

Ekaterina Moore

“You are children but you can always say . . .”: hypothetical direct reported speech and child–parent relationships in a Heritage Language classroom

Abstract: The paper investigates how children attending a religious Russian Heritage Language school are taught to relate to their parents in culturally acceptable ways. It examines hypothetical direct reported speech that promotes respectful and humble communication behavior in interactions with their parents. The paper is based on discourse analysis of audio- and video-recorded interactions and longitudinal ethnographic observations. Analysis demonstrates that the moral concept of humility is valued in the school and is considered important for children’s everyday lives outside of school. Through the use of hypothetical reported speech children receive concrete understandings of this complex moral concept. The use of hypothetical reported speech allows for creation of a situation where absent parties become active characters. The hypothetical reported quotes are presented as relevant to all of the children while being simultaneously “typical” and “de-personalized.” This allows teachers to avoid accusing a particular child of behaving inappropriately toward a parent. Furthermore, the role of mothers is highlighted in the quotes positioning them as important in the everyday lives of children. While the hypothetical reported speech demonstrates to the children how to be respectful and humble toward parents, it also presents ways to disagree with the parents. Prosody was found to be utilized in the hypothetical speech as an important way to allow for positioning of the social actors in relation to each other to take place. The teachers produce a “layering of voices” (Bakhtin 1981) in the quotes. This layering allows an opportunity for the teachers to express their own stances toward the quotes while at the same time to present to the children acceptable norms through creation of typified characters.

Keywords: discourse analysis, reported speech, Russian, Heritage Language, classroom, hypothetical

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1 Introduction

A goal of a school as a “cultural institution” is to raise competent members of a given society (Holloway 2000: 15). This means that much more than teaching of academic subjects takes place in schools: children not only learn the rules of the school, but also how to be moral individuals and follow the moral codex that they are taught at school in their everyday lives outside of it. Situated in a Russian Orthodox Christian Heritage Language (HL) school, the present paper examines how children attending this school learn to be “proper” Orthodox Christian children toward their family members, and their parents in particular. Specifically, I examine a practice of hypothetical direct reported speech that prompts the children to be “respectful” and “humble” toward a parent, a party absent during an interaction as parents do not attend school with their children.

Hypothetical situations and stories are practices that are frequently employed in secular and religious schools and organizations, including HL schools, and are known to play an important role in socialization of morality (Baquedano-Lopez 1998; Barber 2007; Lo 2006). For example, Barber (2007) has discussed the use of collated stories in a Catholic community youth organization. In future-oriented “what if” narratives discussed by Barber, such questions as “what would Jesus do” and “what would you do” are employed. While the first question is used to set the standard of moral behavior, the second one is used to assess the youth’s own morality. The two types are often used against each other “with the explicit goal of the teens learning to mirror Jesus’ hypothetical actions in the identical situation” (2007: 105).

Similarly, teachers at the Russian HL school make use of hypothetical situations that frequently employ contrast to demonstrate to the children acceptable ways of talking to parents. Such a way of talking is not limited to what a child should and should not say, but also how something should be said to parents in a humble and obedient way. Being humble, a complex moral concept, is presented to the children in a very concrete form through the use of hypothetical quotes. The use of the quotes, including both content and structural elements, positions the children attending the school as typified moral characters.

The present study is based on discourse analysis of video- and audio-recorded classroom interactions and a longitudinal ethnography conducted over a period of a year and a half at a school that is part of a Russian Orthodox parish in Southern California. Children attend this school on Saturdays and take part in Russian language (broadly defined, as it includes study of literacy, literature, and language skills), music, and Bible classes. Most of the classes (and especially the Russian language lessons) are teacher centered, which could be a possible explanation for the abundance of lecture-style discourse observed in the classroom.

The use of hypothetical quotes directed toward a parent is a relatively frequent practice in this school. They are used in situations where children are directed to say/not to say something to their parents. The analysis presented here is based on 22 instances of such quotes directed toward younger, elementary age children. The quotes were produced in the context of the Russian language (usually concentrating on reading) and Bible lessons; reading portions of the Russian language classes usually concentrate on the children's ability to decode the Cyrillic alphabet. Reading out loud is a preferred and commonly practiced activity that is sometimes combined with teacher-led discussions of the texts. In addition, story-reading is often practiced. In this activity, as children listen to the teacher reading, they illustrate on the paper what they hear in the story. During fluency practice children take turns reading a text; while one child is reading, the rest of the group is expected to follow along (if they all have a copy of the text) or listen attentively (if only one child has the copy of the text). During the Bible classes, children usually listen to the teacher's explanation of certain religious concepts and participate in Socratic-style question-answer sequences. They also engage in such activities as coloring or drawing, illustrating the concepts discussed.

Being religious in nature, the school's proclaimed policy found on its website (omitted here due to confidentiality) is to assist parents in the process of instilling a moral upbringing in children. This means that what children are taught at the school is relevant for their lives outside of the school, including their relationships with family members in general, and parents in particular. Children at this school are usually urged to be obedient sons and daughters and treat their parents with respect. They are often told that *mama vseгда prava* 'mother is always right', and *daže esli ona ne prava, ona vse ravno prava* 'and even if she is not right, she is still right'. It is considered a sin to disobey one's parents, and children are often reminded about this. In addition, they are told to be "humble" by comparing their behaviors with how humble Jesus was. To provide children with a more concrete understanding of what it would mean for them to be humble like Jesus, children are given examples of how one should and should not talk to their parents. Through the use of these examples, acceptable and unacceptable actions are signaled in addition to word choice through prosody to depict appropriate stances, and contrast those with inappropriate ones. In what follows, I discuss how through the use of such quotes, positioning of the children in relation to their parents, creation of normativity, and typifying of social actors take place. I provide an analysis of how quotes are presented as typical and relevant for the children (Section 4.1); I then discuss the roles that mothers are assigned in the quotes (Section 4.2), the ways that acceptable and unacceptable manners of speaking to parents are projected (Section 4.3), and the ways to disagree with the parents while still acting as "humble" and "obedient" children (Section 4.4).

