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Multimodal Directive Interactions in a Preschool Classroom

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Abstract: Preschool teachers use language to instruct children in classrooms around the globe. The present article contributes to the literature on directives used by preschool teachers in the classroom by presenting an eight-month ethnography of a preschool class. The study investigated the directives used by preschool teachers and students and the multimodal resources that were used, including verbal directives, songs, gestures, forms of eye contact, visual cues, and material objects. The study also analyzed ways in which preschool children were socialized to speak and act in culturally appropriate ways through directives. Analyses of observations and interviews show that directives were a major feature of the multidirectional language socialization of children in the classroom. Teachers and students used a variety of multimodal resources, including their verbal discourse, intonation, gestures, and objects to use discourses in the classroom to socialize children into appropriate modes of interaction in the classroom.

Keywords: Language Education, Language Socialization, Multimodal Communication, Early Childhood Education.

INTRODUCTION

Directives are a critical part of the teacher's repertoire in the classroom since directives aid teachers in the daily task of instructing the learning processes of students (Waring & Hruska, 2012). In language research, the act of getting another person to act upon a request is performed using directives. Directives are "attempts of varying degrees by the speaker to get the hearer to do something with the propositional content that the hearer does some future action" (Searle, 1976, p.11). Giving and receiving directives are known to be highly complex routines that employ mitigated, implicit, and indirect ways to decrease the threat that is posed to the face of the speaker and hearer (Searle, 1976).

For researchers of language education, using directives has been a rich topic of study since children need to be taught appropriate ways in which to issue and respond to directives.

Furthermore, children are introduced to beliefs and patterns that guide cultural rules for appropriately using directives in the classroom. Although the directives of preschool-aged children have been researched mostly in the context of homes and families (HERE), less attention has been paid to the way that preschool students are socialized by their teachers to use directives with adults and with each other in the classroom. This article presents findings from eight-month ethnography of a preschool classroom which analyzed the way preschool teachers socialized their students to use directives and the resulting interactions between students. The article responds to two research questions:

How do participants issue and respond to directives? What kinds of utterances, gestures, and forms of eye contact emerge when participants issue, or respond to directives?

How are directives used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting?

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Defining Directives

Directives are "attempts of varying degrees by the speaker to get the hearer to do

something with the propositional content that the hearer does some future action" (Searle, 1976, p.11). In other words, directives are a speaker's attempt to get the hearer to perform a future action and they may take the form of an order, command, question, request, prayer, challenge, hint, invitation, or suggestion (Searle, 1976). For example, a speaker's attempt to get a hearer to close a window may be issued as a direct statement, "Close the window", a question, "Is it cold in here?" or a suggestion, "I suggest that someone close the window before starting class". Searle (1976) further defined the different categories of directives to include orders, requests, prohibitions, and other verbal moves that attempt to solicit goods or action of others. Conversation and discourse analysts (e.g., Schegloff, 1984; Goodwin, 2006) have expanded on Searle's initial definition of directives by adding that a directive is not only one utterance but a sequence of interactions between two or more people. This study was informed by the expanded definition of directives as a sequence of interactions between two or more people.

Giving and receiving directives are known to be highly complex routines that employ mitigated, implicit, and indirect ways to decrease the threat that is posed to the face of the speaker and hearer (Searle, 1976). As such, using directives with children and socializing children into culturally appropriate ways of using directives is a complicated process that has been analyzed in several fields of research. Directives have been examined from several perspectives in diverse fields such as pragmatics, child development, psycholinguistics, and applied linguistics, among others (e.g., Bhimji, 2005; Kent, 2012; Searle, 1976). Another approach to research on directives has been to focus on how directives are performed in interaction within a cultural context (Bhimji, 2005; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Goodwin, 2006; He, 2000; Hymes, 1968). This study followed this social trajectory and defined directives in social interaction while examining the cultural context and performance of directive interactions.

