

Early Social Interaction

When a young child begins to engage in everyday interaction, she has to acquire competencies that allow her to be oriented to the conventions that inform talk-in-interaction and, at the same time, deal with emotional or affective dimensions of experience. The theoretical positions associated with these domains – social-action and emotion – provide very different accounts of human development and this book examines why this is the case. Through a longitudinal video recorded study of one child learning how to talk, Michael Forrester develops proposals that rest upon a comparison of two perspectives on everyday parent–child interaction taken from the same data corpus – one informed by conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, the other by psychoanalytic developmental psychology. Ultimately, what is significant for attaining membership within any culture is gradually being able to display an orientation towards both domains – doing and feeling, or social-action and affect.

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Early Social Interaction

*A Case Comparison of Developmental
Pragmatics and Psychoanalytic Theory*

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To
Ella Sbaraini

PROOF

Contents

<i>List of figures and table</i>	page x
<i>List of extracts</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
1 Introduction	1
2 Developmental pragmatics and conversation analysis	15
Some background considerations	15
Social-action and social life: conversation analysis and ethnomethodology	21
Membership categorisation analysis (MCA)	23
Sequence-focused CA&E	25
Concluding comments	27
3 Child-focused conversation analysis	28
Introduction	28
Children and membership	29
Child-CA studies: a brief review	31
Children, conversation and 'seeing thoughts'	42
Concluding comments	45
4 A psychoanalytic reading of early social relations	46
Introduction	46
Psychoanalysis and Freud's structural theory of the mind	48
Freud and early social relations	52
Melanie Klein	53
Projective identification and object-relations	56
Donald Winnicott	58
Winnicott and the transitional space	61
Concluding comments	62
5 Repression and displacement in everyday talk-in-interaction	64
Introduction	64
Ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, local-order and members' methods	66
Conversation analysis and methodic social practice	67
Adjacency pairs in conversation: the talk unfolds two-by-two	68

	The problem with the 'problem of order'	71
	Concluding comments	82
6	Research practices and methodological objects	84
	Introduction	84
	Intrinsic vs. extrinsic research processes	85
	Events, records, data and interpretation	90
	CA&E, participant orientation and unique adequacy	93
	The case-study as methodology in early social relations	94
	The context of the recordings	95
	Participants	96
	Format of recordings and data transformation	97
	Analysis and data accessibility	97
	CA transcription conventions	98
	A sample extract and analysis	99
	Some possible constraints on the unique adequacy requirement	102
	Concluding comments	104
7	Learning how to repair	106
	Introduction	106
	An overview of the incidence and form of repair	108
	Tracing the emergence of self-repair skills	109
	Concluding comments	125
8	Learning what not to say: repression and interactive vertigo	129
	Introduction	129
	Avoidance, displacement and repression: some examples	131
	Concluding comments	151
9	A question of answering	154
	Introduction	154
	Analysis examples	156
	Concluding comments	173
10	Interaction and the transitional space	175
	Introduction	175
	The transitional space	176
	Analysis examples	179
	Emerging disagreement	194
	Concluding comments	199
11	Self-positioning, membership and participation	201
	Introduction	201
	Membership and mastery of language	202
	Half-membership status	204
	Reflexively accountable communication	207
	Early self-reference and membership categorisation	211
	Membership categories, role status and rights	214
	Competencies and membership categorisation	217

Contents	ix
Reflexivity, accountability and subject positioning through membership categorisation	221
Concluding comments	225
12 Discourses of the self and early social relations	227
Introduction	227
Analysis examples	229
Monitoring the discourses of the self: orienting to third-person reference	240
Discourse of the self, identification and captivation (by/of) the image	244
Concluding comments	255
13 Social practice and psychological affect	257
<i>Appendix</i>	268
<i>References</i>	270
<i>Index</i>	282

Figures and table

Figures

5.1 Adjacency pair greeting	<i>page</i> 69
6.1 Dimensions of analyst involvement	86
6.2(a) Ella aged 1 year 1 month; (b) Ella aged 3 years 3 months	95
6.3 A screen shot of the CHILDES resource	98
6.4 Instructions for access and viewing recordings	99
10.1 Ella and her toy creature's house	179
11.1 Ella's frozen-mouth 'gesture'	216
11.2 Teasing and playing with the camera	221
12.1 Pronoun forms during the early years	235
12.2 (a–j) Encountering the self image	248
12.3 (a–o) Playing with self-images	252