2 Hypothetical direct speech: background

Hypothetical direct speech is similar to reported speech that Voloshinov (1986: 115) describes as “speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also speech about speech, utterance about utterance.” While hypothetical direct speech can be classified as reported direct speech, it is different from our usual understanding of the phenomenon, as hypothetical reported speech is a re-enactment of what is seen as “typical” speech, and may be words or propositions that may have never been produced by anyone, framed in a way that shows their hypothetical nature. At the same time, however, reported speech (reporting of an actual rather than hypothetical event) is an act that is also a departure from the reported reality, as “the quoted utterance is characterized by transformations, modifications and functionalizations according to the speaker’s aims and the new conversational context” (Günthner 1998: 3). Consistent with the idea of transformations in reported speech, Tannen (1989: 109) proposes looking at the phenomena as “constructed dialogue,” as every utterance produced as reported speech is “an active transforming move” through which the “spirit of the utterance, its nature and force, are fundamentally transformed.” Although hypothetical direct speech does not transform specific utterances, the “typical” utterances that children produce or should produce are reported. In this sense, teachers producing hypothetical quotes, similarly to speakers of reported speech, become “laminated speakers” (Goffman 1981).

Various roles, such as an animator, a principal, and an author may be performed by a laminated speaker producing reported speech (Goffman 1981). In addition, audience is crucial to the form of reported speech. Goodwin and Goodwin (2007) have emphasized this fact in their discussion of “participation frameworks.” Hypothetical direct speech in the HL classroom is often designed in a way that makes the message relevant for all the children present, even in situations when a concern of one particular child may be discussed.

Producing hypothetical direct speech for the children, the teachers in my data model ways of talking to their parents. In other words, hypothetical quotes come about in a context of “prompting” (Schieffelin 1990; Burdelski 2010). Prompting is a practice where children are directed to say something that is done in an attempt to socialize the children into routines, such as politeness routines. Prompting usually consists of two elements: (i) a directive containing a verb “say” followed by a quote children are supposed to say; and (ii) a child repeating what a caregiver said. In some instances, such as socialization of politeness routines, caregivers may repeat what a child has asked of his or her peer before prompting a response from the second child (Burdelski 2010). Hypothetical direct speech is similar to such prompting routines in that teachers perform the first step, telling

children what to say. Because the children are provided with models of what to say and what not to say to an absent party in a hypothetical scenario, step two of the child repeating what the teacher said is not expected or performed. Hypothetical direct speech, however, is similar to prompting routines in that it “provide[s] not only the content of talk but the form and the function as well” (Schieffelin 1990: 77). It is also similar to prompting in the sense that caregivers provide their view of what should or should not be said by the children; “the starting point is the mother’s [or caregiver’s] view of what should be said and what should be happening” (1990: 77).

In addition to providing their own views of what should and should not be said to their parents, the teachers communicate to the children their own stances toward the different ways of speaking exhibited in the quotes. The children become exposed to the teachers’ understanding of acceptable and unacceptable ways of communicating with a parent. Through the use of these quotes in the context of prompting, the children are directed to align to the projected understanding of normativity and morality produced “through the animation of voices” (Galato 2007).¹ In what follows I examine how by using hypothetical reported quotes the teachers project normativity to their students. I start my analysis with looking at how the quotes are framed as relevant to the children through the use of plurals.

3 Methodology

This paper is guided by research that employs methods of micro-ethnography and discourse analysis to investigate classroom practices (Erickson 1986; Erickson and Schultz 1981). The study is part of a larger study based on longitudinal ethnographic observations, detailed semi-structured interviews, and detailed analysis of video- and audio-recorded interactions. As stated earlier, I have spent a year and a half observing and video- and audio-recording interactions in a younger, elementary age classroom. Video and audio recordings were then transcribed using the conventions proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). The interactions are presented in a three-line format using linguistic transliteration conventions (see the appendices for the transcription and transliteration conventions used).²

¹ For a discussion of a range of other functions of reported speech, see Holt and Clift (2007).

² All study participants were informed about and agreed to being observed and video- and audio-recorded and signed an appropriate consent form. Consents for study participation by children were signed by their parents.

4 Analysis and discussion

4.1 Framing the quotes as typical and relevant to the children

In interactions with younger children attending the HL Russian school, hypothetical direct speech is usually framed with the use of a 2nd person verb of saying, such as *skazat'* 'say', *govorit'* 'talk', *sprosit'* 'ask', etc. It has been noted that in conversational Russian direct speech is frequently limited to framing that contains a saying verb (Kitajgorodskaja 1993; Bolden 2004). In the setting of an HL classroom, teachers often use plural saying verbs in the framing of the quotes,³ making them relevant for all the children in the classroom, and sometimes transforming a conversation with one particular child into something relevant for everyone.

In example (1) the teacher is urging children to ask their parent to check whether the books they give them to read are Orthodox Christian. The excerpt is part of a longer interaction that started during a break from a Russian class where a teacher asked to take a look at a book about God that a girl had brought to school. After looking at the book for several minutes the teacher concludes that it is not appropriate for reading because it is not Orthodox Christian. After the break the teacher brings back the topic of the unacceptable book, telling the child not to read it. The excerpt presented here takes place after the break is over and all the children are back in the classroom. In providing an explanation for why this book is not acceptable for reading, she models a possible quote that can be used to talk to the parents about the issue. The teacher frames the quote with plurals making it relevant not only for the one particular child who was reading the “wrong” book, but for all the children present:

(1)⁴

01 **Teacher:** I poèтому kogda vam roditeli dajut knigi požalujsta, (0.5)

And that's why when you parents give books please

So that's why when your parents give you books please

→ 02

Vy deti no
You children but

You are children but

vy <i>you.Pl.</i> you	vsegda <i>always</i> always	možete skazat', <i>can.Pl. say.Inf.</i> can say,
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³ Use of plurals and other “collective indexicals” (Lo 2006) in academic settings is a well-known phenomenon (Lo 2006; Mills 1999; Rounds 1987).