Directives in the Classroom

There has been ample research on the directive use of children with families in the home (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; Goodwin, 2006; Seeley, 1999). However, there is less research on directives in the preschool classroom. For directives used in the classroom, researchers have mainly focused on the way teachers used directives as a linguistic tool with students in various countries (Florit et al., 2022; Moore, 2020). For example, in a quantitative analysis of 20 preschool teachers, Dulčić et al. (2021) revealed that instructional directives were most frequently used to communicate with students. In a discourse analysis of a Russian preschool class, Moore (2020) also found that teachers socialized children into using directives through questions, narratives, and physical placement of bodies and material resources. While much of the focus has been on the use of directives by teachers, there is a need for the analysis of the use of directives by children. In one study, Kryatsiz and Tarum (2010) examined the directive use of middle-class Turkish 4-year old girls to see how the girls socialized one another into appropriate affective display, directive use, and gender in free play conversations in their nursery school classroom. They reported that the girls used directives to invoke a group mentality among peer groups and establish social relationships and hierarchies through directive use. To extend research on the use of directives by children, this study will include an analysis of directives used by teachers and preschool students.

Language Socialization and Communicative Repertoires

Language socialization is a field of research that examines how children and other novices develop communicative competence through engagement with parents, peers, experts, and their environment to become active, competent members of their communities. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b) defined language socialization as "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (pp. 2-3). In other words, while children and novices are socialized to use the language, they are also socialized into appropriate and effective ways of behavior through the language.

Language socialization then, is a study of how children and novices become

speakers of culture who speak the language and know how to appropriately speak, to whom, when, where, and in which contexts and social situations (Hymes, 1968). When using the term 'socialization' in 'language socialization' Ochs and Schieffelin believed that language was a great force of socialization with an ability to create social solidarity of those in a social group whether it was a family, a chess club, a group of close friends, an office of colleagues, or any other community that shared the same language. Language socialization is a study of how this social solidarity is formed by and taught to newcomers in the group, whether they are children or novices.

METHODOLOGY

Ethnography

This study was an eight-month ethnographic study of a preschool class, examining their use of directives in the school. I chose an ethnographic method to capture the cultural patterns across and within the participant's worlds and to understand the social processes and interactions within them. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), ethnographies are a valuable social research method for analyzing cultural patterns and social processes in societies. The ethnographic approach has been widely used in language classrooms and educational research (e.g., Anderson, 1989; Watson-Gegeo, 2004) and in language socialization studies (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Following the ethnographic method, this study involved collecting multiple sources of data, which included field notes from field observations, audio- and visual- recordings of observations, interviews of parents, children, and teachers, and physical artifacts collected in the field.

Selection and Recruitment of Participants

The participants were chosen from a preschool Montessori class located in North Valley, New Jersey. Following the sampling methods of Kent (2012), Kim (2009), and No (2011), the current study used a purposeful sample to recruit students from the class to examine a phenomenon in depth. In considering the number of participants, the studies of Bhimji (2005) and No (2011) informed this study. For qualitative research, Yin (2003) advised a small number of participants to capture more in-depth analysis of each participant. With the purpose of analyzing the developing directive repertoires of each child with richer detail and greater depth, this study focused on one preschool class. Three families gave consent for their children to participate in the study: Karis (age 4.7), Ariel (age 1.7), Juri (age 4.5), Sangdo (age 2.11), and Timothy (age 3.8). There were three teachers who consented to and participated in this study. Miss Mary was the head teacher of the preschool class who supervised all of the intern teachers and the students in the class. She established the pacing and timing of the curriculum and she lead most of the circle times that I observed in this study. Miss Euri was an assistant teacher training under Miss Mary to become a Montessori certified teacher. Miss Denise was the second assistant teacher, also in training, who supported during circle time or work time.