Table

7.1 The incidence of self and other-repair	110
--	-----

Extracts

5.1 Hindenburg disaster radio commentary: Herbert Morrison, May 1937	<i>page 75</i>
5.2 Phone call to emergency service	77
5.3 Charlotte Green radio commentary – Radio 4 (BBC-UK)	80
6.1 1 year 10 months	101
7.1 1 year 4 months	111
7.2 1 year 8 months	112
7.3 1 year 8 months	114
7.4 2 years 1 month	117
7.5 2 years 5 months	119
7.6 2 years 5 months	121
7.7 2 years 9 months	122
7.8 3 years 5 months	124
8.1 1 year 6 months	132
8.2(i) 2 years 4 months	135
8.2(ii) 2 years 4 months	138
8.3 2 years 9 months	140
8.4 3 years 4 months	143
8.5(i) 2 years 1 month	147
8.5(ii) 2 years 1 month	148
8.5(iii) 2 years 1 month	150
9.1 3 years 2 months	157
9.2 1 year 5 months	159
9.3 1 year 8 months	160
9.4 1 year 9 months	162
9.5 2 years 1 month	164
9.6 2 years 5 months	166
9.7 2 years 5 months	168
9.8(i) 2 years 10 months	171
9.8(ii) 2 years 10 months	172
10.1 2 years 6 months	180
10.2 2 years 6 months	183

xii List of extracts

10.3(i)	2 years 6 months	186
10.3(ii)	2 years 6 months	188
10.3(iii)	2 years 6 months	191
10.4(i)	2 years	194
10.4(ii)	2 years	196
10.4(iii)	2 years	198
11.1	1 year 2 months	205
11.2	1 year 2 months	208
11.3	1 year 7 months	212
11.4	2 years	215
11.5	2 years 3 months	218
11.6	2 years 4 months	223
12.1	1 year 1 month	230
12.2	1 year 8 months	237
12.3	1 year 7 months	238
12.4	1 year 8 months	239
12.5	1 year 10 months	241
12.6	2 years 8 months	243
12.7	3 years 3 months	246
12.8	3 years 3 months	250

Extracts 6.1 through to Extract 12.8 are available at <http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/browser/index.php?url=Eng-UK/Forrester/> with specific file and line numbers for clips highlighted at the start of each extract.

Preface

This book brings together various threads of the research work I have been involved with over a number of years. This research is based on a longitudinal video recorded study of one of my daughters as she was learning how to talk. The impetus for engaging in this work arose from a sense that within developmental psychology and child language, when people are interested in understanding how children use language, they seem over-focused or concerned with questions of formal grammar and semantics. My interest is on understanding how a child learns to talk and through this process is then understood as being or becoming a member of a culture. When a young child is learning how to engage in everyday interaction she has to acquire those competencies that allow her to be simultaneously oriented to the conventions that inform talk-in-interaction *and* at the same time deal with the emotional or affective dimensions of her experience. It turns out that in developmental psychology these domains are traditionally studied separately or at least by researchers whose interests rarely overlap. In order to understand better early social relations (parent–child interaction), I want to pursue the idea that we will benefit by studying both early pragmatic development *and* emotional development. Not surprisingly, the theoretical positions underlying the study of these domains provide very different accounts of human development and this book illuminates why this might be the case. What follows will I hope serve as a case-study on the interdependence between the analysis of social interaction and subsequent interpretation.

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1 Introduction

How a child learns to talk and so gain membership of a culture is something that social scientists have long sought to understand. Whether or not matters are quite so straightforward is something that will become clear as we proceed. The central idea that informs this book is that when engaged in everyday interaction people are simultaneously oriented to the conventions that inform social-action *and* to the emotional or affective state of the people they are engaging with. The framework outlined in the following chapters is offered as a guide to understanding the complex nature of the processes involved when accommodating these two distinct yet interrelated dimensions; one concerned with learning how to monitor what we, and those around us, are *doing*; the other with learning how to recognise *feeling* or *affect*. Correspondingly, for any child what is most significant for attaining membership within any culture is gradually being able to display an orientation towards these domains – *doing* and *feeling*, or *social-action* and *affect*. The simplicity of such a proposal carries with it certain presuppositions that require clarification.

First, I am proposing that these parallel domains are at a certain level incompatible, somewhat ambiguously related and one might say paradoxical. My aim is not an attempt at conceptual or theoretical integration, but rather to outline how one can investigate simultaneous dimensions of human experience from contrastive perspectives in a coherent manner. Second, the theoretical positions adopted in this book when studying each of these domains – a social-discursive perspective (doing) and a psychoanalytic orientation (feeling) – have very contrasting conceptions of what constitutes learning and development during that period of time when a child becomes a member of a culture. Third, each approach has strikingly different epistemological leanings with the ethnomethodological social praxis of conversation analysis somewhat distant from psychoanalytic or psychodynamic accounts regarding knowledge of oneself and our relationships with those around us. However, in one respect they are similar in that for conversation analysis and psychoanalysis the smallest apparently mundane piece of social-action could be of considerable significance but for very different reasons.

