

BROWN 2011

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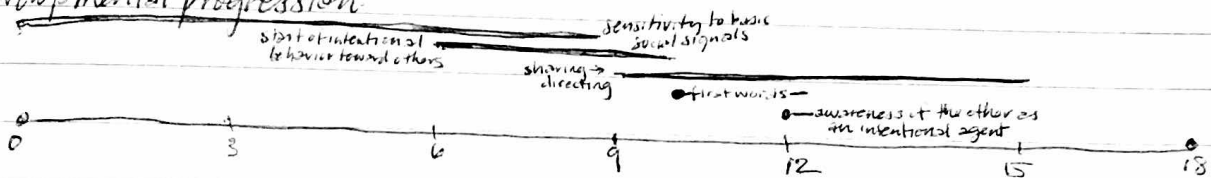
Evidence for universal interactional patterns/behaviors must be reconciled w/ the specificity of interactional patterns for language use cross culturally
e.g. gaze, feedback, pointing

IEH
cultural
specificity

Triadic joint attention → interactional organization of attention

Developmentalist (cognitive) perspective:

- Before triadic JA ability develops, caregivers practice it anyway by attributing intentionality & response contingency (examples from postindustrial societies)
- Infant gaze is crucial evidence for common ground & mutual awareness (e.g. switches btwn caregiver & referent)
- Developmental progression:



↳ support from cross-cultural research, including Yoruba and I-Kung San infants



link to language via labelling (word learning contribution + evidence of others' comm. intentions)

↳ some association w/ vocabulary growth

second link to grounding (and/or attention management) - Clark

third link to audience design based on 'publicly available' info - Wootten

↳ leads to an early tracking of one's own observability and evidence thereof (Kidwell & Zimmerman)

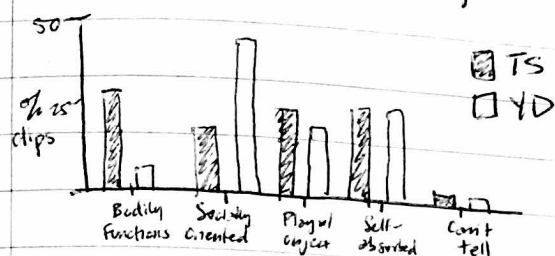
fourth link to achievable/assumed states of attention, e.g. single vs. multiple foci among Salt Lake (US) vs. San Pedro (Guatemala) infants - Rogoff

↳ more experience in large households → better attention division across multiple foci — social attention pattern differs cross-culturally



DOES THE 9-MO REVOLUTION APPEAR ROBUSTLY IN TWO NONINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES WHICH THEMSELVES DIFFER IN ATTITUDES ABOUT INFANT-DIRECTED/-CENTRIC TALK?

DATASET: Activity annotations & initiations for 5-min clip-level of 9 YD & 8 TS
 9-15 mo infants — during recordings infants were alert & available for interaction



CLEAR & DRAMATIC DIFFERENCE IN INTERACTIONAL DISTRIBUTION CONSISTENT W/ ETHNOGRAPHIC WORK

	TS	YD ^{x slightly younger}
mean (Init/Min)	3.4	7.4
Infant initiations/min	1.9	2.3
Other initiations/min	1.5	5.1

Do Rossel infants display TJA earlier than? In both places, some of the time:

- Caregivers point for 9-15 mos
- 9-15 mos follow others' points/gestures to enter TJA
- Pointing uses the index-finger form
- "initiate TJA w/ points/gestures w/ others"

↳ So no, no evidence for a difference

- JA episodes are more frequent in the YD data & tend to be longer & more affectively aroused, but is similar to TS episodes in achievement of JA & display of knowledge of others' common intentions
- Labelling not as common here. Instead? Acknowledging or getting the child to interact with it.
- While not all infants point, all displayed some TJA abilities. Instead? Holding out, reaching, gesturing toward, vocalizing, gazing
- Age of emergence for pointing consistent w/ prior work

Wrapping up: Pointing may be a candidate universal but one that will be deployed differently cross-culturally (Gaskins, 2006), same w/ caregiver imputation of infant intention



Despite differences in realization, the data do support emergence of TJA w/ the culturally specified norms ~12 months ~> universal propensity