"requests" or other speech acts -- has been a major approach
to the study of the social meaning of language use (Bruner
1975, Clark and Lucy 1975, Dore 1975, Ervin-Tripp 1976, Garvey
1975, Labov and Fanshel 1977, Sadock 1974).

During the last decade, advances in linguistics, socio-
linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology and
artificial intelligence have provided important models for the
description of what linguistic forms mean when they are used.
One of the significant contributions of this work has been the
recognition that "meaning" of language in use is not a simple
matter of assigning semantic interpretations to individual
sentence units; this provides us only with referential or
literal meaning. Rather the "meaning" or "function" or
"significance" of language in use always involves non-referential
or conveyed or social meaning. Much of the linguistic research
has focused on the relationship between referential or literal
meaning and non-referential or conveyed meaning (Gordon and
Lakoff 1971). However, this approach by itself has made minimal
use of the notion of context. Among researchers using a more
ethnographic data base (e.g. naturalistic observations of
actually occurring events) it has been widely recognized that
the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning is
not constant but rather is mediated by or drawn from context.

We know, for instance, that a given form (such as "have you finished your math?") may not always have the same social intent (e.g. in one case it may be a request for information, while in another it may be a request to stop some disturbing activity (and get back to math)). We know also that a given social intent (such as getting a teacher's attention) may, at situationally different "times" be accomplished with different forms (e.g. sometimes raising the hand is appropriate, and sometimes moving physically closer to the teacher and calling his/her name is appropriate).

That we observe variation in the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning does not, of course, mean that variation is completely random and haphazard. Although we cannot predict which form will be used in a given instance, recent studies reveal that there are identifiable factors that are systematically related to how we interpret the use of a form in a given instance.

One way of conceptualizing these factors is in terms of the notion of context. In general, four "levels" of context can be identified:

    a.   Local context (what acts occur immediately before or after the one being considered?).

    b.   Event context (what kind of an event or interchange is the act a part of? e.g. a group lesson or service-like event).

    c.   Setting context (what is the setting in which the event takes place?, e.g. a nursery level classroom in an elementary school).

    d.   "Mutual biographical" context (what is the past history of interaction between the participants and what kinds of things do they know about each other?).

In our study, local context and event context, both of
which are structural, were carefully considered. Setting con-
text has been noted in terms of the five grade levels (and
the five points in time for each grade). Mutual-biographical
context was not investigated, but the role relationship of
teacher-student has been considered.

Another way of conceptualizing these factors is to note
what differences there are between the linguist's "traditional'
sentence-unit characterization of language (Chomsky 1965) and a
characterization of language use. There are at least four
interrelated major differences:

a.   Language use involves a model of social interaction
(see Goffman 1964, Fillmore 1976). This means that there are
not just words, but people saying words.

b.   This has consequences for the designation of analytic
units. The notion of sentence is not adequate for a model of
social interaction. Minimally, the form unit must be some kind
of action -- utterance or preferably "move", which has a formal
"shape" in terms of words and/or gestures (see Goffman 1976).
Though sometimes this unit for designation of occurrences or
"tokens" is referred to as a speech act or communicative act,
usually the notion of "act" is reserved as a <u>function</u> unit,
to designate the interpretation of "type". Both form and
function can be defined at various "levels", of course. We
can look for specific forms like "O.K." and "Thank you", and
we can look at certain "form-types" like question and "playback
(Merritt 1977). We can look for function in terms of act-type
or illocutionary force (e.g. "request for information", "reques
for action"), or in terms of "event slot" (e.g. the "initiating
move, "response to initiating" move, etc.).

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c. The existence of two levels of function point to the fact that sequencing of units must play a role in the interpretation of any unit as a particular act-type (for a detailed discussion of this, see Merritt 1976b, McTear 1979)

d. Finally, the impact of this act-type interpretation on the "overall social meaning" of a move must be reckoned in terms of its effect on the ritual equilibrium between participants. It is in this sense that act-type sequences like "request compliance" and "apology plus account" are "functionally equivalent". That is, if in response to "Can I borrow your dictionary?" one either complies "Sure (handing it over)" or apologizes and accounts for non-compliance, "Sorry, John's using it", then one has acted so as to maintain the balance of ritual equilibrium between the requestor and the requestee. The two responses can be said to be "functionally equivalent in terms of ritual equilibrium" or perhaps "ritually equivalent".

A fifth reason to study service-like events is that service-like events involve both social meaning and referential meaning. Although we know that children often ask questions in order to get social attention, in many cases it seems clear that the child is motivated to initiate an interchange in order to get substantive academic information (see, for example, (1) and (3) above). Service-like events, then, provide an ideal focus for observing the interdependence of the social and referential functions of language use in the classroom.

These five reasons are not intended to be exhaustive. Other important advantages of studying service-like events include the prevalence of questions (the patterns of which are of general sociolinguistic interest; see Churchill 1978, Goffman 1976, Goody 1978, Holzman 1972, Merritt 1976b, 1977, Mishler 1975a, 1976a,b),

and the fact that the discourse processes in service-like events seem to have a continuity with those of events that take place outside the school (for example, requesting "help" from someone at home and requesting service from someone at a store or place of business).

In fact, a further consideration in the original design of the project was based on this continuity. This study has been carried out using primarily the mode of descriptive analysis developed in Merritt (1976a) for the analysis of adult service encounter events (e.g. buying something at a store).

The reasons for this were twofold:

a. The mode of analysis was designed to integrate the concerns of several different approaches to the study of language use, and had been implemented in the description of a particular communicative event (service encounter).

b. The particular communicative event which was described using this mode of analysis seems to be structurally very similar to the service-like event of the classroom.

Basically, the model of investigation involves the following: locating a structurally identifiable event (service encounter, service-like event during individual work time); describing the event in terms of "stages" and "normal sequence" of act-types; identifying form units that recur and form-type units that recur, and then examining each for the event-slots in which it occurs and the act-types that it represents; examining event-slots (and subevent-slots like "response to question") for what forms and form-types occur in them; qualitative analysis that looks for patterns of co-occurrence between formal items and functional items (including act-types); qualitative analysis that examines these patterns in terms of the "conversational work" they do and their "function" in terms of maintaining ritual equilibrium.

Finally, it should be reiterated that the purpose of selecting the service-like event as a locus of observation was not to reify it as an isolated entity but rather to use it as an entree into studying teaching as a linguistic process. We wanted to find out how children initiate and follow through on activities that they are interested in. We wanted to investigate the ways in which periods of individualized instruction time facilitate the maximizing of individual cognitive growth. We wanted, further, to be able to characterize our findings using parameters that could describe other classroom events and other settings. Again, we anticipated that the notion of managing ritual equilibrium, analytically applied, would be useful - in distinguishing social and referential meaning on the one hand, and in integrating verbal and non-verbal means on the other.

B. Methodological Comment: On the Notion of Locus of Observation

In a recent issue of Anthropology and Education Quarterly
Dell Hymes put forth an argument for the use of what we might
refer to as "linguistic methodology" in the qualitative analysis
of the processes of education:

"...Any consideration of qualitative methodology
in the study of human life must take into account
the success of linguistics in establishing a sector
of study that has a methodology that is at once
qualitative and rigorous." (1977, p. 92)

This line of thinking is one that I have attempted to follow
in developing my own research objectives. As a linguist,
however, I have at times been acutely aware of the face that,
although linguistics has developed a rigorous methodology for
qualitative investigation, the discipline has not always
embraced the pursuit of investigating natural human interaction.
In the course of the service-like event project I have addressed
other linguists with this issue, and argued more specifically
for the viability of looking at communicative events using
"linguistic methodology":[1]

Perhaps one of the most engaging theoretical concerns in
linguistics over the past few years has been the concern for
tying advances made in the formal description of syntactic and
phonological aspects of language with what is known about the
semantic character of language, and, more generally, that of
language use. Though many linguists might argue that issues
of the "semantics" of language use (sometimes referred to as
"pragmatics") fall outside the scientific domain of "linguistics
proper", most would agree that one of the most salient evalua-
tion metrics for comparing any two grammatical descriptions is
provided by a demonstration that one of the two descriptions
is more easily tied to known features of language use. It
seems, therefore, entirely appropriate that a few linguists might

turn their attention more fully to the issues involved in con-
ceptualizing units, levels, or other primitive element-types
that can be used to describe the social use of language; and,
in particular, apply themselves to the task of taking the
principles of traditional linguistic methodology and argumentation,
rather than the traditional boundaries of linguistic data, as
primary givens.

That is the tack I wish to take. I shall not be concerned
here with social use in the sense of phonological or syntactic
variants that have social value by virtue of their correlation
with speaker style or social group identification; that is an
important area but one which has already received considerable
attention and resolution in terms of fruitful directions of
inquiry. Rather, my concern is with an area that is receiving
increasingly more attention but for which there has so far been
little resolution - especially within linguistics - as to fruit-
ful directions of inquiry: This is the social use of language
in terms of the "embeddings" or "interpreting" of language use
within a framework of social interaction; that is, taking as a
"data-sensitive starting point" what all of us native speakers
of language know--that the "interpretation" or "pragmatic value"
or "socially significant semantic value assigned" of any bit
of spoken language depends on, and is derived from, the social
interaction of which the language use is a part (as well as,
course, participants' knowledge of the language as an internally
consistent code).

With gross oversimplification for the sake of brevity,
four current lines of inquiry into this area can be pointed to
and characterized in terms of inadequacy:[2] (1) Speech act

analysis-borrowed essentially from philosophy and carried out by
philosophers and linguists; elucidating in many ways but
impossible to relate adequately to larger units; context becomes
"possible context" and "possible world" and ultimately fails to
capture the true creativity of language as it is used in everyday
life. (2) Discourse analysis-largely a linguistic and even
literary enterprise; solves some of the speech act problem of
dealing with larger units by starting with one, but still is
focused primarily on written texts rather than actual speech
and dialogue, in particular. (3) Conversational analysis-carried
out primarily by a group of ethnomethodologically inclined socio-
logists who have chosen to study the social order through
analyzing conversation: their attention to the details and
regularities of spoken language is recognized by most linguists,
but a nagging question concerns their claims about the generali-
zability of the rules and units across situations and cultures
(in many w this is the same sort of question that is often
asked of the work on conversational maxims put forth by the
philosopher H.P. Grice). (4) Event analysis - that which
frequently follows out of the concern of linguistic anthro-
pologists to be sensitive to cross-cultural and cross-situational
differences through use of the "ethnography of communication":
is sensitive to many of the inadequacies in (1) through (3) in
terms of its data base, but also frequently turns out to yield
either no very formal description of the event or else no very
generalizable (to other events or situations) description.

The point of this argument, however, will not be to dwell
on any of these inadequacies. For one thing, having dabbled
a bit in all four of these areas I have fully shared and share
in all the attendant inadequacies as I see them. Further, and
more to the point, each of these approaches has to be seen as
establishing some useful entree into discovering generalizations

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about language use in situations of face-to-face interaction.

What I do want to suggest, however, is that there is another very obvious entree-one that I have argued is quite fruitful and one that has been shamefully neglected, especially within linguistics. That entree is simply to look at naturally occurring instances of language use in situations of face-to-face interaction, using as a focus for data collection a single social setting or type of social setting within which a functionally defined communicative event serves as a locus of observation.

I would like to suggest that this kind of "raw empirical" enterprise is fruitful not just as a sociological endeavor but also as a linguistic endeavor. The idea that one might get useful insights about the pragmatic interpretation of specific linguistic forms by looking at the natural occurrence of those forms in human social interaction seems in one sense a trivial truism. But the fact that linguistics as a field has chosen to expend most of its efforts in the investigation of pragmatic interpretation by developing theoretical constructs like speech act theory, performative analysis, and conversational implicature - based primarily on native speaker intuitions about isolated sentences in hypothetical contexts - gives pause.

It is enough to cause one to wonder if, in fact, it is not just a case of benign neglect but rather a negative bias. If so, it may be philosophical in origin or historically derived, possibly rooted in some basic preconceptions about what constitutes a data base that is "properly linguistic"[3] or, it may simply be based on a lack of understanding of how such an entree might be implemented. Having now been involved in studies of language use in two kinds of particular social situations (service encounters between servers and customers in stores and other public service areas, 1976a, and service-like

events in primary school classrooms), I am convinced that this
kind of approach is fruitful, and that, minimally, it should be
viewed as complementary to other approaches. I am also convinced
- based on numerous informal conversations with colleagues -
that there is a general "fear" and/or lack of understanding about
dealing with the data of social interaction.

On the "fear" side many linguists are wary - and rightfully
so - of being overwhelmed by, or mired into, a myriad of
contextual features. This is especially true if one considers
language use in social interaction at large. Nor is the obvious
remedy to this overwhelmingness - the study of language use in a
particular situation - a viable solution to those who are wary.
For those who are wary all that can be gained by such an approach
is the analysis of a single situation; the event under analysis
is viewed as a highly specific analytical unit that is basically
of little interest for a general theory of language use. This
view, I feel, is quite unfortunate and one that I shall argue
against. The source of the problem, I believe, is in the
failure to treat the event under analysis as an instance of an
empirical implementation unit - something like what I shall
discuss here as "locus of observation."

First of all, the notion of locus of observation implies
a principled rationale for looking at a particular phenomenon
in order to find out something about the larger thing of which
that phenomenon is a part.

My own rationale for having selected the service encounter
is roughly as follows: When I first began to be interested in
language units larger than the sentence I was immediately drawn
to dialog discourse rather than text or monolog discourse. I
think this was because the most interesting question to me

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about language concerns its functioning as a vehicle for communi-
cation - that is, "When one person says something (or writes
something, for that matter) how does the recipient or hearer of
that saying understand what is being said?" The issue of the
speaker's _intent_ is, of course, a sticky one. But it has
always been my feeling that we do not have much access to speaker's
intent except when we, ourselves, are the speakers; while, on
the other hand, we do have access to hearer's understanding since
as analytical "overhearers" we have essentially the same "infor-
mation" or "data" available to us as does the hearer or addressee.
The primary thing we overhearers may not have equal access to
is what might be called "mutual biographical" context (What is
the past history of interaction between the participants and
what kinds of things do they know or assume about each other?).
Instances in which it can be established that recipients and
analytic overhearers have essentially equal access to this
mutual biographical context can thus be seen to be of special
methodological interest. Accordingly, instances in which "a
stranger talks with a stranger" might provide crucial evidence
of how language serves as a communication system (or so it
seemed to me). Like most investigators I was looking for an
entree into the phenomena - a way of slicing out certain
complicating factors that needn't be dealt with, a way of
eliminating some variance - especially the kind that might
turn out to be random (as mutual biographical context essentially
is).

   Looking at talk between strangers thus seemed a good
strategy. At the same time, I had come to the study of language
through the door of social science and anthropology in parti-
cular. I was committed early on to a fully descriptivist

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empirical approach to language, grounded in language use, and
Dell Hymes' notion of the ethnography of communication (1964)
was especially intriguing to me. If, however, I wanted to study
language use in English-speaking "mainstream" American society -
as I did - it was not at all clear how to proceed. The early
formulation of the ethnography of communication was grounded
in the holistic study of an entire speech community and, William
Labov's (1966) study of New York City as a speech community
notwithstanding, that unit did not seem to me directly accessible
in the case of any modern highly-urbanized highly mobile society.

It seemed, rather, that a reasonable starting point might be
to look at speech events or communicative events as repositories
of norms of language use for the "speech community". In terms
of finding out something about the speech community as a whole
it seemed that looking at speech events that occurred in public
"accessible-to-anyone" settings would be especially appropriate.

This led to a consideration of a very frequently occurring,
public, accessible-to-anyone event - that captured by looking at
situations of focused interaction between a "posted" server and a
second party ("customer") who invokes the server's participation
as an operator of a "serving post". That was essentially my
rationale for initially selecting as a locus of observation the
event I have called "service encounter".[4] It also quickly became
an object of study in its own right.

In the case of the service-like event study, my rationale
was much less global and ambitious. I simply wanted to find a
"place to look" in the classroom that would tell me something
about how the exchange of academic information occurs outside
the highly structured format of group lessons. In order to
look outside the group lesson format there must be a consideration

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of how "conversational accessibility" is managed - that is, what are the mechanisms that teachers use, and that students have to learn, about "who is in" and "who is out", who can talk and who is expected to be listening. In sum, the "service-like event" that I have selected as a locus of observation is not just an interesting kind of thing to look at. It is primarily a "way in" to find out something about what goes on in elementary school classrooms.

Secondly, the notion of locus of observation implies that no prior assumptions are being made about the "tightness" of the structure.

In general a locus of observation will be only loosely defined in terms of a form-function correlation; otherwise there is no source of variation to observe and analyze. It is true, of course, that linguistics is committed largely to the discovery of invariant rather than variant relations. But we all know that invariant relations do not apply at the level of predicting the exact linguistic forms that people say to one another in everyday life. Rather, invariant relations have to be discovered as the mechanisms for making sense out of what people actually say when and where to whom. In conjunction with this lack of constraint on tightness of structure a particular speech event need not be seen as a full-fledged analytical unit nor as the primary object of study.

The notion of locus of observation speaks to the investigator's interest in using an empirical focus to locate units or dimensions of analysis within the empirical focus and to "anchor" these elements in terms of the identifiable characteristics of the empirical focus. The use of a speech event as such a locus is important because it involves not only a

particular setting and a specifiable aggregate of co-present in-
dividuals, but it also has a functional orientation that is
grounded in the participants' interactive accomplishment of the
function. In the case of the service encounter, for example,
there is an orientation to the transaction of a service. In the
case of the service-like event there is an orientation to the
exchange of academically relevant information.

Typically, of course, this functional orientation lends
itself to a normative structure of the whole event in terms of
an expected sequence of linguistic or communicative forms or
form types. As I have argued elsewhere (1976a,b) this normative
sequencing is important to the pragmatic interpretation of a
particular utterance as conveying a particular illocutionary
force. The specifiability of the structure of the whole event
(or at least its proper initiation) is thus an important
interactional resource for the participants in the event.

For the analyst, specifiability of overall structure
makes for an elegant analytical unit. This is, of course, the
basis for event analysis within the ethnography of communication.
However, to the extent that any given type of speech event does
not have a very specifiable structure it is problematic as an
analytic unit. In line with this it can be noted that research-
ers operating both within and outside the framework of the
ethnography of communication have expressed concern over the
aplicability of speech event analyses to the not-so-highly
prescribed everyday happenings in modern urbanized societies
like our own   (Sherzer 1978, Brown and Levinson 1978). Some
of this concern can be resolved, however, if we view these
everyday speech events not as analytic units that require the
same kind of tight form-function definition that can be pro-
vided for highly ritualized events in "less complex" societies

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(e.g., Irvine 1974), but rather as general loci for observation
in which elements can be located within and/or across types of
events. In this view speech events with less predictable
structures are seen not as "defective" analytical units, but
rather as sources of data for investigating generalizable aspects
of language use. They provide an empirical base from which to
observe the co-variation of form units and function units not
at the level of event.

In order to implement this, the first thing the analyst
must do is to look to see more or less globally what is going on
in the event he/she has chosen to look at. Then, keeping this
in mind, he/she must identify "pieces" of language or "types of
pieces" that are "significant" and that can be characterized in
such a way that additional occurrences or recurrences can be
identified and analyzed.

For example, one can locate a particular linguistic form
that occurs both within the event and in other contexts as well.
One can analyze the function or use of the form as it occurs with-
in the event and thereby make predictions about its use in other
natural settings (which can be investigated at a later date).
Examples of this are my analysis of the use of word "O.K." in
service encounters (Merritt 1978) and the analysis of the use of
the particle "sh" in classroom lesson events by Frank Humphrey
(1978, 1979).

Another kind of linguistic element that can be explored
is "form-type." The major example of this is the form-type unit
question (See Merritt 1976b, Mishler 1975). The general notion
of "form-type" is a loose one. Here I simply intend some unit,
occurrences of which can be identified with some criteria
based on linguistic form. Thus, to the extent we can
identify the occurrences of questions on the basis of formal

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properties (e.g. conventional interrogative word order) the unit "question" is a form-type unit. Other possible form-type units I have used in my own work involve formal identification of occurrences based on some notion of "repetition" of actual lexical items in adjacent or near adjacent utterances: "replay" (see 1976b and section III-C of this report) involves repetition by the speaker of a previous utterance that he/she has him/herself made: "playback" (see 1976a, 1977b) involves repetition by the speaker of a previous utterance made by his/her inter-locutor.

A third kind of element that can be looked at is that of "event-slot" - for example, "initiating move", "response to initiating move", "customer start". "Event-slots" are defined with respect to the particular event under analysis, of course.

And, of course, one can look to see if any of these formally defined units turn out to be describable as particular act-types like request for action or request for information, and, if so, how they are distributed.

It should be pointed out, however, that the most interesting things one can learn from this kind of data - and that one cannot really get at with non-naturalistic data - have to do with sets of related facts which index the multiple functioning of conventionalized strategies for managing interaction. These sets of related facts are available for analysis only by looking at sequences that can be compared and described as somehow functionally similar on "external grounds" (e.g., these were all sequences taken from service encounters).

As has been pointed out by Erving Goffman (1969, 1971) a crucial primitive element for such analysis of language use as social interaction is the concept of "move":

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I cannot provide a really tight definition of "move". Initially it should be noted that, although what is linguistically described by the term speech act is often coterminous, it would be a mistake to equate them. The notion of move is firmly tied to changes in the ritual equilibrium (see Goffman 1971, Merritt 1976a) between participants. Though the notion may be operationalized in the significance of goal-directed interaction as an act that has "significance" in terms of moving the interaction in the direction of the goal I believe this is too limited. In general, it seems right to say that whatever actions of participants are interpreted as "officially ritually significant" may be interpreted as moves, the concept of "official" having to do mainly with channels used and precision of reportability (in general, words are always official whereas gestures may or may not be), and the concept of "ritually significant" having to do with whether or not ritual equilibrium is affected.

Finally it should be noted that a move is not analytically identical to a speaking turn. For instance, a speaker may answer a question, and then proceed to ask a question back, both at the same turn at talk. Here I would want to say that he had taken a (single) turn at talk, but had made two moves.

In summary, then, my argument has two basic prongs:

1.   I suggest that a fruitful line of inquiry into
      the study of language use ought to involve looking
      at naturally occurring situations of social inter-
      action; and that if it is not clear how linguistics
      can systematically explore such a data source,
      then linguistics should expend some effort in
      trying to tackle the problem.

      I have tried to demonstrate one approach to
      systematically exploring the richness of everyday

language use. My approach of using social-
interactionally "definable" situations as
entrees subscribes to an implicit model of
language use that is (in the terminology of
cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence)
"top-down" rather "bottom-up". An issue, of
course, is how to empirically investigate
language use in its natural settings without
getting overly boggled and bogged down by how
far up is the "top". One must make operational
decisions about how to make a systematic entree
into the vastly interconnected stream of human
social behavior.

In studying the loosely structured occurrences
of everyday life in complex societies lik. our
own I suggest that it may be quit   .ful to have
an understanding that when ᴌ particular speech
event type is selected for that entree, it need
not be conceptualized, initially, as anything
more than a locus of observation. The analytical
units and/or parameters will derive from within
that locus, and, ideally, occur across other
event types as well. In other words, the
systematic study of language use in naturally
occurring situations of social interaction can
be implemented. The procedures that I have partially
presented here are ones that I have used not only
in this study of service-like events, but also
in previous work, and they are to some extent present

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also in the work of William Labov (1972, 1977),
Frank Humphrey (1979), and other sociolinguists.

Further, these "implementation procedures" are,
I would argue, in the best tradition of the qualitative
analytic methodology that is the stock in trade of
general linguistics.

2. I would like to argue that this line of inquiry into
the nature of language use should be implemented and
pursued to a greater extent within linguistics. It
should be pursued, first of all, simply because it
is there and it can be done. Secondly, it should be
pursued because it allows us to find linguistic
regularities that we would otherwise have little
access to, happenings which I feel linguistics as
a discipline must be responsible to.

There is no doubt that there are claims about
normative regularities we linguists may come up with
simply by thinking about language use, but even these
ought to be verified (and would be made stronger by
virtue of being so verified) by the indices of
pragmatic interpretation that are provided by real
people responding to each other in naturally occurr-
ing social interaction. Nor should we squirm too
much when actual language use comes out looking
pretty strange, as it does in the following example
from our classroom data.

"Whatn't I did do". Second Grade. December. Mid-morning.
(Children are working individually on the same math assignment.
Teacher G is sitting at one table and checking work or tutoring
as children solicit her help. David has just gotten her help and
is returning to his seat at a nearby table with two other child-
ren, Lynn and Kate.)

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David: (sits down and begins working)

David: (turns to Lynn and thrusts his left arm and fist
           up in a victory gesture) I'm smart. (half-sung)

Lynn: You're smart. (Lynn points to David) (half-sung)

David: I'm s:mart. (kicks his chair back and stands and
           throws both arms up on the second 'smart', retain-
           ing his earlier melody.)

Lynn: You're smart. (with earlier melody.)

David: (puts his left foot up on his chair and starts to
           stand up even higher. Then he apparently thinks
           better of it and drops his right leg back down on
           floor.)

Lynn: (surveys his paper) (2.1")

Lynn: How   come you're sma:rt
                                              | | | |
           ("matching intonation" of "you're not   so   sma:rt")[5]

→   Lynn: (points to his paper) Look, you didn't do this.

    Lynn: (plunks her pen down in front of her as if the
               matter is settled and turns back to her own work)
               (2.6")

→   David: (staring at his paper) What? (1.3")

→   :   What did I do?

→   :   Whatn't I did do?

    Lynn: (taps his paper) This and this.

    David: I'm doing 'at.

    Lynn: Oh.

    David: Sh:eesh::. (long hiss)

For one thing, we can usually account for the strangeness of such
examples, and in so doing learn more about underlying regularities.

     In this example, for instance, it's fascinating to observe
that David's formulations of his query to Lynn about what might

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be wrong ("What? - What did I do? - Whatn't I did do?") seem to
be reformulated on the basis of Lynn's (lack of) response and
a reorientation to the semantically correct "directional"
(positive or negative) force of the query ("Look. You didn't
do this." - "What? What did I do? (semantically incorrect
direction) Whatn't I did do? (reformulated for semantically
correct direction)"). The "semantically reformulated" query
(Whatn't I did do?) is, of course, grammatically incorrect,
but there is no further reformulation to correct for this
(with lexical reordering something like "What didn't I do?")
The fact that, pragmatically, the grammatically incorrect form
"worked" in the interaction, whereas the semantically incorrect
'form did not, seems to provide an important kind of evidence
for speculating about when and why reformulations get made.[6]

In this example it's also interesting to speculate
about what this example might have to say about syntactic rules
for "negative attraction" in English (see Labov 1972, Prince
1974). Or to speculate about placement of focussed "new informa-
tion--here the negativeness of, or reversal of semantic direct-
ional force of (or of negative polarity of) the underlying pre-
supposition: The question What-did-I-do? presupposes I-did-
something ("that I should not have"); What-not-I-did-do? pre-
supposes I-"failed to"/did not-do-something ("that I should
have)).[7]

For another thing, such examples keep us alive to the
fact that actual language use, often - far more often than
so many of linguistics' made-up examples of possible language
use - provides poignant glimpses of the truly creative
capacity of language for human communication.[8]

In this section on the possible application of linguistic
methodology to naturalistic data I have argued that this might be

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facilitated by the notion of locus of observation. In concluding, I want to indicate ways in which the general thrust of this methodological perspective has broader implications.

The study of communication in classroom settings has begun to occupy a unifying role in the arena of interdisciplinary research. It is unifying because the classroom provides data for so many different research interests, including at least the following: education, language development, child development, general properties of social interaction. But whether applied or theoretical research interests are involved it is important to take seriously the special characteristics of classrooms as compared with other settings from which data might be gathered.

For example, researchers are aware that every classroom constitutes its own verbal community (Phillips, Dunhan, Brebaker & Butt, 1970; Stubbs and Delamont, 1976) with more or less continuity between it and other classrooms, and with more or less continuity between it and other verbal environments that the classroom participants areat other times involved in (such as home). Further, it has recently been recognized that some kinds of discontinuities between classroom environments and other environments can lead to "speech participation problems" within the classroom (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Florio & Shultz, 1979). It has become clear that discourse in the classroom is a special kind of happening and is expected to be, as evidenced by the fact that teachers design and use special discourse formats in teaching lessons (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Griffin & Humphrey, 1978; Mehan, 1979) that they expect students to know or learn (see Cazden, 1979, Heath, 1978). It has also become clear that children in primary classrooms come to school already knowing certain norms and routines about using language and already having certain expectations

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and strategies for adapting to new situations (e.g. the current classrooms) and/or new interlocutors (see Ervin-Trip; & Mitchell-Kernan, 1977; Snow and Ferguson, 1977; Hiebert & Cherry, 1978; Shuy & Griffin, 1978; Miller, 1979; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1979). The issues of "preparatory learning" and "interference", of "transferring" a format or a complex cognitive processing skill from one situation to another, and how this might be accomplished, are exciting ones; and they are central to this new area of inquiry (See Scribner, 1977; Cole, Griffin & Newman, 1979; Florio & Shultz, 1979; Cook-Gumperz, Gumperz, & Simons, 1979.

Yet, almost as a counterpoint, these very issues, and what we know about them across settings, suggests the need for further refinement in our understanding (and our tools for analysis) of what goes on within a setting (See Erickson & Schultz, 1977; Kendon, 1978; Goffman, 1979).

While study of the special characteristics of a particular setting should lead us to a particularistic description of that setting, it should also lead us to a more detailed conceptualization of social interaction and communication that can be applied generally. In a similar way, study of the special characteristics of a particular activity or participant structure in a classroom should lead us to a particularistic description of that locus, but it should also lead us to a more detailed conceptualization of classroom interaction generally.

This report aims to show how some special characteristics of individualized instruction periods in early primary classrooms cause some general features of primary classroom interaction to be exaggerated (as compared to "whole group" or teacher-led periods of instruction), and to be thus quite visible. Hopefully some of our findings will be useful to the study of classrooms generally, and perhaps even to the general study of social interaction and the natural use of language.

NOTES

¹This line of argument was addressed to the Chicago Linguistic
Society in April 1979. A version of this presentation has since
been published in a volume of their proceedings (see Merritt
1979a). For the impetus to actually specify in this way what
I take to be the methodological significance of the notion
"locus of observation" I am especially indebted to Stephen Cahir.

²As will be reiterated at several points later it should be
understood that I am not claiming that any of these lines of in-
quiry should be dropped, but rather that there needs to be more
cross fertilization of existing schools of thought (for a recent
attempt at a synthetic overview see Coulthard 1977) as well as
a more serious consideration by linguistic theorists of other than
"traditional" sources of data. By characterizing these four lines
of inquiry in terms of their inadequacies (rather than in terms
of their value) we can see more precisely just what kinds of
"gaps" exist in the input to linguistic theorizing about language
use. (Since the focus here is not to dwell on the limitations
of these approaches but merely to use them to point to the need
for other lines of inquiry, I shall make no attempt to cite the
literature in these areas except to cite a single volume in
each area that may be considered either seminal or exemplary.
(1) Cole and Morgan (eds., 1975), (2) Halliday and Hasan (1976),
(3) Sudnow (ed., 1972), (4) Bauman and Sherzer (eds., 1974).)

³The concern with delimiting the concerns of linguistics as a
discipline is, of course, an old one. For example, there is
Bloomfield's (1944) famous discussion of primary, secondary,
and tertiary responses to language; Voeglin and Harris' (1947)

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discussion of the scope of linguistics; and Chomsky's (1965)
famous delimitation in terms of data that reflects on competence
versus data that reflects on performance.