In order to extend and develop these opening proposals, in what follows I bring together and describe various lines of research I have been engaged in over the last ten-to-fifteen years. The material is based on a longitudinal video recorded study of one of my daughters who was filmed when she was learning how to talk between the ages of one year and three years/six months.¹ In one sense, the book serves as a statement about my understanding of how a young child becomes a member of a culture through the practices and procedures of everyday conversation. An additional aim is to present the research as a case-study on the interdependence between the analysis of social interaction and subsequent interpretation. This will be achieved through the contrast and comparison of two different theoretical approaches addressing the same data corpus – one informed by conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, the other by psychoanalytic developmental psychology.

The four main themes underpinning this book are first, the suggestion that when a young child is learning how to engage in everyday interaction she has to acquire those competencies that allow her to be simultaneously oriented to the conventions that inform talk-in-interaction *and* at the same time deal with the emotional or affective dimensions of her experience. A second and corresponding theme is that in order to understand the various ideas and theories in developmental psychology regarding early social relations (parent–child interaction), it is necessary to understand both early pragmatic development *and* emotional development. The theoretical positions underlying these domains provide very different accounts of human development and we could benefit with understanding why this might be the case. An additional focus is the question of methodology in the study of early social interaction. My aim is to highlight the fact that quite distinct theoretical interpretations can inform material taken from the same original source, i.e., the video recordings of parent–child interaction alongside transcribed extracts of the sequences examined. A framework for understanding the relationships between video recordings, the production of data (transcribed extracts) and interpretations derived from such data is developed and some preliminary evaluation of its potential value considered. The fourth and final theme I am concerned with is the idea that when children learn how to talk they also learn how to repress – either through learning what cannot be said or participating in practices which help initiate

¹ In the history of developmental psychology and child language studies, there are a number of books that document language acquisition based on diary methodologies or audio/video recordings (Brown, 1958; Bloom, 1970). In such research, the longitudinal data serves as the background for one or other theory of language acquisition. More recent examples address issues such as grammatical development and bilingual acquisition (Tomasello, 1992; Deuchar & Quay, 2000). These books are firmly located in the field of child language research, addressing questions germane to formal elements of language acquisition – however, they have not focused on early social relations and conversational skills.

the displacement of the 'non-recognisable'. The analyses of the relevant data chapters make some assessment of this proposition possible. The remainder of this introduction outlines a summary description of each chapter providing an overview of how the various themes are realised.

Chapter 2 begins by providing a picture of the research background to the core of the book. Here, I trace out certain topics prevalent in developmental psychology over the last thirty to forty years highlighting why the dominant views in the discipline regarding cognition and language may not be particularly helpful if one is interested in studying children's everyday language use. My background interests in developmental psychology, psycholinguistics and associated topics in semiotics and discourse studies engendered a keen curiosity into how young children learn how to talk. My originating question revolved around the puzzle, 'how does a child become *language'd*', or in other words, how does a child become an encultured being through the use of language? This led me to the study of pragmatics and here I consider some of the theoretical and methodological challenges in the areas of developmental pragmatics and child language that initiated an interest in perspectives within social science and philosophy that underscore social discursive approaches to early social interaction. The first section concludes with a brief commentary on Wittgenstein's deliberations regarding language as a 'form of life', a view that informs contemporary theories of pragmatic development, if only indirectly.

The remainder of the chapter then provides an introduction to ethnomethodology and conversation analysis in order to provide detail on the background of the research. After an outline of the general approach of ethnomethodology and where it originates, attention turns to a summary account of the two main approaches found in conversation analysis – sequence-focused CA (CA&E from here) and membership categorisation analysis (MCA). The former approach is the one adopted in later chapters and these introductory remarks should help situate the context of the developing argument.

Building on the preliminary introduction to ethnomethodologically informed conversation analysis, Chapter 3 provides a review of current research and thinking in child-focused CA&E. The discussion is structured in three parts: an introduction to what is unique about this approach, particularly as regards the notion of membership (of a culture); a second section providing an overview of contemporary work in child-CA; and finally, a commentary on the significance of early language and conversational contexts for children. An explanation here of what 'being a member' of culture means for ethnomethodology helps bring out what researchers mean by 'half-membership' – a position children are said to inhabit in talk (Shakespeare, 1998). The second section provides a summary overview of child-CA&E research categorised into five sub-areas. This overview is for the most part descriptive and aimed at giving the reader a sense of the contemporary field. As other researchers have noted,

a reading of the literature highlights the observation that attending to the interactional detail of children's everyday conversation might raise challenges for certain concepts in developmental psychology – such as intersubjectivity and theory of mind (Leudar & Costall, 2009).

The final part of Chapter 3 considers a number of insightful comments originating from Harvey Sacks (1992) on how children learn to become members of a culture. In particular, Sacks (1992) discussed the question of how children learn to 'see what other people might be thinking', and his observations on the fact of their discovery that adults do not know what they (children) are thinking, serve as a rich exemplar of the essence of the social practice orientation of child-CA&E. Chapters 2 and 3 together provide the background to the constructs informing a social-action focus on early social relations. The social practice dimension of early social relations and particularly the focus on the fine-detail of actual talk-in-interaction highlights the problematic nature of theories that privilege an internalised private individuated self – the central presuppositional bedrock of many theories of early social development (e.g., Stern, 1985; Harter, 1999). For a social practice orientation, one particularly challenging question turns on the issue of where exactly the boundary between the 'inside' and 'outside' of social relations might be?

