

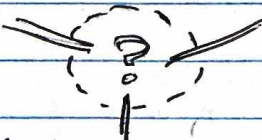
GASKINS 2006

13 APRIL 2020

Presumptions about development

Learning takes place via experience during a long period of dependency

There are universal developmental trajectories



What needs to be learned (and how it is made available) is culturally organized & culturally variable

How CAN THIS ↑ HOLD UP?

- ① Development stems from experiences universal across cultures (culture is insignificant)
- ② Development is (mostly) genetically determined (experience is insignificant)
- ③ Development is variable in process & outcomes (universality does not exist)

other solutions!

!!! **Big takeaway:** Euro-American interaction norms cannot provide an adequate foundation for understanding human infant social interaction (p. 180)

↳ leaves us to consider options #2 & #3

Primary argument for ↑ relies on examples of what children learn to do with language in non-Euro-American settings

language socialization

↳ Primarily based on ethnographic findings

Infants learn to...

EXPRESS INNER EXPERIENCE

When is it acceptable to express positive/negative inner experience? Who is listening & what responses are likely?

EURO-AM
Expressions are welcome, interpreted (acknowledged), and responded to (positively), increasingly verbally

YUKMAY
More responses to negative expressions, responses aren't interpreted beyond evidence & are non-verbal - culturally shape to minimize outward exp of inner exp
↳ body contact ensures swift responses & more crying

GUSIL
Similar but eye contact avoidance

- response to pos.
- interpretation
- subordination
- verbalization

ITALIAN
More subordination of infant needs to family needs

US SOUTH AM
Similar & parents "know best"

INFLUENCING ANOTHER PERSON

How to elicit responses of certain types from others. What is expected, & how to fix lack of response

AMEUR
Verbal/direct influence w/ bids for praise, encouragement, & leading questions. Caregivers promote independence by respecting kids' contributions but it depends on context (complex/confusing) when they get priority - when to (not) negotiate is driving for infant & caregiver

YUKMAY
Only rights to influence events related to their own (internal) events - certain boundaries & lack of intervention by caregivers

SAMOA (KALULU too)
SOCIAL RANK PUTS BURDEN OF UNDERSTANDING ON KIDS

→ balance in direction of influence

→ burden of understanding

→ stylization of talk

→ topics/contexts of influence

→ (implicit/explicit) linkage w/ general social norms

SOUTHSAFARIAN
little influence of kids on how interaction unfolds - older ppl (incl. siblings) know better what to do; highly motivated by caregivers to attend to & comprehend others' complex speech & intentions.

OTHER CUES



GAZE: USE & USE FOR COORDINATION IS NOT UNIVERSAL

→ YUKMAY

→ GUSII

FOR WHEN KIDS ALREADY PRODUCE SPEECH

→ KALULU, KARA'AE, SAMOANS, K'ICHE', YUKATEK, (TSELTAL), (YELT)

→ helps negotiate interactions & w/ useful memorizations



BABY TALK ACTIVELY AVOIDED / CRITICIZED IN SOME CULTURES (OR JUST NOT USED)

style → audience design
↑
turn to understand CDS properties (activity)?

GAINING & EXCHANGING INFO

How to conduct exploration of the physical world

EUR AM
Caregivers set goals & generally mediate kids' interactions w/ world knowledge (scaffolding) - at odds w/ independence because of such behavioral shaping (make infants aware of culturally valued activities) - leads to desire for time apart.

YUKMAY
Give objects to infants w/o further design or input (just check to avoid danger) in return kids explore obj w/o looking to others

JAPANESE
→ similar time together but focus on developing interdependence (focus on interactions w/ people)

→ selection of objects

→ level of monitoring / intervention

→ appropriateness of "play"

→ focus on objects vs. people

General point: "play" w/ children is inappropriate in many societies, especially w/ high workloads → includes pointing, naming, knowledge mediation

Highest important - understand

CAREGIVERS?

- Variable household composition & social structures → diversity of caregivers w/ social status, responsibilities, & socl competence

→ DON'T ASSUME KIDS ARE ALWAYS PLAYING AS ALT. CAREGIVERS (e.g. SOUTHSAFARIAN, GUSII, YUKMAY)



IMPORTANT CHALLENGES!
↓

NEED TO RESOLVE SOME ISSUES TO FURTHER FUNDAMENTAL LEARNING DEBATE:

- Distinguish what kids ^{CAPACITY} CAN vs. ^{BEHAVIOR} DO do → implications for theory?
- Better comparative cross-cultural research to test claims of universality → difficult methods-wise, but we lack basic descriptives!
- Account for diversity of aims: SOCIALIZATION! → how to integrate?
- Consider explanatory power of universals to be potentially small
 - ↳ "only capacities that are necessary & sufficient for entry into some social world" (p. 194)
 - ↳ doesn't guarantee similar use of those capacities (e.g. pointing)