[4]For a fuller discussion see Merritt 1976a and section III-B of
this report. It should be pointed out that the term "service
encounter" makes use of a wholesale borrowing of Erving Goffman's
notion of "face engagement" or "encounter" (1963:88-89).

[5]Since we are not able to acoustically demonstrate this "in-
tonational matching" at this time, we can not now make any
strong claims about this intonational gloss for the purposes
of analysis. The reason I am pointing it out is because it *is*
so striking (when one hears the recorded segment) and seems
worth trying to analyze at some future time. A line of thinking
I would like to pursue,for instance, is the following: The
syntactic sequence of lexical items is interrogative (why-are-you-
smart?); and interrogative form is more "polite" (see Brown and
Levinson 1978) than a statement or assertion ("You're not so
smart"). By using the lexical sequence of the interrogative
form Lynn's utterance - move "officially" subscribes to a polite
mode of conveying what seems to be clearly a "put-down". Yet
by delivering the lexical sequence with the known (this is my
presumption, of course) intonational pattern of formulaic '$\underline{X}$ not so $\underline{Y}$!

$$"\left(\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{You're}} & \text{not so} & \underline{\text{smart}} \\ \underline{\text{She's}} & & \underline{\text{great}} \\ \text{etc.} & & \text{etc.} \end{array}\right)",$$

the "meaning" and ritual significance of the move is unofficially,
but quite adequately, conveyed. One might say, in fact, that it
was superbly conveyed in a spontaneously creative use of language.
And David seems to display an attunement to the possible ritual

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intent ("put down") of Lynn's query (Why are you smart) when he
ends the sequence. David uses a form that seems designed to
"ritually match" the tone of Lynn's suggestion (You're not so
smart.). David closes the interchange with "Shees:::: (long hiss)".

[6]Though we would not want to argue that this example is typical,
it is not a singular occurrence of this communicational phenomenon
in our data. We have noted several instances in which clearly
non-grammatical forms are used (which are not "typical" of the
speaker's "syntactic style" or "level of competence") and are
not replayed in grammatically correct reformulation (that is,
there is no self correction). It seems to me highly relevant
that in all these cases pragmatically, the grammatically in-
correct form "worked" in the interaction.

We will discuss later (see section III-C) in this report
what seems to be the opposite phenomenon: A child makes an
utterance - move that does not pragmatically work (that is, there
is no uptake) and so replays it. Sometimes the replays are
simply repeats, but there is often a shift to reformulated re-
plays when there is no uptake. And it seems, further, that
uptake is more likely when there is a reformulated replay than
when there is a simple repeated replay.

[7]There is, of course, a considerable literature in the role of
given and new information in discourse, some of which deals with
the notion of presupposition. See, for example, the recent
pragmatically oriented work by Ellen Prince (1978, 1979), the
more psychologically oriented work of Haviland and Clark (1974),
and the classic syntactic work of Halliday (1967).

[8]Once again, however, let me say that this is not an argument
which proposes that everything that is relevant to linguistic
theory can be gleaned from observing natural language use. I

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wish to reiterate that I am not suggesting that linguists drop

other current lines of inquiry, but rather that they be aware

of the limitations of each and of the value of looking at natural

language use in overcoming some of those limitations.

II   Discussion of Data and Procedures

    A. Introduction

    B. Procedures

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A. Introduction

The data upon which this investigation is based consists of
an extensive collection of videotapes and audiotapes which were
recorded in a single primary school over the course of the school
year 1975-1976. This was done through a grant from the Carnegie
Corporation of New York to Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy at the
Center for Applied Linguistics. This grant provided the funding
for carrying out a major study of the acquisition of children's
functional language competence in a primary school setting. The
results of that study have included not only analysis (see Griffin
and Shuy (eds.) 1978), but also teacher training "protocol" tapes,
and the massive collection of data now housed at the Center for
Applied Linguistics, upon which this study is based. Currently
a secondary project for dissemination of these protocol tapes is
being carried out at the Center for Applied Linguistics by Roger
Shuy, Stephen Cahir, and Ceil Kovac through an additional grant
from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The data was collected in a Washington, D.C. area private
elementary school, grades Nursery through Third. Composition of
students was basically ethnically honogeneous, all English-
speaking, and of middle-to-upper-middle class backgrounds.
The resultant naturalistic data bank consists of 437 half-hour
videotapes, with a corresponding number of backup audiotapes.
Teachers and children in grades Nursery, Kindergarten, First,
Second and Third were recorded interacting in a wide range of
everyday grade school activities: classroom whole group and small
group activities (both with and without teachers present), in-
dividual work activities, reading groups, free time activities,
playground, lunch and resource (dance, physical education, music)
activities. At all five grade levels, situations were recorded

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which exhibit various levels of formality, teacher involvement, orientation to academic tasks, procedural and silence requirements, etc. Each classroom had between 16 and 20 children, with one female teacher in grades kindergarten through third, and two teachers in each of the nursery classrooms. Other teaching staff included resource teachers and occasional aides (student teachers).

The data was collected at five points in time during the school year:

a. The first week of school (mid-September, 1975). 55 video-tapes were recorded.

b. The second month of school (late October, 1975). 101 videotapes were recorded.

c. The fourth month of school (early December, 1975). 120 videotapes were recorded.

d. In mid-winter (late January, early February 1976). 147 videotapes were recorded.

e. The eighth month of school (mid-April, 1976). 106 video-tapes were recorded.

Two classrooms per grade level (Nursery through Third) were recorded in during each of the five data collection periods. The following table shows the number of videotapes (with audio back-up tapes) retained at each grade level after tapes with technical difficulties were discarded. This is the total naturalistic data bank:

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Grade Level	Teacher Number	Taping Period					Total Tapes Per Classroom
		a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	
N	1, 2	7	6	12	8	10	43
	3, 4	6	4	14	12	10	46
K	5	4	8	3	13	10	33
	6	4	8	12	15	12	51
1st	7	4	6	11	12	12	45
	8	3	7	11	8	10	39
2nd	9	3	7	13	9	13	45
	10	4	7	12	10	8	41
3rd	11	2	9	14	10	11	46
	12	1	9	10	13	10	43
TOTAL		38	71	112	110	106	437

Since Merritt was not involved at all in the original data
collection project, since Humphrey and Cahir were each involved
with only certain grade levels, and since this study began two
and a half years after the last recording of data, this research
project-unlike most descriptive analytic studies of naturalistic
data-in some ways falls into the category of "secondary analysis".
Obviously, from the standpoint of investigating any particular
research problem this has serious limitations. As an ethnographer,
the investigator has been acutely aware at times of her distance
from the data collection. She would like to have been there when
these "slices of reality" were carved out for research posterity;
she would like to have had the enthnographer's prerogative of
shifting the focus of data collection as pre-analysis dictated.
On the other hand, she has had the intellectual constraint that
the data available to her as researcher have not been really much

greater than those available to the research audience that the
findings will address. And that may be good. Further, in terms
of the tremendous cost of video data collection, it seems
imperative that researchers learn to make use of already collected
data banks as much as possible.

In this particular endeavor, the investigator has been ex-
tremely fortunate in having available probably the most favorable
situation for secondary analysis. The three major contributing
factors are the following:

First of all the extensiveness of the collection of data has
provided a very real naturalistic contextualization. And because
of the location of the site school within the Washington
metropolitan area it has been possible to visit the school, talk
to some of the taped teachers, school administrators, and even
some of the taped students - "three-years-bigger". And it has
been reinforcing to the investigator to walk into the school for
the first time and recognize teacher voices as well as faces
from the videotape viewing.

Secondly, the direction of the original data collection -
for which Peg Griffin was primarily responsible - was done with
extreme care and attention to the future viability of the video
and audiotapes as research data. The original data bank also
includes a very valuable tape indexing system, and hand-recorded
ethnographic records made during the collection period. This
has provided a means by which the general nature of the inter-
action on any tape can fairly easily be referenced. For example,
the index report for each video tape has a corresponding index
report form which has the following information noted: (1) size
of group videotaped (whole class, dyads, triads, etc.), (2)
participants: only children, children and teachers, (3) a rough

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characterization of the topic and nature of the verbal and non-
verbal behavior, (4) names of participants entering and leaving
the video field, (5) cross-references to other videotapes recorded
at the same time or to the audio back-up, (6) grade, teacher, date
of taping, time of day, indexer, equipment used, etc. (7) technical
quality of the video and audio recording.

Thirdly, it has been possible for this study to have access
to and include the input of a large number of the professional
staff who worked on the earlier project and participated in the
data collection: Frank Humphrey is the major research assistant
for this project; he was involved in data collection at both the
kindergarten and third grade levels. Stephen Cahir worked with
us as research associate in the early months of the project.
During that time we concentrated on the nursery level data for
which he had been primarily responsible in the Carnegie project.
Donna Christian, who was similarly responsible for data collection
at the second grade level, has worked closely with Merritt very
effectively as a staff (CAL) consultant. Roger Shuy has also
been available as an "inhouse" consultant. In addition, two
consultants from the earlier study have been consultants for this
study - Courtney Cazden and Jeffrey Shultz. Though not officially
involved in the project two other person-resources have in-
formally been available as ties to the earlier project. One is
Cecilia Freeman, who worked on the first grade data collection,
and who has continued at C.A.L. on other reading research projects.
The other is Peg Griffin, who worked on all phases of the data
collection, but primarily with the first grade, also. Though no
longer in geographical proximity to the Center for Applied
Linguistics she has been very generous with her "telephone time",
especially in the early stages of the project.

Other continuities have been provided in this study as well. Erving Goffman, who was a primary source of guidance for Merritt's earlier work on service encounters, has been a consultant for this project. And providing continuity with the aims of educational research, the project has had the consultant services of Rebecca Barr, with whom no one at the Center for Applied Linguistics had previously worked. Without the availability and input of these two people and of all those just mentioned who participated in the earlier project, this study would have been very different in character.

There is one final point to be made about the collection of data for this project. It would be a mistake to think that the service-like event project has had no direct involveme·.t with data collection. Because of the extensiveness of the data bank from which we have worked and because of the variety of situations and participants that were recorded, a great deal of time has been spent simply locating pieces of data relevant to the analysis of service-like events. In a lot of ways this is data collection, too.

With respect to the number of tapes finally selected, we have to admit to being both a bit too ambitious in terms of what we thought we might be able to handle, and a bit under the spell of (what Merritt has dubbed) the "Hans Klodhopper syndrome". For those who may not recall the Scandinavian fairy tale, Hans Klodhopper was a carefree young man who delighted in picking up and taking with him things that he found along the way. He kept things that seemed ultimately worthwhile although apparently useless to his immediate goal (of winning the smile and the hand of a certain princess). In the end his habit turned out to be the basis of his success. This was because he was later able, through his resourcefulness in using the found items, to greatly amuse the

princess who had been bored by the traditional riches brought to her by other suitors.

As to whether our efforts will be similarly successful remains to be seen, of course.

B.   Procedures

Although 437 half-hour tapes constitute an enormous corpus, many of these could be eliminated without actual viewing. As mentioned, the original data bank includes a tape indexing system. This was developed and applied to the entire naturalistic corpus in order to provide a means by which the general nature of the interaction on a tape could be quickly referenced. Each tape has a corresponding index report form which has the following information noted:

a.   Size of group videotaped (whole class, dyads, triads, etc.).

b.   Participants: only children, children and teachers.

c.   A rough characterization of the topic and nature of the verbal and non-verbal behavior.

d.   Participants entering and leaving the video field.

e.   Cross-references to other videotapes recorded at the same time or to the audio back-up.

f.   Grade, teacher, date of taping, indexer, equipment used, etc.

g.   Technical quality of the video and audio recording (e.g. "blossoming," static noise, etc.).

The initial step toward developing the analytic corpus was to separate from the entire naturalistic data bank those tapes which were likely to include instances of service-like events. This included videotapes that recorded any of the following four

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situations, as described on the tape index report forms:

    a.   Classroom individual work activities, where the teacher is closely assisting the children on the videotape.

    b.   Classroom individual work activities, where the children on the videotape must approach the teacher for assistance.

    c.   Classroom reading groups with the teacher, where children working elsewhere in the classroom may approach the teacher for assistance.

    d.   Classroom free time activities, where children may approach the teacher for assistance.

Activities such as whole group lessons or meetings, whole group reading sessions, resource activities (music, dance, etc.) playground activities, and lunch activities could be eliminated from consideration through inspection of the index report forms.

Because we were interested in collecting examples from different times over the school year we decided to inventory the entire corpus of tapes. Tapes were collected by the original project for five grade levels, in two target classes for each grade level, at five different taping periods over the school year. Thus there were 50 different "taping units" as in the table below.

Note that teachers and their classrooms have been assigned to the first ten letters of the alphabet. We have chosen this practice rather than selecting actual pseudonyms throughout this report in giving examples. In referring to the children we have assigned actual first name pseudonyms to each child in a classroom unit. We have made no effort to choose different pseudonyms for all ten classrooms, and thus some of the pseudonyms have been used in more than one classroom unit. This is, of course, typical of children's first names in schools anyway.

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	GRADE ____ TEACHER ____	CLASSROOM SERVICE EVENTS (5407): VIDEOTAPE INVENTORY							
VIDEO TAPE NUMBER	RE-RECORDED / PRE-VIEW CODE	5407 USE CODES	SITUATION TYPE AND/OR COMMENTS	DATES AND TIMES	CAMERA SHOT TYPE	(5=hi;1=lo) VIDEO/AUDIO QUALITY	AUDIO TAPE #	ETH-NOG.	TAPE INDEX / TRANSCRIPT

TAPING PERIODS:

Grade levels and Classrooms:

Nursery: A/B

Kindergarten: C/D

First: E/F

Second: G/H

Third: I/J

1	2	3	4	5
A/B	A/B	A/B	A/B	A/B
C/D	C/D	C/D	C/D	C/D
E/F	E/F	E/F	E/F	E/F
G/H	G/H	G/H	G/H	G/H
I/J	I/J	I/J	I/J	I/J

A form was developed to be filled out for each "taping unit" - to list all available tapes for that unit and to specify for each tape a number of criteria to be used in selection (see attached form). These inventory forms were filled out for all 50 units. In coordination with filling out these forms videotapes were selected for previewing.

For several weeks following the inventory Merritt, Humphrey, and Cahir conducted extensive joint previewing at all grade levels, without making any final selection of segments to be selected. During those previewing sessions extensive notes and some preliminary transcription was carried out, and Merritt led discussions of the tapes - indicating the kinds of incidents, behaviors, and participation structures that were of major interest. Also during this time period, there was a lot of discussion among the researchers about what certain classrooms were like, what impressions of teachers were, what problems were encountered in actually recording the sessions, and other miscellaneous features that helped a great deal in contextualizing the recorded data.

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At the time of original recording two video cameras and one
or two audio recorders were used in each classroom. Sometimes
the two cameras would be focussed on the same classroom activity
(usually with one at close range, "tight", and another from a
distance, "context"), thereby giving two "views" of the same
event. But at other times the two cameras may have been focused
on two different parts of the room, thereby giving only one "view"
of any event. Also, sometimes a firm decision had been made to
keep a camera stationary and record whatever came into view,
whereas at other times a child or activity was followed by the
camera. There was also variation in the use of microphones.
Sometimes a centrally located (e.g. in the middle of a table or
hanging from the ceiling over a group circle) microphone was used
and sometimes individual students (never the teacher) wore wire-
less microphones. Needless to say, some kinds of events were more
easily retrieved audially with wireless microphones and some were
more easily retrieved with centrally located microphones. There
was thus some variation in the general technical quality of the
tapes and the extent to which certain tapes were useable for
analysis of service-like events; even though the activities on
tape might show a reading group and that the teacher is engaging
in service-like events with several students,   the camera
angle or the microphone might be so situated as to not show the
soliciting children or voices might not be audible.

Once the orientation period of the project was completed,
we began the second phase. During this phase at least one
researcher examined tapes for every taping unit. Since there had
been a separate inventory form made out for each taping unit, there
could be previewing and preselection of segments based on each
inventory form. An effort was made to find suitable segments for

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analysis for all 50 taping units (i.e. segments representing both classrooms at every grade level for each of the five taping periods) In a few cases there were no suitable tapes available, but in most cases there were several tapes to be reviewed. All candidates tapes were at least partially reviewed or screened. A good deal of this was accomplished during the joint orientation sessions, but significant amounts of screening was done individually. This screening proceeded by "grade-classroom" units (e.g. 2H: grade 2nd - teacher H). For nursery this was done by Cahir, for kindergarten and first grade by Humphrey, for second grade by Merritt and consultant Christian, for third grade by Humphrey.

Once this preliminary screening had been done, the investigator and at least one other staff member began preparation of analysis tapes for that grade-classroom unit. Cahir was involved in the creation of the first set of analysis tapes "cut", those of the nursery level. All other grade-level tape sets were constructed by Merritt and Humprhey.

It was always necessary to have two people in order to synchronize starting the machines, make locator notes, etc. Constructing analysis tapes involved the use of two video-tape decks and monitors to copy from the original tapes onto new blank tapes only those segments to be analyzed for this project. This was perhaps the most critical phase of project procedures, as the copying represented essentially final selection of segments to be analyzed from the original corpus. We found that we were, in essence, film editors - making decisions about where the stream of behavior (already parsed by the original videotaping) might best be cut so as to least disturb any significant contextualizing features. This was already pre-analysis.

Furthermore, it was necessary - for information retrieval purposes and to facilitate future analysis - to exercise great

care in recording the location of each segment in the original tapes; to make brief linguistic ethnographic, and mnemonic descriptions of each segment; to locate and copy additional "views" (i.e. when more than one camera was originally used to film a situation at the same time, thereby yielding two "concurrent" video-tapes) whenever available; and to assign appropriate sequential codes to each segment (e.g. Segment NB-18x indicates Nursery grade level, teacher B, 18th segment for the entire grade classroom unit, first of two possible views (indicating fur'her that there must be also NB-18y showing the second view); Segment 1F-15z indicates 1st grade level, teacher F (recall that teachers have been "lettered" consecutively A-I for the ten classrooms), 15th segment for the entire grade classroom unit, with "z" indicating that there is only one view of this segment). This information was all coded and hand recorded by Merritt at the time of analysis tape construction.

This phase of project proceeded thus at a necessarily slow and careful rate. However, it should also be noted that a fair amount of pre-analysis was involved in this part of the work.

Once all the analysis tapes were constructed, large portions of the data were transcribed in detail. It was originally hoped that all analysis tapes could be transcribed, but this was not possible for a number of reasons. First, the nature of finally selecting and editing the tapes was more time consuming than anticipated - in part because more data was selected than had been planned. Secondly, the fact of having more data meant that a lesser portion of it could be transcribed in the same time. Thirdly, it was originally planned that much transcription could be done by secretarial support staff or temporary research assistants, but the detail and quality of transcripts needed made

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this alternative unfeasible. Both Merritt and Humphrey made
transcription and analytic notes during video-tape viewing.
However, with only a few exceptions, all final transcripts were
made by Humphrey.

Actual analysis, then, was based on three things: direct
video viewing, analytic and descriptive notes made during
viewing, and transcripts. The total number of half-hour tapes
and segments (of varying lengths) is indicated in the table
below:

		Segments	Half-Hour Tapes
Nursery	A	28	4
	B *	15	4
Kindergarten	C	31	6
	D	25	4
First Grade	E	25	6
	F	17	6
Second Grade	G	17	6
	H	15	4
Third Grade	I	46	7
	J	55	6
		284	53

The nature of the data we have, of course, does not allow us
to make any claims about statistical representativeness. Had we
been recording the original videotapes from direct classroom
observations with a view toward investigating service-like events,
it might have been possible to observe and keep records of all the
service-like events that took place. This, in turn, might have
given us a pretty good sense of just how representative the video-
taped events were of a particular classroom (on a particular day).

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Nevertheless, the sheer quantity and range of our data, we think, warrants consideration. For all the ten classrooms studied examples were selected from five different points in the school year, except for the one noted with an asterisk in the table (for which selections could be made at only four points in the school year).

Finally, it should be pointed out that the major goal of the research has been to conceptualize parameters for describing the dynamics of classroom interaction. These parameters ought to be applicable to every segment of interaction, but, as was pointed out in section I, what parameters turn out to be very visible depends on the locus of observation. We wanted to look at service-like events in the data available to us not only because we thought that would tell us something about individualized instruction, but also because these particular teachers were known to be experienced and effective managers in non whole group teaching situations.

III. Service-Like Events In Context

A. Some Objectives and Demands of Individualized
   Instruction

B. The Non-Verbal Solicitation and Matters of the
   Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities

C. The Verbal Solicitation and Considerations of
   Conversational Access, Engagement, and Vectors of
   Activity.

D. More on Modality: Dual Processing, Slotting,
   Modality Splitting, Modality Focus, and
   Inferencing; And A Note On Ritual

A.   Some Objectives and Demands of Individualized Instruction

Most elementary classrooms are comprised of one teacher and many children. Much of the social interaction therein has traditionally been "whole group", with the teacher as the focus of the lesson or activity. However, most elementary classrooms are now designed such that part of the day is spent in an alternative participation structure. In recent years, in response to the transient and heterogeneous nature of many school populations, and in response to the schools' desires to match every child's aptitude with appropriate levels of instruction, many elementary classrooms are conducted so as to provide individualized instruction to the students for at least part of the day. Thus, a class of 18 to 30 students may be divided into three or four reading groups, each of which will meet with the teacher separately at different times. Another part of the school day may involve the teacher's giving a brief lesson to the whole group and then asking the children to work on an assignment individually or in small groups, with the teacher typically working with one individual or group on that assignment.

When the structure of classroom participation changes away from whole group this places new communicative demands on both teacher and students. In particular, teachers must orient to having one primary focus of activity and many secondary ones (all the children not involved with her/him). The students must orient to either managing without the teacher's help or effectively soliciting the teacher's attention in a way that is minimally disruptive to the teacher's primary activity. Our study is an attempt to fill part of the gap in our knowledge about how effective teachers structure their actions and their responses to children's actions in these situations.

Thus the initial and primary focus of the investigation has been to look at service-like events, one type of event that seems

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to occur in almost all primary classrooms when the classroom
activity structure is other than "whole group": During these
periods of individualized instruction, the teacher will ordinarily
be working with one or a small group of children. Children who
are not working with the teacher will ordinarily be assigned to
individual or group tasks that are to be accomplished without
the teacher's constant supervision. It frequently happens,
however, that one or more of these children will find a need
and/or desire to approach the other-wise occupied teacher and
solicit his/her attention. The child may simply physically
approach the teacher, or s/he may physically approach and then
say something, or s/he may say something as s/he is approaching.
The teacher may then attend to the child immediately, negatively
sanction the child for "interrupting" and then attend to his/her
query, negatively sanction the child for "interrupting" and re-
fuse to attend to his/her query, acknowledge the child with a
deferral, acknowledge the child but require that s/he come to
another position (closer) and replay the request, ignore the
child for an extended period of time-possibly until after he/she
has left the teacher's proximate space-and later seek him/her
out, or (which seems to rarely happen) "refuse" to be distracted
from teacher activity and not subsequently seek out the
"soliciting" child. If the soliciting child is not immediately
attended to the child may leave, stay near the teacher and "wait",
or stay near the teacher and make verbal solicitations to which
the teacher must decide to reply or not. Here are a few examples
from our data:

    (1) <u>Nursery-level. September. Afternoon.</u>

        (T is gathering a group of children around a table.
        They have not yet begun their activity)

→ Elliott: (walking around table to T) Mrs. B-1 ((will you tie))
          my shoe?

T: Do you want me to tie your [shoe right now?]
   John: [((unclear))]
Elliott: (nods)
      T: (to Elliott) All right.
      T: (to John) Wait just a minute, because Elliott wants
           his shoe tied.
      T: (bends to tie Elliott's shoe)
           (to Elliott) And let's see, can you do-,
           you <u>did</u> your first knot already. ((   ))
Elliott: ((Yeah))
      T: ((Good)) (finishes tying shoe)
Elliott: (goes back around table to sit down)

   (2):   <u>Kindergarten level. February. Mid-morning.</u>
           (T has just dismissed a whole class meeting to decide
           who will work with what materials. It was announced
           that those children (including Harvey) who have had
           a lot of time with the blocks already will have to
           do something else today. Children get up from
           sitting on the floor and begin scattering to various
           corners of the room. Martin stands up from where
           he has been sitting right beside T, but several
           other children have already approached her).
 Martin: (to T) Can I work at painting?
      T: (sets a boy's monster doll up on a shelf;
           T besieged by children. (1.8"))
 Martin: (to T) I'm gonna work at painting. (reaches up with
           his right hand and pulls on T's left forearm. (0.6"))
 Martin: (more rapidly) I'm gonna work at painting. (T sends
           Jennifer and Caroline S to the Lost and Found. Harvey
           approaches T and announces loudly that he's going to
           work in the block corner. T: (to H) "You may not
           go in the block corner now.   You can go later."

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Caroline B says something to T. T looks over and
sees that H has gone into block corner anyway and
she steps around the waiting Martin. (13.6"))

T: (walking toward block corner) Harvey?

→ Martin: (to retreating T's back) Can I paint?

(T approaches Harvey and Robert and begings talking
to them. (3.2"))

→ Martin: (following behind T) Ms. D., can I paint?

(T doesn't respond to M, but instead talks to Robert
and Harvey at length, telling them that they have
already had their turns in the block corner and to do
something else. (23.1"))

Martin: (starts to walk away from T, then turns and addresses
her as she stops talking to R and H) Can I paint?

→ Ca-, Ms. D, can I paint? =

← T: (to Martin) Yes.

Martin: (half-volume) = Can I paint?

(Martin walks over and gets a painting apron to wear.)

(3) First Grade. December. Mid-morning.

(T is standing at an otherwise vacant table. She
looks at her clipboard as she sits down and calls out):

T: May I have Tracy, Jeff, and Paul, please.

(Tracy approaches T's table from back of camera shot.
(3.5"))

Tracy: (to T) Bring our books?

T: (in response) Let's play a game of 'Speed Racer' today.

((Paul)): 'Speed ((E))racer'?! ((I guess we need our pencil.))

(Jeff and Paul drag chairs up to the table. T turns
to a nearby shelf and gets the materials for the game.
(7.0"))

Paul: (to T) Do we need our pencils? (T's head off camera;
T may shake head 'no'; Paul and Jeff sit down, while
Tracy is roaming the room, apparently putting something
away. Sophia walks past Jeff to T, who is getting out
the 'Speech Racer' cards. (4.9"))

Jeff: (mock sinister voice quality) ((uhh)), Speed Ra;zor
(adjusts himself in his chair).

(→) Sophia: (steps up to T) (2.9"))

→ Sophia: (holding paper out to get spelling) 'Mummy'. (sic) (1.3")
(From across the room, the voice of an adult, probably
a teacher, can be heard.)

Adult: First Name? ((unclear))

T: (looking toward door) Thank you!

Jeff: (to T) ((Where's)) 'Speed Rai:der'?

(←) T: (takes Sophia's paper.)

→ Sophia: (to T) 'Mummy'

Paul: (to Jeff) Racer.
(1.1")

T: (to group) Who are we missing?
(Tracy comes up to the table. (1.1"))

Jeff: (to T) Tracy.

Paul: (to Tracy) We don't need our pencils =

Jeff: =Can I see these for one ((minute)), Mrs. Exxxx?´
(Jeff reaches over and apparently touches 'Speed
Racer' cards.)

→ T: (1.4")) (writes on paper for Sophia)

Jeff: (continuing) The last one? The last ((one))?
(Paul leans across the table to look at 'Speed Racer'
cards)

Sophia: (leaves table area)

(4)   Second Grade. September. Mid-morning.

        (T is working with a small group of children on a
        geometric puzzle activity. Ann, David, and Lynn
        are with her. T has just started to work with Lynn
        and has been interrupted by a complaint about how
        many items (that are resources for the activity)
        other various children have been taking.
        T seems to be trying to get back to her involvement
        with Lynn).

Melissa: (comes "on camera")

Ken: Everybody has ((three)).

T: (straightens up and turns to boys) I-, no,
      ((one)), I said each one of you could have one.

((David)): Well, everybody's been taking ((unclear))

         ⌈((unclear))   ⌉
T: ⌊Well such is life.⌋

Melissa: (attempts to approach T from David's left, but
      then comes around to T on D's right.

T: (leaning down to Lynn) ⌈((O.K.)) ((unclear))⌉
Melissa: ⌊Mrs. G?   ⌋

T: (without looking up) Just one second ((and))
    I can help you. But I'm helping ((Lynn))
    right now.

Katherine: (walks "on camera" and approaches T, standing
      beside Melissa.)

Katherine: (to T) Umm can I start on my second one now?
      My third one?

T: (to K) Umm, did you ((call each other for a
    discussion))

Katherine: (to T) ((Mmm-huh)).

T: (nods)

Katherine: (goes "off camera")

((There were other voices at this time.))

T: O.K. Lynn. Remember, we decided that (1.8") this is, is eg-, three of those, are, equal to one of the o,hers. Alright. Now watch this trick...

T: (continues to work with Lynn; much of their interaction is inaudible)

Mary: comes on camera and goes up and stands by Melissa for a few seconds. She subsequently sits down in circle around T and is later drawn off camera.

T: (continues to work with Lynn) (Many children are in transit around the room.)

Melissa: (Continues to wait by T for quite a while)

Teddy: (approaches T, stands by Melissa; after a few seconds he reaches down and takes a pencil and walks away. (1'29"))

T: (to Lynn) ((Now, put your name on there)) ((unclear)).

Ken: (has been standing behind T, watching. He appears to tap T on the back.)

T: (turns to Ken and listens to him for a second. Then she seems to laugh and then goes=)

Melissa: Mrs. G.?

T: (to Ken) = Shh::::.
(throws her hands as if she has appreciated a joke or comment Ken provided.)

Melissa: (steps over some stuff on the floor and bends down directly beside T's ear. (2.6"))

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→
M→   Melissa: Mrs. G? (1.3") Can I read my book?

          T: (may be either talking softly to a girl
               behind Lynn, or taking a few seconds to process
               the question.   (5.5")

(←—)   T: (to M) O.K., did you-, did you find all the
  M   pieces ((for those)) ((unclear))?

     Melissa: (to T) Nope.

          T: (to M) Well I found one on the floor,
               ((ahead of the)) ((unclear)). ((Would you,
               go down and see if)) ((unclear))
               (Noise in the room.)

     Melissa: (standing) Then can I read my book?

←—   T: (nods) Yes, then you can read your book.
 M
     Melissa: (walks off camera.)

               (Segment ends.)

     (5)   Third grade.   December.   Late Morning.

               (T is involved with two girls, Jennifer and
               Angela, in a reading session. There is no other
               teacher or aide in the room to help supervise
               children working on other activities).

     Jennifer: (reading) 'Do you mean the ocean and volcanoes
               can:not hurt us?' ((unclear)) are not afraid?'
               asked Kino. 'No', his father replied. 'I did
               not say that. 'Ocean is there',

     Jennifer: (looking up at T) Can we read two chapters?
               (1.3")

          T: (to J) Just keep reading. We'll read as much
               as we can.

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Jennifer: (reading) 'Ocean is there, and volcano is there.
It is true that [one] any day,'

T: (to J) Hunn-unh.

Jennifer: '[On] any day, ocean may rise into, storm, and
volcano may burst into flame. We mus. accept
this fact, but without fear. We must say
'Someday, I shall die.' It does matter, whether
it is by ocean or by vol-, volcano,
(Several voices from elsewhere in the room in-
crease in volume, as Jennifer finishes.)

Jennifer: ...or whether I grow old or weak.