Re-configuring the dual social-action/emotion perspective of the book, Chapter 4 provides a change in orientation and an introduction to psychoanalytically informed considerations of early social relations. Doing so indicates where one answer to the question of interiority might lie. The aim in this chapter is to highlight key ideas and themes in psychoanalytic developmental psychology that will provide a frame for understanding and examining the 'internal' psychological life of the developing infant and pre-school child – again, with particular reference to the specifics of participation in talk-in-interaction. This is not an attempt to outline a theory of early emotional development (e.g., Saarni *et al.*, 2006; Zahn-Waxler, 2010). Rather, I am suggesting that the psychoanalytic perspective may be a rich explanatory framework or discourse for discussion of the realm of internal experience, feeling, affect and whatever we take to be the recognition and monitoring of 'emotionality' in others and ourselves. My suspicion is that many who research early parent-child interaction, particularly in the child language and developmental pragmatic traditions, may not be particularly familiar with the psychoanalytic take on early social relations (and similarly many in psychoanalytic developmental psychology may have limited familiarity with child-focused CA&E).

For this reason, Chapter 4 considers a selection of key ideas and themes in psychoanalytic developmental psychology that will help inform our understanding of emotionality or the 'internal' psychological life of the developing infant and pre-school child. A number of these underpin the analysis of the chapters that serve as a contrast to the child-focused CA&E-based data chapters.

While fully recognising that there is a multiplicity of approaches to be found within psychoanalytic thought, three main schools relevant to this focus on social relations are summarised and explained – Sigmund Freud, Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott. The first section looking at Freud provides an outline of key points regarding the underlying concept of mind in psychoanalytic thought, including the instincts, the unconscious and identification. The reasons why such ideas are relevant for considerations of emotion and affect are brought out during this description. For example, one consideration is the suggestion that repression is a necessary part of the process of enculturation. In other words, repression is something that culture demands and requires, and Freud is credited with showing how the history of any one individual is somehow marked by the manner in which she/he has managed to reach some sort of equilibrium in attaining individuation.

The initial outline of Freudian psychoanalytic thinking helps introduce the work of Melanie Klein. Klein's emphasis on the significance of the earliest moment of a child's life will be discussed alongside concepts such as projective identification and the different developmental phases known as the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. My aim is to highlight reasons why these ideas help formulate or outline the affective/emotional dimension of psychoanalytic thinking on early social relations. The remainder of the discussion in Chapter 4 will describe and explain the thinking underpinning Winnicott's development of the Kleinian position, and his introduction of constructs such as the transitional space and 'good-enough' parenting. This way of thinking emphasises why social relations are critical right from the beginning, and with Winnicott we begin to understand the subtle ways in which an 'inside' is possible and how that 'inside' is permeated by, and interdependent with, the 'outside' (the social). At the same time, some discussion is necessary regarding the metaphorical and potentially paradoxical nature of psychoanalytic discourse on early socialisation. While recognising the challenges involved in engaging with this discourse, there is nevertheless an important sense in which the psychoanalytic perspective provides an explanatory framework for interpreting the realm of internal experience, feeling, affect and the monitoring of emotionality in ourselves and others during everyday social interaction.

The theories and ideas informing the two perspectives of social-action and emotional monitoring/affect having now been laid out, in Chapter 5 an account of human interaction that simultaneously embodies recognition of the significance of *both* social-action and psychological affect or emotion is introduced. To do so, a brief overview of the classic CA&E orientation to the analysis of social-action is provided, followed by a consideration of what underpins the ethnomethodological focus on methodic practice in the study of everyday action. The idea of methodic sense-making and how this finds expression in the production of conversational structures is then developed – in a manner

that introduces the unfamiliar reader to the methodological stance of conversation analysis. At this point, I sketch out one of the key proposals of the book – the suggestion that the reason why people are interested in and closely monitor displays of excessive emotion is linked to a pervasive orientation they have to the on-going production of order-at-all-points (Jefferson, 1984). During every interaction, there is a potential awareness of our own and others' emotional state but such an awareness or orientation is rarely if ever recognised in the moment-by-moment dynamics of 'doing being ordinary'. In essence, my suggestion is that CA&E's concern and focus on the fractal orderliness of talk-in-interaction highlights and reflects something endemic to human life – a deep concern with being orderly, relatively foreseeable or predictable. If, during everyday interaction, we not only monitor social-action but also emotion or affect, then the underlying impetus for being attentive to the latter derives from the ever-present possibility of disorder. This is another way of describing what Freud and other psychoanalysts would call the dynamic unconscious – an interminable and unrecognised force in human interaction. Maintaining, producing and displaying a constant orientation to the fractal orderliness of human interaction seems testament to our success at keeping disorder and the 'extra-ordinary' at bay.