⁴ Refer to Appendix B for transcription conventions used.

- 03 Roditeli mogut ètogo ne znat'.
Parents can this not know
Parents may not know this,
- 04 Mam posmotri èto pravoslavna knižka ili net. (0.5)
Mom look this orthodox book or not
Mom please check if this is an Orthodox book or not.
- 05 V načale vseгда napisano kem ona izdana. (0.3)
In beginning always written whom she published
In the beginning it always says who the publisher is.
- 06 I esli ona izdana ne ponjatno kem, (0.3).
And if she published not understood whom
And if it is published by some unknown entity,
- 07 I tam pravosla- pravoslavie s blagoslavljenija takogo-to
And there orthodoxy with blessing that
 takogo-to patriarxa ili iepiskopa ili metropolita ne naPlsano. (.)
that patriarch or bishop or metropolitan not written
And it does not say with the blessing of such and such
patriarch or bishop or metropolitan,
- 08 Značit my èto ne čITA::em. (.)
Meaning we this not read
That means we don't read it.
- 09 Daže esli èto napisano pro boga.
Even if this written about god
Even if it is written about god.
- 10 Potomu čto èto možet byt' TAK iskaženo.
Because this can be so distorted
Because it can be so distorted,
- 11 Čto vy voobšče pojedete v druguju storonu. (0.3)
That you in general go.FUT. in different side
That you will go in a different direction.
- 12 Ponjatno.
Undersood
Do you understand?
- 13 ((Ženja nods))

((Teacher continues to talk about the book for 18 seconds while Ženja takes the book from the teacher and puts it on her desk))

14 Teacher: Znachit ètu knigu ubiraeš'(.)i ne čitaeš'.

Meaning this book put away and not read

So put away this book and don't read it.

One distinctive feature of this interaction is the use of plurals. By using a plural “you” (line 01) in the description of a hypothetical situation and the plurals “can say” and “you” in the framing of the quote (line 02), the teacher transforms the concern of one particular child (who brought a non-Orthodox book about God to school) into a directive addressed to all the children. Using plurals positions the value of reading Orthodox Christian books (and the children’s ability to ask their parents about it) as applicable to all the children and not one particular child. In addition, the children are typified as individuals whom their parents give books that are religious in nature and for whom it is important to read Orthodox Christian literature.

The normalcy of talking to the parents about what books the children are given to read is further highlighted by the word “always” used in line 02 (“you can always ask”). Having made the quote and the concept of reading Orthodox Christian books about God applicable to all the children, the teacher checks whether the children understand the reason for this particular book choice in line 12, using an adverb *ponjatno* ‘understandably’ that could be used with one or multiple addressees. In response to this, Zhenja, a girl who brought the wrong book, nods, providing an affirmative answer to the teacher’s inquiry while other children (visible in the camera’s angle) look at the teacher not providing any observable responses. Following a reaction from only one student, the teacher engages in further discussion of the book followed by addressing Zhenja specifically (using second person singular verbs), directing her to put away and not read the book (line 14). This directive comes after the child has already taken the book from the teacher and placed it on her desk with the cover facing down. The use of this directive, however, highlights the action of putting the book away produced by the child and makes the action that might have been unnoticed by other students more salient. To further highlight the relevance of reading Orthodox Christian literature, the teacher uses an inclusive “we”, positioning not only children, but also herself as an individual who does not read non-Orthodox literature (line 08). The emphasis put on the first person plural verb “not read” used in present tense (*ne čita::em*) (line 08) further highlights the relevance of the concept to all present.

The inclusive “we” combined with first person plural verbs is frequently used to make hypothetical quotes relevant to the whole class and not one particular individual. In example (2), “we” is used to demonstrate to the children the value of redemption and asking for forgiveness, actions considered necessary for achievement of humility. The interaction is part of a longer discussion that took place after the teacher read to the children a story about Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Heaven. To provide the children with an understanding of the reason for the expulsion, a scenario is presented where the children themselves (similarly to Adam) did something wrong and instead of asking for forgiveness from their parents, started making excuses:

(2)

- 01 **Teacher:** Adam postupil soveršenno nepravil’no.
Name acted completely wrong
Adam acted completely wrong.
- 02 Čto on stal delat’. (.)
What he began do
What did he do?
- 03 Vmesto togo čtoby, (0.3)
Instead of,
- 04 A:: vmesto togo čtoby pokajat’sja poprosit u boga proščeniya.
instead of repent ask at god forgiveness
Instead of repenting and asking Gof for forgiveness,
- 05 Čto on sdelal.(0.6)
What he did
What did he do?
- 06 **Child:** On (0.2) sprjatsja.
He hid
He hid.
- 07 **Teacher:** On sprjatsja,
He hid
He hid.
- 08 A kak on otvetil bogu na ego vopros.
But how he answered god on his question.
But how did he answer the God’s question?

09 (2.0)

((teacher retells the content of the text for about 12 seconds))

10 Vot my s vami často vot tak vot kogda čto-to sделаem da?
 Here we with you.PI often here like this when something do.1P.PI yes
 We also often act like this when we do something.

11 Bežim k roditeljam i čto dolžny sdelat.
 Run.1P.PI to parents and what must.PI do
 We run to the parents and what should we do?