T: (to J) O.K. Just a minute.
(T straightens up in chair and looks across
the room.)
(Voices continue. (1.8"))

T: Peter? Peter? I think you could use a softer
voice, because, we're having a hard time, listening
to each other, because of the-, the, volume of
your voice.

off-camera: Ms. J, can we read the book ((later/on))?

off-camera: ((You/ might
get another thing.))

T: (to off camera group) [Shh::.

Angela: (turns around toward group. (0.8"))
It's a [good] book.

T: [John?]

T: (to John) Get to work. Right now.

T: (resumes reading posture, turning back to table
and leaning forward to J and A.)
O.K.

(Jennifer continues wit'ı her reading turn for some
minutes with T monitoring and offering occasional
feedback)

Jennifer: (reading) ..."When the day was over he was so
tired he fell asleep over his supper."

T: (to Jennifer)   O.K.

Jennifer: (reading)   'But',

T: Angela?

(→)   Tommy: (At this point Tommy, who has been standing a
pace away from the table, takes half a pace
toward the table and raises both arms from his
side slightly. (o.9"))

Angela: (reading) 'But there were days when Gia also was
too busy to help.'

(←)   Tommy :   (turns and walks off-camera)

Angela: (continues) Word came to ((unclear)) the school
of fish was passing through the channels.

(→)   Tommy: (reappears on-camera and walks over near T's
desk, 'loiters' a few feet away, and then turns
and stands waiting at the rectangular reading
table, at one of the sides next to the teacher)

Angela: (reading) And, then, every fishing boat made
haste to sail, out of the bay. (continues
reading).

T: (writes something on the tablet.)

(→→)   Tommy: (slaps his right side, then swings his right
arm back and forth in a sort of punching motion,
(40.5"))

T: (At this point Angela has read to the end of a
page. T flips the page, then looks up and scans
the room, apparently noticing a loud voice from
the background.)

Jennifer: (turns book page)

Angela: (turns book page.)

(∠ ·)   T: (looks over at Tommy)

Tommy: (wiping his mouth with his right sleeve. (1.7"))

⤳ Tommy: (to T) ((The houses are [ruined.))

Angela: (reading)   ['Sometimes-

Tommy: (Tommy holds hands open and shows T several small objects he is holding in his hands.)

←   T: (to Tommy) That's fine.

→ Tommy: (pointing to objects in left hand) These?

←   T: (tapping one of objects in his left hand) That's not good, but these-, (taps object in left hand and one in right hand) that one and this ((one)) are O.K.

Angela: (has stopped reading, stares up at blackboard and scratches her lip)

Tommy: (turns and walks over to the door, opens it, leaves, and closes it behind him.)

T: (scans room, which has background noise of children's voices. (1.0"))

T: (looking across room) Shh::::. John(Last name) xxxx? Please. Albert?

Albert: (off-camera) Yeah?

T: (to Albert) A little softer voice, please. (T holds up left hand, moves index finger and thumb toward each other as a 'diminishing' gesture.)

T: (resume reading position) O.K. ((people)), I'm sorry.

Angela: (reading) Sometimes, if it were not sea-time or harvest, Kino went with Gia, and his father.

The inevitable possibility of differential distribution of these teacher responses among particular children in a classroom, ironically, again raises the question of equity within educational settings that make use of individualized instruction. This means that there is an important need for understanding not only service-like events, but also the participatory and communicative demands of individualized instruction time generally.

In this section I want to lay out a conceptual framework for contextualizing service-like events. What this turns out to be, of course, is a view of the basic parameters of classroom inter-action that relate to individualized instruction. This is necessarily very complex despite its inevitable incompleteness. The section is developed by beginning with a summary presentation of the basic model and parameters of classroom interaction that I have arrived at. This is more dense and abstract than desire-able, but as portions of the analysis are elaborated in the following sub-sections, and as the reader reflects on the examples given, hopefully the abstract notions will become more concrete.

We can start with the basic facts that the primary classroom involves many children, whose major other locus of activity has been in their homes with familiar caretakers, now supervised day after day for several hours by one (or occasionally two) teacher who, in Barr and Dreeben's (1977) terms, has taken on the "responsibility of the central goal of schooling – the creation of individual student learning"...(p. 152, italics mine).

The teacher is thus immediately confronted with four major interrelated tasks, only one of which might always be referred to as "teaching proper". These are (1) achieving a sense in each child of belonging through social participation, (2) achieving a sense in each child of belonging through activity participation and task accomplishment, (3) striving for equity in the allocation of

resources external to the individual child (e.g. space, use of
objects, opportunities to talk and be listened to by others, time
with the teacher, etc.), and (4) directing the allocation of
resources internal to the individual child (what to attend to,
what means to use to accomplish a particular goal, etc.). This
last task of directing children's attention is critical to
children's learning by inference. In addition to this, of course,
the teacher must provide direct instruction and evaluation of
both teacher-initiated and child-initiated activities and products.

Now, for a small child, I think it can be argued that once
it is established that the teacher is the focal point in the
classroom, the most effective way to achieve a sense of social
participation is to be talking and doing some activity with, or
in close proximity to, the teacher. This suggests that periods
of individualized instruction, as opposed to whole group sessions
may put more of a strain on children's feelings as competent
social participants, and, indeed, a recent study by Emmer,
Evertson, and Anderson (1979) corroborates this suggestion (they
have found that, among a sample of effective and ineffective third
grade teacher-managers, the most effective ones focussed on whole
group activities for almost the entire first three weeks while
the more ineffective teachers began individualized instruction
periods as early as the first day). In our observations, even
the second and third grade children would ask to come and sit
at the same table with the teacher even though she was working
with other students on a different activity or assignment.

On the other hand, the instrumental goal of schooling is
that of individual learner achievements. This consists in large
part of a child's being able to read, write, and complete assign-
ments while working on his/her own - that is, without the teacher's
direct involvement in jointly accomplishing the assignments, and

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without talking with anyone. This means that there is somewhat
of a conflict between what is natural for achieving a sense
of social participation and what is the desired behavioral outcome
for individual children.

There is, of course, one thing that mediates this conflict.
This is the fact that as time goes on, task accomplish-
ment usually becomes increasingly important for social
participation, in that members of the group are expected to all
exhibit competence, and the academic standards for competence
increase as school goes on (see, for example, Cohen 1979 for a
discussion of student's perceptions of other students' status in
terms of their ability to read). One of "our" first grade
teachers, for example, would occasionally admonish a child with
"First grade. This is first grade," reminding them that stand-
ards are now "higher" than they were for kindergarten.

Nevertheless, getting children to go off on their own and
do work while surrounded by potential interlocutors seems in-
herently difficult and artificial as a means of accomplishing a
sense of social participation. I think it has to be recognized
that this is an artifact of the literacy orientation of our
culture and our formal educational system (which is not to say
that it is necessarily wrong or should be changed; only that this
aspect must be taken as something that not all cultures share).
The recent discussion by Walter J. Ong in which literacy and
orality are contrasted makes this point rather dramatically:[1]

> "...Speech is structured through the entire fabric
> of the human person. Writing depends on consciously
> contrived rules.
>
> Moreover, it depends on absences - which amount
> to the same thing as artificiality. I want to write
> a book which will be read by hundreds of thousands

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of people. So, please, everyone leave the room.
I have to be alone to communicate. Let us face
the utter facitiousness and fictitiousness of
such a situation, which can in no way be considered
natural or even normal."

(1979, pp. 2-3)

In my observations it seems that some children have a much
more difficult time than others in balancing the amount of time
spent in "real" social participation through talking and joint
activity, and "artificial" or "secondary" social participation
that accrues through demonstrated competence as an individual
learner and task accomplisher. Thus, sometimes when a child is
supposed to be working independently without the teacher s/he
may instead be doing a lot of "fooling around" or simply listen-
ing or watching what other children are doing. To avoid this as
much as possible, teachers are constantly looking up from what-
ever activity they are involved with and monitoring the rest of
the room. For every child in the room the teacher has two basic
goals (1) to keep the child "in" as a social and task participant,
and (2) to facilitate, and ideally maximize, the child's
cognitive growth and academic accomplishments.

In the following example from our nursery school data we
can see an almost ideal instance of how a child can be
dissuaded from joint activity, interested in an individual task,
supervised in its execution with only just as much help as is
required, end with delight in his own accomplishment, and in the
doing learn to share with another child not only the task materials
but also the teacher's attention.

(6) "Batikked". Nursery level. April. Early Morning.

(T working with two children doing batiks)

(Wireless microphone on Seth and camera follows him.)

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(As camera begins, T is sitting beside Jackie explaining how to
make a batik as Seth watches from behind.)

T (to Jackie): All right, ⌈take the ((brush))⌉,...
→ Seth   :   ⌊Jackie?   ⌋
T (to J)   : ...and make seven strokes. Whatever you do now
will stay white. And then we will dip it in the
yellow bath. When it dries from the yellow,
you can make another number of strokes. What-
ever you do then will be yellow. Then we'll dip
it in the red. And whatever you do that time,
then we'll dip it in the blue. And we'll see
what happens each time. All right?

(Jackie leans forward toward the batik materials, but she doesn't
appear to nod.(1.1"))

→ Seth   : Jackie?
�****→ T(standing up): Jackie, you can go ahead.
→ Seth (to J)   : Can ⌈I help you?⌉
T (leaning
over to Seth :   ⌊Now Seth, when you say you wanted to help,
a batik is really a very personal thing.

Seth(creaky
voice)   : Oh.=
T (to Seth)   : =But if it's all right with you we could get a
piece of cloth that you would like to use.

                      ⋮

(T watches Jackie draw lines of wax for the batik, and talks
about it with her. T gets a piece of cloth for Seth to use, and
then asks him what size of cloth he'd like.)

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T (to Seth)   :   ...Would you like to do a panel, or would you
                   like to do a big piece, of a ⎡square ((unclear))⎤
Seth   :   (holds outs out and up)   ⎣A big piece)   ⎦
T (to Seth)   :   You want to do a big piece, ⎡((unclear))⎤
Seth   :   ⎣Yeah but   ⎦
                   Ms. Bl?
T (to Seth)   :   Let's go over here and ⎡get some materials.⎤
Seth   :   (pointing at wall)   ⎣There's some   ...⎦
Seth   :   ...stories

(T has started to guide Seth across the room, but she turns and
looks where S is pointing. (1.8").

T (pointing)   :   Yes, those are your other stories,
                   ⎡ but ⎤ I have the one you were working on...
Seth   : ⎣((Yeah))⎦
T   ´   :   ...yester⎡day in ⎤ my hand. (T holds out paper to S
Seth   :   ⎣ Yeah.⎦
Seth   : Yeah.
T (to Seth while
she walks away: And I'm holding it in my hand so that we can get
                  back to that story.
Seth (steps up
by T)   :   Can I help you, Jackie?
Jackie(to S)   :   No.
Seth (to J)   :   Why?
Jackie(to S)   :   'Cause I don't want you ((to)).
Jackie   :   (brushes her cloth, (2.5"))
Seth   :   Oh no:.
Seth   :   (watches J brush (4.2"))
T(off camera) :   Seth can you come here? (from across room)
Seth   :   Oh yeah. (walking across room to T)

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(T shows Seth some cloth and asks him how large a piece he wants.
Seth says 'That big" when she extends the cloth and then adds,
'Because I want to make a car'. They continue to negotiate the
size of the cloth he wants. T has Seth tear the cloth - T: "It's
fun, because it's all right to tear. A lot of things it's not
all right to tear..." When he has difficulty tearing the bottom:

Seth   (to T) :   Can't do it longer.

T   :   "Can't do it now." Can you think of something
                   that might help you?

Seth   :   (shakes head 'no')

T (to Seth)   :   What do you think would help you?
                   ⌈Try and think about⌉ it for a minute
Seth   :   ⌊I don't know.   ⌋

Seth (to T)   :   Scissors?

T   :   Very good. (Extends left hand) Want me to
                   hold it while you get the scissors?

Seth   :   (hands T the cloth) Yeah.

T   :   I'll be glad to ((help))

(Seth walks across room, gets scissors from a storage desk, glances
at Jackie's batik as he returns to T. (4.1"))

Seth(half-sung): Bye::, Jackie.

(Seth returns to T and cloth; they cut the cloth)

T   : (holding up cloth) Is that what you want to
                  make?

Seth (to T)   : Yeah. A car. That would be big enough for a
                  car.

T(nodding)   : It would be big enough for a car.

Seth (to T)   : A yellow car. O.K.?

(No audible response from T. (1.6"))

Seth (to T)   : No, a colorful car.

(T stands up and starts walking with Seth over to the table where
Jackie is using the batik dyes and wax.)

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T	:	All right. [((Now)) if] you want a yellow
Seth	:	[I-, I-, I-,]

T   :   car let me tell you something about batiks,
             all right?

T   :   (bends down to inspect Jackie's batik)

Seth   :   But Ms. [B1?]   (trailing behind T to table)

T   :   [Oh:,]   look at Jackie's design.

T   :   [Ahh:.]
             [Ms. B1?]

T   :   (starting to pick up J's batik) Yes, Seth.

Seth (to T) :   But, I want to dip-,

T (to J)   :   ((Jackie), if you'll   put your fingers,
                 if I get it away from the hot pan then I don't
                 have to do it any more then you...

T (to J)   :   [((unclear))]
Seth   :   [Ms. B1?]

(T and Jackie seem to be maneuvering the batik. (1.2"))

Seth   :   Oh Ms. B1? I want to dip mine in yellow,...

T (to Jackie) :   That's good. [((unclear))]
Seth   :   [..red and] blue. I want to
                  dip mine in yellow red and blue.

T   :   Oh, those are nice colors to dip in, Seth.
             think that'll be nice if you dip

         :   [it ((unclear))]
Seth   :   [And I do wan']
(emphatically)   to do that. I do [so want ,]
T (to Seth) :   [((unclear)) has] to dry in
             between each shade =

Seth   :   =Yeah.

T (to S)   :   All right. Each color.

```
Seth (hums)    :   Hmm ⌈mmmm,    mmm.        ⌉
T (to S)       :   ⌊All right.  Now⌋ here's your piece

                   You spread it out on the paper.
```
(T hands Seth his cloth. He spreads it out on the work desk. (2.7")
```
T              :   (sitting down beside him)  Now you said some-
                   thing about having a yellow car.
Seth           :   Yeah, and red and blue.  But ⌈we have-,  ⌉
T              :                                ⌊All right.⌋
```
(T tells Seth that what he puts wax on first will remain white.
T has Jackie hold her waxed cloth up to show Seth what she means.
T tells J to put her cloth in the 'dye bath. T stirs dye. T
asks Jackie if she needs an apron; J apparently says no. T has
J get something to wrap the batik in to dry it and/or an apron to
wear (1'6.5"))