Having drawn out aspects of these parallel dimensions of interaction, one issue or problem with this 'problem of order' is then introduced and explained. This is then followed with examples from publicly available recordings that highlight extreme moments of 'disorder' demonstrating the nature of the problem. The examples also lend support to the proposal that the CA&E analytic enterprise seems in part to be predicated on a sense of anxiety, anxiety about the possibility of 'not-order', or 'disorder' or 'extraordinary' order. Employing a medical trope, one might suspect that such attentiveness to, or anxiety about, the possibility of 'not-order' requires attentiveness to all that might constitute disorder or 'trouble' – very occasionally 'acute', yet presuppositionally 'chronic'. Essentially, I am proposing that it is this concern that constitutes the basis for the underlying impetus during human interaction for the monitoring of emotion or affect.

The following chapter (Chapter 6) turns to the specifics of the context of this case-study. Although in developmental psychology and child language there is a long-established history of researchers studying their own children and documenting their development (Darwin, 1877; Brown, 1958; Fernyhough, 2008), Tony Wootton's (1997) *Interaction and the development of mind* was the first work within child-focused CA&E to examine in detail the everyday interactions between a young pre-school child and her family. Based on audio and video recordings of his daughter between the ages of 12–36 months, Wootton (1997) provided a detailed account of how a child begins to use contextual knowledge so as to be able to make requests – how she acquires

the skills necessary for 'locally arrived at understandings'. Wootton's (1997) work stands out as a unique contribution in both developmental psychology and sociolinguistics and I hope that this monograph might be seen as carrying on this line of research and indicating how the methodology of conversation analysis can be further extended. In this instance, the case-study approach that was adopted is best described as an exemplary case, that is, one which provides an account of an instance held to be 'representative', 'typical' or 'paradigmatic' of some given category or situations. In addition, Chapter 6 sets out a particular framework or methodological template that should help situate the relationship between the process of analysis and the production of data from the perspective of a participant-researcher. This template highlights the interdependence between any research object, and the interpretations one can derive from such objects, and which then informs our understanding of the production of social scientific accounts of the 'everyday', the 'real-life' and the 'mundane'. When considering the analysis of naturally occurring events and the position of the analyst and/or participant, we need something to help guide our consideration of the interpretations offered. This is particularly the case where the analyst himself is a participant – as parent-researcher.

With regard to the material basis of the study, an emerging practice in CA&E studies is the making available of originating video or audio recordings so as to make it easier for other researchers to evaluate the interpretations proffered (Filipi, 2009). Chapter 6 details the recordings, transcripts and video recordings and other relevant background information. This includes details of the data corpus that has been produced from the original recordings. This is lodged at the CHILDES resource, and the specific details of the material are given, alongside guidance for access. It should be noted that the child language research community is fortunate in having available the CHILDES facility, where individual researchers can log data for future analyses by other parties (MacWhinney, 2000). It may be the case that such access to video recordings is particularly valuable in this instance, given my own role as participant-researcher and the contrasting perspectives that are offered in the data-focused chapters. The closing section of Chapter 6 also discusses particular concepts found in CA&E relevant to the analytic considerations. These include ideas surrounding participant-oriented evidence and the unique adequacy requirement, alongside a detailed example of an extract analysis highlighting participant-role and the particular challenges which arose with carrying out this case-study.

Coming to the second half of the book, the next six chapters (Chapters 7–12) examine extracts and recordings from the point of view of each perspective, doing so by alternating each data chapter (CA&E then psychoanalytic; back to CA&E; and so on). Throughout, the focus is on understanding how a child gradually becomes oriented to the conventions that inform talk-in-interaction *and* at the same time learns to deal with the emotional or affective dimensions

of her experience. In this first of the data-focused chapters from the CA&E perspective, Chapter 7 documents the development of a conversational skill that is a good indicator of our predisposition to monitor each other's social-actions during talk: the ability to repair our speech, or self-repair as it is commonly termed. The analysis described here shows how Ella begins to employ relevant conversational resources that bear upon the incidence and expression of repair as a social practice. A number of issues are examined, including the incidence of self and other-initiated self-repair in adult-child interactions, the range of resources associated with the child's production of self-repair practices and the variety of discourse contexts within which Ella employs repair.