12 (1.5)

13 A- poprosit' proščenija,
 ask forgiveness
 Ask for forgiveness.

14 Prosti menja mama papa.
 Forgive me mother father
 Forgive me mom dad.

15 Vy ZNAete (.) čto (.) vy vinovaty.
 You.PI know.2P.PI that you.PI fault
 You know that you are at fault,

16 No (.) vy načinaete opravdyvat'sja.
 But you.PI start.2P.PI. make excuses
 But you start making excuses.

17 Tak i Adam.
 Like this and name
 The same with Adam.

18 On načal opravdyvat'sja.
 He began make excuses
 He began making excuses.

In the present interaction the teacher first provides a paraphrase of the word *pokajat'sja* 'repent', explaining its meaning as "asking for forgiveness" (line 04). She then retells the text that they read explaining Adam's actions: Adam hid and blamed Eve and God himself instead of taking responsibility and asking for forgiveness (teacher's retelling of the text is not included due to space limitation). Following the explanation, the teacher presents a hypothetical situation where

children are positioned in a situation similar to Adam's: they do something wrong and instead of asking for forgiveness, "start making excuses" (line 16). This hypothetical situation is framed with the use of the inclusive *my s vami* 'we with you' (line 10). Such use of pronouns and plural verbs *sdelaem* 'do' (line 10), *bežim* 'run', and *dolžny* 'must' (line 11) portrays the situation as applicable to all the children and the teacher herself. To make it more clear for the children what it would mean for them to "repent" and "ask for forgiveness", the teacher produces a desirable alternative to the situation, including a hypothetical quote of asking for forgiveness (line 14). Following the quote she makes a proposition that instead of producing such a quote, children "start making excuses" even though they know that they are at fault (lines 15 and 16). Here she uses second person plural pronouns and verbs highlighting the relevance of the hypothetical scenario to all the children present.

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

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

class. The teacher was explaining to the children that the most important concept to practice during the last week of Lent was humility:

(3)

01 **Teacher:** Bud'te smirennymi nemnožko.=

Be.Pl.Imp. humble a little

Be a little humble.

02 =Esli vam čto-to govornjat,

If you.Pl. something say

If you are told something,

03 Ne nado (garit').

No need say

Don't say,

04 ↑Ja ↑znaju. ja vuvuvu vuvuvè.

I know I

I know I blah-blah-blah.

05 Skažite xorošo mam ja ispravljus'. (.)

Say.Inf.Pl. good mom I self-correct

Say Ok, mom, I will get better.

06 Ponjatno potomu čto èto u vas u vse èto est'.

Understand because this at you at all this is

Understand? Because you all act like this.

07 Ja znaju po svojim detjam.

I know on self children

I know this based on my children.

08 (2.5)

09 **Ženja:**

Ja èto delaju.

I this do

I do this

10 (1.5)

11 **Ženja:** xxxxxx

12 **Teacher:** Tak vot v sleduščee voskresen'e

So here in next sunday

So next Sunday,

In this example a child acknowledges that she does “do it” (talk in a way that the teacher modeled) in line 09. The teacher, however, does not react to the child’s comment, which results in a long 1.5-second pause (line 10). Following the pause, the teacher changes the topic of conversation by getting back to the issue discussed earlier – a holiday next Sunday. The teacher’s turn is overlapped with the child’s talk (lines 11 and 12). The teacher, however, does not address the child’s previous comment or try to initiate a repair of the child’s overlapped talk; instead she continues to talk about the upcoming holiday (discussion of the holiday starts with “So next Sunday” [line 12] and is omitted due to space limitation). By such a sequential deletion of the child’s comment the teacher avoids discussing one particular child’s actual non-normative behaviors, which helps maintain the status of the quote as typical; framing the quote with plurals makes it relevant for everyone present.

4.2 Role of mothers in hypothetical quotes

Framed in a way that makes them relevant for all children present in the classroom, hypothetical quotes often (though not always) start with the term of address for “mother,” *mama* or the contracted *mam*, signaling the shift from framing to the quote. It is, however, not the use of the lexical item alone, but its combination with pitch reset that allows one to understand where the quote begins. It is a well-known phenomenon that “marked shifts in prosody can contribute towards indicating that the speaker has shifted footing to enact the words of another” (Holt 2007: 59). The use of the term of address for “mother” combined with pitch reset to open a quote not only marks the beginning of the quote, but also highlights the significant role that mothers play in the lives of the children. The use of the term of address in the beginning of hypothetical quotes positions children as initiating a conversation with their mothers, and simultaneously as children who speak with their mothers in Russian. At the same time, the mothers are also portrayed as speakers of Russian and as individuals associated with the activities presented in the quotes, such as cooking, reading, choosing books, etc. The use of *mama* combined with a pitch reset can be seen in the following examples. In example (4), a Bible teacher tells a child who has informed him and the class that her mother does not love her grandmother, to talk to her mother about the issue. In this interaction a term of address for a mother is used in the beginning of a quote:

(4)

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

→ 40

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

41 A vdrug (.) babuška umrět,
And if grandmother die
What if grandma dies?

A distinctive feature of this interaction is the teacher's beginning of the hypothetical quote with the term of address *mama*. Contrary to Grenoble's (1998: 123) observations that "in spoken Russian it [reported quote] is bounded by pauses before and after the quoted sentence," in the HL classroom interactions this is frequently not the case. *Mama* is not separated from the previous talk by pauses; in fact, the quote is left-pushed to the prior TCU, i.e., turn constructional unit (Sacks et al. 1974). Instead, what separates the quote from its framing in these cases is a reset in pitch that takes place at the term of address. The downward intonation of the framing "you must somehow talk to your mother" reaches its lowest pitch at the word *mamoi* (112 Hz), and the term of address *mama* that opens the quote is produced at a higher pitch (132 Hz) at its first syllable /ma/ (see Figure 1).