ᴄᴜᴜ→   T   :   O.K.   Seth?
ᴜᴜᴜ→   Seth   :   St⌈art work?⌉
       T   :   ⌊How many⌋ strokes are you=
(T sits down in a chair, which wobbles; she says the next three
words with high pitch as she gets her balance)
T   :   =going to make?
(Jackie returns to the table holding an apron. (1.6"))
Seth (to T)   :   Some=
T (to S)   :   =Did you plan beforehand what you're going to do?
Seth (to T)   :   Yeah. (1.5")) ((Just)),
(T watches Seth as he brushes wax on the cloth. Jackie puts her
apron on. (4.5"))
Seth   :   (sub-vocal, to himself) Need a little more,
T (to S)   :   Some people think about it ahead of time, and
                   I wonder what you thought to yourself. (2.0")
Seth   :   (Continuing to brush) I wonder.
```

(T watches Seth, who seems engrossed in his task, almost
oblivious to T.   (4.6"))

T (to S)        :    I'll leave you ((to work)) (getting up)

(T goes over and helps Jackie put on her apron.   Seth continues
brushing, then puts down his brush.   (19.7")

Seth (loud)    :    It's rea:dy!   (1.5") (soft:)   But-, (2.4")
                    (regular voice) It's ready, but, Ms. Bl?

(T continues helping Jackie with her apron.   (2.4")

T               :    I hear you Seth.   I'll be with you in just
                     a minute.

T               :    (comes over and inspects Seth's batik (3.4"))

Seth (to T)     :    I made some clou:ds.   These are ⌈clouds⌉
T (enthusiatically:)       ·                          ⌊Oh::⌋ clouds.

(T and Seth pull the batik o.f the table.   Seth holds it up to
the light and shows it to Jackie.   Seth tells T it's an 'old type
of car'.   T tells Seth he can put it in the dye bath after Jackie
is through.   Seth pulls some extraneous threads off his batik.
T helps Jackie with her batik, as Seth holds his batik as if
blowing in the wind and says many times, "Windy, Windy.  Windy.
(1.11"))

T               :    You're waiting very patiently, Seth.   Do you
                     want to do some dictation now⌈((unclear))⌉
Seth (to T)     :                                 ⌊Yeah.      ⌋  I
                     want to, dip it in now.

T (to S)        :    I know you do, but is there something in
                     there?

(T gestures toward dye bath, where Jackie's batik is soaking.
(1.0"))

Seth (to T)     :    Yeah.   I know that.=

T (to S)        :    =to whom does that belong?


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Seth (to T)      :    Jackie.

Jackie           :    (walks up behind Seth, who is standing by dye bath

T (to S)         :    That's right.  Did you see Jackie coming to

                      do something about it?

Seth (to T)      :    Yeah.

Seth (to T)      :    Oh yeah.

T  (to S)        :    How could you help her?

Seth             :    (moves over, out of Jackie's way)

Jackie           :    (moves up to table and puts newspaper on the tabl

Seth             :    I'll wait, Jackie.

                      (1.1")

T (to S)         :    When do you want to do ((this))?

(Seth stares at his batik and doesn't respond to T.  T holds

paper in front of his face.  "(3.8"))

T (to S)         :    When do you want to do that?

Seth (to T)      :    Umm, after, I dip it in the yellow.

(T walks off camera, apparently to set his dictation down.  Seth

sings to himself with nasal vowels while waiting for his turn

at the dye bath.  T at one point crouches down beside him and

sings along briefly.  T walks off camera.  Seth sees Jackie

finishing up and asks if she's through.  She says she is.' Seth

proceeds to put his batik in the yellow dye bath while singing

'Dip it in' to himself.  (1'14"))

T (approaching, to Seth):  Oh, you did it all by yourself.  That's

                      marvelous.  I'm so glad ((unclear))

Seth             :                          But I have to

                      , get it on the other side.

(Seth flips the batik over.  T tips the dye bath to help him

soak the batik.  T walks off camera.)


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Seth            :    (loud, fishing his batik out of the bath on a
                     stick) I did it. Ms. Bl? Batikked. (1.6")
                     I'll wait. (Seth hums to himself for a few seconds

Jackie          :    (beside Seth, wraps her batik in newspaper
                     to dry it (25.4"))

T               :    (approaches Seth and puts her hand on his back)

T               :    Seth, what do we have to do with it?

(Seth points to the ground. (1.3"))

Seth            :    Put paper there.

T               :    All right. Can you put it down until you get
                     your paper?

Seth            :    (lowers the batik back into the dye bath) (1.2"))

T               :    Thank you.

Seth            :    (turns and walks past T (4.2"))

T (to S)        :    That's good. You know where to find it?
                     (1.3")

Seth            :    Umm. Uhh. Where?

T               :    Where do we keep the paper?

Seth            :    I don't know.

T               :    Oh. Well you look around and see if you can
                     find a place where we keep it.

(Seth scans the room.)

T               :    I'd rather you discover it yourself.

Seth            :    Oh I see. Oh.

(Seth walks across the room while saying:)

Seth            :    Yeah I see. I see.

(Seth bends down and picks up paper (1.1"))

Seth            :    (mini-strain-grunt) Ugh.

Seth            :    You know what, Ms. Bl? I:n:, my daddy's
                     newspaper, today, they-,
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(Seth spreads his hands away from body in gesture.)

Seth   : We saw, a picture of a <u>wha:le</u>. It was a baby
one, and people were trying to get it wet.
And-, was not wet, and they were trying to get
it wet, so it would stay alive.

T (to S)   : <u>Oh</u>!. Did it work?

Seth (to T) : I:, don't know.

T   : Oh:.

Seth   : Doesn't say:. Didn't say:.

T   : ⌈Could you bring⌉ it into
school and we could read it?

Seth   : Yeah.

T   : Bring it to school to⌈morrow⌉and maybe we

Seth (bending :   ⌊Yeah.⌋
to put paper on
floor)

T   : could read⌈about it. ((unclear))⌉

Seth   :   ⌊Put it here?⌋

Seth (in re- : Yeah.
sponse to teacher's
suggestion)

T (to S)   : Well you do need newspaper down there if it's
going to drip, but what else do you need
newspaper for, Seth?

Seth   : I don't-,

(Seth spots Jackie's batik wrapped up in newspaper.)

Seth (pointing: <u>That</u>.
at Jackie's
batik.)

T   : Yes=

Seth   : =((What's Jackie))

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(T sends Seth off to get another newspaper to wrap his batik in.
S. says 'I'll squinch it' as he goes. T meanwhile gets involved
in assisting Caroline with something. (32".))

Seth (holding :   Here it is, Ms. B1.
paper)

(T continues talking to Caroline.)

Seth (hums to :   Huuuw. (5.1") Ms. B-,
himself)

(T talks to Caroline. Seth shakes the newspaper in front of her.
(2.9"))

Seth   :   ((Ms B-))

T   :   <u>Good</u> Seth. All right. Come around to this
                   side (...)

(T and Seth reapproach table. T gets Seth yet another piece of
paper to soak up some extraneous dye. Seth fishes the batik out
of the dye and waits until it stops dripping for about two
minutes, holding it over the dye bath. Finally he places the
batik out on the paper to dry.) (2.45"). END EXAMPLE

Despite the fact that the teacher is here working with only
two (a third child is involved at the end) children (a feature
which is doubtless only possible for this length of time because
of a second nursery teacher in the classroom, "Ms. B-2"), the
teacher must work carefully to respond to each child's need for
assistance in a timely way so as to keep them involved in work-
ing. This involves more than helping with the dye bath, cloth
tearing, apron wearing, and wax stroking. It also involves
giving verbal praise and displays of involvement ("Oh: <u>clouds</u>")
and signals that the teacher is shifting her own involvement
from one child to the other while also indicating to the child
"not in focus" what s/he should be doing ("Jackie, you can go
ahead." "Oh::, look at Jackie's design." "I'll leave you to

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work". "I hear you Seth. I'll be with you in just a minute.", "You're waiting very patiently, Seth. - Do you want to do some dictation now?", 'T crouches down beside Seth at one point and sings along with him for a few moments while he is using the dye bath', etc.). The teacher also has to deal with semi-extraneous noticings of the child, such as where the stories are in the beginning and what was in Seth's Daddy's newspaper that morning. It seems important that the teacher was not only able to "contain" the extraneous discussion, and get back quickly to task involvement, but that she was also able to deal with the discussion in a way that seemed as though the noticing was attended to, appreciated, and therefore "ritually closed off" as an appropriate topic.

In other words, this relatively "simple" situation of dealing with only two children turns out to be very complicated. This is largely a function of the teacher's task of supervising the two "vectors of activity" (see sub-section C following) of the two children. They are "doing the same thing", but they are not doing a joint activity; they are each doing something <u>individually</u>. The children have to learn how <u>not</u> to be involved in each other's work ("Now Seth, when you say you wanted to help, a batik is really a very personal thing.- Oh.- But if it's all right with you we could get a piece of cloth that <u>you</u> would like to use..."), and yet to <u>share</u> the <u>same resources</u> for the task, including the teacher's attention as well as the dye bath ("I hear you Seth. I'll be with you in just a minute."; "I want to dip it in now. - I know you do, but is there something in there...How could you help her? - I'll wait, Jackie."; I <u>did</u> it. Ms. B-I? <u>Batikked!</u> (1.6") I'll wait.") In this sequence Seth successfully accomplished making a batik (I'm told it was beautiful). But Seth also seems to have been learning a lot about <u>how</u> to do something individually while sharing time, space, materials, and other resources with other children in the classroom.[2]

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Deborah Tannen for directing my attention to some of the recent work on orality and literacy.

[2] Much else could be said about this sequence, a portion of which is reconsidered in subsection C following, but some of it would take us slightly afield from our current focus on individualization. For example, it's quite noticeable and important that the teacher here is teaching Seth how to get through current and future obstacles to "following through" on an extended activity, by encouraging his own thinking and "planfulness": "(as Seth stops tearing the cloth) Can't do it any longer. - Can't do it now. Can you think of something that might help you? - (Seth shakes head 'no') - What do you think would help you? Try and think about it for a minute - I don't know. Scissors? - Very good. Want me to hold it while you get the scissors? - Yeah. - I'll be glad to help."; "Did you plan beforehand what you're going to do? - Yeah. - Some people think about it ahead of time, and I wonder what you thought to yourself."; "(as Seth is taking his cloth out of the dye bath) Seth, what do we have to do with it? - Put paper there. - All right. Can you put it down until you get your paper?"). For a nice discussion of "teaching planfulness" using a different set of nursery school data, see Gearhart and Newman 1980.

B. The Non-Verbal Solicitation and Matters of the Intertwining
of Verbal and Non-Verbal Modalities.[1]

In the previous subsection it was hopefully made clear that
what goes on in a busy classroom during individualized in-
struction time involves much more than talk. Every aspect of
each individual's copresence is in some way salient. If we
start by thinking of "modality" as indicating some vessel for
carrying and conveying information, then we can think of whole
persons in face-to-face interaction as constituting the basic
modality. In many ways this seems to be the sense of Ong's
comment (on 'primary orality') that "Speech is structured
through the entire fabric of the human person." (1979, p. 2;
see the quote given earlier). However, many persons who are
engaged in interaction with each other do not attend to each
other fully. In telephone interaction, for example, we _can_
only attend to each other's voices and sounds. Even in face-to-
face interaction, however, we are often only partially engaged -
conversing while driving a car or eating a meal, for example.
Thus we can start to think of something like "modality splitting".
The primary split, it seems, comes between verbal and non-verbal
modalities.

In this subsection I want to address the need to consider
the non-verbal modality in order to understand the verbal. This
may be a truism, but the very complicated way in which it is
true seems worth trying to explicate:

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition
on the part of researchers who have used language as a major
focus for developing intellectual inquiries - and here we may
include linguists, anthropological linguists, ethnomethodologists,
cognitive psychologists, e   ntors, researchers in psychi tric
settings, and   s - that situatior f   ace

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interaction involve many important non-verbal cues. In fact,
it may be safe to say that, for the purpose of analyzing any
face-to-face communicative event, virtually no aspect of non-
verbal behavior can be ruled as irrelevant on a priori grounds.
Thus the micro-ethnographic analysis of filmed and videotaped
data is becoming more sophisticated and subtle with respect to
analyzing the role of non-verbal cues in face-to-face inter-
action.

If however, one is committed to the study of language in
natural settings and yet is also committed primarily to the
study of language rather than non-language, the issue of how
involved one should become in the study of non-verbal cues may
loom fairly large.[2] Without addressing this issue directly, one
can frame the following four related questions, (1) "For any
given event-type[3] under analysis, what non-verbal cues or patterns
of usage of non-verbal behavior must be dealt with (analytically)
in order to make sense of the verbal moves that occur?" (Such
patterns may be referred to as dominant non-verbal) (2) "Assum-
ing that the situation of face-to-face interaction provides both
verbal and non-verbal modalities for the communication of in-
formation, and assuming that an event-type may be roughly
characterized as a sequence of (verbal and/or non-verbal) moves,[4]
are there any aspects of the event-type under analysis that would
render the information flow of certain specific events or
portions of events primarily non-verbal rather than verbal?"
(3) "To what extent do these patterns apply across event-types,
if at all?" (4) "Is it relevant to speak of official versus
unofficial modalities?"

I shall address these questions by examining the specific
event-type of service-like event in the classroom in light of
previous work I have undertaken with the event-type "service

encounter" (see below). The aim of this section is thus two-
fold: First, I want to explore, generally, the theoretical
implications of analyzing language use in its natural setting
of face-to-face interaction. This necessarily involves in-
corporating the assumption that communication occurs not only
through the verbal modality[5] but through the non-verbal modality
as well. Secondly, I want to suggest a specific analysis for
how these modalities are made use of in these two service event-
types. The interweaving of these modalities seems to be
patterned similarly in the two event types, suggesting con-
tinuity across event-types and possibly general features about
the relative "communicative loading" (see below) of the two
modalities.

More specifically I shall develop four threads of analysis:
(1) four patterns of usage of non-verbal behavior will be
     presented for the event-type "service encounter";
(2) one of these patterns of usage will be demonstrated for
     the related but distinct event-type service-like event
     in the primary-level classroom;
(3) in the context for presenting and interpreting these
     patterns the notion of managing ritual equilibrium will
     be utilized;
(4) in the context of these patterns, the notion of verbal
     and non-verbal cues serving as official and unofficial
     moves, respectively, will emerge as possibly useful, with
     further refinement suggested in terms of "communicative
     loading".

The first part of the analysis involves reviewing a study
focused on one kind of situation as a locus of observation.[6]
That is the situation of interaction between a "posted" server
and a second party who invokes the server's participation as an

operator of a "serving post." One might refer to this second
party as the "served" (server-served) or the "servee" (as
with employer-employee, server-servee), or perhaps most simply
as "customer." The notion of the serving post, I have argued,
is crucial here in distinguishing this situation of interaction
from other situations in which requests are routinely negotiated.
The unit of observation and analysis for this situation I have
called a service encounter.[7]

As with all communicative events, the relationship between
participants is important. For example, among the personally
acquainted rights to initiate a state of talk are not much
questioned. A simple greeting in mutual copresence is often
all that is required. In an aggregate of unacquainted in-
dividuals, rights to initiate talk are considerably abridged.
The case of the service encounter can be seen to fall somewha
in between. It involves the management of entering into and
withdrawing from a state of mutually recognized attention, in-
cluding in many (if not most) cases some verbal exchange--all
this typically by non-acquainted individuals in a public
situation. To do this the individuals involved each assume a
kind of role that allows them to initiate and engage in inter-
action, but in a limited way (as compared with informal con-
versation, say, among the personally acquainted).

Sometimes the role of server is signalled by the wearing
of a uniform (as is frequently the case at a restaurant or a
gas station) or a name tag (as often happens in a department
store), but perhaps more importantly the server must be seen
as "manning a service post". The service post provides a kind
of interactional prop that distinguishes the service encounter
from other kinds of public encounters or contacts. The service

post is the part of a service area (the area typically including
some store and/or display of commodities) where service trans-
actions are usually consummated (e.g. money and commodities
officially exchanged) and where, as a consequence, a customer's
presence may be seen to function as a kind of summons for the
server.

The first pattern of dominant non-verbal usage within the
event-type service encounter involves a class of service
encounters whose features of enacted exchange have become so
routinized that the entire transaction may occur without any
verbal cues at all.   For example:[8]

(1) notions store

    C: (Approaches cash register counter carrying a news-
       paper. Holds the newspaper in view of the server
       and holds up two coins which he pl.. :: down on the
       counter.)

    S: (Is standing behind the cash register counter,
       talking on the telephone. Nods as C places coins
       on counter, picks up and rings them into the cash
       register.)

(2) At a highway toll collection booth a driver (Customer)
    pulls up to the booth, rolls down his window and hands
    a bill to the uniformed person (Server) inside the booth.
    The server hands back to the driver some coins, the
    driver drives on through the tollgate.

We may, as analysts, decide that these transactions are
essentially deritualized instances of face-to-face interaction,
or we may decide that they should be referred to as service
contacts rather than service encounters. The fact remains,
though, that, in terms of the parameters of the locus of
observation set out, these examples fall within the event-type

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service encounter and these examples rely entirely on the non-verbal modality.

The second pattern of dominant non-verbal usage also involves the transactional aspect of service encounters. Though the service being rendered by the server may consist of no more than providing information (as at an "information" counter in a train station or a department store), ordinarily this is not the case. Typically, the transaction involves an exchange of money and commodities. The necessarily non-verbal handing over of items, each to the other party, is a crucial part of the encounter.[9] As in the examples cited earlier, these exchange moves may involve no verbal cues at all, or there may be verbal moves that accompany, or are cued to, the non-verbal moves. Frequently, these accompanying verbal moves are suffici of the audio channel to "carry" a sense of what is going . For example, the following instances were transcribed from audiotapes with the help of ethnographic notes made while observing these encounters (parenthetical remarks describe the observation of non-verbal happenings):

(3) notions store

   S: O.K. New York Times, fifteen.

   RING

   S: That's seventy-five, eighty-five change, right?

(4) notions store

   S: O.K. Uh - Playboy magazine. Dollar and a Half.

   S: Right. Thank you.

(5) notions store

   C: (approaches service post with umbrella)

     D'you have - uh - tinsel?

   S: What?

   C: Tinsel, for the Christmas Tree.

S: No, we don't carry it.

C: I guess that's it - the umbrella (puts on counter)

(6) notions store

   S: Yes sir.

   C: I want a pack of Pall Mall gold

   S: O.K. (turns to get)

   C: An'a pack o' Kents.

   S: (with back turned to counter) Pall Mall gold, pack o' Kent - regular?

   C: Mmm, yes sir.

   S: O.K. (selects off shelf and brings to counter) that's one dollar even, right?

(7) notions store

   C: ((D'you have any)) red ribbon?

   S: Red ribbon?

   C: Yeah.

   S: Yes sir. Ya wanna come with me? (starts to walk away towards another part of the store)

(8) notions store

   C: You don't have any yarn ribbon do you?

   S: Yarn ribbon?

   C: Unh. Hunh.

   S: No, no yarn ribbon. Just-uh-I forget - for wrapping packages?

   C: Unh. Hunh.

   S: No, we have - what you see over here. (gesturing)

Many of the verbal accompaniment moves can be analyzed as essentially idexical or deictic, as in (3), (5), (7), and (8). But not all the verbal accompaniment moves can be. Some of the subtleties of those that cannot be so analyzed have been examined elsewhere (Merritt 1977a, 1978). Space does not permit

a full recapitulation of the arguments presented there, but let me note the following:

In service encounters which require that customer "place an order" and that the server must subsequently undertake some action to fill the order (as opposed, for example, to service encounters in which the customer approaches the service post with a selected commodity which he merely wishes to pay for), there is frequently a verbal accompaniment move like "O.K." or "All right". Sometimes these moves become more complex, involving what I have called a "server 'playback' of customer order." This is illustrated in example (6) (in the turn in which the server says "Pall Mall gold, pack o' Kent – regular?).

My analysis of this phenomenon is that these moves are basically confirmative—confirmative of the server's commitment to take the next necessary action to negotiate the transaction. In the case of the cigarette orders, the next necessary action is for the server to actually get the cigarettes. However, getting the cigarettes takes a few seconds and creates a lag in the basic rhythm of the turn-taking of the encounter, that rhythm having been set by <u>verbal</u> turn-taking.[10] Thus the server's saying something affirmative as he begins to get the cigarettes is a way of his beginning to "take his turn" even though the most relevant part of his turn is the non-verbal action of getting the cigarettes. His verbalizing satisfies what I call a "place-holding" and "bridging" function in the discourse. The immediate implication of place-holding here is the server's commitment to action. He indicates that he is beginning or about to begin the next necessary action of the transaction. In doing so he <u>confirms</u> the customer's order.

The playback move serves the special function of orienting to the possible need for error correction (in the server's

understanding of the customer's order). Both playback moves
and confirmative particle moves (i.e. "O.K.", "all right" etc.)
confirm the server's intention to satisfy the customer's request.[11]
In addition, they mark a shift in the enactive flow of the
encounter from saying to doing, and thereby anchor the action to
words.[12] It is noteable, for instance, that though the non-
verbal action involved in effecting the exchange of money and
commodities in these encounters is crucial to the transactions,
in almost every case it is possible to know the essence of what
has transpired non-verbally just from the verbal moves. We can
deduce for example, that in (4) the customer gave exact change
while in (3) he did not.

    The third pattern of dominant non-verbal usage is very
limited. It involves the occurrence of a non-verbal cue that
modifies or qualifies a verbal move, followed by an explicit
reference to the non-verbal cue in the verbal discourse. For
example:

(9) (at an outdoor food market the server is standing behind
     a fruit stand with prices indicated: grapefruit six for
     a dollar, oranges twelve for a dollar.)

S: What'll it be?

C: Can I have three grapefruit and six oranges for
     a dollar (winks, raising shoulders)?

S: (starts to put fruit in bag, smiling) You'd
     better wink.

    The fourth pattern of dominant non-verbal usage is that
which occurs at the <u>initiation</u> of the encounter.

    The first stage of a service encounter (as with any
encounter) is that of <u>access</u>: server and customer lift the
communication barrier between them and become involved in a
state of transaction. Prior to this, each party can be

described with respect to the degree of his "transactional accessibility" (this is comparable to the notion of conversational accessibility which I have used elsewhere in this report). It is also another way of talking about the strength of the communication barrier between the two parties.

The state of transaction is ordinarily reached through deliberate negotiation, increasing, by turns, the degree of transactional accessibility between the server and customer. A server, by virtue of this presence at the serving post, signals tacit offering of service or availability to answer service summonses. A customer, by entering the service area and especially by placing himself at a service post (and sometimes, additionally, by "taking a number"), signals a tacit request for attention or a summons for a server. The server then makes a formal acknowledgement of the customer's request or summons (e.g. a nod or I'll be right with you."), followed by a formal answer to the summons (that is, a commitment of availability), (with number-systems a reply by customer is sometimes inserted), usually coupled (often elliptically) with a formal offer of service ("Are you ready to be helped?" "Next?", etc.). After the formal offer follows an acceptance of the offer ("yes") by the customer. At this point the contact has been ratified for a state of transaction and mutual access of server and customer is established.

The customer immediately follows with an act oriented to the completion of the next stage in the encounter, (selection decision). This act may be called a "customer start." Ordinarily this is a formal request of some type ("I'd like---?", "Can I have---?", "Do you have---?"). Frequently this move is "coupled" (often elliptically) onto the customer acceptance of server offer. Where this coupling is elliptical (i.e., there

is no "yes" or acceptance item as such; rather, it must be inferred) the move that completes the negotiation of the access stage also begins the next stage of the encounter.[14]

All of this usually transpires very quickly, of course, and a casual observer might say that service encounters typically begin when the first verbal move is made (when the server says, "May I help you?", for example, or when the customer says "I'd like a pack of Marlboros"). I would argue, however, that the customer's entrance into the service area, and particularly his positioning himself at the service post, is the first step in the initiation of a service encounter. Further this use of the non-verbal modality is important to the overall structure of the service encounter and the continuities it preserves with respect to norms of social interaction generally. Here a digression may be in order.

Start with a concept of <u>ritual equilibrium.</u> (Here, especially, and in the following argument I draw heavily on the work of Erving Goffman (1971)). This is the state of equilibrium that can be enjoyed by individuals of a personal relationship when they are not in each other's copresence and by copresent nonacquainteds when they are properly not attending to each other (that is, there is a condition of mutually held civil inattention; each is officially "going about his own business.") When this state is disturbed some ritual work will be required to maintain or restore equilibrium.

The state of ritual equilibrium can be disturbed by accident or by design. In the case of "happy" accident the ritual work performed may be thought of as <u>supportive</u>, reflecting the fact that both parties are equally innocent of any improper intent to encroach on the other's territory,

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and equally ready to share (and equally concerned not to share) territory with the other. Here is the exchange of greetings occasioned by two acquainteds who chance to pass each other on the street. Here also are the collusive smiles and remarks, the offers of assistance that are proffered by one non-acquainted to another; these supportive gestures having been precipitated by the mutual recognition that the other has somehow been placed in jeopardy (whether by having dropped his own parcel, or having been rudely treated by a third party) and is worthy of being restored to his former status.

On the other hand, the state of ritual equilibrium may be disturbed by "unhappy" accident, and the ritual work performed may be thought of as remedial, reflecting the fact that one party has encroached upon the territory of the other, albeit unwittingly. Here belong the apologies and accounts that are occasioned by one person victimizing the other unintentionally.

Finally, if the state of ritual equilibrium is disturbed by design one party will have made a demand of the other, and thereby will have knowingly encroached on the other's territory. Remedial work by the offender is again required. Once more we find apologies and accounts. But along with these is a third type of remedial work peculiar to designed disturbances. The third type comes in various forms and is usually affixed to the encroaching demand in a very integrating manner--the use of modal interrogatives and, even, "question" intonation alone (i.e. without interrogative particles or word-order change) being prominent examples. Such "remedial affixations" transform the "root demand" into what is typically called a request. Included here are requests for action (or mitigations of the "root" imperative or directive), requests for information, and requests for attention. A demand or request for attention is

demanded (though for perfunctory services such assertions of status on the part of the server are rarely maintained with any consistency). To some extent, then, the customer's use of the non-verbal summons is a way of remedializing his demand for attention.

At this point let us turn to a few observations from the classroom study. Here the focus is on what takes place in a classroom when a child approaches his teacher for help during individual activity time - "service-like events in the classroom".

Now, clearly the event-types service encounter and service-like event in the classroom bear some relationship to each other, but at the same time the respective settings that "host" the two events are remarkably-different. In "commercial service encounters" the participants are typically non-acquainted and typically both of adult age. Further the commercial encounters are typically that: the participants engage, transact their business, and separate; the standard roles of server and customer do not require any subsequent personal recognition of the individuals involved. On the other hand, in the "service-like events in the classroom" the participants are typically acquainted and of child and adult age. Further the events are not the only shared encounters in the participants' copresent habitation of the classroom. The participants are more or less interactionally accessible to each other for long periods in the course of a school day (and that for many school days over the course of a school year), and the service-like event reflects only one of many kinds of participant structures that child and teacher engage in together.

Therefore, when two event-types like commercial service encounter and service-like event in the classroom are compared and particular features are found to pattern similarly, this is

often called a "summons" (at least in those situations in which a previously unestablished line of talk is being established).

Now consider the initiation of talk between two "acquainteds." If it should occur by accident there will be the supportive ritual of exchanging greetings. If it should occur by design it will begin with some kind of summons on the part of the "designer." The summons is a kind of demand which may entail some remedial work on the part of the summoner ("I hope I'm not disturbing you.", etc.). Often, however, if not typically, the remedy-required character of this initiating move is countered by a supportive gesture on the part of the summoned--typically a greeting. (In telephone exchanges this can be thought of as further ritualized, in that the usual response to the summons of the telephone ring is "Hello" (greeting form) although at the time of answering it is not clear who has summoned.)[15]

In the service encounter the initiation of the encounter typically begins with a summons on the part of the customer. The summons is non-verbal, and consists of the customer positioning himself at the serving post. The specific action involved varies somewhat according to the "style" of the service area. In a self-service drug store the serving post may be the "check-out" counter. At a luncheonette the customer will usually summons by taking a seat at the counter or in a booth (though to stand at the cash register may signal the intent to make a carry-out order).

The non-verbalness of the summons has an important consequence. It allows the server to make the first linguistic move in the interaction and so make it in the form of a supportive gesture, namely an offer ("May I help you?" "Would you like to be helped?" "What can I do for you?" etc.).[16] As with the supportive response to a summons between two personally acquainteds

(namely, a greeting) the ritual effect here is to counter the necessity for any remedial work that might otherwise be required on account of the demand quality of the summons. Contrariwise, for the customer to accost the server with a linguistic summons (which does sometimes occur: "Can you take this for me?", etc.) is to underccut the supportive slot available to the server, the ritual effect of which is usually some tension between the interactants for the ensuing transaction.

This partially accounts for the usual "miffed" reaction of servers who have been so accosted by customers. Also involved is the tacit inference that the server has not been properly responsive to the foregoing non-verbal summons (and a non-verbal summons can almost always be inferred by virtue of the fact that the customer is there in the proper place for service), so that the linguistic summons also has some quality of being a second summons. I have noticed that very often the server, when verbally summoned, will manage to defer the interaction ("Mr. Brown will help you in just a moment.", "I'll be right with you.") for at least a few moments.[17] This "distancing" often results in the server's "re-entry" with the usual supportive offer, "Now, what can I do for you?" (the "now" being offered as another kind of remedial gesture - one that makes note of the fact that the customer has been kept waiting; note that "now" may also be used when the customer has been kept waiting and has not made a verbal summons but only remained in position at the serving post).[18] A further aspect of the customer's "waiting" (for the server to make the offer of service) is the deference that is shown to the server's role and prerogatives: it defers to some ritual appreciation that it is the server who is in a position to make an offer, that the services that he renders are to be sought out and not

not altogether unexpected, but it is also quite reportable.[19]
What I have, in fact, observed is that the "communicative
loading" and intertwining of the verbal and non-verbal modalities
pattern vary similarly across the two event types.

Consider the following instances of classroom interaction
from our data:

(10) second grade classroom, teacher G sitting at table with a
queue of children on one side. M. gets out of chair and
approaches teacher, and stands waiting beside teacher on
the side opposite to the queue.

WAILING SOUND IN THE BACKGROUND

T: (turning away from the child she has been working with)
That's a lovely coyote sound, but I'm doing math
right now.## (turns back to the table)

M: May I get the gerbils settled?

T: Yes.

(11) third grade classroom, teacher I sitting at table with
group of children, but working only with V. who is reading
aloud.   (C approaches teacher with book in hand)
(T looks up, takes book from C; V continues reading aloud)

T: (Sotto Voice to C.) Just a ((moment)). Just a minute.

V: (stops reading)

T: (to V) Go ahead

T: (to C) Let her finish her sentence.

V: READS ALOUD A LITTLE FURTHER

T: (to V) Alright. Wait a minute.

T: (to C) Alright. What's your question?

(12) third grade classroom, teacher I sitting at table with
group of children, but working only with V who is reading
aloud.

Cr: (while walking up to table with book in hand)
How many books are we allowed to take out, Mrs. I.?

(No response from Mrs. I.)

Cr: (reaches table and stops by Mrs. I. who is still
engaged with helping V.)

Cr: Mrs. I., how many books are we allowed to take out?

T: (looking over to Cr., putting her finger on his belt)
What do you do if I'm talking to somebody else?

Cr: (grimaces and puts book down on nearby shelf)

T: (waving finger) You just stand there and I'm gonna
see you.

V: (to T) You can help him.

T: (to V) No, I want him to learn and it's hard
((go ahead))

V: (to T) ((BRIEF CONTINUATION OF READING ALOUD)

T: (to V) All right. Excuse me.

T: (to Cr.) M'one, this week.

(13) third grade classroom, teacher I is sitting at table
working with a single child on math.
(Ch. approaches the teacher, doesn't say anything. After
a few seconds and T. does not turn to him, Ch. begins to
tap on T.'s shoulder.)
(T. turns to Ch., says nothing)

Ch: Oh, you're busy aren't you?

T: Yes. Thanks for remembering, (turns back to her work
at the table)

Ch: (walks away)

(14) nursery level classroom, teacher A-2 is sitting at a table
with a small group and "taking dictation" from one child
(in this case the teacher is writing down for the child
a word description of the picture the child has drawn).

(M. approaches the table and moves up to the teacher, but seems to say nothing. Teacher continues to work with the "dictating" child. After a few seconds M. starts to walk away from the table.)

T: Uhh:. Melissa? I'll be with you in a minute..
       (reaching out after Melissa with her arm and gazing
       in her direction.)

In general, the non-verbal modality seems to be used most frequently to effect the initial child summons. We see this in examples (10), (11) and (14). In (14) we see evidence of the teacher interpreting the child's standing nearby as a possible summons, even though the child does not "follow-up" with a more specific demand as in (10) and (11). In example (12) we see evidence of the teacher sanctioning the child for using the verbal modality to effect his summons. In example (13) we see evidence of the child's attempt to stay within the bounds of the non-verbal modality, seemingly countered by his realization that the business he wishes to transact cannot be done non-verbally and so must be withdrawn if the teacher has not signalled her availability to interact verbally.

At this point, let me say that the intertwining of the verbal and non-verbal modalities begins to get considerably more complicated. Some aspects of that complication are dealt with in the sub-sections that follow. Nevertheless, in terms of what I have found so far, the similarities in patterning of modalities between service-like events in the classroom and commercial service encounters are so striking as to demand at least tentative speculation.

Analytical Generalizations (tentative) comparing the two service event-types:

The non-verbal modality is crucial to both of the service event-types that I have studied, for many of the same or similar

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reasons. Further, in both event-types "use" of the non-verbal modality seems to pattern, with respect to relative communicative loading of the verbal modality, in much the same way. There are two major and interrelated points (1 and 2 following) that can be advanced as generalizations, with some argumentation offered for each.

1. The non-verbal summons or solicitation is the preferred move for initiation for both service event-types. There are three threads of analysis that indicate why we might expect this to be the case, and which also lead to the second major point (2, following):

    a. The non-verbal summons has, in general, a remedializing character, as has been argued in some detail earlier in this subsection.

    b. Because of the fact that the server/teacher is in a position to be already involved in some other activity - particularly interaction with another customer/student - the initiating customer/student may choose to pay some attention to the possibly "interruptive" character of his initiation.

    One customer/student strategy seems to be based on the realization that the official involvement of the server/teacher is through the verbal modality, so that the non-verbal modality can be used without officially interrupting. That is, the communicative loading of the verbal modality in the "host" - teacher event is "heavy enough" to "carry" the host event, while the non-verbal modality is "syphoned off" to the service-like event. We see this happening in example (2), and this happens frequently in our classroom data. In example (11) we see what seems to have started out like this, but the teacher needs more information. She seems to be trying to avoid interrupting the reading tutorial she is involved with by whispering her

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query, but even that causes the reader to stop, so that the
teacher then has to handle the two involvements sequentially
rather than simultaneously, as she seems to have been trying
to accomplish at the beginning.

A second available customer/student strategy is to "slot-
in" the initiation, immediately following some other interrupt-
ion. This is what happens in example (10). This strategy
seems to be used most frequently for procedural or very brief
requests (e.g. "Where is the toothpaste?" in a service
encounter setting), and still usually involves a non-verbal
positioning solicitation.

c. Because of the fact that the server/teacher, while
helping one customer/student, may be in demand by waiting
customers/students, the server/teacher may seek to find ways
to satisfy the waiting customers/students as soon as possible.

One server/teacher strategy seems to be collaboration with
customers/students in carrying out the second or subordinate
event totally non-verbally (as discussed above under customer/
student strategy), without disrupting the communicative
loading of the verbal modality as the effective or official
modality of the host event (a failed attempt at which is nicely
illustrated in example (11) cited earlier).

A second server/teacher strategy involves the server/
teacher capitalizing on any part of the current or host event
that might naturally involve a non-verbal turn of significant
time span on the part of the customer/student. For instance,
the server/teacher may say to a customer/student, "Take a look
at these and see if there's anything you like here" or "Work on
this problem and see what you come up with". While the first
customer/student is involved in a non-verbal "turn-activity" the
server/teacher is "free" to "slot-out" and make an offer of

service to the next person waiting. There is a change here in the relative communicative loading of the modalities available to the event. It is as though the effective modality of the first or host event has been shiften from verbal to non-verbal, thereby freeing the server/teacher to use the verbal modality in another event.

A third server/teacher strategy is for the server/teacher to simply signal verbally an interruption to the first event. We see this in both example (11) (after the failed attempt at strategy two) and example (12) cited earlier.

2. In both service event-types there seems to be an orientation to some norm that views the verbal modality as being generally more "official".

For instance, one very sensible way of talking about example (9) cited earlier is to say that the server's utterance "You'd better wink" in some sense "officializes" the non-verbal action of winking as part of the encounter. And it seems that a similar argument can be made for the confirmative particles "O.K." and "All right" discussed earlier, as well as deictic utterances like "Ya wanna come with me?" in example (7).

To say that the verbal modality is usually the "official" modality is not to speak in absolutes, of course; that has been part of the point of this sub-section. There is, rather, an "orientation" to this norm, and, even there, it might be more accurate to think of this as the "unmarked case".

Another way of conceptualizing this point is to say that there is an orientation to a norm that views the communicative loading of the verbal modality as being much heavier than the communicative loading of the non-verbal modality in officially ratified events; and, further, that the communicative loading of the verbal modality is heaviest for the most officially

<u>ratified event</u> in which participants are engaged (especially
when not all participants are engaged in more than one event
(e.g. customers/students typically are not, whereas servers/
teachers not infrequently are)); with priority in terms of
<u>official ratification</u> usually accruing to the participant with
the higher (highest) status in the situation. This conceptuali-
zation leads to a couple of interesting corollaries that seem to
be born out by the data I have examined:

<u>2.1</u> If communicative loading of the verbal modality is so
heavy as to almost exclude the non-verbal modality for one
participant (as, e.g., in reading tutorials where the student
must focus visual attention on a text), then it should be
possible for the other participant to "use" the non-verbal
modality to participate in another, partially simultaneous, event
without much risk of disrupting communication in the first or
host event. As we have seen, this happens in both commercial
service encounters and service-like events in the classroom.

<u>2.2</u> If communicative loading of the verbal modality is heaviest
for the most officially ratified event that participants are
engaged in, then we might expect that if a "need" arises for the
use of the verbal modality in a subordinate (or less officially
ratified event) there will be a concomitant variation in the
"loudness" of resultant moves. This is exactly what happens
in example (11) in which the teacher finds she cannot handle
the subordinate service-like event completely within the non-
verbal modality and goes on to ask in a <u>whisper</u>, "Which one?
Which one?". (Note, further, that this orientation to
prerogatives of relative loudness may in some way account
analytically for the form of sanctions that a teacher may offer
to students who are not engaged in an event with the teacher and

whose "talk" is deemed overly loud (e.g. in example (10) cited
earlier the teacher responds to a loud wailing sound with "That's
a lovely coyote sound, but I'm doing math right now"--indicating,
perhaps, that such a degree of loudness in the audio channel
(which the verbal modality relies upon) could be tolerated only
if the teacher were involved in the event).

In this sub-section I have used my previous work with
commerical service encounters to develop analytical concepts for
examining our classroom data for service-like events. In doing
so I hope to have also provided an argument for a relationship
of general continuity between the two event-types--one which has
to do specifically with the shifts in communicative loading and
intertwining of verbal and non-verbal modalities that service
events invoke. It seems important that these classroom events
that are part of designed individualized instruction display
this relationship of general continuity, as this continuity may,
in fact, have a broader base in the general interactional norms
of American middle-class society.

NOTES.

[1] Much of the analysis in this subsection was presented at the
annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association,
November, 1978, in a paper entitled "Modes of Verbal and Non-
Verbal Intertwining in Service Events". A later revision was
submitted and accepted for publication in Papers In Linguistics
(1979b) under the title "Communicative Loading" and Intertwining
of Verbal and Non-verbal Modalities in Service Events". Comments from
Erving Goffman, Rebecca Barr, Courtney Cazden and Gail Benjamin (who
co-chaired with me the AAA session) have been helpful to revision.

[2] See, for example, the work of Adam Kendon and associates for
the range of intricate interrelationships between verbal and
non-verbal cues in human social interaction (Kendon 1977; Kendon
Harris, and Key (eds.) 1975). Kendon makes the distinction
between gesticulations (non-verbal cues that are an integral
part of the speech stream) and gestures (that are communicative
acts that may be independent of, or substitute for, speech
behavior). For a theoretical statement as to how these features
of social interaction affect linguistics as a discipline, see
Darnell and Vanek (1978).

[3] I use the term "event-type" rather than event to disambiguate
between the two possible senses of event as either "type" or
"token". I have tried to use the term event to refer to actual
occurrences of "tokens".

[4] I cannot provide a really tight definition of "move" but it
should be noted that although what is linguistically described
by the term speech act is often coterminous, it would be a
mistake to equate them. The notion of move is firmly tied to
changes in the ritual equilibrium (see Goffman 1971, Merritt

1976a) between participants. Though the notion may be operation-
alized in the instance of goal-directed interaction as an act
that has "significance" in terms of moving the interaction in the
direction of the goal, I believe this is too limited. In
general, it seems right to say that whatever actions of partici-
pants are interpreted as "officially ritually significant" may
be interpreted as moves, the concept of "official" having to do
mainly with channels used and precision of reportability, and
the concept of "ritually significant" having to do with whether
or not ritual equilibrium is affected. These concepts ("official"
and "ritual equilibrim") will be considered in more detail later
in this sub-section.

[5]Here I shall speak only of the verbal modality and the non-
verbal modality, although this is an oversimplification. One
might well ask, for example, why not speak simply of audio and
visual "channels" rather than verbal and non-verbal modalities.
Besides the fact the "modality" is oriented more to the production
of communicative acts while "channel" is oriented more to the
perception of communicative acts, the notion of modality is much
more flexible in that the resources of, say, the verbal modality
may be "split" into more than one "modality" (dependent on
features like speech tempo, loudness, and/or pitch level) - just
as the "whole person modality" discussed at the outset of this
subsection has been analytically split into the verbal and non-
verbal modalities. My thinking here owes much to discussions about
modality with Gail Benjamin.

[6]For a detailed discussion of what is entailed by the notion "1
of observation" see section I of this report.

[7]The notion of an encounter follows that of Erving Goffman:
        "When two persons are mutually present and hence engaged
        together in some degree of unfocussed interaction...they

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can proceed from there to engage one another
in focused interaction, the unit of which I shall
refer to as a _face engagement_ or an _encounter_.
Face engagements comprise all those instances of
two or more participants in a situation joining
each other openly in maintaining a single focus
of cognitive and visual attention--what is sensed
as a single mutual activity, entailing preferential
communication rights. As a simple example--and one
of the most common--when persons are present together
in the situation they may engage each other in a
talk...." (Behavior in Public Places, 1963:
pp. 88-89).

It has been suggested to me that the notion of encounter
is not routinely appropriate to describe the interaction between
server and customer. For instance, many such interactions are so
deritualized as to involve no verbalization or eye contact at
all. Such interaction might then be labelled service "contact"
rather than service "encounter." My view is that there is not a
dichotomy but rather a continuum operating here, and further-
that this continuum is not necessarily related in any simple way
to other contextual features. In particular, it seems that
even the most perfunctory situation can host a fully ritualized
encounter. Thus I choose to label the entire continuum _service_
encounter.

[8]The service encounter data presented here is taken from my
dissertation research, which involved on-the-spot hand recording
and audiotape recording of service encounters from a variety of
primarily urban service areas. The largest and most systematically
collected subset of the data was observed and recorded in a

"notions store", which was a small self-service store selling
mostly magazines and cigarettes, but also selling stationery,
small houseware items, cosmetics, etc.

[9]The study of transferring items has begun to be a study in
its own right. See, for example, the work of Blaine Anderson
1978.

[10]The notion of rhythm in encounters is clearly an important
and complex one, the understanding of which has only recently
begun. Here see the work of William Condon and associates
(1966, 1969, 1974), Frederick Erickson (1976), and Adrian Bennett
(1978a,b).

[11]As mentioned earlier, the playback move and the use of the
confirmative particle "O.K." have been discussed in more detail
elsehwere (Merritt 1977a, 1978). The "confirming effect", it
may be noted, is the kind of phenomenon that J.L. Austin (1962)
discussed in distinguishing perlocutionary consequence and
illocutionary effects: "What we do import by the use of no-
menclature of illocution is a reference, not to the consequences
(at least in any ordinary sense) of the location, but to the
conventions of illocutionary force as bearing on the special
circumstances of the occasion of the issuing of the utterance."
(p. 114, italics added)... "Generally the effect amounts to
bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force
of the locution. So the performance of an illocutionary act
involves the securing of uptake," (p. 116, italics in the
original). The customer's understanding of the playback or
confirmative particle as confirming his/her request thus con-
stitutes the necessary effect of the securing of uptake. It
is the server's assumption that this effect has been secured

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that allows the playback move to function as a special cue for possible error correction. That is, when the server plays back "All right, pack of Marlboros", the customer need not speak in response, <u>unless</u> the customer has <u>not</u> requested Marlboros; it is otherwise assumed that the confirming uptake has been achieved.

[12]This feature was first pointed out to me by Erving Goffman.

[13]In the following example there is not only the juxtaposition of verbal and non-verbal messages, the server's response is clearly one of compliance plus "complaint".

[14]For a more detailed discussion, see Merritt 1976b.

[15]For a more detailed discussion of telephone answering behavior see Emanuel Schegloff (1972 (1968)). There he points out, further, that although "Hello" (which is itself a greeting form) occurs as usual response to the summons of the telephone ring (in personal residences), this is usually followed up with "Oh, Hi Jack," (a "true" greeting) once the caller (here, Jack) has actually identified himself.

[16]This is not withstanding, of course, that the supportive gestures of greeting is used in some service encounter situations. In particular, in small communities or whenever the server and customer "know" each other (in the sense of being able to relate their current encounter to some previous history of encounters) a greeting form is often the norm ("How are you today?").

[17]The use of this kind of device to establish supervisory control in work situations has been discussed by sociologists. As will be developed later, this same kind of response is also used by teachers in responding to students' queries. William F. Whyte's research on waitress behavior in restaurants suggests that the

waitresses who are most happy and successful at their jobs
are those who maintain control of the interactional situations
between themselves and customers (and between themselves and
the kitchen personnel) through such devices.

[18]The extent to which all the possible steps of negotiating
transactional access can be pulled apart is frequently made
obvious in restaurant situations: Customers first come in and
are seated, then water and menus may be served, then cocktail
or drink orders may be solicited, and finally food orders taken.
Thus "waiting" behavior is further segmented and ritualized,
often involving different service personnel at various stages
(a hostess seats the customer, a busboy brings water, a cocktail
waitress takes drink orders, and finally a waiter takes the food
order).

[19]What is involved here are two systems of reference. One has
to do with the primary use or communicative loading of verbal
versus non-verbal modalities in human interaction. The second
has to do with the "footing" (see Erving Goffman 1979) or
social identity that is invoked for each participant (relative
to other participants) for each interchange.

C. <u>The Verbal Solicitation and Considerations of Conversational</u>
   <u>Access, Engagement, and Vectors of Activity.</u>[1]

As we anticipated that it might (see section I), the initial
focus on the service-like event has drawn us to consider a more
general phenomenon "conversational accessibility" (recall the
earlier discussion of "transactional accessibility") or more
simply, "conversational access". We have found this notion
useful because it has allowed us to think about different events
and activities within the classroom using the same "common
denominator".

As suggested earlier, we use this term "conversational
access" to describe and refer to one of the parameters of
classroom interaction that applies to <u>any</u> situation of social
interaction: Since, as we have seen, teaching and learning
activities within the classroom are by no means restricted to
the verbal modality, let me briefly relate the notion of con-
versational access to its braoder interactional paradigm: Any
time a set of individuals are physically close enough to each
other to touch, speak to, listen, overhear or otherwise attend
to each other, it makes sense to think about how social order
among that set of individuals is sustained through their ad-
hering to the same or similar "rules" or expectations about who
has what rights (and obligations) in this regard. In the
classroom, touching behavior (especially hitting behavior) is
probably the easiest to monitor and usually the first of these
behaviors to be "brought under control". Overhearing or other-
wise non-verbally attending to each other in a non-focussed way
is inherently difficult to monitor and probably is never totally
"rule predicted" for all students in a given classroom (nor are
"infractions" usually very serious). "Speaking to" behavior
(and the expectation it sets up for listening) is, however,
very much part of what is "officially" going on in the classroom,

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and something the teacher sees as necessary to control.

"Improper 'speaking to'" behavior is not as serious as
improper touching behavior but it _is_ more socially serious
than improper overhearing behavior. Speaking behavior increases
the general noise level of the classroom (and therefore may be
generally disruptive), and it ordinarily requires responsiveness
(listening) on the part of some interlocutor (and therefore may
be specifically disruptive to the activity involvement of the
designated interlocutor). It makes sense, then, to assume that
copresent individuals may communicate in accord with their
feelings about who they have rights to speak to (and therefore
expect attention and response from) and who has rights to speak
to them. Unlike "getting a turn" or "getting the floor", con-
versational access does not presume that cointeractants are
already ratified as participants in the same group or activity.
"Conversational access" is rather a sort of "global term" (that
applies at all times and for all events) that contextualizes the
extent to which any particular individual in a setting (e.g.
in the classroom) has the right (and social obligation) to be
or become engaged (or protect him/herself _from_ engagement) in
talk or conversation with the other individuals in that setting.

Each individual's management of conversational access is
one of the major aspects of that individual's monitoring of the
ongoing state of ritual equilibrium, or non-equilibrium, between
her/himself and other copresent individuals. (For a more ex-
tensive discussion of ritual and ritual equilibrium see Goffman,
1956, 1971; Merritt, 1976a. For a partial application of
Goffman's notions to the classroom setting see Cook-Gumperz and
Corsaro, 1977, Corsaro, 1979, Section III-B of this report.) This
is important because ritual equilibrium is a critical factor in

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the formation and maintenance of social relationships (see McDermott, 1976; Stubbs & Delamont, 1976 for a discussion of the importance of social relationships in the classroom).

In these terms, with respect to the service-like event, the major (or at least initial) communicative task the soliciting child must accomplish is to accurately assess and establish conversational access to the teacher. Almost any negative sanction the teacher may make to the child's solicitation can be interpreted as rejecting the child's presumed assessment of his/her conversational access to the teacher at that moment ("I'm sorry, Georgie, I'm really closed now", "Is this an emergency?", "What are you supposed to do when I'm talking to somebody else?") Thus, a child's successful initiation of a service-like event often depends upon the child's accurate assessment of the moment-to-moment shifts in conversational access to the teacher. This frequently turns out to be, in effect, the timeliness with which a child can unobtrusively "slot-in" his/her solicitation.

. Because specific situational appropriateness in this realm of classroom behavior is so difficult (if not impossible) to teach directly (see the "interruptions lesson" presented later), the teacher's responsiveness in these situations is likely to be the teacher's major input to the children's mastery of this event.

It seems to us though, that whatever "rules" are being informally taught in the initiation of these events, they are not just rules for service-like events. Rather, they are rules for conversational access which, ideally, should be relatively consistently enforced across classroom activities generally. Specific "rules" for meeting the situational demands of in-dividual classrooms can only be worked out by the participants themselves, of course (here see Doyle 1979, Mehan 1979a).

Nevertheless it may be useful, if only to concretize the notion of conversational access, to consider the following three generalizations that seem to hold for our data and probably most American classrooms:

1. <u>In the classroom, the teacher always has the prerogative to speak to any student or group of students at any time.</u> In a multi-focussed activity session the teacher may periodically "make rounds" of students largely for the purpose of reinforcing teacher-child contact, or the teacher's "intrusion" may be primarily academically oriented. The extent to which the teacher is constantly attentive to goings-on all over the classroom is evidenced in the following episode that took place in one of the third grade classrooms that we observed:

> (1) The teacher, Mrs. I., was working with a small group of students on plural formation of nouns in English, while three other groups were working on a science experiment that called for testing a solution with detergent, salt, vinegar, and Borax. However, not every science group had "its own" bottle of detergent and that apparently spawned a little confusion which Mrs. I. swiftly arighted by slotting out of her activity as follows:

"plurals group" led by Mrs. I.	Student group working on an experiment
T: O.K. Great	R(to J): Detergent you shouldn't
C: Then I can correct them \	call Borax 'cause it's
now?	detergent.
T: Uhh, ((well)) yeah,	J: Hunh?
fix it but I want you to	
wait=	

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"plurals group" led by Mrs. I.	Student group working on an experiment.
J: Is mine OK?	
T: =a minute. I want you and John	C: The Borax is the detergent?
to take this and see if	R: Hey, why'd you do that?
you can see. We have up	J: Because the detergent is
here E-S	Borax.
we have S-H,	R: I know.
and C-H=	=Detergent is not the Borax.

2.* Rights to speak to any individual (and, concomitantly, the interlocutor's obligation to listen or be responsive) are very much bound up with the answer to the question "About what?" With service-like events, for example, it makes a great deal of difference if the soliciting child has recently been engaged in some task involvement with the teacher and is simply "returning" to get clarification or the "go-ahead" for the next phase of his/her task. In such cases, the child can almost always "get in" fairly quickly and easily.

Teachers even expect to be "interrupted" on some occasions and count a student's failure to do so as inappropriate. For example, Mrs. C. in one of the kindergarten classrooms we observed once discovered after a few minutes into a "mobilemaking" session that two of the children were not working. It turned out that they did not have the necessary coat-hangers. At this point Mrs. C. said, "You mean you've waited all this time? If you needed help what should you have asked for?". After waiting a few seconds for the children to respond that they need a hanger, she went on, "O.K. I'll be glad to give you one. If you let me know what you need, Chuck and Marylou, I can really help you."

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3. Further, we have noted that teachers' responsiveness to
child initiated talk seems to "shape up" appropriate "topic
behavior". That is, children may be expected to monitor their
verbal participation not only in terms of "who has legitimate
access to the teacher at this time" but also in terms of "what
constitutes a legitimate contribution to the activity at hand."
In other words, children are informally taught not only when
they should talk to the teacher but also what they can legitimately
talk to the teacher about (see also Mehan's findings (1979:159)).

   This brings us to a third generalization about conversational
access considerations in the classroom, but one of a different
order: <u>Teachers are constantly put in the position of making</u>
<u>decisions as to whether to enforce conversational access rules</u>
<u>in terms of designa l participants to the communication in</u>
<u>progress, or in term of academically viable contributions to</u>
<u>the activity at hand.</u>

   Clearly such decisions are very difficult (if not impossible)
for teachers to make consistently. Their almost inherent in-
consistency provides one of the avenues through which students
play an active role in shaping what goes on in the classroom.
Concomitantly, the more consistently a teacher makes these
decisions the more control she exercises over the maintenance of
social order in this domain. Part of this control is manifested
through students' sense of knowing how to participate (as both
social and academic participants) in a manner that is deemed
competent by other coparticipants.[2]

   For the teacher, then, making the "right" decision when a
child solicits attention or "presumes" to contribute to some
activity or participant structure that s/he is not clearly a part
of depends on many things. In a similar way, the effectiveness
of service-like events as a mechanism for dealing with competing

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student demands during periods of individualized instruction depends very much on the perceptiveness of the teacher in assessing a particular situation.

This often means recognizing a child's need for individual attention and non-disruptively "slotting-out" of, or drawing the soliciting child into, involvement with other student(s). As suggested in an earlier sub-section, the smooth coordination of "slot-ins" and "slot-outs" in a busy classroom seems to involve considerable use of non-verbal as well as verbal modalities, and many teachers indirectly "teach" their students to make non-verbal rather than verbal solicitations. Non-verbal solicitations leave the teacher with the prerogative of shifting to the verbal modality or not. The non-verbal aspect of initiating talk is thus clearly an important aspect of negotiating conversational access.

At this point, however, let us start to focus more on the verbal modality by moving from the notion of conversational access to a related notion that is also of general interest to the study of social interaction - that of "engagement". The general question addressed is "How do cointeractants engage each other in social interaction?" or "What constitutes mutual engagement?"

Educationally, this issue of engagement assumes a major interest when the cointeractants are teacher and student. In the educational setting of the primary classroom, as we have seen, special features bear on mutual engagement of teacher and student, as compared with cointeractants generally: a) The teacher and student have asymmetrical prerogatives as cointeractants, with the teacher able to initiate talk with the student at almost any time, but not vice versa. b) There is

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one teacher and many students, all or many of whom may want the
teacher's attention at the same time. As we have seen, this can
be particularly problematic during periods of individualized in-
struction.

One aspect of our study has been a concern to locate dis-
course elements that are likely to index the initiation of
engagement. This aspect represents a formal approach to in-
vestigating engagement. This is in contrast with the functional
approach of examining service-like events, which constitute a
significant occasion for initiating engagement. We knew that if
we could discern some discourse element or discourse resource in
this category then the data could be scanned for occurrences.
Methodologically it was desirable to choose as such a potential
index a discourse element that was as formally specifiable
as possible.

One possibility was that of reciprocating "replies" to the
solicitations of attention. However, there were two difficulties
in terms of meeting the criterion of formal specifiability:
a) In general, what can serve as initiating acts for replies and
responses has been shown to be highly variable (Goffman, 1976).
b) In particular, children seem to deviate from whatever norms
are general to adults by requiring responses to some verbal acts
that adults do not (Garvey, 1975; Keenan, 1974).

A second possibility derives from solicitations of attention
in general and the following "generic sequence": Whatever the
"solicitor" has in mind he/she will simply blurt out to the
proposed interlocutor. If there is no response or if the
solicitor is unsatisfied with the response given, the solicitor
will simply redo or "replay" the soliciting act. "Replays" can
thus be identified as discourse elements (Merritt, 1976).

The most straightforward form of replay is the repetition
or repeat. Another form of replay involves a slight variation

in form or a reformulation of the original act. Since many re-
plays, certainly the "exact" repeats, are easy to spot on formal
grounds, such discourse elements seemed to meet the criterion
of being formally speficiable. Accordingly the data were
scanned with the hypothesis that replays index the initiation
of engagement. More particularly, based on the generic sequence,
we hypothesized that replays are indicative of lack of anticipat-
ed engagement. We reasoned that if this hypothesis were con-
firmed, then the replays that were observed could be further
examined. This would be done with a view toward finding some-
thing out about the nature of engagement by seeing when it is
identifiably initiated with no "uptake" (and here the notion of
uptake is analogous to Austin's (1962) usage of the term in
discussing conditions on the performance of an illocutionary
act see note 11, section III-B of this report).

The data were scanned to see if there were any interesting
examples of replays, especially examples of multiple replays.
At the nursery and kinde garten levels there were a number of
interesting instances, six of which are discussed here.

Two disclaimers should be made before presenting the
analysis. The following examples are illustrative of the flow
of communication and interaction in "busy" classrooms and they
are not presented as instances of the interaction which occur
with the most frequency. Secondly, not all types of replays,
and not all types of repeats and reformulations were analyzed.
Only replays that occur in unprompted discourse positions are
being considered, that is, those deriving from the generic
sequence given earlier. It can be noted that another prevalent
discourse position for the occurrence of a replay is in re-
sponse to a "call for replay" or a "request for clarification"
(Cherry 1979, Jefferson, 1972, Merritt 1976, Christian & Tripp

1978). With such occurrences, it is the interlocutor who initiates the replaying and thus it can not be inferred that the "replayer" would have been sufficiently motivated to have replayed the act had the prompting not occurred. Both the responses to calls for replay and the replays discussed here share the feature of responsiveness to lack of uptake to the original act. This notion of replay is directed to the redoing or replaying of an interactional move that has already been enacted and which has therefore created an opportunity for response. Thus, although repetition and reformulation occur with some frequency within a speaker's utterance move as repair devices (see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977; Humphrey 1978), these are not full replays. They will not be considered here except to note the following rather delightful instance of such move-internal reformulation: In this example both the teacher and Alexa use the discourse device of move-internal reformulation.

    (2) Cutted hand off. Nursery Level.

        Alexa is lying on a large piece of paper and Anita
        is tracing Alexa's body outline. Teacher A-2 is
        nearby.

        Alexa: (to Anita) Anita, I want my hand more on
                the paper. (moving hand over)

        Anita: (moves Alexa's hand over)

→   Alexa: Now I won't have to cut a hand off. Now
                there won't be a cutted hand off.

→   T   : Are they all gonna be there? Are all your
                fingers gonna be there?

→   Alexa: (to T) (nodding) My other one is cut--is
                a cutted hand off.

→   T   : How come? What happened?

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         Alexa:   The other ((        )) is a cutted hand off
                  because I wasn't watching and I just cut
                  it right off.
         T     :  Unh-Hunh.
```