What becomes clear is that certain distinctions and differentiations can be made between what is specific to what constitutes self-repair of 'trouble-sources-in-talk' and more general sequence repair phenomena. In a number of extracts, Ella alters an action or utterance following the non-response of her co-participant, and the form of her repairs indicates a growing sensitivity to and monitoring of other people. Furthermore, we find that early repair skills seem to involve considerable sound-alteration on Ella's part. By age 2, for example, the manner of the alteration takes into account what might be presupposed by an addressee not responding. We find that whether or not a listener has registered receipt of a turn-at-talk can have a particular bearing on the likelihood of a self-repair 'in pursuit of a response'. Self-repair as a social practice also appears to be related to the increasing interest Ella has with taking up social role or status positions appropriate to her particular cultural context. Repair organisation seems to provide the interactional circumstances within which a child's evolving repertoire of skills and resources become embedded and realised as repair practices. In mapping out the incidence and form of self-repair, it would seem that the predisposition described in the CA&E literature towards self over other-repair is reflected in the data for this child. The analysis in this chapter provides insight into the manner in which relatively simple initiation sequences gradually take on more complex forms, increasingly serving the demands of different discourse contexts.

We then switch perspectives, and in Chapter 8 move from the social-action orientation to emotion or affect, and a corresponding change in the theoretical interpretation offered, i.e., from child-focused CA&E to psychoanalytic psychology. This is the first examination of the suggestion that by adopting a psychoanalytic perspective on early social relations we are provided with a coherent discourse foregrounding the realm of internal experience, feeling, affect – i.e., whatever we take to be the recognition and monitoring of emotionality in ourselves and others. At the same time and in service of methodological consistency, the analyses of the various extracts discussed in this chapter rest on the conventions and practices of sequence-focused CA&E. In other words, in Chapter 8, and Chapters 9 and 12, although a psychoanalytic reading or

interpretation of the interaction is provided, this is done alongside a CA&E analytic orientation, that is with reference to transcription practices, orthographic detail and a considered focus on the sequential implicativeness of the talk-in-interaction.

The specific examples in this chapter highlight the interactional detail of moments when a child learns what *not* to say and how those around her use strategies for repressing and displacing the uninvited and inappropriate. We find for instance, that by 18 months old, Ella has learned something of what is involved in 'performing' emotional displays in order to gain attention – with corresponding surprise and amusement on my part that she can display an orientation to the reflexively accountable nature of her 'act'. Another example examines the strategies Ella employs to overcome an on-going disagreement in the interaction. Here, the emotional performance is displaced or repressed through Ella producing a short narrative and eliciting a positive response from her co-participant. What is striking is the manner in which humour is used as a strategy for transforming interactional trouble. A third extract considers a sequence where Ella employs her understanding of inappropriate taboo words to good effect such that she manages to stop her sister tickling her excessively.

Another extract turns on an examination of what precedes and follows Ella's use of a highly ambiguous phrase. This draws attention to the circumstances where what might seem like an innocuous comment on examination turns out to be a negative act on the child's part. It becomes clear that this difficulty is successfully displaced or glossed over through one of the most frequent practices a child will be exposed to – deliberate non-response by a co-participant. Finally, the trouble engendered by Ella's mispronunciation of one small word highlights one of those rare instances where the edifice of the 'doing being ordinary' of everyday social life shakes or tremors slightly. What happens is that through my own mishearing, Ella and I seem to be suspended in a kind of momentary interactive vertigo. Considerable effort had to be made on my part to ensure that the difficulty is first identified, then repaired, and any possible unconscious communication displaced. Although it is difficult to ascertain the significance of such moments for the development of social relationships, the fact that they are noticeably rare may indicate the considerable work necessary for maintaining what one can call fractal orderliness under all circumstances.

The next chapter (Chapter 9) returns to the theme of social-action and conversational practice, and how Ella learns what is involved in producing and responding to questions and answers. These practices, which can be expressed in numerous different ways, often serve as exemplars of the classic adjacency pair structure evident in conversation (Sacks *et al.*, 1974). Following a brief consideration of relevant literature from CA&E and child language studies, analysis focuses on how a child learns what constitutes answering, i.e., how does Ella learn to see the 'project of a (the) question' (Sacks, 1992), seeing in

this instance meaning displaying her recognition 'of the fact that' she understands what a question wants to find out. For example, in one case Ella displays a clear recognition of why and how questions are designed and draws attention to the inappropriateness of asking questions just for the sake of it. However, there is a subtle difference between a child being able to recognise that a question is a particular kind of action requiring a response, and understanding the form that response should take. Tracing out the development of this competence we find, for example, early instances where Ella can produce the correct format of questioning, but not quite have the skill to change these formats according to whether the addressee understands or not. Between the ages of 2 and 3, we find out that Ella begins to be held accountable for the form of her answers, e.g., if they are inappropriate or odd in some way.

The mapping out and description of the emergence of questioning and answering highlights how we might understand those situations that have a consequential bearing on how children learn what Garfinkel & Sacks (1970) called members' methods, i.e., the methodic practices that constitute question-answer routines, repair procedures, formulations and many other (if not all) conversational actions. It becomes clear that once a child has reached a certain age, participation itself makes demands of a kind not evident in earlier social encounters. What is interesting, in light of the examples examined in this chapter, is that by age 3 the actions that make question and answer sequences realisable can be produced and oriented to by Ella as reflexively accountable practices.