The use of the term of address *mama* produced with the pitch that is distinct from the previous TCU intonation pattern, is an anchoring device that signals to the children a shift from the quotative frame to the quote itself, and positions the talk in a hypothetical situation – a conversation with a mother. In addition to

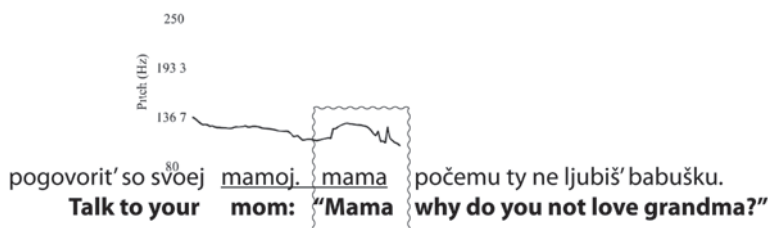


Fig. 1: Pitch reset at quote boundary

signaling a shift in footing, the term of address for mother produced in a higher pitch makes the word *mama* salient, highlighting the presence of mothers in children's lives. The mother is presented as an individual with whom a child can speak in Russian (a quality viewed positively in the school), and as an individual who is involved in a moral transgression of not loving her mother (an action condemned by the Church). The child, on the other hand, is presented as an individual who has an ability to initiate and maintain a conversation about the issue with the mother, i.e., portrayed as knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodox Christian morality (she knows that one should love her parent).

The concept of children being knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodox Christianity in comparison to their parents is also seen in example (1) cited earlier. In this example the child is presented as initiating a conversation about the value of reading Orthodoxy-approved books about God with her mother. Similar to example (4), a term of address for mother, *mam*, is produced at a higher pitch than the previous TCU, "parents may not know it". Although this TCU is an insertion between the frame and the actual quote, the same strategy of higher pitch on the term of address is used, signaling the shift in frame to a quote (see Figure 2).

In addition to signaling the shift to reported talk, the use of the term of address produced in a higher pitch again makes the fact that mothers are present in children's lives salient. Similar to example (4), a child is presented as initiating a conversation with a mother in Russian about a religious topic (one should only read Orthodox religious materials) that is explicitly described as something parents may not be knowledgeable about ("*roditeli mogut éтого ne znat'*") in line 03.

A seeming contradiction is apparent in that children in this school are asked to be respectful and obedient toward a parent while at the same time they are taught that parents may not be very knowledgeable about the matters of Orthodoxy. The latter is often overtly discussed among the teachers and is supported by recent research on religiosity of Russia as a country. Andreeva (2008) demonstrates that while the majority of the population in Russia is self-proclaimed Orthodox Christian, Orthodox Christianity for the most part holds a status of a nominal religion. In other words, most self-proclaimed Orthodox Christians are not

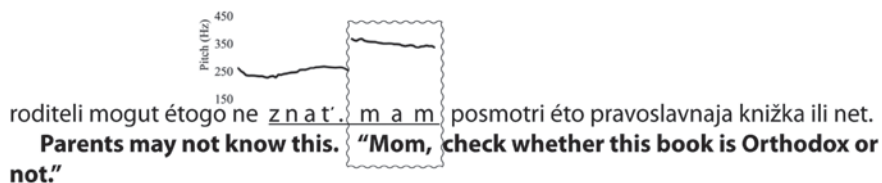


Fig. 2: Pitch reset at quote boundary

knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy. Considering the secular nature that the country maintained during the Soviet times, and the fact that it is currently one of the most secular countries in Europe, it comes as no surprise that many of the children attending the school are positioned as individuals who have an ability to “educate” their parents (most of whom grew up in the Soviet Union and migrated to the United States in their adulthood) about religious issues.

While we can see that through the use of the term of address for “mother” in hypothetical quotes the children are implicitly positioned as capable of initiating conversations with and “teaching” one’s parent, the idea of doing so is condemned in the teachers’ explicit remarks. This could be seen in example (5) where the teacher explicitly frames a hypothetical don’t-quote (something a child should not say) to a parent as “teaching.” The quote starts with the word *tak* that is followed by a term of address *mama*:

(5)

- 01 **Teacher:** To čto vam dajut v škole, (0.8)
That which you give in school
What you are taught in school,
- 02 Vy dolžny konečno èto slyšet' (.) ponimat'. (1.0)
You must of course this hear understand
You must of course hear and understand.
- 03 No ne- ne učit'- ne prixodit' i ne govorit' ?
But no no teach no come and no say
But don't teach, don't come and say,
- 04 Tak mama bystro perestan' gotovit' mjaso. (.)
Like this mom quickly stop cook meat
Tak, mom stop cooking meat right now,
- 05 Potomu čto tak-to i tak-to.
Because like this and like this
Because like this and like that.
- 06 Net.
No.
- 07 Vy ne dolžny ètogo govorit' no vy dolžny èto znat'.
You no must this say but you must this know
You must not say it, but you must know it.

Similar to the previous examples, reset in pitch signals to the interlocutor where the quote starts in this example. Here the pitch of *tak* is noticeably lower (299 Hz mean pitch of the word) than in the previous word, *govorit* ‘say’ (340 Hz mean pitch), which has a rising intonation contour (see Figure 3).

The use of the conversational *tak* combined with an intonation that is distinct from that used in the frame of the quote helps identify that the quote begins with *tak* and not *mama*.⁵ *Mama*, however, is the most prominent word as its first syllable is produced in high tone. Such production of the reported quote again highlights that the dialogue takes place between the child and her Russian-speaking mother, who is positioned as a child’s caregiver involved in such primary activity as cooking for the child, and whom a child should not “teach.” It is notable that the teacher re-starts her meta-commentary about the quote in line 03 from *ne učit* ‘not teach’ to *ne govorit* ‘not say’, providing explanation of what it means “to teach” one’s parent, and modeling it with a don’t-quote.