Consider now the following examples in which occur multiple
replays that are not move-internal. It seems that, as we hypo-
thesized, these replays d index a lack of mutual engagement. It
seems further, that this can be related to individual partici-
pants' involvement with different aspects of the stream of behavior.

    Two things are striking about the following examples: a)
the children do indeed seem to use replays as a way of pursuing
a failed attempt at engaging the teacher's attention. They
are, in fact, incredibly persistent in using this device. b) In
every case the soliciting child is right there with the teacher.
The child is "officially involved" in the same small sphere of
activity and seems to have the "right" to talk to the teacher.
This is evidenced by the fact the teacher has, in all but one
case, just been talking with the child, and as further evidenced
by the fact that in no case was the child negatively sanctioned
for talking "out of turn" but was rather simply not responded
to. Yet rights to address the teacher are not enough to
guarantee the child engagement of the teacher's attention upon
simple solicitation. This points up the fact that not only must
a child vie for the teacher's attention if s/he is _outside_ the
teacher-dominated sphere of activity (the typical case of the
service-like event) but that s/he must vie for it even if
within the teacher activity.

    Of course, in many ways this is no news. Mehan (1979b)
has discussed the interactional competence of students that is
required when students attempt to initiate interchanges in the
course of a lesson.

Nevertheless, analysis of the examples reveals a subtle feature of social interaction. Most "conversation", in the sense of a discourse genre, represents the verbal aspects of two, or sometimes more, parties' mutual engagement in talk, as the primary activity in which they are individually involved. But, of course, much if not most talk is not like this, but rather is done in accompaniment to other individual courses of action, such as eating a meal, or completing a lesson assignment. Cointeractants are typically more or less aware of others' individual courses of action and are alive to the fact that some talk directed toward them is to be interpreted in that light rather than as conversational; as with "Please pass the salt," or "What's five times five?" The recognition of this fact, along with the fact that more than one individual can collaborate in a joint course of action, gives rise to a notion of "vector of activity".[3] Vector of activity may represent activity contributing to the course of action of one individual or a group of individuals. If we also grant that some kinds of talk, such as lesson talk, constitute courses of action, then specific topics within the talk may also be seen as separable vectors of activity that may be independent of particular individuals.

The following examples have been graphically prepared to "factor out" the different vectors of activity that are operating in each case. Each vector has been represented by a different number of underlinings of the name of each participant enacting a move in that vector. Single arrows $\rightarrow$ indicate occurrences of the move that is replayed. Double arrows $\rightarrow\!\!\!\rightarrow$, have been used to indicate the formulation of the engager solicitation that finally secured engagement.

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(3)   When I was in Washington

Several nursery children are seated around a table
getting ready to play a "game" in which each child
asks for a certain number of peanuts and then counts
them.   Just as they were ready to begin one child,
Anita, needed her shoe tied and while teacher B-1
tied her shoe she talked about how "when I was five"
she could tie her own shoe. Anita has just returned
to her seat and Ms. B-1 starts to go around the
table and distribute peanuts.   The seating order is:
Allison, Elliott, Seth, John, Anita, Catherine and
Peter.

T: (reaches into bag of peanuts and pulls some out)

T: (to group) Now let's see: How many do you want?
     Hold up the number of fingers you want and I'll
     give you that many. (Most kids hold up one or
     two hands.)

T: (stands up).

→ Elliott: Ms. B-1? When I--, (1.0") When I =

T: (to Allison) = Alright, you want ten.

T: (dumps some peanuts in front of Allison)

→ Elliott: [Wh-- [When I   [was in Wash--

T: ....[Alright ....[You count those while I do]
     something else,

T: and........[then I'll be back to you]

→ Elliott: [When I was in   ] Washing[ton,]

T: (to Seth)................................[How]
     many do you want?

Seth: (holds up four fingers)

T: (to Seth) Four.

:
:

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T: (continues around the table distributing peanuts. T does not orient again to Elliott.)

Elliott: He:y!

T: Hey what?

Elliott: ((I don't have--))

T: How many did you want, Elliott?

Elliott: (holds up hand -- i.e., five)

T: (to Elliott) How many did you get?

Elliott: ((Umm)) (holds up five fingers)

(1.5")

T: (to Elliott) How many peanuts are on your ((paper))?

(Lots of noise from other parts of the room.)

(1.7")

(Note: children are putting their shells on papers in front of them)

Elliott: Umm (1.6") I ᵈᵒⁿ't ((have any))

T: Do you know a word for that?

Elliott: (shakes head 'no') ((None.))

Peter: None.

T: 'None' is a good word. Does anybody else know a good name or a ((dif ferent))

Allison: ....Zero.

T: 'Zero' is another word. (stands up with bag of peanuts and orients to Elliott's place) We've got no= :ne' and wᵉ have 'zero'.

➤➤ Elliott: Ms. B-1, when I was in Washington

(Many children start speaking)

T: (leans over to hear Elliott)

Elliott: ((and I and I ⅼearned how to tie me,)) my shoe, I tied my shoe in Washington

> T: Ohh:, that's good. I really think it's neat
> when you know how to do that for yourself. Because
> you can get a lot of other things done then.
>
> Elliott: (nods)
>
> T: (to Elliott, holding out peanuts) and how many did
> you want?
>
> Elliott: (holds up at least one hand)
>
> T: OK (leans over and gives him some peanuts) and how
> many is that?

In this example, "When I was in Washington," the official vector of activity for the group is the peanut game. Elliott, however, has apparently decided that he wants to relate an "anecdote" to the teacher about shoe tying; no doubt prompted by Anita's having just told the teacher something about tying shoes while the teacher was tying her shoe. He keeps repeating "when I was in Washington," to which the teacher does not respond. She does not, in fact, attend to Elliott at all until Elliott re-enters the activity vector of the peanut game with "Hey! I don't have any." It seems that once Elliott secures the teacher's attention, however, he reverts to his own vector of activity about shoe tying. The teacher at this point succumbs to his entreaty with a relevant comment on shoe tying, and then immediately moves the interaction back into the official peanut game vector with "How many did you want?"

Referring back to the third generalization made earlier about conversational access, we can make another observation about this example: Everyone at the table was initially involved in a focussed activity, but then Mrs. B. directed some particular communication towards Elliott. When Peter chimed in

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with "None", Mrs. B. could have chosen to enforce conversational access in terms of designated participants and said something like "I'm asking Elliott now Peter". Instead, however, she opts for reinforcing Peter's comment as a contribution to the activity at hand with "None is a good word". She then immediately moves to "officially" open the vector of activity to others at the table with "Does anybody else know a good name or a different-?" Allison quickly offers the response, "Zero", which the teacher accepts with "'Zero' is another word."

    (4) In My Pocket - Nursery Level.

        Children have been playing a game in which they ask the teacher for a certain number of peanuts and then count them. T is sitting next to Sara and is helping her, though she has just been interrupted by John. Peter, Allison, and three other children are also sitting at the table working with peanuts.

        T: (turns back to Sara)

        T: (to Sara) Would you help yourself to five more?

    Sara: (Has been stretching her arms. She stops, and reaches towards the peanuts. (1.2"))

      T: (to Sara) How ould you go about taking five?

    Sara: (starts taking peanuts)

    Peter: (to T) Can we save the rest of our peanuts?

      T: (looks over at Peter, who is tugging on his collar. (1.6"))
        Would you like to save yours, Peter?

    Peter: (nods) ((sure.))

      T: Surely. Would you go to Mrs. Jones and ask her for a bag?

    Allison: (to T).. Can I go --,

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Allison: Can I   [go and get some clay?

T: (to Peter)... [Tell her you need a little sand]wich

              bag.

T: (nods at Allison) You _may_. Would you like to get

              some clay?

Allison: (walks off camera)

T: (looks back at Sara)

Sara: (to T) ((I think that's)) ((unclear))

→ Peter: (to T)   I [can carry] 'em in my=

T: (to S) ...... [That's all?]

(→) Peter: (tugs on his shirt pocket)

Sara: (nods at T)

→ Peter: =upper...... [pocket--,

T: (to S) ...... [Would you] put them someplace

[((up here, on the table))]

→ Peter: [How 'bout my pocket] up _here_ in my shirt?

Sara: (puts the pile of peanuts in her hands up on the

     table)

T: (to Sara) How many do you have.....altogether now?

→ Peter: (tugging on shirt pocket) I've got a pocket up

     here in .... my shirt.

Sara: (touching each peanut)   One,

     two, three,   four, five,

→ Peter: (still tugging)..... I've got a pocket up here.

Sara: (still touching peanuts) six, seven, eight, nine, _ten_.

→ Peter: in my shirt, look.

T: (smiles at Sara)

(→) Peter: Look, Mrs. B-1!

T: (to Sara) ((Mmm-huh)). (T gets up from beside

     Sara=

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T: (=looks over at Peter)

(—>>) Peter: Mrs. B-1?

            T: (to Peter) Hmm?

—>>   Peter: Look.   (points at his shirt pocket)

            T: Peter, that's fine, you can put them in the
                   pocket of your shirt if you want to. But
                   Mrs. Jones will be glad to give you a sandwich
                   bag if you like.

     In this example, "in my pocket", the peanut game of example
(3) continues but is now in a different phase, such that the
teacher is coordinating multiple tutorial vectors of activity
with individual children. In this example she is mainly involved
with Sara. Peter slots in to ask if he can take the rest of the
peanuts home. The teacher engages his request with assent and
the suggestion that he go get a sandwich bag. Allison then slots
in to ask if she can go get some clay. The teacher engages
Allison's request with assent and then returns to her tutorial
vector with Sara. Peter, in the meantime, has apparently
decided that he would rather put the peanuts "in my pocket"
than go get a bag. As we see, he makes multiple repeats and
reformulations before succeeding in engaging the teacher again.
The teacher's response in the end shows that she has in fact
heard Peter's requests, ("Peter, that's fine, you can put them
in the pocket of your shirt if you want to.") but she seems to
have waited to re-engage Peter's vector of activity until a
suitable point in Sara's vector of activity had been reached
for slotting out.

     (5) I Haven't Done This One .

            A group of kindergarten children is sitting at a
            table opposite the teacher. They are doing a sewing

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exercise, and they are each asking for the teacher's
help or approval as they go along.

Christina: (holding sewing out) Ms. C., look. (puts sewing
down on the table) (looking at her sewing) I
already did that, and, now I'm doing this.

T: (leans over and checks C's work) Where are you
going now? You're going up this way.
(runs finger along Christina's sewing in the
direction she is to sew)

Meredith: (crawling up on table) ((Hey Mrs C)) ((unclear))

T: (picks up Meredith's work and inspects it)

→ Christina: (to T) No, I haven't done this one.
(holds up her sewing)

T: (to Meredith) Good! You finished!

→ Christina: ⎡ Ms. C., I haven't ⎤ done ⎡ this ⎤ one.
Meredith: (to T) ⎣ ((unclear)) ⎦ ⎢ ⎥

T: (to M).........................⎣ OK, ⎦ ...

T: (to Meredith, turning and pointing) ...in my
drawer on the right hand side, is a pile of bags,
with people's names on them. (claps hands
horizontally on 'a pile' to indicate a stack)

T: (to M.) Bring me the whole pile.

Meredith: (to T) ....In ⎡ ((what)) ⎤↑? apparently sanction-
T: (leaning left) ⎢ Carter? ⎥ ing C for shouting)

→ Christina: (to T) ⎣ Ms. C., ⎦ I haven't done this
one.=

Meredith: (to T) = In what↑?

T: (starts to bite thread on Meredith's sewing, then
stops)

```
     Meredith:   (to T)  In what⎡((drawer))?  In what ((drawer))?⎤
→  Christina:             ⎣Ms. C., I haven't done            ⎦
           this one.

         T:  (to Meredith; points off camera)  In the--, in
             the shelf, in the drawer, by the sink.........
                                      ⎡on the right-⎤ hand side.
(→) Christina: (softer voice         ⎣Ms. C.?      ⎦
               than earlier)

         T:  (to Meredith)  ((tha--)), No.  On the left-hand
                                  side. ⎡((The w-, ch-))⎤
(→) Christina:  (looking over to where T ⎢               ⎥
               is pointing)              ⎣Ms. C.?        ⎦

   Meredith:  (stands up and starts to walk away toward the
              drawer)
         T:  (to M)  The side clos⎡est to⎤ the window.
(→) Christina:  .................⎣Ms. C-⎦
   Meredith:  (holds arm out in the 'I gotcha' gesture)
→  Christina:  Ms. C., I haven't done this one yet...
   (T makes a hand gesture to someone off-camera)
         T:  (swings back around and gazes in Christina's
             general direction)
→  Christina:  (to T) ...And I've done this one only.
         T:  (still has not acknowledged Christina)
→  Christina:  (to T)  Ms. C., I've only done this one.
   (T swings around in her seat toward the nearby table and holds
   both hands out with palms down in a 'keep it down' gesture (2.6"))
         T:  (to Meredith, off camera)  In the right-hand side.
→  Christina:  ...........⎡Ms. C, I haven't done this one yet.⎤
     Tanya:  (to T)        ⎣((unclear))                        ⎦
         T:  (to Tanya)  Don't worry about it.


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T: ... [Just take your time.]
Tanya: (to T) [((unclear))] ((un[clear))]
T: (in response to Tanya............. [What↓?]
Tanya: (to T) [((unclear))]
→ Christina: (to T)............[And--,] and Ms. C., I've
only done this one.
T: (looking at Tanya's sewing) OK::. You're doing
fine. You're doing a beautiful jo-, job Tanya.
T: (leans across table to get the scissors, which
are right beside Christina)
⇒ Christina: Ms. C., I haven't --, I've just done --, I've
just done this one and not this one
[and--, not this one.]
T: (looking at C's sewing) [Yeah, well you]
go up here, and then we can do this.
T: (taps Christina's sewing with her scissors)

In this fifth example, "I haven't done this one," a
situation similar to that of the "In my pocket" example arises
in a different classroom. Here the children are individually
sewing. The teacher briefly engages Christina's request to
check her work and then goes on to engage Meredith in preparing
for the next phase of the sewing task. Christina, in the
meantime, finds something in her sewing that she thinks the
teacher didn't notice. As with Peter's change from initial
concurrence with the teacher, (in that case not wanting to use
a bag but rather his pocket to take home his peanuts), multiple
repeats and reformulations take place before re-engagement in
Christina's vector of activity is established.

(6) My Turn - Kindergarten Level.

Teacher C is playing a math game using dice with three

children, Carter, John, and Robin. Although there
is another helping teacher in the room who is super-
vising other children, there have been some inter--
ruptions. The teacher is just finishing some remarks
to a child who is not in the game. Tanya is still
at the game table although she is no longer playing.

John: (to group) Whose turn?

Robin: (hands John the dice)

T: (shifts gaze back to game table)

T: (to John) It's yours.

John: (rolling dice) Here I go.
(1.5")

T: (reading dice)..... Three: $\begin{bmatrix} ::: \end{bmatrix}$

Tanya: (looking off camera) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Can I paint the dino} \\ \\ \text{My turn.} \end{bmatrix}$ =
saur now?

Carter:

John: (picks up chips, then drops them) (2.2")

Carter: My turn.

John: (gets three chips and puts them near himself) (2.6")

Carter: My turn.

T: (to John) You forgot one thing. Two and three is..?
(John now has five chips). (2.1")

Carter: My turn.

John: (stares at T) (2.1")

Carter: My turn.

Tanya: (gets up and leaves the table) (1.3")

Carter: My turn.

T: (reaches out for chips) (1.1")

T: (to John) Two:.
(0.6")

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  ──→→   Carter:  (to T) I said "My turn:'.
  (←─)     T:  ┊Go ahead, Carter.┊
           T:  (to John) And three, iv five.  Right?
         John:  (nods)
        Carter:  (picks up die and rolls)
           T:  (to John) So you've traded four of those in for
               the yellow.  You still have.... ⎡one green.⎤
((──→))  Carter:  (slaps table after reading die)⎣Oh I have,⎦ six! =
           T:  (to John) = You have to take them out,
((──→))  Carter:  (taking chips)  I have =
           T:  (to John)  So you ⎡won't⎤ get mixed up.
        Carter:             ⎣six. ⎦
         John:  (staring across the room; it sounds like someone is
               crying)
           T:  (to John)  Because you just──,
         (0.9")
  (──→)  Carter:  (to T)  Look ⎡how many⎤ I got.
           T:  ..........⎣Joh:n? ⎦
  (──→)  Carter:  (puts hand on T's shoulder)
         John:  (looks back at T)
           T:  (to John) By not putting this green here you put
               yourself behind.
 (─→→)   Carter:  (starts tapping T's shoulder rapidly)
           T:  (to John) You may need this green one later to
               get some more yellows.  'Kay?
         John:  (nods)
  (←─)     T:  (turns to Carter, who is tapping her shoulder)
        Carter:  (starts taking chips and putting them beside
               himself))  One.. Two-, two.
  ←←─      T:  (to Carter)  ((Wha-))  What did you ⎡throw?⎤
        Carter:  (counting and taking chips)........⎣Three:,⎦four,
```

```
Carter:   (stands and points at the chips)
Carter:   Five, six.
          (1.1")
Carter:   (to T)  Too:  many to catch.   (i.e., ...up with me)
Carter:   (counting accumulated pile)  Let me see how many --,
     T:   (to Carter) ⌈Let's see how⌉ many four's you have.
Carter:   (pointing)  ⌊One, two,  ⌋
     T:   (to Carter)  How many groups of four's
```

The "my turn" example (Example 6) is similar to the others
in that the teacher seems to be intent on maintaining the in-
structional integrity of tutorial vectors of activity that come
up in the context of the group game, first with John and later
with Carter. It is a little different in that the game is more
"group" oriented (i.e. there is some focus on a single winner:
"Too: many to catch"). However, it seems clear that once John
has rolled the dice, Carter acts as though John's claim on the
group's attention, including the teacher's is over. Carter
repeated "my turn" is finally reformulated as "I said, my turn"
and responded to by the teacher briefly with "Go ahead, Carter".
Nevertheless she does not totally engage in Carter's vector of
activity until she is ready to disengage from John's.

(7) Batik - Nursery Level.
     Teacher B-1 is working with Seth individually on
     making a batik. Another child, Jackie, has been
     working with the materials and is almost finished.
     T has just been discussing with Seth the size of
     his piece of cloth which they agree would be "big
     enough for a car." They are walking from the table
     where they have been working together on cutting the
     cloth toward the dye vats where Jackie is finishing
     her work.

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T: (nodding) It <u>would</u> be big enough for a car.

Seth: (to T) `A <u>yellow</u> car.  O.K.?`

(No audible response from T. (1.6"))

→ Seth: (to T) `No, a <u>colorful</u> car.`

(T stands up and starts walking with Seth over to
the table where Jackie is using the batik dyes and
wax.)

T: All right. $\begin{bmatrix} ((Now)). & if \\ I-, & I-, & I-, \end{bmatrix}$ you want a yellow

(—→) Seth:

T: car let me tell you something about batiks,
all right?

(T bends down to inspect Jackie's design.)

(—→) Seth: But Ms. $\begin{bmatrix} B1? \\ Oh:, \end{bmatrix}$ (trailing behind T to table)

T: $\begin{bmatrix} Oh:, \end{bmatrix}$ look at Jackie's design. $\begin{bmatrix} Ahh:. \\ Mrs. & B1? \end{bmatrix}$

(—→) Seth:

T: (starting to pick up J's batik)

(←—)   T: Yes, Seth.