Participant Observation

By both observing and taking part in the participants' lives, the researcher may understand viewpoints of the participants while collecting data (Gans, 1997). My observation notes included the directives used by children and adults, the context in which directives are used, patterns detected in the use of directives, the social and cultural implications of the directives used, and the socialization patterns detected through the communicative event. I observed the children's classrooms for three hours twice a month. I visited the classroom at least ten times during this period. This yielded a total of 30 hours in the classroom. Data were collected and analyzed for a total of eight months of data collection.

Audio Visual Recordings in the Classroom

This study documented the directive repertoires of preschool teachers and children by employing audio and visual recordings in the classroom. In the classroom, I audio- and video- recorded during the circle times in the morning from 9:30 a.m. to 10 a.m. and during

the children's work times that follow circle time from 10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. During circle time, the head teacher lead the children in a time of songs, Bible stories, and guidelines for the day. I chose to record this time because the teacher's main goal for circle time was to communicate her lessons and guidelines for each day and I had often seen her using directives with the children during circle time. During circle time, I placed a video camera on a tripod behind the history shelves to capture the teacher's interactions with the children.

In addition to the video camera, I set up a digital voice recorder behind the teacher so that it captured the verbal interactions of the teacher and children more clearly. During circle time, the teacher remained stationary in the front of the circle so that it was possible for the voice recorder to record the teacher's interactions from a stationary position behind the teacher. By setting the audio recorder behind the teacher, I prevented any disruptions that the presence of the audio recorder may cause to the teacher's lesson. I turned it on before the children sat around the rug for circle time and turned it off after the children had been dismissed.

In addition to recordings conducted during circle time, I also recorded for one to two hours during small group work sessions to capture one-on-one conversations between the teacher and three children and one-on-one conversations between the three children. This time was chosen to document the children's interactions with each other and the teachers since there will be more child- initiated talk.

Interviews with Teachers in the Preschool

Semi-structured interviews of teachers were conducted with the purpose of examining the teachers' pedagogical beliefs, language socialization patterns in the classroom, and the use of directives. The three teachers in the classroom were interviewed at least twice during the data collection period to examine the sixth and seventh research questions of how directives were used by teachers in the classroom. Interviews took place at a time that was most convenient for the teacher so that it did not interfere with the children's or teacher's schedules, such as during the children's free learning activity time. I interviewed at least one teacher a week, beginning with the first week of observation. The interviews were audio recorded with a digital voice recorder.

Field Notes and Artifacts

Field notes were taken during all sessions of participant observation to document insights, patterns, and notable moments regarding the use of directives and language socialization processes. I carried a small, portable notebook and pen to take field notes so that it did not impede full participant observation but was still accessible when I needed to take notes. Artifacts such as children's worksheets and drawings were collected as evidence of children's communicative patterns, social relationships, context, and their use of directives. The artifacts collected for the study included work completed by children in class, such as coloring work, practice with writing, or illustrations.

Triangulating the Data

Triangulating the data involved collecting multiple sources of data so that one source did not bias the results of the analysis. For ethnographies, triangulation is important because triangulating the data prevents the researcher from relying too heavily on one source of data. As an example, Maxwell (2005) points out that researchers may rely on the widespread assumption that observation is useful for describing behavior and events while interviews are useful for obtaining the perspectives of participants.

Data Analysis

This study used a thematic approach to discover themes within the data that were related to the research questions (Boyatsiz, 1998; Saldana, 2009). The thematic analysis approach is a process of encoding qualitative information and developing codes that label and describe sections of data.

The codes do not refer to the actual themes but to pieces of data that contribute to a

larger theme. Codes may be theory-related and theory-driven codes derived from a bottom-up and inductive reading and analysis of the data.

FINDINGS

In the analysis of the directives used in the class by the teachers and students, there emerged three major patterns of compliance, sequences in which a directive is followed by a positive and preferred response (Kent, 2012). These patterns were modeling-imitation interactions, signaling- attention interactions, and claim-concession interactions.