As we can see, the use of the term of address for mother in the hypothetical do- and don’t-quotes highlights the roles that mothers play as primary caregivers for the children. Through explicit remarks the students are urged not to teach their parents, while through positioning them as initiating conversations with mothers, they are implicitly encouraged to educate them. A better understanding of what it means to “teach” one’s parent and what it means to be “humble” is achieved when we take a closer look at the do- and don’t-quotes, as these quotes become explicitly framed as associated with “humility” and “teaching,” respectively.



Fig. 3: Pitch reset at quote boundary

⁵ *Tak* is a polysemous word that can be used as an interjection or an adverb. If we were to remove the intonation pattern from the transcript, the teacher’s talk can be interpreted in a different way, where *tak* serves not as an interjection, but as an adverb “like this” describing a manner of speaking and is part of the quotative frame and not the quote:

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

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

4.3 Acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking

The contrast between the manner of production of do- and don't-quotes is utilized by the teachers to demonstrate to the children acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking to a parent. Modeling direct speech rather than describing what is acceptable and what is not, and positioning the two ways of behaving against each other “provide[s] not only the content of talk but the form and the function as well” (Schieffelin 1990: 77). The two types of quotes are framed in a contrastive manner with the repetition of the saying verb, the use of a contrastive conjunction, and the addition of a negative marker that renders salient when the saying verb of framing remains the same. Example (6) demonstrates how the teachers contrast the two ways of talking to parents:

(6)

01 **Teacher:** My dolžny byt' očen' smirennymi,
We must be very humble
We must be very humble.

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

03 Krotkimi,
Gentle
Gentle.

→04

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

 (.) ↑ne:::t (.) ja èto ne budu delat'.
no I this no will do
no, I won't do this.

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

06 Ja èto ne mogu::.
I this no can
I can't do this.

→07

A govorit'
<i>But say</i>
But say

 xorošo ja postorajus'(.)
good I try-Fut
Ok I will try.

- 08 Ja sdělaju,
 I do-Fut
 I will do it.
- 09 Očen' smirenno,
 Very gently
 Very gently.
- 10 Ne zlit'sja,
 No angry
 Don't be angry.
- 11 Ne rugat'sja, (0.7)
 No argue
 Don't argue.
- 12 Ne v- vspyljat roditeljam čto-to takoe v otvet. da?
 No blow up parents somethink like in response yes
 Don't blow up something like this in response to parents.
 Yes?

In example (6), highlighting the contrast between acceptable and unacceptable actions with a conjunction *a* 'but' (line 07), the teacher urges the children not to say "no" to their parents. In addition, they are discouraged from providing accounts for why they cannot do something. This is contrasted with the proposition that children should agree to do what they are asked, saying that they will try and do it. In addition to the content of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable to say to the parents, the teachers model the manner in which they should and should not speak. This modeling is framed by meta-linguistic commentary of the two ways of talking in lines 01–03 and 09–10.

The don't-quote starts with the word "no." "No" is treated as a second pair part to the request that is not explicitly stated, but that is implied and articulated later in the interaction, "not to blow up something like this in response to parents. yes?" (line 12). The use of the deictic *èto* 'this' in the beginning of the quote (line 04) points to the imaginary situation, in which the two characters are "in the know," probably referring to the hypothetical unstated request. *Net* 'no' is produced with a much higher pitch (as compared to the preceding framing), a stretched vowel sound /e/, and a wide (232 Hz) pitch range in the word with the maximum pitch being 461 Hz and a minimum pitch being 229 Hz. There is also stretching of the sound /u/ in *ne xoču::* 'don't want to' and *ne mogu::* 'can't'. It is noteworthy that the stretched /u/ in *ne xoču* is the most prominent syllable in line

05, with /u/ produced in high tone. In addition to the stretched sounds and the wide pitch range of “no”, the teacher employs a distinct rising intonation in line 05, and falling in line 06. The TCU in line 06 is latched to the TCU in line 05. The combination of the stretching and emphasizing of the sound /u/, its production as part of the most prominent syllable in high tone in *ne xoču*, the rising intonation in line 05 contrasted with the stretching of /u/ and falling intonation in line 06 create the perception of a complaining, angry voice. The latching of the TCU creates the perception that the child might not be listening to the parent as no adequate space is provided between the TCUs for the parent to come in with his or her input. Such an exaggerated way of speaking is contrasted with how children ought to speak to their parents, a manner that is modeled immediately following the undesired way.

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

The pitch tracks in Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate the difference in the pitch range and intonation patterns of the two quotes.



Fig. 4: Rise-fall intonation in a don't-quote



Fig. 5: Continuing intonation in a do-quote

Similar to this example, in an interaction discussed earlier (see example [3] for full transcript), the children are directed to obey their parents by agreeing to do what they are told. Simultaneously a model of how to say that they will do what they are told is presented. Similar to example (6), in addressing the need to be “humble” and “obedient,” the children are told to respond with *xorošo* ‘Ok, good’, an agreement token produced in a “calm” manner:

(7)

- 02 =Esli vam čto-to govorjat, ne nado (garit').
 If you something say no need say
 If you are told something, don't say
- 03 ↑Ja↑znaju. ja vuvuvu vuvuvè.
 I know I
 I know! I blah-blah-blah!
- 04 Skažite xorošo mam ja ispravljus' (.)
 Say good mom I self-correct
 Say Ok, mom, I will get better.
- 05 Ponjatno, potomu čto u vas u vsex èto est'.
 Understand because at you at all this is
 Understand? Because you all act like this.

Figure 6 represents the contrast in the pitch of the two quotes. The manner of the quote production presents the children with normative ways of talking to parents by contrasting acceptable and unacceptable ways of talking.