(—→) Seth: (to T) But, $\begin{bmatrix} I & \underline{want to} & dip-, \end{bmatrix}$

T: (to J) $\begin{bmatrix} ((Jackie), if you'll \end{bmatrix}$ put your fingers,
if I get it away from the hot pan then I don't
have to do it any more then you...

T: (to J) $\begin{bmatrix} ((unclear)) \\ Ms. & B-1? \end{bmatrix}$

(—→) Seth:

(T and Jackie seem to be maneuvering the batik. (1.2"))

→ Seth: Oh Ms. B1? I want to dip mine in yellow,...

T: (to J) That's good. $\begin{bmatrix} ((unclear)) \\ .red and \end{bmatrix}$ blue. I want

→ Seth:
to dip mine in yellow red and blue.

← T: Oh, those are nice colors to dip in, Seth. I
think that'll be nice if you dip it ((unclear))

(⟶) Seth: And I <u>do</u> want (emphatically) to do that. I do

T: (to Seth) ⎡so want to,
            ⎣((unclear)) has⎤ to dry in
    between each shade =

Seth: = Yeah.

T: (to S) All right. Each color.

Seth: (Hums) Hmm ⎡mmmm,   mmm.⎤

T: (to S) ⎣All right. Now⎦ here's your piece.
    You spread it out on the paper.

(T hands Seth his cloth. He spreads it out on the work
desk. (2.7"))

T: (sitting down beside him) Now you said some-
    thing about having a yellow car.

⟶⟶ Seth: Yeah, <u>and</u> red and blue. But ⎡we have-,⎤
⟵⟵   T: ⎣All right.⎦

The "Batikked" example in (7) illustrates an even more
subtle differentiation. Here the teacher seems to have attended
to or "tuned in on"   engagement with Seth to the extent that
she has processed hi interest in making his batik a particular
color.") ("a <u>yellow</u> car OK?" but seems to have <u>not</u> tuned in
on Seth's taking back of that answer with another answer.("No,
a <u>colorful</u> car"). As in other examples the teacher seems to
have reoriented her attention after processing the child's initial
concern ("Allright. Now if you want to make a yellow car.."),
and it takes Seth several entreaties to establish his change
from "yellow" to "colorful" (yellow, red, and blue) as part
of the vector of activity in which the teacher is engaged with
him.

Clearly each of the examples could be discussed in more
detail, and it should be noted that many more examples could be
given, but enough has been presented to make the following points:

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1. To make sense of the verbal activity surrounding a primary classroom teacher during individualized instruction time it seems useful to think in terms of how talk engagement comes about. Since much of what goes on does not have a single focus for the individuals involved, the notions of getting the floor and getting a turn do not always apply. Often other parameters like "conversational access" seem to best describe the flow of interaction. Conversational access, however, is a complex notion that interrelates other parameters. It would seem that these include not only activity matrices and participant structures, but something like specific vectors of activity as well. We have seen that a vector of activity may be derived from an activity matrix, as was Ms. B-1's concern for the peanut game in the "When I was in Washington" segment, or from an individual participant's agenda. The teacher has a special interactional role which is reflected in the control she exercises over the vector of activity that she is engaged in, and in the extent to which students seek to engage her in their individual vectors of activity.

2. It seems apparent that nursery and kindergarten aged children are indeed sensitive to whether or not they have secured the engagement of proposed interlocutors in their vectors of activity, and that they are persistent in replaying engager solicitations when no uptake is made. Repeats and reformulations are discourse resources that children use extensively in these replayings. We can propose, in fact, that the number of times an engager solicitation is replayed provides some index of the amount of effort a child is willing to make to engage the interlocutor, which is perhaps some index of the degree of communicative intent. Repeats and reformulations have been found to operate as engager replays at all five grade levels, but at the

first, second, and third grade levels, this seems to occur more frequently when students are trying to engage other students than when trying to engage the teacher.

3. The notions of talk engagement and vector of activity are not tied to the examples presented nor to only those situations in which repeats and reformulations occur. Rather, it seems likely that these notions may be used to enhance the analysis of other examples of social interaction.

For example, these notions can be applied to the analysis of service-like events discussed earlier, in the following way: In what we might think of as the "service-like-event pre-situation" the following is typical: the teacher is engaged with one or a small group of children in some focused activity. The teacher's involvement with this activity constitutes his or her main involvement. Whatever goes on in the group interaction that contributes to the "ongoingness" of that activity can be thought of as part of that "vector of activity". Vectors of activity may be independent of particular individuals. When a child from outside that activity solicits the attention of the teacher for help, the child's requirement demands that the teacher become involved in a secondary vector of activity. In terms of having the teacher's attention, the child is trying to "get in". In terms of vectors of activity the child is not usually trying to "get in" to the teacher's vector of activity but rather to draw out the teacher's involvement into his/her own vector of activity.

It may be worth noting that this situation, shared by both the service-like event and the examples given in this sub-section, seems to be different from most studies of children's access rituals that are reported in the literature. For example, in

Corsaro's (1979) work with preschool children the main concern
was with the initiating child joining the activity of another.
Here the age level or the grade level of the children observed
may be a major factor. Though not conclusively documented, one
cross-sectional difference that we think we have found in the
service-like event data is the following: when nursery school
children solicit the teacher's involvement away from an activity
in which she is engaged with another child, the teacher will
sometimes handle the situation by drawing the soliciting child
into the teacher activity. (T: "That's very interesting
Johnny, but right now Scott has something he very much wants to
tell us about.") In a similar vein, I pointed out in the
discussion of example (3) When I was in Washington, the way in
which the teacher opted to accept as appropriate Peter's answer
to a question addressed to Elliott. It seems that in the "upper"
grades such infractions are less tolerated and a soliciting
child is less often asked to join in but is expected rather to
wait.

NOTES

[1] Some of the analysis in this subsection was presented at the 1979 American Anthropological Association meetings and revised for submission as a paper to the journal _Discourse Processes_. I am grateful to Courtney Cazden, Louise Cherry Wilkinson, Frank Humphrey, Hugh Mehan, and Sylvia Scribner for comments helpful to revision.

[2] For a nice discussion of many of the things involved in being a "competent student" see Mehan 1979b.

[3] The notion of "vector of activity" is a spin-off of my reading of a paper by Grace Shugar (1978) in which she discusses the notion of children's individual courses of action. I am grateful to Erving Goffman for pointing out its possible relevance to this study.

D. More On Modality: Dual Processing, Slotting, Modality
Splitting, Modality Focus, and Inferencing; And A Note
On Ritual[1]

In this subsection I would like to briefly tie together
some of the threads of analysis that have been presented so
far. We started out talking about the basic modality (for
either social or task participation) as being that of a whole
person in face to face interaction. At a later point I
introduced the notion of "vector of activity" as a line of
action being pursued or engaged in by one or more persons.
Thus, for some kind of ideal model of participation we might
say that at any point in time each person uses the basic
holistic modality to involve him/herself completely in a
single vector of activity.

Such a model is, of course, more fantasy than reality
for both students and teachers. In a busy classroom with
many activities going on, the teacher is rarely (if ever)
free to involve him/herself "completely" in one activity.
Though he/she will ordinarily have one "main" vector of
activity, the responsibility that the teacher has for what
goes on generally means that he/she must constantly be
attuned to happenings outside the "main" activity. The
teacher's participation thus requires dual (or multiple)
processing.

Further, given the fact that the teacher's attention
and involvement is probably the most valued "commodity"
for the conduct of any classroom activity, he/she must be con-
cerned with how that attention is parcelled out among the
student participants (see Cazden 1974).

Most teachers probably try to do a lot of this
"structurally" - by organizing reading groups, math groups,
etc., such that each group is scheduled to get an equal

amount of teacher time (but see McDermott and Gospodinoff for systematic problems). With individual tasks, the teachers often ask students (who have not themselves solicited tutorial monitoring through service-like events) to "bring their work" over to where the teacher is "posted".

This ideal system might work very smoothly "if only students could work independently."

Oddly enough, however, it seems to me that often the very children that a teacher may designate as "unable to work independently" are ones who sometimes display great powers of concentration and involvement in individual tasks. The problem seems to be that "working independently" in a classroom with several other children does not necessarily mean great absorption in independent tasks. This is because a necessary feature of "working independently" in the classroom is (again!) dual processing of the individual task and whatever else is going on in the classroom.

There are at least two reasons for this: One is that the teacher wants and needs to have access to every child's attention, with minimum effort, more or less whenever the teacher demands it. Thus, although children may be expected to work independently and be "on task" and "involved with their work", they are also expected to pick up on the teacher's request for focussed attention at any time. Of course teachers are aware that for children to become sufficiently involved in their work to be really on task they must tune out a lot of what is perceptually available to them; children must learn the modalities through which they are to channel their participation and the relative "communicative loading" (see section III-B earlier) of the entire repertoire of modalities that are involved in classroom communication.

Thus in order to get children's attention teachers develop special communicative devices that intrude upon those — modalities the children have learned to work in. The most straightforward technique is for the teacher to suddenly speak in a much louder voice, usually with a discourse marker and terms of address ("Allright boys and girls; O.K. now class.) But many teachers also develop idiosyncratic devices like turning off the lights, shouting out "heads up," shouting out " eyes up", shouting out "Freeze", etc. (see Cahir 1978, Shultz, Florio and Erickson 1980). An instance of the former more straight-forward technique is shown in the following example:

(1). "Interruptions Lesson". Third Grade. January. Late
    Morning.

    (Children are scattered about the room doing individual
    or small group activities such as reading, playing a
    dice game, spelling, mathematics. Teacher has just
    finished a tutorial session with one child)

→   T (full voice):   Alright, would everybody begin to
                      clean up, and meet me on the rug.
                      (2.9")

    T   :   Everybody clean up and meet me on the
                    rug.

    (Chn. start getting up and putting books, boxes, etc.
    away and gather on rug; a few minutes pass as the whole
    class assembles.)

    T   :   Alright, folks, we have a real problem,
                    (taps left hand with book in right hand
                    on the word "real")

    T   :   It's January the, twentieth, and we still
                    have it (taps book on the words "still"
                    and "I'm"). (1.0")

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Katie : What ?

T (to Katie
    and group : When I'm working with someone, and you
               interrupt me.
               (1.2")

T : Now that's not fair to that person.
    (facing group) Now what (taps book
    lightly on "fair" and on "about") can
    we do about that? (2.4")

Katie : (raises hand)

Robin : (raises hand)

T : Alright, Katie. = What $\begin{bmatrix} \text{can you do?} \\ \text{Go to ano} \end{bmatrix}$ther

Katie :

person.

Robin : (raises hand)

T : Alright. What's another thing, Robin?

Robin : Well we could make a chart, and umm,
        ((it would)) have everybody's name
        on it, and we could make little slips
        that say who's working with you. And
        then, i-, i-, after that person leaves
        they take their name off and if some-
        body, wants to come up to you, they put
        their name and they come-

T : Well, can't you just see when somebody's
    with me?

Robin : Mmm-huh.

Charlie : (raises hand, which he lowers and raises
          again over the next few sentences)

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T   : Do you have to look at a chart heh? -
(gives small laugh.)

Robin   : Yeah, but usually after someone's finish-
                ed people run up and then they ((or some-
                thing. I dunno.))

T   : Alright,.

T   : Would it help, Robin, then if I had,
                after I

T   : worked with one person alone, if I had
                a few minutes before I worked with some-
                body else?

Others   : [Yes.
Robin   : [Mmm-huh.

T   : I try to do that.
                (0.8")

Robin   : Well then y:, you should change them.
                (1.1") So when, (1.0") you take the name
                out, [(it's)

T   :   [I'm just not willing, I'll just
                tell you right now, to go through
                making a cha:rt. That's just, too
                organized for me.

T   : Now I try to let you know when I'm
                through with somebody, so you can see.
                (2.3") I will make sure after each
                person that I say, "OK, anybody need
                help before I go on?" What else,
                Charlie?

Charlie   : 'Ul, well what if somebody needs (like),
                what if some-, i- if something, that,
                that y'know, somebody else won't know?
                And... (1.0")

T	:	Then what could you do?
Ann	:	Wait.
Cindy	:	Wait.
Charlie	:	Wait?
Charlie	:	What if it's the last thing, (y'know). It's Friday and it's the last thing.
T (shaking head "no")	:	Oh:, Charlie, ⌈You always⌉ present a
Charlie	:	⌊Well I mea ⌋
T	:	catastrophic, so-, situation. That would very rarely happen. = If it's the last thing on Friday, and you have nothing else to do, I ⌈will let⌉you 'interrupt me.
Charlie	:	⌊Interrupt⌋
Charlie	:	(claps hands several times: Good!
T	:	'Cause I don't believe it will happen all year.
T	:	(pointing at Charlie) But Charlie, what could you do, if you can't get something, and no one can help you except me, what would you do?
Others	:	"Wait" (several voices more or less simultaneously.)
Laura	:	⌈And do something else.⌉
T	:	⌊Well, not just wait, ⌋ but what ? (looks at Laura)
Laura	:	Do something else ⌈while you're⌉ waiting.
T	:	⌊Right.⌋
T	:	OK.
(Katie)	:	Play a game then.

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Chris	:	Rea:d. ⎡Read.⎤
(Katie)	:	⎣Play⎦ (( )).
Charlie	:	But then, but then, s-, (well
		⎡what if we)⎤
T	:	⎣Uh, Charlie,⎦
T	:	I don't want you to just present me,
		⎡all these, ⎤ (holds hand out at Charlie)
Charlie	:	⎣Well I'm not.⎦
T	:	d, situations that are far-fetched. = I
		want.
T	:	some practical solutions.
Chris	:	⎡Eh! ⎤
Charlie	:	⎣((I know)),⎦ but then when, but, nnn, you're
		(0.9") when you're playing a game, some-
		one, y-, you get finished (and then) some-
		one else come, someone else,
T	:	A⎡lright I said ⎤ I will let you ⎡know when I⎤
Charlie	:	⎣comes ((along))⎦ ⎣((Oh, OK.))⎦
T	:	am finished, so you can, pop up and ask
		me, OK?
Charlie	:	(nods) (('Kay.))
T	:	Alright. Uhh, Chris?
Chris	:	Yeah?
		(1.3")
T	:	You must just stop and remember. You
		come up to me just-, and you, don't stop
		and look. Think. Peter, you need to work
		on that too.
		(1.4")

T	:	Just like a bull in a china closet.
X	:	Heh heh. (chuckle.)
→ T	:	It can wait. (1.9") (And) can we work

on that, tomorrow? Y'know, you had a

good work period today. But there was-,

I mean this is-, I just hate to keep

nagging. = I feel like, the biggest

[crab]apple to come [down] the pike,

Charlie : [Nag.]   [Nag.]

T : but you, [interrupt me.

Charlie : [Nag=

(T taps her glasses on book on "int-," and

"rupt.")

(1.0") (End of "Interruptions" topic)

T : O[K.]=[Now]what do you want to do after lunch.

Charlie : [Nag.] [Nag]

(softly)

T : about free play? = It's cold.

(Greg, and then Charlie, raise hands

briefly.)

T : Alright. If you stay in here, I think

we'll learn how to, take a, longer than

free play, and learn how to play

"Charades".

(Several chn. murmur approval. Charlie

slaps knee in disapproval.)

(Peter) : Oh I know how to play.

X : I love that game.

T : Alright, well some people do and some

don't. But if you want to go out, we

will. (1.1")

T	:	So think. (1.4") Alright, should we vote?
Many Chn.	:	Yeah.
T	:	OK.
		(2.0")
T	:	(Now) who wants to go out?

(Katie and Charlie raise hands, then
Katie lowers hers. Greg and Leonidis
raise hands, then see they are in the
minority, and lower their hands. Finally
Charlie lowers his hand. Several chn.
laugh. Elapsed time from "out" to
laughs: (3.1"))

(T starts to count hands but sees them
going down).

T	:	Charlie, stand up, (nodding) if you want
		to go out, you keep your hand up. Stand up.
Charlie	:	((I do.))
T	:	for what you want.
Charlie	:	(unclear)
Several	:	(( ))
T	:	Who wants to stay in, then?
Charlie	:	((what for?))

(Many chn. (at least 10) raise hands.)

T	:	(to Charlie) Huh?

(Chn. in majority laugh.)

Peter	:	I think we win.

(Several chn. laugh.)

T	:	Alright. surveying room.
Katie	:	Only three people want to go out.
T	:	O.K.

So we stay. Do you, how many of you would
like to play charades?

(It appears that the same individuals
who raised their hands to stay inside
also want to play charades.) END EXAMPLE

The second reason that dual processing is a necessary
feature of "working independently in the classroom" was also
illustrated in the example just given. This second reason
has to do with service-like events, with getting help or
soliciting monitoring behavior from the teacher. Frequently,
when a child is working independently on a task, the nature
of the task is such that the child may need help midway
through (e.g. how to spell a word) or need to have his/her work
checked over for mistakes (especially with math assignments).
If a child is working independently exactly when these needs
arise will be independent of what others are doing, including
the teacher. Needing the teacher doesn't guarantee that the
teacher will be responsive to a child's request at just that
moment, however. The teacher will ordinarily want to be
responsive to such a request whenever it comes, but s/he will
also want to preserve the integrity of the vector of activity
in which s/he is involved when the child's request comes.

In fact, one generalization that seems to hold for our
data is the following: Once a teacher has actually engaged
herself in a particular vector of activity she will aim to
preserve the integrity of that vector of activity and seems
to "feel obliged" to stay within that vector of activity until
it is resolved or until some degree of ritual closure has been
achieved with respect to her interruption of it or her departure
from it.

This means that the teacher may have to choose between
competing demands for his/her attention (ordinarily the teacher's
"current" involvement is with one or a small group of other children).

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We may generate some more generalizations or "rules" by
asking two basic questions: The first is, "What are some reasons
for a teacher's attending immediately to a child who is not
'currently' in the teacher's vector of activity?" The answer
to this question seems to depend not only (or even primarily)
on whether the child solicits the teacher's attention but also
(or more) on _why_ attention seems needed. This may be an
"emergency" (an injury or spilt paint), a time for the first
greeting of the day, a display of misinformation (e.g. "Detergent
is not the borax"), a perceived-to-be-brief inquiry ("May I
get the gerbils set?"), a "return" (for clarification,
checking, or direction in the next phase of activity), or a
display that a child is in danger of not staying "in". The
last reason is shown in example (2):

(2) Baking Session. Nursery. January. Mid Morning.

(Several children are at a table with the teacher who is
letting various ones of them stir and "have a taste".
Several children have been clamoring to be next, but not
Brian who is farthest away from the teacher and seems
to be starting to "act silly")

T	:	Let's let David have his turn now, and then somebody else can do it.
Holly	:	It's _snack_ time.
Brian (to H)	:	No, it's not snack time, it's ((crackers)) time.
Brian	:	(pretends to spoon flour out of a bowl.)
Brian	:	No, it's, it's flour time.
Alexa	:	(to T) Then can I do it?
T	:	Brian, do you want to help cook, in a minute?

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The second basic question is What are some reasons for a teacher's not immediately attending to a child who is actively soliciting attention? The answers to this question include the possibilities that the teacher didn't hear or notice the solicitation, and that the teacher may anticipate that the child's reason for wanting attention either doesn't really require (or deserve) attention as in (3):

(3) <u>Dictionary Lesson.   Third Grade.   January.</u>

(T is working with three children on dictionaries. A fourth child, Robin has approached the table and hovered around for several minutes, lingering near the teacher, who has not attended to her)

	:	Alright, let's see if
		you can look up the wor:d.
Robin	:	((Excuse me)) Mrs. Ixxxx?
T	:	(1.8")
T	:	(looking up at Robin) What are you
		forgetting?
Robin	:	Umm,
		(1.2")
T	:	Is this an emergency?
Robin	:	((unclear))
Robin	:	Kind of
T	:	Well let's hear it.
Robin	:	Umm where is the "Understanding Questions"
		answers?=
T	:	=That's <u>not</u> an emergency. (shaking head vigorously)
		(Robin turns and starts walking off.)
T	:	You can find something else to do.
T (to group)	:	Alright, I want you to look up - think -
		where would the, the word 'numb' begins
		with what ?

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or that to address the child's problem will take too much time away from the current teacher activity. The <u>major factor in not immediately attending to a child's active solicitation seems to be the degree of jeopardy to the teacher's primary vector of activity</u>. This depends both on the anticipated nature of the soliciting child's request (especially, how long it is likely to take) and the nature or phase of the teacher-involved vector of activity (this latter feature was also noted by Shultz (1977) in his analysis of a tic-tac-toe game and in various recent analyses by Erickson, Florio, and Shultz).

At this point it may be useful to focus not on the "rules" for participating in the classroom, but rather on how the participants cope with the communicative demands of the situation. We have seen that some kind of dual processing is required of both students and teachers.

Still we can ask if there seems to be any particular communicative skills that teachers call upon to maximize, within fairly brief segments of time, the number of children and activities with whom and with which they are involved.

One such communicative skill seems to be what I have called "slotting". I have already sneaked this term into my previous discussion of how teachers handle service-like events. They "slot-out" of their main activity to attend to children who need outside help. As I have suggested earlier (section III-B), this slotting-out is usually coordinated with verbally "down-time" in the teacher's main involvement. What I would now like to point out is that this is something that teachers do - with respect to the "host" or main-involvement activity - <u>whether or not</u> there is a child waiting at the teacher's elbow for attention. This is what happens in (4):

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(4) "While she's doing that". Nursery Level.

(T has been working with one child on a water
experiment. She has just sent that child to get
some water).

T: (turning around in her chair, talking to self)
:While she's doing that,

T (to Anita): Anita? ,Can I help you get some glue?

This also happens in example (5) to follow. Here we can begin to
see more clearly the impact of the instructional approach on the
patterns of interaction. It seems that, instructionally, these
teachers are committed to working with students in a way that
always involves a minimum amount of the teacher actually doing
part of the activity (see especially, Batikked of III-A). This
allows the child maximal participation in accomplishing tasks,
which is highly desirable. This feature, however, creates
interactional lags or "down-times" that are akin to "transactional
pauses" (see Adelman 1976, Merritt 1976a) for the teacher.
Because her involvement in individual children's vectors of
activity is so important, the teacher usually uses these down
times to slot out to another vector of activity while "waiting"
for the "current child" to get to the next phase of his/her
activity (for which s/he needs the teacher's involvement).

This is a positive feature in that it allows the teacher
to be multiply involved over some stretch of time. But if the
engagement in the secondary vector of activity turns out to take
longer (especially if it's a lot longer) than the time needed
for the "current child" to complete the independent phase of
his/her task, this feature can mean that the child(ren) in the
teacher's "primary" vector of activity – her "official"
involvement – turns out to be the one(s) to be "waiting". We
see a hint of this in (5):

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(5) Make a Arrow. Nursery. October.- Early Morning.

(Teacher Al is sitting at a table with four girls.
Alexa and Kathy are each working alone on some
drawings. T is taking dictation from Emily about
what E has drawn on a paper. Susan is watching T
and Emily.)

Emily: An-, an-, and that's th-, my, dress.

T: (writing) And I'm:, sitting, on, the, branch,

(Alexa looks over at T for a few seconds.)

T: And that's my dre:ss.

(T finishes writing. (2.0"))

T: Wow.   ⌈What a story.⌉
Emily: (pointing) ⌊Make a, make⌋ a arrow because they;
my parents want me   ⌈((unclear))
T: (pointing with marker at paper)⌊Do you want to
make the arrow?

Emily: O.K.

T: (gives Emily the marker pen and as Emily leans
down to draw,

T: lea k back in her chair and scans the table. T
looks at Alexa, who is staring with a blank ex-
pression across the table. (3.4"))

T: Alexa, it looks to me like you're writing some
of the words that you see there, writing your
name over ((it)).

Alexa: (On the word 'like', Alexa's gaze shifts back to
the paper and she begins drawing again with the
marker pen.)

Alexa: ((I had)) to write my name because I covered it.

T: Ohh:, I see what you   ⌈mean.   ⌉
Susan: (to T, about Emily) ⌊Look at⌋ her arrow!

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T: (looks at Emily and paper) That's terrific. Would
   you like to put this in a matte, so it's really
   special looking? Put some colored paper...

Sometimes, of course, the basic set-up for the teacher's
involvement is not that of one "primary" vector of activity
(as with a "dictation tutorial" or a reading group) and other
secondary ones. The distribution of the teacher's involvement
may, rather, be set up as more of a "round" - in which there is
one basic activity that several children are individually working
on, which has many segments which may be "punctuated" with,
brief teacher engagements. This was essentially the case with
the "peanut game" in our nursery data (see earlier examples). In
set-ups like this, the teacher may sometimes specifically say
something about the in and outness of her involvement (with the
child's individual carrying out of his/her activity). For ex-
ample, as Ms. B-1 distributes peanuts she says to Allison, "You
count these while I do something else, and then I'll be back to
you." And a few moments later she says to Cathe: , "You count
those while I come back ((to you))."

So far we have been talking about slotting as completely
"leaving", if only for a short time, one vector of activity to
engage in another. But, as I have suggested earlier, one vector
of activity requires one modality for engagement or involvement
and we have been talking about the whole person modality.

However, this is not the only option for meeting the dual
processing requirements of a busy classroom. In response to
the multiple-foci of activities in the classroom, the teacher often
seems to develop a skill for "splitting" the communication
channels and thereby multiplying the number of modalities with
which he/she can participate communicatively. As discussed in
another sect n, there is first and most obviously the split
between verbal and non-verbal modalities, but frequently the

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verbal modality is again split by distinctions in tone of voice
or rhythm (as cadence). These multiple modalities serve to
designate participation by the teacher with multiple sets of
classroom participants (and their attendant activities). In
the following example Mrs. C. is helping Sam with a task that
involves matching colors and letters. She has her back to the
wall and is facing the door (as well as Sam) when a late
student comes in. Mrs. C. "slots-out" in mid-sentence to greet
Carter (here I have tried to indicate cadence with # under the
rhythmically stressed items of the "split" sentence).

(6) "Hi Carter". Kindergarten.

    T: What color is next to G?

  Sam: White.

    T: No, that's G. The letter G is white. But what
       is the color Hi, Carter   next to it?
                                    #

                 #   (higher pitch)   #

                    (looks at Carter)

The possibility of splitting the verbal modality in this way
seems to depend on two things: (1) maintenance of the verbal
rhythm of the primary vector of activity (with Sam); this pre-
serves the integrity of the vector of activity; and (2) some non-
verbal signal that serves to direct attention toward some portion
of the verbal modality as belonging to a second vector of
activity (to avoid confusing participants in the primary vector).

    At first this analysis may seem quite complex and addressed,
possibly, to a unique example. But a moment's reflection about
everyday interactional situations in which we are involved in
more than one vector of activity (as at a dinner table) serves
to remind us of how non unique is the splitting of the verbal
modality in this manner. Nor is this a phenomenon of mid-
twentieth century life. Quite by chance, shortly after I had
identified this phenomenon in our classroom data, I came across

the following passage in an 1874 novel by Wilkie Collins. The
passage is especially interesting because it doesn't simply
describe the dialog between three people in which the dialog is
clearly related to two different vectors of activity. Collins
also uses punctuation (parentheses) to make it clear what pieces
of the dialog belong to which vector, and then goes on to describe
the interruptive quality that is experienced when one of three
participants is not fully attentive to which vector of activity
is the primary one and which vector of activity is the sub-
ordinate one. The three participants are Mr. Phippen (host), Miss
Sturch (the Phippen children's governess), and Doctor Chenney
(vicar and guest):

"Treverton!" exclaimed Mr. Phippen, holding his
tea-cup, with the grated ginger in the bottom of it,
to be filled by Miss Sturch. "Treverton! (No more tea,
dear Miss Sturch.) How very remarkable! I know the
name. (Fill up with water, if you please.) Tell me,
my dear doctor (many, many thanks; no sugar—it turns
acid on the stomach), is this Miss Treverton whom you
have been marrying (many thanks again; no milk, either)
one of the Cornish Trevertons?"

"To be sure she is!" rejoined the vicar. "Her
father Captain Treverton, is the head of the family.
Not that there's much family to speak of now. The
Captain, and Rosamond, and that whimsical old brute
of an uncle of hers Andrew Treverton, are the last
left now of the old stock – a rich family, and a fine
family, in former times – good friends to Church and
State, you know, and all that–"

"Do you approve, Sir, of Amelia having a second
helping of bread and marmalade?" asked Miss Sturch,

appealing to Doctor Chennery, with the most perfect
unconsciousness of interrupting him. Having no spare
room in her mind for putting things away in until the
appropriate time came for bringing them out; Miss Sturch
always asked questions and made remarks the moment they
occurred to her, without waiting for the beginning,
middle, or end of any conversations that might be pro-
ceeding in her presence. She invariably looked the part
of a listener to perfection, but she never acted it
except in the case of talk that was aimed point-blank
at her own ears.

As discussed in earlier sections, however, the major modality
split is between verbal and non-verbal. In certain teacher
dominated vectors of activity, such as reading, there seems to
be an almost official split in the teacher's involvement. The
verbal modality is reserved for the primary vector of activity
(reading) while the non-verbal modality is largely available
for secondary vectors of activity, including service-like events.
In the case of reading as the "host" event or primary vector of
activity, it would seem that this is especially facilitated by
a couple of factors: (1) the verbal modality must be available
for oral reading (2) reading involves the children's focussed
visual attention on the text, so that, ideally, if the teacher
is gesturing with her hands to other children or non-verbally
engaged in a service-like event (e.g. checking a math assign-
ment), this should be minimally disruptive to the reading vector.

In the following example, we see the teacher slot-out of
a reading vector using the verbal modality ("Hunh-unh, Hunh-unh").
This seems to have been necessary to ensure swift and immediate
action. However, it is also clearly confusing to the child who
is reading ("I thought you were talking to me"):

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(6) "Hunh-unh, Hunh, uh"   Third Grade. January. Mid-Morning.

(T is reading with two children, Billy and Katie):

Billy: but they did not use this fine thread.

(Peter and Charlie's voices can be heard in the meeting area)

T   (looks up and scans room)

→   T: (toward P, C and L in full voice) Hunh-unh, (T shakes head 'no'.)

Billy: (continuing to read) They=

→   T: (toward P, C and L) = Hunh-unh

(Group on rug stares at T, who shakes her head 'no' several times in an exaggerated fashion.

Billy: (looks up at T with quizzical expression),

Billy: (turns and follows T's gaze back toward Peter, Charlie and Lindsay.

(4.0"))

Billy: (turning back toward T) I thought you were saying I didn't read it ((ri-)). What was he doing?

(Charlie and then Peter stand up and walk over beside T as Billy speaks.)

Peter: (to T) No multiplication ((board))

T: (shaking head 'no') Nope, not [now.

Peter: (to T, probably)   Why] don't we play in the hall?

T: (T, who has been looking down at table, draws back in her chair and turns and faces Peter.) No, because I've already got two people out there.

                                    [Your voices-,

Charlie: (to T)   [((unclear))]

T: (shaking head 'no') No, not in Mr. F-, (adding a note of incredulousness) You're gonna be noisy in someone else's class?

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T: (to C and P) There will be another time when you
   can play it.
(T scratches above upper lip.)
T: Get back to something else that's quieter.
(While T is still turned toward P and C, Billy begins
reading. (0.8"))
Billy: "They kept it for:," (reading)
(P and C walk off camera into the classroom.)
T: (snaps back into reading posture, facing center
   of table and looking down at the book.)
Billy: "Themselves, and then they went, o:n, pretending
   to work until, far into the: night."
T: Good.