Maintaining the alternation between contrasting themes, in Chapter 10 we return to the domain of affect and emotion, and how the latter is expressed and recognised in social interaction. Here, the work of Winnicott is explained in more detail and his particular emphasis on social relations from the first moments of an infant's life brought out. The suggestion from psychoanalytic developmental psychology is that Winnicott's conception of the transforming movement that occurs from the mother-infant unit to infant and mother as separate entities helps us to understand the subtle ways in which an 'inside' is made possible. Furthermore, the form of this transformation implies that the 'inside' is permeated by, and interdependent with, the 'outside' – the social. Winnicott (1971) also drew out the significance of this transitional space as a potential, or rather, potentiating space, suggesting that the infant has very intensive experiences in the 'potential space between the subjective object and the object objectively perceived' (p. 135), in other words between aspects of the child's experience of there being 'nothing but her' (omnipotence) and what is really 'not-her' (reality). This potential space both joins and separates simultaneously, and from the child's point of view, objects and toys used in such a space are things that are both 'not me' but at the same time, carry 'me' within them. For this reason, play creates a method whereby the child

can move in and out of anxiety – not necessarily dissipating it but somehow helping to contain it. Two extracts in this chapter consider moments from the data corpus where Ella is playing on her own, and through such play obtains some release from the strain of relating the inner (world) to the outer. Analysis of one extract indicates a moment where Ella locates herself as a/the ‘mummy’ and simultaneously locates ‘Ella’ as an object/toy in the play. A second extract details a curiously ambiguous moment where she throws away her toy – and then has to nurse it (get the doctor). What is brought out through this examination is that during such moments of play Ella experiences life in the area of transitional phenomena, using transitional objects in the ‘exciting interweave of subjectivity and objective observation’ (Winnicott, 1971, p. 86), in a place or space that is said to be intermediate between the inner reality of the individual and the shared reality of the social world.

The data extracts examined in Chapter 10 also highlight certain aspects of the ‘transitional space’ – an idea that in effect serves as a metaphor for the dynamic psychological relations between child and parent. For example, one sequence focuses on a moment around the time Ella was 2 years 6 months, where Ella is using play in the transitional space so as to cope with being told that her parents will be going away (loss). Silvia’s reaction in this extract is significant, in that the specifics of what is said and done highlights Ella’s mother’s orientation to maintaining the transitional domain permitting containment, and thus a safe environment for the child learning how cope with the tensions between the inner and the outer. A final extract highlights the manner in which both parent and child employ a variety of strategies so as to resolve conflict and displace emotional difficulties. In summary, Chapter 10 documents something of the dynamics of the transitional space and, specifically, moments in interaction that signify the tensions and ambiguities of play and playfulness (order–disorder).

In Chapter 11 attention returns to ethnomethodologically informed CA (CA&E) and a consideration of the emerging self, defined here as the child’s self-positioning as a social practice constructed during everyday talk-in-interaction. The proposal is developed that the positioned self that we are compelled to take possession of is presupposed in the talk of those we are interacting with, e.g., as observed in the use of the pronominal system in English and many other languages. While child language studies document the difficulties children have with deictic terms (e.g., Capone, 2007), we can nevertheless lose sight of the fact that using an expression such as ‘I’ constitutes a dynamic self-positioning action – and one that encodes role-relationships in the on-going talk. This self-positioning discourse may itself, depending on the context, make manifest and reflect specific subject–other positionings, experienced either directly within dialogue or through overhearing the use of second- or third-person referring expressions. How early social relationships develop will

in part be dependent on how children manage to learn about such positioning in context.

The data extracts document how Ella acquires membership status through gradually recognising and producing membership categorisation activities. Taken from one of the earlier recordings (when Ella was 1 year old), we begin by looking at how family members treat Ella 'as if' she has attained membership status (i.e., before she can talk). Another extract brings out the fact that a discourse of the 'child-self' is very much part and parcel of the on-going interaction, a discourse presupposed on category membership distinctions such as mummies/children, daddies/babies and babies/dollies, yet interdependent with an on-going orientation to displaying co-engagement. The analysis offered is very much in the spirit of membership categorisation analysis (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Butler, 2008). Researchers using MCA make the point that during talk-in-interaction people constantly use words and phrases in categorically significant ways that spontaneously display and reproduce their understandings of themselves, those around them, the local and immediate context and their relationship to the broader institutional social order. By the time Ella is starting to employ discursive practices that indicate her becoming more 'languaged', she begins to position herself by using particular membership categories. The kinds of spontaneous comparisons she makes between herself, her toys and the family cat indicate in different ways her knowledge of key membership category activities associated with the role she takes up. The examples also provide a flavour of how Ella is encultured into the rights and roles associated with such categories, as well as the asymmetric positions realised in context (between parents and children). What is particularly striking in some of these examples is that by the time Ella is 3 years old, she exhibits considerable interest in how she is being positioned by others.