When the teacher demonstrates to the children how not to speak to the parents, her pitch goes up to 489 Hz on the first word of the quote, *ja* ‘I’, from the

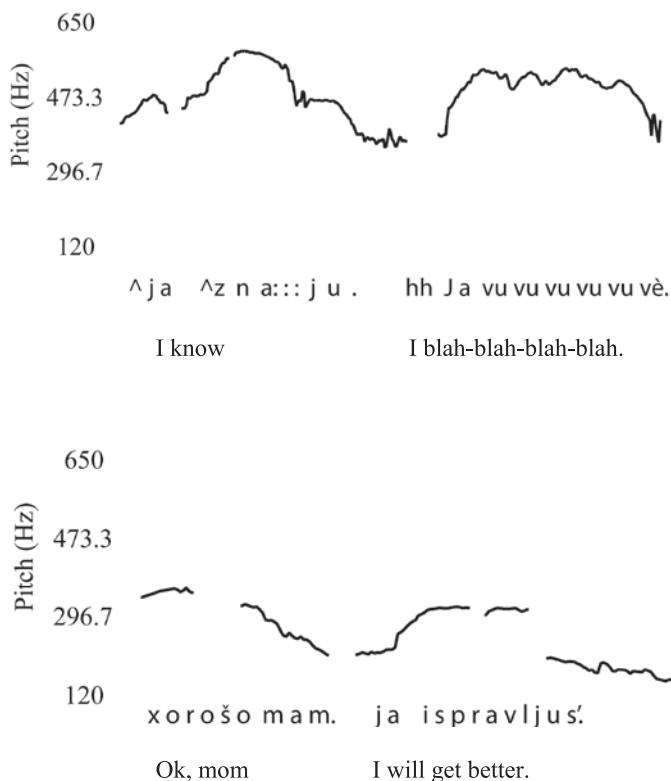


Fig. 6: Contrast of intonation in don't- and do-quotes

maximum pitch of 234 Hz in the last word of the frame *garit'*, a contracted form of the verb *govorit'* 'to speak'. The quote consists of two TCUs, one of which is non-lexical "blah-blah-blah". Using this non-lexical item, the speaker "presumes that the addressees can imagine/predict the words for themselves" (Grenoble 1998). By choosing not to use particular words, but a non-lexical item, the teacher highlights to the children that such a manner of production is unacceptable regardless of what words they use.

Layering of voices is performed by the teacher during the production of *Ja znaju Ja vuvuvuvuve* 'I know I blah-blah-blah'. The child's voice is clearly heard in "I know" (line 03). In the next TCU, however, in addition to citing the child's voice, the teacher adds another layer of her own voice through the use of the non-lexical "blah-blah-blah". The intonation pattern of the quote's TCUs is very similar as they are both produced in a hearably higher pitch and with a distinct rise/fall intonation (see Figure 6). It is the intonation and the higher pitch that

allow one to understand “blah-blah-blah” as a quote produced in the child’s voice. With the choice of the non-lexical item, however, the teacher adds her own voice to that of the child. By doing this she not only demonstrates how the quote is produced, but also communicates her own negative stance toward the quote.

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

4.4 Speaking in a humble way when disagreeing with parents

In the modeling of normative behaviors, “humility” and “obedience,” complex moral concepts take a very concrete form that is re-enacted through hypothetical direct speech. As I have discussed, while children are explicitly told about and provided with models of humility, respect, and obedience through hypothetical quotes, sometimes they are also provided with ways to demonstrate to the parents that the parents may not know something or may not be right about something. This usually comes up in the context of Orthodox practices and morality. In such cases, various means including pitch and intonation are again employed to demonstrate how to show to the parents in acceptable ways that they may be wrong or not know something. In example (8) the acceptable way of telling a parent that they were wrong is modeled to the child who brought a non-Orthodox book to school. The teacher tells the girl not to read the book, either at home or at school, and let her parents know that she should not be reading it.

(8)

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

02 Prideš' domoj (1.5) i skažeš'. (2.0)
Come(FutPerf) home and say-FutPerf
You will come home and say,

→03 Moja učitel'nica (1.0) Irina Borisovna,(0.8)
My teacher proper name patronimic
My teacher, Irina Borisovna,

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

05 (): Po čemu.
Wh y

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

07 Esli est' voprosy,
If are questions
If there are questions,

08 Pust' oni mne pozvonjat togda roditeli.
Let they me call then parents
Then they, your parents, should call me.

09 Ne čitat' (.) potomu čto, (.)
No read because
Should not read because,

10 (): Po čemu.
Why

11 **Teacher:** Iskažaetsja slovo božee.
Distort-ref. word god
The word of God is distorted.

- 12 Ėta kniga izdana ne pravoslavnym, (.)
 This book published not orthodox
 This book is not by an Orthodox,
- 13 A- a:: kakim-to izdatel'stvom,
 But some publisher
 But by some other publisher.
- 14 Ėta kniga iskažaet,
 This book distorts
 This book distorts.

In the present interaction the teacher provides the following quote that the girl should tell her parents: “My teacher, Irina Borisovna, told me not to read this book” (lines 03 and 04). The quote is clearly framed by the saying verb “say” followed by a long pause. In her production of the quote the teacher uses her own self as an authority figure for why a child may tell the parents why the book they gave her is not acceptable. The manner in which the quote is produced is similar to the manner of do-quotes discussed earlier. It is not rushed, but is filled with pauses, creating the perception of a non-contradictory way of speaking. Such a way of talking to the parents is present in all the quotes addressed to parents that may doubt them in any way.

While it is clear that the children are provided with models of non-contradictory ways of speaking for confronting one parent, the present interaction is an example of a child questioning the validity of what the teacher tells the class. In line 05 a child challenges her teacher by asking a why-question (Bolden and Robinson 2011). The teacher, however, takes this not as challenging the idea that one should talk to a parent in a non-contradictory manner, but as a challenge of an idea that one should not read non-Orthodox books about God, as she goes on to provide an account supporting it (lines 11–14). The notion that children may disagree with their parents in a non-contradictory manner is not challenged or commented on by the children; the manner of the quote production or the idea of talking to parents is never explicitly discussed by the children.