Another result of the teacher's slot-out using the verbal
modality is that it stops the reading vector. This is an
"impairment" to the integrity of the reading vector. On the
other hand, though, the teacher does not "open up" the "Hunh-
unh" vector to the reading participants and Billy's query
("What did he do?") is not attended to. What Billy then opts
to do – wait until the teacher is finished with her other
vector and then begin reading again as though nothing had
happened – seems to have been "the right thing to do".

This whole area of analysis is obviously very complicated.
One thing seems clear, though: As the teacher develops more
complicated communicative skills, the children have to develop
more complicated communicative skills also – the children have to
develop counterparts. In other words, by developing "slotting"
and modality splitting skills teachers are, in some sense "carry-
ing the weight" of distributing their attention. This is, of
course, helpful – especially to the children who are "outside"
the teachers main involvement. At the same time, though, it
puts more of a burden on children who are involved with the

teacher-focussed activity. They have to constantly and more closely monitor when the teacher is talking to them and when not, when the teacher expects them to be listening and/or to make a response and when not. I don't claim to have figured out the consequences of all this (or how much it is subject to change), but it seems important, and closely related to some more instructional aspects of teaching.[2]

I am thinking here of the more general issue of focus of attention. This is, of course, a crucial issue for teaching and learning and one that has been studied extensively by psychologists (see especially the work of Bruner and that of the Russian psychologist Vygotsky). I do not presume to enter), into this psychological dialog, but would merely like to point to the way in which there is an interface between what we might think of as focus in terms of task curriculum and what we might think of as focus in terms of social interactional enactment of a "teaching and learning sequence". An effective implementation of a task curriculum item, it seems, requires sometimes that teachers as well as the students make adjustments in their orientation to "what is going on" in the current interaction. If the teacher merely assumes that the students are focussing on a certain aspect of the curriculum, when in fact they are not, this results in the negative effect that Henry has called "anti-cognition" (1968). Very clearly, what is involved is inference. Inferencing seems to be based on what is presumed to be the focal aspect of new information or new moves in the interaction. An example of how teacher and students sometimes do not share the same understanding of what constitutes the focal aspect of a new move occurs in the following:

(7) "How about spinach?." Nursery Level.

     (Nursery school teacher B-1 is sitting with a group of
     children on the floor after an enactment of "Little Red

Riding Hood." She has asked the children to gather around
for a "celebration" of the wolf's demise, and to think
about what they will celebrate with--that is, what kinds
of things "are" in the basket."

T: Fruit, that's a good idea. What kinds of fruit
shall we have in our basket?

Anita: Apples.

T: O.K.

Allison: Bananas.

T: Bananas. O.K.

Elliott: Oranges.

T: O.K.

David: Peaches.

T: Peaches, that's a good one.

Eve: Grapes.

T: O.K.

Allison: (tapping the basket which is in the center of
the group) That's all.

T: How about spinach?

Allison: O.K.

Elliott: How about--uh--I'll get some flowers for you
(getting up).

T: How about carrots?

Allison: Yeah.

Anita: I'll get carrots now. (getting up)

T: Are they fruits?

Allison: No. (shrugging shoulders)

T: Not a fruit?

Elliott: (standing, holding out hand with imaginary bunch
of flowers)

Betsy: No. (intonational gloss: of course not; so what?)

T: All right, carrots.

> Elliott: Mrs. Jones, here're your flowers (holding out hand).
> Here're your flowers.
>
> T: Oh, thank you. How nice of you. (with hand "taking" Elliott's bunch of flowers)
>
> Eve: And some broccoli?
>
> T: Broccoli, that'd be good, wouldn't it?

In this example, it seems that when the teacher asked "How about spinach?", the children interpreted this not as a "test question" about whether or not spinach is a fruit but rather as an "opening up" of what can go in the celebration basket. This opening up seems to include expansion in a number of directions: different vegetables, other items than either fruit or vegetables (i.e. Elliott's flowers), that "require" getting up and "getting" them (and not just saying them), and getting up to get the vegetables ("I'll get carrots now"). This teacher may well have decided that her introduction of the move "How about spinach?" "didn't work the way she thought it would" and so may have thought of this sequence as "not educationally successful." My own view is that it displays very crucial teaching skills: When the teacher's query didn't get the response she might have expected (No, spinach is not a fruit), the teacher didn't end the sequence with the misapprehension that the children thought spinach was a fruit. Rather, she actively pursued their line of thinking, and, in this case, made no effort to revert to her own initial focus.

The issues involved in this are too many to bring into alignment here, but three things can be mentioned. One is that this kind of happening seems to embody in an informal (indirect) instructional context some of what Cazden (1979b) discussed for slightly more formal (direct) instructional contexts in her paper about "Peek-A-Boo as an instructional model."

Secondly, teachers do seem to develop these formats for directing and receiving attention along the lines of modality splitting. For example, the nursery teachers especially, seemed to be involved in directing students' attention to the verbal (and the more "completely" (i.e. decontextualized) verbal, form, as in examples (8) and (9) both of which occurred during a session in which the teacher was working with one child, Sara, on an experiment with water pouring:

(8) "I didn't talk" Nursery Level. January. Mid-Morning.

      T: (to S) Do they both have the same amount of water
           or does the glass have one and the vase have
           another?

    Sara: (ponders the question with elbows on table and
           chin in hands, but then points to the glass.) (6.5")

    Sara: (to T) They both have the same amount.

     T: (quoting) 'They both have the same amount of water'.
          I'm very interested in your answer. Can you tell
          me how you figured that out?

    Sara: (nods. (1.6").)

      T: (to S) Tell me what you thought. (Over the last
          few seconds some hysterical laughter has been
          coming out of the children at the nearby table
          playing with clay.)

 A Child: Heh heh heh heh. Ah: heh heh heh heh.

      T: (gets up and walks over to the nearby table. (4.2")

      T: (to group) I'm going to stop you ((unclear))
          All right?

      T: (returns to Sara's table and sits down. (6.5").)

→   T: Sara, I'm sorry we were interrupted by the clay
          people just then, and I couldn't really hear,
          and I was very interested⌉because-⌉

→ Sara: (to T)   I didn't ⌊talk.⌋
         (1.5")

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→   T: (nodding) I know. But I want to have you talk
            to me about it, because I'm very
            ⌈interested in how you figured it out,⌉
) Sara: ⌊I know because it's   ((over))⌋
            there to there, because, of-, this thing is
            bigger than this thing. ...

(9) "I want to color the water blue". Nursery Level. January.
     (Sara has just brought to the table a set of food coloring
     vials)

            T: What color would you like to color the water?
            S: (points to one vial)
            T: What's the name of that color?
            S: Blue.
→   T: All right. Can you say "I want to color the
            water blue"?
            S: I-want-to-color-the water-blue (said with
            "recitation" intonation)
            T: All right.

       Thirdly, although teachers seem to want to have children
know the "why" of what they are doing as much as possible,
there are also times when teachers do not want to be drawn
into an explanation for something that the child may not have
enough information (and/or which, in the teacher's estimation,
the child may not need to have) to process the explanation. In
many of these situations the teacher's role seems to be more
explicitly that of "guide", whereby the child's focus of attention
and activity is explicitly guided or directed. These directions,
it seems, are also often dictated in terms of modality. Thus,
while the teachers (especially, it seems in our data, the nursery
teachers) often encourage development of the verbal modality,
they also sometimes direct students attention away from it (in
our data, this seems to be most prevalent at the kindergarten

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levels, with both teachers, though these two teachers were in any lay sense very different in "style"). Thus we noted a number of teacher admonishments such as the following (all from the kindergarten data):

Ms. D. "Don't talk about it, just do it".

Ms. C. "Don't discuss it. Just do it".

Ms. D. "Wait, Jenny. You're still listening.
Put your head down."

Ms. D. "Put your hands in your lap and think"

Ms. C. "Stop talking and think. Your mind can't be thinking while your mouth is doing all that talking"

Ms. D. "You know, some of you keep asking whaddaya whaddaya do (deliberately mock whiney voice).
Put your head down and stop asking questions."

As a final note, let us turn to thinking about how the issues involved in modality may interact with ritual considerations:

Returning now to the issue of competing demands for the teacher's attention, we can note that the teacher has essentially three options for attending to a secondary vector of activity: (1) She can include the current participants in her departure ((to Seth) "Oh look at Jackie's design"); (2) She can partially slot out and use a split modality involvement (e.g. with many reading groups: verbal modality for reading, non-verbal for secondary vectors); (3) she can "totally" slot out. This latter option means that the teacher has temporarily left the "primary" vector. (However, this does not necessarily mean that the primary vector will stop; in fact, many teachers seem to be "going for" a reading group situation in which the group will keep reading (the vector will keep going) whether or not she is involved).

When the teacher leaves the primary vector she may do it "as though she was never gone" (e.g. the "Hi Carter" or the

"Hunh-unh" examples) or she may do it with a formal stopping of the primary vector ("All right. Excuse me just a minute"), she may leave with no formal stopping but re-enter with a formal re-entry (O.K. I'm sorry. Where were we?) These latter two "types" represent some ritual acknowledgement of the impairment to the primary vector. They are, in fact, _ritual brackets_ that mark accessibility (not altogether unlike "Hi" and "Bye bye"; here recall Seth's "Bye, Jackie" in the Batikked example). We might, then, it to refine our analysis of leaving and re-entering vectors with some further distinction in "slotting" so that we might speak of "slot-out," "slot-in", "bracket-out" (Excuse me) and "bracket-in" (O.K. Sorry).

What we are dealing with here are issues of "ritual closure" or "ritual boundedness" of participant interchanges. It is my hunch that this is one aspect of "teacher style" that children must attune themselves to in order to operate "successfully" in terms of managing ritual equilibrium between him/herself and the teacher (this notion extends to dealings with other students as well, of course). A given teacher may "stylistically" orient to a norm of maintaining a greater or lesser degree of ritual boundedness to the various pieces of interaction in the classroom.

Some beginnings and ends are, of course, less amenable to such stylistic variation. It is not inconsequential, for instance, that Ms. C's unusual slot out to say "Hi Carter" seems to be in response to Carter's first coming into class. These access rituals that bound off the entire day seem to be pretty "obligatory". In another classroom (nursery) Teacher B-1 also leaves her primary vector to similarly greet a student for the first time that day. But she uses the "leaving" option of including the current participants in her departure from the primary vector:

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(10) "Catherine's just arrived". Nursery.

    T: (to S) What is that?

    (1.6")

Seth: (to T) Umm, (2.0") ⌈food color.⌉

    T: (looking across room) ⌊Heh heh.⌋   (chuckle)

Seth: Food color.

→   T: (slightly louder, with sing-song lilt) <u>Catherine</u>

        just arrived. She's been to see the doctor this

        morning.

    (Seth and T look across the room. (o.9"))

→   T: How are you now, Catherine?

    (T is engaged in a gestural conversation with someone

    across the room -- perhaps C's mother.)

    T: (to someone off-camera) All right.

Seth: (stirring colored water, sings:) Duh-duh-duh-duh-

    ⌈d -duh.⌉

    T: ⌊((unclear))⌋ Juice is all right. ⌈Nothing ((unclear)).⌉..

Seth: (to T, while stirring)   ⌊I'm stirring⌋

    T: ...((like crackers)). ((All right, fine)).

Seth: (to T) I'm <u>stirring.</u>

    (T starts to stand up.)

Seth: (to T) I'm stirring.

    (T walks off-camera. Seth stirs water. (3.5").

Seth: (sarcastic intonation) Excu:se <u>me</u>.

    (Martha, who has been sitting on the end of the

    table watching T and Sara for the last five

    minutes, slides down into the T's seat as Seth

    stirs and mumbles. (5.3")).

Martha: (to Seth) See, I'm the teacher, right? Y'have

    to get it clean, Seth.

    (Seth walks away. Catherine walks up by Seth's

    seat. Caroline swings around the table. Harold

    approaches the table. (9.1")) -

```
                        - x Caroline
        Catherine x
                  _____ x Martha  (seated)


                            x  Harold
```

Harold: -(toward Martha) What are you doing? ((Doing))

Martha: (looking up at H) We're-, we're-,   ⌈((unclear))⌉
                                            ⌊ Are you ⌋
Harold: (to M)
         doing playdough?

Martha: (to H) <u>No::</u>, Seth, we are-, we are doing,

         (T has reapproached the table, she leans over Martha
         and takes the food color box from Martha.)

    T: (to M) O:.K. Did you want to put a little more
         blue coloring in it, Caroline. Is that what you
                         ⌈have in mind?⌉ (C seems to nod.)
Catherine: (to T)   ⌊Can I do   ⌋⌈that?   ⌉
    T: (to Caroline)   ⌊All right.⌋ You put a
         little more in, then I'm going to put the coloring
         ((back)).

Catherine: (to T) Can I do that, what you're doing?

   Harold: (to T) Can I do it after ((her))? (C or M)

Catherine: (to T) Can I do it⌈after?   ⌉
    T: (to group)   ⌊I would like⌋ to have
         everybody⌈have a turn if we can. ⌉
Caroline: (to T) ⌊I'm ((a)) put a little more⌋ in
    T: (to Caroline) All right. You want a put a little
         more in that one? (The measuring cup) All
         right.

    (Caroline does so.)

                        175.

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```
((      )):     ((unclear))
       T:     Watch it for a minute.
              (T tugs at Martha's back to get her to stand
              up to look inside the cup.)
       T:  Martha, watch that, for a minute so you can see
              what happens.
              (T walks away from the table, apparently to return
              the food color.  (2.9"))
Catherine:  (to Caroline)  Why don't you stir it up?
              (The children stare at the cup.)
((Martha)): What's happening?
Catherine :  (toward Caroline)  It's turning blue.  END EXAMPLE
```

Perhaps I should pause here to explicate somewhat my use of
the term "ritual". The term "ritual" can be and is often used to
refer to a set of behaviors or ways of doing things that are
routine, that are essentially forms or formats that are expected
to be the way of accomplishing something in a "culturally"
defined setting by members of that "cultur " (for uses of the
term applied to the classroom setting see Corsaro 1979, Griffin
and Mehan 1979). This aspect of the term "ritual" probably
inheres to some extent in all uses of the term.

Nevertheless, following the work of Goffman (1956, 1963, 1971),
I use the term "ritual" less as a noun and more as an adjective.
Thus I have included the concepts of ritual equilibrium (see
I-A and III B, especially) and ritual closure in my analyses.
Briefly (and here the reader is encouraged to seek out Goffman's
more complete discussions), this e of the term derives from the
noun use in that there is some large complex of behaviors alluded
to, which in any given dyad of social interaction are expected
or not expected, depending on the relative status and so on of
the two cointeractants. Thus, it is not so much the case that

a <u>particular</u> set of behaviors is always expected to accomplish
a goal (that set comprising <u>a</u> ritual), but rather that there is
a range of behaviors which can be assigned a ritual interpretation
- an interpretation of "proper" expectedness or appropriateness
according to a range of interactional <u>variables</u> (relative status,
nature of the setting, etc.).

In ferreting out the types of interactional variables that
bear on the ritual quality of some face to face action, Goffman
(1956) distinguished two basic types: those having to do with
deference and those having to do with demeanor. Deference in-
volves displays of respect for the "other", while demeanor
displays respect for the "self". The subtlety of this distinction
is sometimes lost because often a single act may be seen to have
both motivating forces driving it (as one grooms his/her hair before
coming to school, partly out of deference to the setting and
others there, and partly out of proper demeanor or self-esteem).
Most of the recent discussions in sociolinguistics concerning
negative and positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, Gumperz and Tannen
Lakoff 1979) can be related fairly directly to concerns with
displays of deference. This is also the major sense in which I
have invoked the term ritual (as in ritual equilibrium between
two interactants, ritual closure of a vector of activity). How-
ever, the following short sequence from the classroom data
illustrates a way in which the demeanor component comes into
play:

(11) <u>Kindergarten.</u>

    (Three girls are at a table. Maryann and Joyce have
    been arguing and the discussion has just escalated)
    Maryann: I hate you, Joyce.
    Joyce: You're fresh, Maryann, and fresh means bad.
    Linda: Now you're both fresh.

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Ah. Primary classroom interaction is indeed a microcosm
of so much else that goes on in human life. And it's all very
complicated.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Erving Goffman for suggesting that I consider
the issue of dual processing in the development of my analyses.
He is in no way accountable, of course, for the way in which I
have followed up on his suggestion.

[2] It seems clear, further, that this kind of behavioral adaptation
to competing demands for attention may vary considerably cross-
culturally. In discussing this recently with Livia Polanyi
(personal communication) I was told that this kind of modality
splitting does not seem to be typical in the Netherlands. She
remarked, by way of example, that mothers do not pull up their
children's pants while talking to other adults; they are
either talking to the adult or pulling up a child's pants.
This kind of deep-seated cultural training in focusing attention
may have important implications for educational programs with
culturally heterogeneous teacher-student populations.

IV. Comparing With Whole Group Situations: Vectors of Activity,
Allocation of Resources, and "Turn-Taking" Sanctions.

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In this section we will draw upon some independent work by Humphrey on the nature of verbal participation in whole group settings (Humphrey 1979, Griffin and Humphrey 1978). This work was accomplished separately from the service-like event study, but was done concurrently, and is based on the same "original" data bank (see section II) using lessons from the kindergarten and third grade levels.

Humphrey's major effort (1979) in studying whole group situations was directed largely at verbal turn-taking sanctions (briefly, negative sanctions of verbal turns; this will be developed later). This was an ideal locus of observation for studying whole group lessons, in which there is officially a single vector of activity (in which all participants are expected to engage their attention). However, as we have taken pains to point out earlier in this report, the notions of turn-taking and getting the floor do not readily apply to periods of individualized instruction, in which there are multiple vectors of activity (and no unified focus of attention). In the individualized instruction time situation, the notion of turn, when it means anything at all, means something quite different from what it means in whole group lessons where there is a single focus of attention for the group, and individuals "take-verbal turns" at being a part of that focus. In general, the notion of turn seems to mean a segment of time (or other measure of duration) during which there is official (positive sanction) granting of temporary territorial rights to some resource.

In this more general sense the notion of turn is applicable to individualized instruction, and, in fact, is sometimes verbally referred to as such, as in (1):

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(1) Peanut Game. Nursery Level.[1]

"time"   Seth: This time I want thirteen.

         T: Heh heh he, this time he wants thirteen.

         Seth: Give me thirteen,⌐

"time"→ T: ⌊You're⌋ had this time, Seth.

                You can go back to the clay table now.

         T: Will you put all your shells on the paper, please,

                and then take⌐your shells to the wastebasket?⌐

         Seth: ⌊No,   I want-⌊

         Seth: I want ((two)) I want thirteen.

"turn"→ T: I know you want thirteen, Seth, but you have

                had your turn this time. You can go back to

                the clay table⌐now after you put your shells⌐away.

         Seth: ⌊But I want- I- I'm   hun⌋gry

                still. (3.4") I'm still hungry. (1.3") I'm still

                hungry.

(to other T) T: (sotto voice) Why don't we go send up for some

                   milk or something, ((cause)) he's really hungry.

What we are basically dealing with, then, is a general
notion that applies to the allocation of resources. This, as we
know, is a crucial issue in educational settings, as Barr and
Dreeben (1977) have pointed out:

> "...Classroom instruction consists in good part
> of the allocation of resources to student learning,
> but to understand the allocative process we need to know
> what classrooms are like, how they work, and what
> situations affecting the allocation of resources arise
> in them."

Sanctions are a kind of index of some trouble in the
alloc   resources. We have be   lly with
the   ce of teacher attentio   can arise from

many other more tangible resources as well, as in (2):

(2) Kindergarten (note the reformulation in the John-Bobby vector)

    (T has just gotten up from her chair in response to a lot

    of noise in the loft area, which she approaches)

         T: Ev,ry, bo,dy freeze.

         T: If you wanna ((unclear)) Christina, look at

                me, please.

         (Several indistinct voices.)

         T: What are you gonna do if you wanna go up in the

                loft?

    A Child: (to T) ((Look at you)).

         T: Right. There are four people who are going up

                there. Can you go up there now?

                (2.7")

    A Child: (to T) There's one two three four five.

    A Child: (to T) There's only two up there.

         T: ⌐I know, but⌋ ther are four

    John: ⌊No:, let-,⌋

    →   T: ⌐people who asked me to go⌋ up.

    John: ⌊Bobby, you can come up.⌋

    Christina: What ?

    John: (to T) Can⌐Bobby come⌋up?

         T: (to((Chr)))⌊There are-,⌋

         T: Wait, John,

    →   T: (to ((Chr.))) There are four people who already
                asked me to go up.

    Bobby: (to T) Could I come up?

         T: (to B) Wait. I'm talking to Christina.

    →   T: (to Christina) Can you go up there when there
                are ur people?

         Ch

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T:    (to Christina) ⌈Would you like to⌉go up, sometime today?
A Child:                ⌊Uh:ʕ        oh:.  ⌋
Christina:  Yes.
      T:    O.K.  Why don't you ask me later, and we'll
            discuss it.  O.K.?
```

Before proceeding to our discussion of sanctions in whole
group sessions, let us review for individual work sessions some
of the problem situations that arise in allocating the resource
of teacher attention.

As we have seen, a recurrent problem with periods of in-
dividualized instruction is that there are frequently times when
a child's want for the teacher's attention and that child's
engagement of the teacher's attention do not neatly coincide. A
nursery school teacher may stand at the ready while a child
struggles with his imagination, trying to conjure up a story
to dictate to her. On the other hand, a first grader may find
his effort to write a Christmas party invitation stymied for
fifteen minutes before a teacher finishes leading a reading
group and provides him with the spelling of the word "invited."
Teachers, of course, try to minimize the problem of non-avail-
ability during involvement with small group instructional
vectors of activity (such as reading). One way they try to do
this is by first checking what other students are doing and
by letting those other students know of their impending non-
availability (they are, in a sense, "bracketing-out" (see sub-
section IV-D), as in (3):

(3) Third Grade

      (T has called four students over to a table to participate
      in a lesson on how to use the dictionary effectively. T
      then turns and addresses the rest of the group.)

T: All right now, I'm getting ready to work with the group. Robin, do you need me for anything before I start? I start?

((Robin)): ((unclear))

T: All right but I can't-, won't check that now. (2.4")

T: (to class) All right now see if you can work on your own, and unless it's an emergency let me finish with them.

Despite the teacher's efforts to anticipate student needs (Robin, do you need me?), however, it inevitably happens that students encounter problems or realize that they needed the teacher's assistance only <u>after</u> the teacher has declared herself to be inaccessible.

Now for a student in such predicament there are various options available: attempting to overcome the problem or make a decision on one's own, turning to another student for advice or a solution, or switching over to an alternate activity which can be tackled independently. However, from the student's point of view most of these options have their disadvantages: he may believe (sometimes correctly) that he is incapable of dealing with the problem or issue on his own; he may feel (frequently again with good reason) that a fellow student's judgment or knowledge base is roughly on a par with his own; and switching to an alternate activity may have been ruled out until after the child masters the very project which currently confounds him. Thus a student who is unsure about his multiplication table, or can't remember where the teacher keeps the colored pencils, or has diffi ulty turning a record player on, may decide that approaching the already involved teacher and requesting such information or feedback is the necessary way (as well as the most direct way) to bridge the academic impasse. But for the

child in need of aid, approaching the teacher while she is con-
ducting a small group lesson or tutorial must generally be seen
as a calculated risk:—will the teacher agree with the student
that his need for communication with her outweighs the need for
the teacher to be fully engaged in her small group? If she
does, as is the case for the teacher in example (2), the student
can proceed with his project having confidence that at least
some aspects of it are on the right track.

(4) First Grade

   (T playing word game using flash cards with three students.
   A few seconds earlier Mark approached the table and put
   his spelling notebook on the table beside T. T holds out
   toward Tracy a card with the word 'we' on it; while
   Tracy stares at it for a few seconds, T turns her face
   toward Mark. (4.3"))

      Mark: (to T) What does 'hope' start with?
   (Tracy stares down at the table as if in thought. Anna
   lines up behind Mark. (0.6"))
         T: (unvoiced, to Mark) Hhh.
         T: (looks over at Tracy and seems to locate
            .ne first letter for her. (1.1"))
      Mark: (to T) H?
         T: (looks at Mark and seems to nod slightly.)
         T: What is the beginning sound, Tracy?
      Tracy: (to T) 'Wuh'.
   (T's decoding lesson with Tracy continues.)

How a teacher will react in situations such as (4) depends,
on the one hand, on several more-or-less fixed contextual
parameters, such as the teacher's personal philosophy about ideal
student behavior during "individual work" periods, the nature
of the school setting (in this instance, a relatively "open"

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classroom structure), and the "mutual biographical" context of teacher and student (including, e.g., the student's academic standing in the classroom, the extent of his willingness to work alone without getting distracted, and the frequency of his previous attempts and successes at getting help from the teacher). But what appears to figure equally in a teacher's decision on how to react to a student approaching and/or summoning her for aid are other contextual factors of a rapidly-shifting nature: e.g., the nature of the interaction in the "host" event at the exact moment of a child's solicitation to a teacher (or at the exact moment that the teacher becomes aware of the soliciting student, if no verbal solicitation is made); the degree to which the solicitor's address overlaps the utterances of the teacher and/or student in the "host" event; and the degree to which the teacher judges that the interruptive query can be successfully responded to and dispatched without impairing the integrity of the host vector of activity. In (4), for instance, Mark indicates to the teacher that he is in need of a spelling word by posting himself by the teacher and placing his spelling notebook in front of her (a "classic" non-verbal solicitation). A second later Tracy responds with a blank look to a flash card that the teacher shows to her. The teacher, who is aware by the nature of Mark's approach and notebook positioning that he needs help spelling a word, "slots out" of the currently stagnant flash card lesson for a few seconds, helping Mark solve his spelling problem while allowing Tracy to mull over the flash card briefly.

Mark is quickly dispatched and Tracy is then provided with clues for decoding the flash card without the momentum of the lesson having been broken (see the discussion in section II about slotting).

In (4) Mark finds himself in the fortunate situation of
being able to signal to the teacher, using an educational prop,
that he desired a brief academic audience with her (i.e., the
spelling of a word) at the precise moment when Tracy's difficulty
decoding a flash card had created a small transaction pause or
"seam" in the small group lesson. The teacher makes use of the
inevitable "down time" in the lesson (caused by Tracy's pause)
to eliminate the potentially more extensive "down time" in Mark's
writing project (which could result from his inability to spell
the word "hope").

In this section the focus will be on allocation-of-resources
troubles during individual work time. One set of these troubles
has to do with service-like events wherein the student is not
successful, at least in his initial   in obtaining the
sort of aid that he is attempting to   licit from the teacher.
(And in example (18) to follow we will see the same successful
mark of (4) solicit "unsuccessfully"). There are two principal
reasons for focusing on such "interactional misfires." First,
investigating such incidents provides a handle on understanding
of classroom behavior during individual work or small group
activity periods, one that could never be grasped by an analysis
which relied solely upon teachers' descriptions of turn-taking
rules or their declarations to students about the rules for
such periods, the latter of which are illustrated by (3) above
as well as (5) below (recall also the interruptions lesson).

(5) Second Grade.

    (T is addressing entire class prior to the beginning of
    a small group reading lesson.)

    T: .../L/isten to me folks. Since I'm having a
        reading group, I will not be able to answer
        questions on the math paper. It means therefore,
        that you must, think for yourself, or get a friend
        to help.

Official verbalizations of such rules do provide an insight into teachers' subsequent reactions, and may be useful in an effort to characterize a general picture of the system the teacher typically uses to restrict or expand children's access to her during these small group activities. But it would be a mistake to assume that the rules instituted by the teacher to govern such events are isomorphic with the actual practices used by the classroom members. Such rules nearly always bear only an indirect or "indexical" relationship to the way such procedures are actually carried out by the classroom participants (cf. Mehan and Wood 1975:90-95). As Goffman succinctly describes such rules,

> /O/f course the lay formulation of a rule never gets
> to the bone; it merely tells us where to start
> digging...The descriptive rule--the practice--is likely
> to be less neat, and certainly less available, allowing
> (if not encouraging) variously-grounded exceptions.
> The framework of normative understandings that is
> involved is not recorded, or cited, or available in
> summary form from informants. It must be pieced out by
> the student--in part by uncovering, collecting,
> collating, and interpreting all possible exceptions
> to the stated rule.
>
> (1978, p. 793, italics added)

Discovering how teachers' turn-taking decrees relate to students' turn-taking practices, as well as how these decrees and practices relate to teachers' subsequent reactions to students' turns, are fundamental ethnomethodological concerns:[2] the manner in which classroom participants negotiate their turn-taking practices is one specific instance of the ways members of society in general organize their everyday activities[3] (cf. Turner 1974; Filmer et al. 1972)..

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By examining trouble spots and in particular by developing a characterization of the range of teachers' negative sanctions and sanction-like responses in such scenarios, we will be able to provide more extensive and accurate documentation of the parameters which actually do play significant roles in the management of individualized instruction time.

The second major reason for analysing trouble spots is to compare the variety of teachers' sanction-like responses which are made to students during individual instruction time with the various types of turn-taking sanctions observed by Humphrey (1979) to populate primary school whole group lessons. Since the data from both the present study and that analysed by Humphrey are subsets of a common videotape corpus, containing interaction between some of the same groups of teachers and students, a comparison of the points of similarity and difference among the teacher's sanctions in whole group lessons and service-like events can provide a broader and more complete view of teachers' "classroom management procedures."

The locus of observation employed by Humphrey (1979) in his study of turn-taking sanctions was the whole group lesson, that is, that educational event in which the attention of the entire class is focused on a typical primary school educational topic (e.g. spelling, punctuation, subtraction, the layout of the solar system) and where the teacher plays a dominant role in determining and structuring the topic for discussion. Humphrey chose the whole group lesson as his locus of observation because casual viewing of such situations had revealed teachers' turn-taking sanctions to be present at a fairly high and more-or-less predictable frequency (for the data analyzed, approximately one turn-taking sanction incident per minute). In addition, by

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focusing on whole group situations Humphrey was able to in-
corporate findings from earlier linguistically-based research
projects in similar educational settings (Mehan 1979; Griffin
and Humphrey 1978; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Bellack et al.
1966). Humphrey's data bank consisted of fifteen whole group
lessons totalling approximately five hours in duration and
representing two grade levels (third grade and kindergarten) and
four teachers (two teachers per grade). (These are, of course,
the same teachers and classrooms as appear in the kindergarten
and third grade levels of the service-li.. event corpus.) As
was the case for the current project, these fifteen lessons were
transcribed to a high level of detail according to current
methods employed in discourse analysis and supplemented with
ethnographic information concerning instructional materials in
use, seating arrangements, and salient aspects of non-verbal
communication.

Because the turn-taking sanction is a classroom management
function rather than a formally specifiable linguistic unit
(cf. the formal diversity among: Shh!; It's not your turn;
Quiet; and Would you please stop talking?), Humphrey was
required to do a great deal of cross-comparison of various
types of teacher utterances to convert the turn-taking sanction
from an intuitive notion into an explicit analytic formulation
of this common functional unit of classroom discourse. The
formulation was finally specified in terms of an interactional
unit or couplet - the "sanction incident"-using the following
definition:

> A sanction incident consists in its most basic form
> of two turns-at-talk in the lesson discourse, a student's
> target utterance and a teacher's overt negative
> evaluative response to the turn-placement or delivery
> of that target utterance.
>   (Humphrey 1979:114)

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A turn-taking sanction or sanction utterance or move is, then, the teacher's response in a sanction incident. Humphrey was able to cull 282 segments of teacher/student interaction from the lessons transcripts which met the above definition. Example (6) below, for example, contains two clear-cut examples of typical turn-taking sanctions.