The last data chapter of the book moves again to the psychoanalytically informed interpretation of early social relations. Building once more on Winnicott's (1971) perspective, I begin by examining the view that the child's discursive self is constituted through a process involving interdependent elements of the mother's projective identification, her capacity for containment and the provision of frustration. Starting from the position that the infant (as physical entity) has no awareness of self, then it is through the gradual introduction of frustration so as to produce a state of tension that an awareness of separation begins to emerge. This process (the gradual introduction of frustration by the mother) is embedded within culturally available discourses of the self and other. In order to illustrate the relationship between emerging discourses of the self and this conception of early social interaction, Chapter 12 considers three elements or domains. First, by looking at the dynamics of co-participant responsiveness, and the idea of 'action-mirroring', we might find clues to the infant's recognition/orientation to 'sameness vs. individuation'.

This mimicry, or recognition mirroring for want of a better phrase, may point towards an identification process something along the lines of ‘recognising the self’ in the action of the other. Second, through an examination of how, and in what circumstances, Ella begins to understand and use the words and phrases that make up one marked discourse of the self – first-, second- and third-person pronouns – we should be able to obtain some idea about the embedding of the self in context. For psychoanalytic theory, the identity of the child will in part depend on how she or he takes on board the discourse made available by others, the manner in which the infant is being as Lacan (1977) might say, ‘bound to its image by words and names’ during early parent–child interaction. The identification that a child takes up through entry into the symbolic order (i.e., the recognition and use of available discourses of the self) is said to ameliorate a simultaneous tendency to being completely at the mercy of the imaginary images that captivate him or her (specular images – reflections and mirror images).

By examining examples of Ella’s orientation to images of herself, it is possible to obtain some idea of how a child can be ‘taken up’ or captured by the images proffered. Here, for example, we look in detail at moments when Ella uses the viewfinder facility on the video-camera. This brings out something of the significance of the specular image for Ella, and her fascination and ambivalence over the recognition of separateness between the image seen and her embodied phenomenal experience. In one particular extract, it is possible to identify what one might call a choreography of ambivalence during her initial ‘engagement’ with her mirror-image possibly indicating something of what ‘captivation’ or being ‘taken up’ might mean for her.

The final chapter provides an overview of the book, returning to the themes developed in the early chapters and considered with reference to the interpretations within Chapters 7–12. Discussion touches on the relationship between the analysis of social interaction and the subsequent interpretations that are offered. The contrast and comparison of two very different theoretical approaches addressing material derived from one originating resource certainly highlights the particular challenges for research in this area of early social relations. I also consider whether there are defensible grounds for the suggestion that when engaged in everyday interaction people are simultaneously oriented to both the social practice conventions of talk-in-interaction *and* the emotional or affective state of the people they are engaging with. This may be what children learn when they succeed in acquiring the skills necessary for everyday conversation.

By way of a preamble for what follows, Max Weber’s decisive intervention in the ‘methodological disputes’ of nineteenth-century German ‘cultural science’ was the insight that what made social life accessible to scientific enquiry was simply that social life possessed, as a matter of fact and as a matter of course, a conspicuous and significant property, namely: participants in human

social life are always open to being held accountable for their actions. The upshot is that human beings orient their living towards that ever-present threat of being held to account, and consequently the very idea of the 'real reason' for any action simply slipped off the agenda of salience so far as the sociological understanding of social-actions is concerned. Henceforth, private thoughts, personal motives and mental causes could be deleted from the toolkit of sociological thinking, and were free instead to pop up among the objects upon which those tools were deployed. Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis developed this insight into a methodological lodestone, and both assumed and repeatedly demonstrated the groundedness of assuming that, as a matter of course, the accountability of action becomes a matter of fact, and, moreover, matter-of-fact.

At roughly the same time as Weber was having his eureka-moment, so another German-speaking student of human life was struck by what seemed to him to be the inescapable necessity of positing the exact contrary, if there was to be any chance of understanding the development of human individual and collective life. For Weber, it was as if individuals have their social life through the public recognition, articulation and exchange of accounts. For Sigmund Freud, on the other hand, individuals themselves are impossible creatures, for they construct themselves as dual beings, and do so at least from the moment of birth. In Weber's idiom of accountability, we could say that Freud contends that the very business of providing accounts *even to oneself* is so fraught with pain that our aversion to it leads to the development of an elaborate apparatus of misdirection, misrecognition and an active refusal to consciously reflect on things that we would prefer not to know about. Such comments do not preclude consideration of complementarity or even rapprochement across CA&E and psychoanalytic thought as I hope to indicate in what follows.