In example (9) a child is again provided a model to question her parent in a “non-contradictory” manner. In this interaction (partial transcript of the interaction is presented in example [4]) a girl told her teacher in a Bible class that her mother does not love her grandmother. The teacher advises the girl to talk to her mother and provides a do-quote that is produced in a cooperative manner:

(9)

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

→40

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

→41

A vdruk (.) babuška umrèt,
And if grandmother die
And what if grandma dies?

→42

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

→43

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

- 44 ((Maša shruggs her shoulders))

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

The quote in this example contains a why-question (“Mom, why don’t you love grandma”). This question is critical of the mother’s conduct (Bolden and Robinson 2011). Similar to the previous example, however, the quote is produced in a manner that creates the perception of being non-contradictory. As I mentioned earlier, the teacher starts the quote with the term of address “mama” that follows the framing saying verb “talk” (lines 39 and 40). In line 42, a plural pronoun “you” and “each other” (referring to the mother and the grandmother) are used to re-anchor the quote. In addition to using such re-anchoring devices, “dialogue reporting” can be one of the ways to perform an “unquote” (Bolden 2004). In dialogue reporting when more than one TCUs are quoted by different people, the beginning of one quote co-occurs with the end of another quote. One of the ways to mark the onset of the next quote is through sequence organizational resources, i.e., adjacency pairs such as question–answer. While reported dialogues are not frequent in my data, the present interaction might be an example of one. It is difficult to say whether Masha shrugging her shoulders in line 44 is done “in

the quote” or in the “here/now.” On the one hand, the shrugging of the shoulders might demonstrate the girl’s misunderstanding of the teacher’s talk in line 43 and treating it as a question to her (in the “here/now”) rather than a hypothetical quote. The shrugging of the shoulders could also be the girl’s evaluation of the hypothetical scenario discussed by the teacher in the quote, produced in the here-and-now. On the other hand, Masha’s action could also be treated as her contribution to the reported dialogue, and a switch to another speaker, possibly the mother answering the question from line 43. This view would support the idea of the child co-constructing a hypothetical dialogue with the mother who is portrayed as a willing participant in a conversation where a child is questioning her conduct, validating positioning of the child as a knowledgeable party competent to educate a parent. The child’s quote is accepted as a legitimate move as the parent responds to it without assessing it as unacceptable. It is notable that the teacher does not treat Masha’s shrugging her shoulders as a misunderstanding of his question. Instead, the teacher’s gloss (line 45) of Masha’s shrugging of the shoulders has two possible interpretations: (i) as a reading of the mother’s action in an enacted dialogue as “very sad”; or (ii) as an interpretation of the girl’s assessment of the hypothetical scenario in the here-and-now as “very sad”. What is important, however, is that the participants do not treat the child’s challenging her mother’s conduct as unacceptable.

We can see that while the lexical content of these quotes is disagreement with the parents, the cooperative manner of their production achieved by leveled intonation, not wide pitch range, no prominent syllables in high tone, and use of pauses as opposed to latched units, is maintained. The discrepancy between the form of the quote and its lexical content allows the teachers to resolve the seeming contradiction (simultaneously being an obedient child and disagreeing with a parent) by demonstrating to the children that one needs to be respectful toward a parent and at the same time to let them know that the latter’s home practices may disalign with acceptable Orthodox behaviors. In other words, the children are taught to disagree and question parents’ actions in an acceptable polite manner.

5 Conclusions

The paper examined hypothetical direct reported speech produced by teachers at a Russian HL school. I discussed how through the use of these quotes normative ways of relating to parents are presented to the children. Teachers choose hypothetical direct speech as a means of normativity production because they allow creation of situations where absent parties (parents) become active characters. In

addition, hypothetical situations are typified and de-personalized, which allows avoiding accusing a particular child of behaving inappropriately toward a parent.

The quotes appear in hypothetical scenarios and are made relevant to all children present in the classroom. The quotes model to the children not only the lexical content of the propositions, but also acceptable and unacceptable manners of their production presented in a contrastive manner. It is the manner of the quote production that makes “teaching” and disagreeing with parents acceptable. The teachers produce a “layering of voices” (Bakhtin 1981) in the quotes. This layering allows an opportunity for the teachers to express their own stances toward the quotes while at the same time to present to the children acceptable norms through creation of typified characters. These characters talk to their parents in a calm, non-contradictory manner even when they disagree with the parents. They might be more knowledgeable in the matters of Orthodoxy than their parents, but they maintain their humility by being careful not to say “no”, and being willing to become “better children” by doing what their parents tell them to do. They are also considerate of what their parents have to say to them as their way of talking can be described as “calm” and “cooperative.” Such portrayal of children is not done by lexical choices alone, but is achieved through the use of multiple semiotic resources, including pausing, pitch, and intonation.

Appendix A: conventions of transliteration from the Cyrillic alphabet

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

Appendix B: transcription conventions

Transcripts are presented in a three-line format. The top line is transliterated speech. The middle line in italics is a grammatical gloss. The bottom line in bold is English translation.

[]	Overlapping or simultaneous talk
=	Latched utterances
<	Left-pushed utterances
(0.5)	Length of silence in tenth of second
(.)	Micro-pause
.	Falling intonation
?	Rising intonation
,	Continuing intonation
::	The prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them (the more colons, the longer the stretching)
-	A cut-off or self-interruption
WORD	Some form of stress or emphasis, whether by increased loudness or higher pitch
↑	Hearable higher pitch
(())	Material that is not part of the talk being transcribed

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Bionote

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