(6) <u>Placement Sanction</u>

(The B/D lesson, near the end. T is at the blackboard addressing the whole group of students, who are situated at their desks.)

T: Alright, now, I'm going to come to each person who is ready, and give you a magazine, and ask you to look for words that begin with 'duh'-, look for <u>pictures</u>, whose names-, of things whose name begins with 'duh' or 'buh'. You may help each other, you may talk to each other if you can keep your voices from getting too loud.

Jackie: Can I do it with ⌈Betsy?⌉

T: (Waves hand at Jackie) ⌊Wait, ⌋ I'm not coming to anyone who's talking now. Put your head down. You're listening.

T: (to group) For some reason, some of our scissors have disappeared, so some of your are going to have to share and take turns with scissors.

Jackie: I know where ⌈some-,⌉

T: ⌊Wait, ⌋ Jackie, you're still listening, put your head down.

(Kindergarten Level. Classroom D)

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In example (6) the teacher informs Jackie that she is unhappy with the presence of Jackie's utterances in the lesson at this time. In other words, the teacher's utterances, "Wait, I'm not coming to anyone who's talking now"... and Wait, Jackie, you're still listening, put your head down, show no indication that they are responses to the content of Jackie's utterances, even though together they comprise seven separate sentences. Instead, they are negative evaluative responses to the place- ment of turns by students in the lessons at those times; and, for this reason Humphrey labelled teacher utterances such as the arrowed ones in (6) above "placement sanctions."[4]

Even though the most frequent sanctions were those in which the teacher negatively evaluated the placement of a turn, there were five other types of sanction-like actions which teachers undertook to indicate their unhappiness with various facets of their students' turn-taking and/or general classroom behavior. These sanctions or sanction-like actions are listed in (7) - (11) below and are preceded by a brief characterization.

(7) Delivery Sanctions. T is unhappy not with the placement of the child's turn in the lesson, but rather with the manner in which it was produced (such as its volume or tempo).

(Greenhouse lesson. T asking children to relate some- thing they remember from their recent greenhouse trip.)

        T: Carter.

   Carter: Plants need three days...

Sev. Chn: We already have that one!

  Carter: (loud, angrily) But it's different!

      T: O.K., let's listen and see.

$\rightarrow$ Carter, you don't have to yell.

                          (Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(8) <u>Responsive Sanctions</u>. T is unhappy with the placement of
the child's turn in the lesson, but her sanction also
explicitly encodes an awareness of the content of the child's
utterance.

(Body language lesson. T has assigned to Sally the task
of getting Meredith to assume a certain pose, using words
only.)

     Sally: Put your hands on your head, ...one hand on
              your head, one hand out, and your feet crossed.
    Sam: (to Meredith)   No, not like that.
  ⟶ T: Excuse me. Sam, who's giving the directions?
                       (Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(9) <u>Double-Takes</u>. T is at first unhappy with the placement of
the child's turn in the lesson, but immediately after she
issues the sanction she reverses herself and treats the
child's utterance as a legitimate one (though in this case
the legitimacy is not related to the utterance's appropriate-
ness to the lesson vector, but rather to the overriding
"emergency" concern of bodily function).

(Body language lesson. T is having Abner tell Sam to
assume a certain pose, unknown to Sam, by using only
words.)

     T: Abner, you explain this to Sam.
   Abner: (to Sam) Put, put, um, your feet under your bottom.
    T: Fabulous! "Put your feet under your $\begin{bmatrix}$ bottom." $\end{bmatrix}$
Christina: $\begin{bmatrix}$ Mrs. A, $\end{bmatrix}$ can
      I go $\begin{bmatrix}$ to the bathroom? $\end{bmatrix}$
  ⟶ T: Shh!
  ⟶ (T then nods to Christina, and Christina leaves.)
                (Kindergarten Level, Classroom C)

(10) <u>Curt Responses</u>. T responds to the content of the child's
turn, but does so in a brusque manner which suggests that
she was unhappy with the placement of the utterance in
the lesson.
(Crossword lesson. T has been describing to the group
where to write the word <u>grow</u> on a crossword puzzle.)

    T: ...a capital G. It's already there under
        a number two across.
Meredith: Now what do we do?
→ T: (to Meredith) You <u>wait</u>.
                     (Kindergarten Level. Classroom C)

(11) <u>Behavioral Sanctions</u>.
T is unhappy not with a particular utterance in a lesson,
but more generally with a child's overall behavior during
a lesson.)
(Flannelboard lesson. T has summoned Andy to the board
to replace the figures, and in the mention she walks
across the room to get something. As she walks she
says:)

    T: Make sure he's-, she's doing, he's doing it right.
        Maybe somebody can help him once he's finished,
        Christina.
    (Christina, Bobby, and Diana immediately stand up
    to 'help' Andy.)
→ T: Un-un-un, there's no reason when I leave the
        rug for you all to get up.
                (Kindergarten Level. Classroom C)

    Although Humphrey was able to locate six distinct types
of sanctions and sanction-like responses by teachers in response
to various aspects of their students' turn-taking and general
behavior during whole group lessons, these negative evaluative

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responses were not equally distributed across the six sanction
types. Instead, a large proportion of these sanction incidents
were of one particular type, as is shown in (12).

(12) 250 Placement Sanctions (example (5))
        5 Delivery Sanctions   (6)
       11 Responsive Sanctions   (7)
        6 Double-Takes   (8)
        8 Curt Responses   (9)
       17 Behavioral Sanctions   (10)
      ____
      297   Total

As the above table reveals, the frequency with which placement
sanctions such as shh and stop talking occurred in whole group
lessons was well over ten times greater than any other sanction
type. Five out of every six sanctions which the teacher issued
were of the "placement" variety; this skewing of the data would
be still greater if the behavioral sanctions which occurred near
lesson boundaries (when teachers were rearranging students and
educational props in preparation for the next event) were
eliminated from (12), and if the seventeen tokens of "double-
takes" and "responsive sanctions" were considered to be sub-
varieties of placement sanctions (with additional interactional
moves incorporated into them).

    Thus we see in this brief sketch of the turn-taking and
behavioral sanctions in primary school lessons that a wide
range of distinct sanction moves are available to teachers, but
that only the placement variety occurs with any great frequency.
This is what we might expect, given that in a whole group
lesson vector of activity the main resource to be allocated is
an opportunity to talk and be listened to (i.e. a turn at talk).
Next we will argue that though the situation is quite different
during individualized instruction time the general paradigm of

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describing negative sanctions as indices of trouble spots in
the allocation of resources, still holds.

As is shown by the teacher's response to Meredith in (13)
below, during individualized instruction time teachers do make
use of the same response forms to sanction students that they
do in whole group lessons.

(13) Second Grade

　(T is roaming the classroom from table to table, helping
　individual children with their math and other projects.)
　　　T: (approaching a table) Uhh, Meredith.
　　　　　Meredith? Shh::::
　　　T: sits down beside an unidentified girl at a table.
　((girl)): (to T) ((She wasn't being herself.))
　　　T: (confirming) She wasn't being herself.

Shh, the speech-item used to sanction Meredith in (13), is
also frequently used by teachers to sanction students' improperly-
taken turns in whole group lessons (see (9) above). The
linguistic resources that teachers bring to bear to maintain order
in primary school events are thus not totally context-specific.

However, even when teachers in service-like events formulate
their sanctions primarily with reference to the language of
their students, the nature of the verbal infractions in such
situations are frequently cast in a distinctly different light,
as is shown in (14).

(14) Second Grade

　(T is instructing Peter, David and Adam at a table on a
　math assignment. The rest of the class is broken down
　into small groups.)
　　　T: (to David) Did you get 28?
　　　(Whether or not David responds is indeterminable.
　　　Several loud voices from elsewhere in the room
　　　can be heard. T scans the room (4.0"))

T: Shh::! Teddy? Teddy? Teddy?·
                         (1.3") Theodore. Keep your voice down. We're
                         working over here.

In (14) the teacher tells Teddy to lower his voice but not to
cease speaking altogether, since the teacher does not want to
prohibit the members of children's small groups from communicat-
ing and collaborating with one another. In contrast, even a
whispered utterance may trigger a teacher's sanction in a whole
group lesson, as the arrowed utterances in (15) illustrate.

(15) Kindergarten Level Whole Group.

         (T is attempting to get Sam to expand his recollection
         of what he learned at the greenhouse into a complete
         sentence.)

                    T: (to Sam) Give me a whole sentence, a whole idea.
                         (Several children are whispering unclearly.)

(a)   T: (stage whisper) There's a lot of whispering.
         A Child: (stage whisper) There's a lot of whispering.
(b)   T: Shh.

In whole group lessons, teachers may sanction students' whispers
both when those whispers are directed to other children (arrow
(a)) as well as when they are to the teacher (arrow (b)). This
is because during individualized instruction, the major
objection to talking is its possible disruption of the communi-
cative loading of the verbal modality in the teacher's vector
of activity. In the whole group situation, children are not
only accountable for not disturbing the teacher, they are also
expected to attend (and therefore not talk at all unless it is
their "turn").

         As it turns out, a teacher's utterance like shh or keep your
voice down was only one of a wide variety of sanction-like

response types that students would encounter when they attempted to solicit help from teachers already involved in an academic exchange with some other student(s). Sometimes the solicitor would find himself being put on hold until the teachers felt that a more appropriate seam in the host event had been reached, as in (16).

(16) Third Grade

(Virginia is summarizing what she has read thus far to the teacher. As she talks, <u>Charlie</u> approaches T with a book and a tablet. T glances over and takes the tablet. While Virginia is still speaking, <u>Charlie</u> places the book in front of the teacher. (7.0"))

<u>Charlie</u>: (to T) Look.

→ <u>T</u>: (to C) Just a ((moment)), just a minute

<u>T</u>: (to V) Go ahead=

→ <u>T</u>: (to C) =Let her finish her sentence.

(Virginia speaks to T, inaudibly, as Charlie waits. (11.6"))

<u>T</u>: (to V) All right, wait a minute.

<u>T</u>: (to C) All right, what's your question?

<u>Charlie</u>: (pointing at tablet) ((Look what I did.)) I finished it. (...)

<u>T</u>: (to C) <u>Hey</u>:, it almost worked, didn't it?[5]

In (16) the teacher non-verbally signals that Charlie approach during the reading tutorial is allowable by taking his tablet from him, but when Charlie attempts to move into the verbal modality, the teacher expresses concern for task integrity of Virginia's reading and defers Charlie's solicitation until Virginia can "finish her sentence." At a meta-communicative level Charlie is being trained to be more aware of the boundedness of instructional tasks and the ritual considerations involved.

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Often these "turn-deferrals" are much more open-ended than
the slight postponement that Charlie experienced, as (17)
illustrates.

(17) Third Grade
(As T conducts a small group lesson on cursive-writing,
Albert approaches the table.)

John: (to T) Is this a small T or a big T?
T: (to J) This is a small T.
Peter: (to J)   It's a big.
(T looks up and sees Albert.)
→   T: I'm "out" for right now, Albert.
(Albert walks away. Lesson continues for several
minutes.)

And these deferrals can be formulated in such a manner as to
convey the teacher's belief that the solicitor's intrusion is
undermining the educational exchange of the host event, as in
(18).

(18) First Grade
(T is conducting a small group reading lesson. Mark
walks up beside T.)

Mark: Mrs. E?
(T doesn't acknowledge him. (1.0"))
Mark: Do we get to see the videotape.
(T looks up irritatedly. (1.1"))
T: Am I working with children?
Mark: Yes.
T: Are you interrupting them?
(Whether or not M replies is unclear.)
T: Can I read with them when you ask me things
like that?
Mark: No.

T: Could your question wait till later?

Mark: Yeah.

(T raises her eyebrows and looks inquisitively
at Mark. Mark walks away.)

In this instance the teacher fails to provide Mark with an answer
to his question, but she does inform him at length that she is
already engaged in another educational event, that she takes a
dim view of his asking her a question during that event, and
that his intrusion is having an ill effect on the reading
interaction. Nevertheless the interchange is formally designed
to allow him to withdraw his solicitation.

Although in the whole group lessons the bulk of the
teachers' sanctions were oriented toward the child's turn-
placement (see (12) above), in about one-third of the surveyed
service-like events that were negatively sanctioned the teacher
went beyond simply squelching the language of the solicitor to
discuss how aspects of his general involvement in an appropriate
vector of activity were in need of readjustment. This more
general behavioral focus is especially clear in (19) below.

(19) <u>Second Grade</u>

(Jonathon approaches T and waits by her for a minute as
she works with Adam in a math tutorial. T then looks
across the room.)

Jonathan: (to T) Edward's been fooling [((with the))] ((unclear))

     .T: (to J)   [I don't-,]

     T: (holds hand up at J) Excuse me. They're-,
they're in charge of that. <u>You</u> are to be
working on your math. You are behind; you
don't, you have not paid attention to <u>two</u> in-
structional periods, on what you're stuck on.

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>   T: I am not helping you any more. Sit down.
>
>   I expect it all completed by Monday.
>
>   Jonathan walks away.)

In (19) the teacher informs Jonathan in a variety of ways that
there are better things for him to be doing than tattling on
Edward: other children are "in charge;" he has a math project
overdue; and his own behavior in instructional periods can be
found wanting.   Note, thought, the redirective quality of the sanction.

Thus far we have discussed three different sorts of sanction-
like responses that teachers make to students during individual-
ized instruction: squelch sanctions like (2) and (13) (and
see also the Hunh-unh example in III) attention deferrals -
for various lengths of time and with various degrees of force,
as in (16) and (17); and general behavioral sanctions such as
in (19). We can distinguish a fourth and final category of
sanction-like responses made by teachers during individual
work time; what can be called "rechannellings."   Two instances
of teachers' rechannellings are shown in (20) and (21) below:

(20) First Grade

>   (T is in a small reading group with four children. Gene
>   is having difficulty with the phrase "the homing pigeon.")
>
>   Gene: (reading) The homing, the homing, the homing,
>   (Anna and Sophia approach T's table)
>
>   ((Laura)): (at table) Pigeon.
>
>   Anna: (thrusts workbook in front of T) How do you
>   do this?
>
>   Mark: (at table)   Ms. Ex[xxx.]
>   T: (looking up at A) [Well]   you can find out
>   [by looking at what's] been done before you.
>   Gene: [The homing pigeon.]
>
>   Mark: Ms. E.

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Sophia: (walking away) O.K.

(Anna follows Sophia away from the table.)

(21) Second Grade

(T is sitting alone with Adam, helping him come up with
lists of things he likes and doesn't like about the
Christmas holiday. Lynn approaches T, drapes her arm
across T's back and waits for about 30 seconds.)

    T: Presents? All right. What would be another
        category?

   Lynn: (jabbing her fist across T's back) ((Ms. G?))

    T: (pushing Lynn away with left hand)
       Umm, if you would get your math checked with
       Connie you'd get out faster. (Connie is a
       student teacher.)
       (Lynn leaves.)

In (20) the teacher rechannels Anna and Sophia to some
previously completed work that they can use as a model in
solving their workbook problems; in (21) the teacher tells
Lynn to seek out the student teacher in the room for help
with her math. With such rechannellings the teachers not
only quickly liberate their own small group situations from
potential distractions but, as the teacher in (21) points out,
they also may be able to redirect the solicitor to a "faster"
solution to his problem than simply marking time by the teacher.

The rechanneling type takes us back to our original
paradigm of allocating resources — very clearly. The teacher's
"rechanneling sanction" is not so much a negative sanction
for misbehavior as it is a withholding of a resource (teacher's
attention). Since that resource is deemed necessary for the
continuation of the child's task vector a substitute for the

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requested resource is suggested. Deferrals can similarly be
seen as temporary withholding of the teacher attention resources.
Squelch sanctions like Sh, wait, hunh-unh, stop (doing that)
are denials of a child's right to some resource that s/he has
already presumed to command. This resource may be verbal
loudness or it may be a space on the loft.

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Notes

[1]Note also that the teacher replays "You can go back to the clay table" and that Seth replays "I'm still hungry", ending in the compromise that if he's hungry he can have something to eat, but the peanut game is not about eating peanuts (though that's allowed) but about counting them (teacher subtlely maintaining the integrity of the instructional vector by not allowing the focus of involvement to officially slip from counting (and tasting) them to eating them), and besides, his time/turn is declared to be over.

[2]In an informal discussion on the origins of the term 'ethno-methodology', Garfinkel (1968:10-11) characterized the field as follows:

> [T]here are not quite a number of persons who, on a
> day-to-day basis, are doing studies of practical
> activities, of common-sense knowledge, of this and
> that, and of practical organizational reasoning.
> That is what ethnomethodo. gy is concerned with.
> It is an organizational study of a member's know-
> ledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized
> enterprises, where that knowledge is treated by us
> as part of the same setting that it also makes orderable.

Besides the seminal work of Garfinkel (1967), other ethno-methodological studies are available in the volumes edited by Douglas (1970), Sudnow (1972), and Turner (1974). Mehan and Wood (1975) provide a good introduction to and overview of the discipline.

[3]Taking an ethnomethodological perspective, Mehan (1979) provides an insightful discussion of the manner in which

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classroom rules are set forth, elaborated upon or set aside in typical lesson interaction, as in the following illustrative remarks:

> Although the teacher's practical concern is class-
> room order..., the rules that are part of this normative
> order are not communicated directly to the students.
> Classroom procedures, like other normative rules, are
> tacit...
>
> .
> .
> .
>
> [S]tudents hear statements that <u>index</u> the existence of
> classroom rules. Teachers' statements like 'raise your
> hand', 'who knows', 'wait a minute!, or 'give others' a
> chance to think' are not the classroom rules per se;
> they are statements that index the rules. The rule
> is orderliness. The students have to abstract from
> the information given in implicit statements to the
> classroom rule.
>
> .
> .
> .
>
> Because classroom procedures are not stated in so many
> words, students must infer the appropriate ways to engage
> in classroom discourse from contextually provided in-
> formation.
>
> (Mehan 1979:160-163)

[4] But recall (from an earlier brief discussion of this utterance in III-D) that the teacher is not only squelching the behavior (Wait); she is also telling the student what to be doing instead (listen, put your head down).

[5] The loudness of <u>Hey</u> is not insignificant. What followed here was a group discussion of all the people at the table, about Charlie's work.

V.   A Final Overview

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If one were asked to characterize the thrust of change in American educational practice over the past two decades, the response might suggest that it has involved at least three shifts: more individualized instruction, more time spent on enrichment activities, and more emphasis on designing the school environment so that there is greater continuity for the students between what goes on in school and what goes on (has gone and will go on) out of school. Then there would probably also be some qualification to this response stating that there has been a more recent reactive trend called "back to basics" with less emphasis on enrichment programs and more emphasis on standards and conformity. Another response might talk about the general thrust in terms of greater orientation to the process of education, and about the reactive trend in terms of a return to more of a product orientation. The role of language in particular has frequently been the major focus of such process-product characterizations.

What might be thought of as the theoretical basis for this state of affairs was recently discussed by Courtney Cazden (1974) in a lucid presentation that we can only highlight here. Basically, her paper examines two of the paradoxes of language, one of which is that all children learn native language structure well, though structure is rarely directly taught by the child's caretaker. This suggests that an effective way to teach other aspects of language (such as reading and writing) might be to design programs that would maintain continuity with the known features of effective home learning environments. This involves more "open" programs with teachers who are more permissive and indulgent, and collaborative in sustaining child-initiated foci of attention.

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Cazden's second paradox, however, is that much research in
language learning (at least as this has been measured by children's
coding abilities) indicates that the most effective preschool
programs seem to be the didactic ones rather than the "open"
ones. Cazden points out that it is still arguable that the
short term gains produced by the didactic programs may be so
limited that "development is mimicked rather than stimulated."
Nonetheless it is disconcerting that the results of the "open"
programs - designed to maximize individual learning and minimize
inequities in educational opportunities across social class and
ethnic boundaries - should be so ambivalent.

Cazden suggests that a key to the resolution of this
paradox may be found in the special aspects of group environ-
ments which do not exist at home and which therefore require
special planning by teachers. These are (1) teachers are
less familiar with individual children than are their home
caretakers, (2) the interactional settings of the classroom
may be more or less congruent with those the child is familiar
with from home, (3) teachers must distribute their attention
and their conversational initiatives among a group of children.
Clearly it is the last of these aspects that the teacher has
most control over and upon which we have attempted to shed
some further light in this report.

In her paper Cazden goes on to suggest that one potential
source of inequitable distribution of teacher's attention
(among a classroom of students) resides in the fact that
teachers are subject to reinforcement also and therefore may
be inclined to talk more to the children that talk most to
them. Cazden then reviews two unpublished studies that
indicate this does indeed happen.

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All this suggests that child initiated interaction may be an especially useful starting point for theorizing about how less didactic teaching situations might work.

In some theoretical sense part of the ideal version of an open educational system is that each child is more in control of his moment-to-moment focus of involvement and that rather than having to accommodate to when the teacher has planned instruction the child has unlimited access to the teacher for help whenever s/he needs it. But, as we have seen, this aspect is more of an ideal than a reality:

Frequently in any elementary or preschool classroom and even more frequently in open classrooms, there are situations in which children are expected to work independently while the teacher is engaged in working directly with other children. Often those children working independently need or desire the teacher's attention for help, approval or direction before the teacher has finished his/her activity. Requests or demands for the teacher's attention from outside the teacher group activity thus constitute a momentary dilemma for the teacher: if the teacher immediately attends to the request from outside, the teacher group activity may be disrupted, but if the teacher does not attend to the request, the task involvement of the requesting child may break down, and an occasion for instruction may be foregone. It's an important decision; yet it has to be made in a split second. This leads one to ask, 'Is any kind of consistency in teacher responsiveness possible?', and 'Without it aren't we talking about inequities for student learning?'.

These service-like event situations have been the focal topic (the locus of observation) of our study. However, rather than dwelling on these situations as potentially interruptive to teacher activity or as occasions for teacher decision-making,

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we wanted to shift to a broader perspective on these situations.
We wanted to shift the focus, as it were, away from specific
teacher problems in two ways. First, we want to rethink these
situations in terms of the communicative demands that are
placed on all participants, both teacher and students. Secondly,
we wanted to rethink these situations in terms of how they relate
to other classroom situations. In trying to do this we have
talked about the kind of communicative skills displayed, the
generalizations we have observed, and some probable reasons
for these.

Beginning, then, by focusing on the "service-like event"
we have tried to think about the nature of the conveyance
resources and the pedagogical controls available to the teacher,
the query resources available to the students, and the communi-
cative demands that are placed upon both the teacher and the
students when they are copresent but not necessarily involved
in the same focal activity. In exploring these issues we have
tried to consider the interweaving of several pairs of related
phenomena: academic and social use of language, social and
task participation, activity structures and participant
structures, vectors of activity and modalities, and verbal and
non-verbal modalities. And we have invoked the paradigmatic
themes of conversational access, ritual boundedness, and ritual
equilibrium throughout.

As we have pointed out, although the situation in which
the teacher is engaged in individualized instruction with only
a subset of the children occurs more frequently in open
classrooms, the situation occurs in classrooms generally. The
"back to basics" trend has not meant that teachers give up
reading groups, for example. In that sense, these findings and
hypotheses may contribute to the more general study of face-to-
face interaction in educational settings, as well as to an

understanding of how effective, less didactic programs seem to
work.

Our study was not aimed at evaluating the teachers we
observed. Rather, independent evidence about the very favorable
reputation of the school and the experience of the teachers in
that school led us to approach the investigation as a descriptive
study of how effective teachers handle periods of individualized
instruction time. Our observations have convinced us that teachers
who effectively use individualized instruction do achieve con-
sistencies in their responsiveness to child-initiated talk,
and that these consistencies are part of a larger set of
behavioral norms about conversational access generally.

At this point, though, what we have come up with is another
apparent paradox: On the basis of our findings it seems that
although the goal of individualized instruction is to allow
children more freedom and more choice in their activities than
in didactic programs, the most effective "open style" teachers
are those who exercise the most control over what constitutes
appropriate student behavior.

This paradox may begin to unravel by "pulling on" the
following two threads of speculation: First, more teacher
control may allow the students to "learn the rules" (explicit
or implicit) for appropriate participation more quickly, and
thus, to more quickly achieve a sense of "belonging" or of
group membership in the classroom. Note that an orientation
to this desired effect of "establishing a sense of belonging"
may account for differing teacher strategies with respect to
"shaping up" appropriate service-like event behavior. In
particular, a teacher may choose to be more lax in the beginning
of the year in order to encourage attention seeking and the
child's sense of "being able to participate" right from the
start, and then tighten up on the kinds of "interruptions"

that are tolerated as the year goes on and as children become
more self-confident and socially secure; or a teacher may be
very firm in his/her enforcement of what constitutes "legitimate
interruption" right from the beginning of the year, and rely on
the fact that consistency throughout the year will facilitate
faster learning of appropriate behavior that will enhance the
students' sense of self-confidence and inspire both peer-group
identification and social respect for the teacher based on
recognition that the classroom operates with "the same rules
for everybody all the time."

Secondly, it may be the case that the most satisfying way
to compare "structured" classroom style teaching and "open"
classroom style teaching will turn out to be not in terms of
differences in degree of teacher control but rather in terms
of differences in the way control is manifested. It would seem
reasonable, for example, to hypothesize that "equally effective"
teaching programs might have "equal amounts" of teacher control,
and that differences in effective teaching style might best be
characterized in terms of the location of teacher control within
the organization of classroom activities. The whole group
classroom situation provides the teacher with the opportunity
to exert control through focussed attention on a task that both
s/he and the students have as main involvement. The special
challenge to the teacher using individualized instruction is
to exert control through structuring task completion environments
that students can do (almost) independently, and by further
structuring "independently-working" students' understanding of
how to make the "fail-safe" mechanism — the service-like event —
work to serve both their own immediate needs and those of the
otherwise occupied teacher.

2 6

This brings us to the real crux of the matter: Attention, as we know, is a major form of reinforcement. It is not so much what teachers <u>say</u> that they will attend to as what teachers <u>do</u> attend to that has the greatest effect on children's behavior. Unfortunately, the communicative demands of managing task in-volvement and social rapport in non whole-group settings do not lend themselves entirely to being organized in just so many simple rules (though careful planning of the various tasks and other ways of structuring anticipated child needs are clearly important teacher controls). A lot thus depends on the teacher's ability to establish consistency between what s/he may want the "rules for interrupting teacher" to be or what s/he may tell students that they are, and the way s/he "informally teaches" the "rules" through his/her actual responsiveness to students in service-like events—incorporating (into the teacher vector of activity), slotting out, deferring, rechannelling, etc.

It is clear, then, that the situational demands of in-dividualized instruction time require sophisticated communicative skills on the part of both students and teachers. It also seems inherent in the situation that the informal learning of these skills through participation in "as needed" interactional activities like service-like events is more powerful than the learning of communicative norms through direct teacher in-struction (recall the interruptions lesson). The really encouraging thing, though, is that the communicative skills so learned are learned well, and that because of their ad hoc "naturalness" the skills may indeed be more readily transferable to situations outside the classroom (see subsection III-B of this report). In a sense, then, the demands may be greater, but so may be the rewards.

We find ourselves pretty much in agreement with the
concluding remarks of Cazden's paper:

> Because everything we know about language
> development suggests that it develops best,
> in functions as well as structure, when
> motivated by powerful communicative intent,
> and because we want to stimulate develop-
> ment and not just mimic it, it is important
> to try to make "natural," less didactic, group
> environments more effective. It should be
> possible to maximize consistency and thereby
> familiarity in child-adult relationships and
> guarantee that the children who need talking
> time with adults get it... (1974, p. 218).

Based on the effectiveness of the twelve teachers we have
observed, we feel confident that it can be done. We reflective
observers only wish we could be more skillful in sharing the
insights that they have provided us with.

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APPENDIX:
REPORT ON DISSEMINATION TO
DATE (MARCH 1980)

There are three categories included here: oral presentations, general
research abstracts written for dissemination, and written publications.

Oral Presentations:

Volunteered Presentations:

1978 "On the Value of Interdisciplinary Perspectives", University
of Pennsylvania annual Linguistics Colloquium. (Merritt)

1978 "Modes of Verbal and Non-Verbal Intertwining In Service Events",
American-Anthropological Association annual meetings, Los
Angeles. (Merritt)

1979 "Building Higher Units and Levels: the Case for the Strategic
Locus of Observation", Chicago Linguistic Society, special
parasession on The Elements held at the annual meetings,
Chicago. (Merritt)

1979 "How Children Get Help From Their Teachers During Individual
Work Time", American Anthropological Association annual meetings,
Cincinnati. (Merritt)

1980 "Service-Like Events in Primary Classrooms", American Educational
sched. Research Association annual meetings, Boston. (Merritt)

Invited Presentations:

1979 "The View From Service-Like Events: Teaching As Managing
Linguistic (/ Communicative) Participation" , mid project re-
search forum on Teaching As A Linguistic Process, sponsored by
the National Institute of Education, Teaching and Learning
Program, Program on Teaching and Instruction, held in Fredericks-
burg, Va. (Merritt with Humphrey as audiovisual support).

1980 "Methodological Aspects of Research with Naturalistic Data",
Bag Lunch Informal Talk Series, Center for Applied Linguistics,
(Merritt with Humphrey providing audiovisual support)

1980 "Thinking About Resources for Stylistic Expression in Primary
Classrooms". Discussion presentation for the Seminar on
Conversational Style at Georgetown University (Professor:
Deborah Tannen), Washington, D. C. (Merritt)

1980 "'Slotting' and Some Issues of Verbal and Non-Verbal Intertwining
sched. In Goal-Directed Activities". Discussion presentation for the
Seminar on the Dynamics of Social Interaction, University of
Pennsylvania (Professor: Erving Goffman), Philadelphia. (Merritt)

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General Research Abstracts Written for Dissemination

Unsolicited:

1979 Eleventh annual Stanford Child Language Research Forum, Stanford
University, Stanford, California. Distributed to participants.

1980 Twelfth annual Stanford Child Language Research Forum, Stanford
University, Stanford, California. Distributed to participants.

1980 First annual University of Pennsylvania Ethnography in Education
Research Forum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Distributed to participants.

Solicited:

1980 National Institute of Education Handbook of Current and Recently
Completed Research Related to Educational Problems. Compiled
under the direction of Mary Ann Wilmer through Dingle Associates
(in progress).

1980 Teaching As A Linguistic Process Mid-Project Research Report,
compiled by Virginia Koehler (including review papers as well as
research abstracts), Teaching and Instruction, Teaching and
Learning Program, National Institute of Education. (available now)

1980 Handbook of Videotape Research in Classrooms. Compiled by
Frederick Erickson, Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan
State University, East Lansing, Michigan (in press).

Written Publications:

1979 Building 'Higher' Units and Levels: the case for the strategic
locus of observation. In Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks, and
Carol L. Hofbauer (eds). The Elements: A Parasession On Linguistic
Units and Levels. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, University
of Chicago. Pp. 119-131. (Marilyn Merritt)

1979 'Communicative Loading' and Intertwining of Verbal and Non-Verbal
Modalities in Service Events. Papers In Linguistics 12,3-4.:
365-392. (Marilyn Merritt)

1979 Teacher, Talk and Task: Communicative Demands During Individualized
Instruction Time. In Judith Green (guest editor) special issue on
"Communicating With Young Children", Theory Into Practice, XVIII,4:
298-303. Columbus, Ohio: College of Education, University of Ohio.
(Marilyn Merritt and Frank Humphrey)

1980 Repeats and Reformulations in Primary Classrooms as Windows on
sched. the Nature of Talk Engagement. To appear in Louise Cherry Wilkinson
(guest editor) "Language of School Age Children", special issue of
Discourse Processes. (Marilyn Merritt)

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