Modeling-Imitation Interactions

Modeling-imitation interactions consisted of interactions in which a speaker modeled a directive followed by a hearer who imitated the speaker's modeled directive. During class, the head teacher (Miss Marge) and assistant teachers (Miss Euri and Miss Denise) modeled the appropriate ways in which they expected students to behave and speak. During an interview, Miss Marge, the head teacher, was asked the following interview question: What words, gestures, or methods have you found to be successful in clearly communicating directives to children? In response, Miss Marge explained that when she taught class, she modeled appropriate behaviors and forms of speech: "So um you know if I'm quiet they have to be quiet to hear me. It's about modeling. It's about explaining in a way they can understand" (Interview, Miss Marge).

By modeling the appropriate way to behave and speak for the children, Miss Marge presented her directives to children in a "way they can understand". When Miss Marge expected her children to be quiet, she modeled how to be quiet for her children first. When Miss Marge expected her children to speak or behave in a certain way, she first modeled the appropriate behavior or speech for her children. Teachers also modeled academic lessons for children during the morning circle time. For instance, before children began working on academic lessons, teachers used the morning circle time to demonstrate how to appropriately work on a lesson so that children were able to appropriately work on the lesson independently during the day. During modeling of lessons, teachers gave children directives on each step of the lesson in a slow and deliberate manner so that children were able to observe and imitate when they worked on the lesson. In the following excerpt from a field note, I describe the teachers' system of modeling lessons.

Excerpt 1. Modeling lessons

Miss Marge explained during a conversation we had today that Montessori teachers demonstrate lessons for children from beginning to end without any interruption so that the children are able to pick out the work from the shelf during work time and complete it from beginning to end on their own. The Montessori philosophy encourages children to work independently and to initiate and complete lessons on their own and at their pace during work time. The teachers take great care to model these lessons slowly and carefully because the more successful the teachers are in modeling the lesson in the morning, the more accurately the children imitate it during their work time.

In this Montessori preschool class, teachers modeled directives to teach children the lessons in the classroom. Since the Montessori philosophy encouraged children's independence in choosing, initiating, and completing work, it was critical for teachers to model how children were to choose and complete their lessons. During morning circle time before children began working on their own, teachers presented a lesson for children to follow. Teachers modeled how to pick the work, carry the tray to a rug or table, complete the work, and clean the work up afterwards. During these modeled lessons, teachers used minimal verbal communication to have children focus on their gestures. As a result, most of the modeled directives during demonstrations were gestural.

In the following excerpt, Miss Euri modeled a new lesson for children to learn and imitate on their own during work time. The assistant teacher, Miss Euri (E), demonstrated a lesson on tweezing pine needles for the children (C).

Excerpt 2. Pine Needle Lesson

E: This is our new work. It is called pine tree.
C: pine tree
E: (Performs the lesson of tweezing out needles of pine leaf.)
C: (Watch.)
E: When you're done, put it in this container. (Opens plastic container.) So this is going to be full so we're going to do something.

When modeling lessons for children, teachers sat front and center of the circle. Here in this excerpt, Miss Euri demonstrated her lesson on a lap table to direct children to also work on the lesson on a table rather than a rug. Miss Euri brought the tray of the pine needle work to the table to direct children to bring the tray to the table when they choose this work. Miss Euri's gestural directives were modeled for children in a slow and careful manner for children to imitate and follow when they performed the lesson. She only spoke in line (2) to introduce the work and to explain how to clean the work up in line (5). As a result, most of her directives in this interaction were gestural so that children were able to focus on her gestures as she worked on the lesson.

Teachers also incorporated children to model appropriate behavior and speech for other children in the class. For example, in the following excerpt, Miss Denise asked the older girl students in class to demonstrate the appropriate way to prepare for lunch. Before eating lunch, Miss Denise (D) asked a group of four older girls (G) who sat together at a table to be quiet and demonstrated to the younger children table manners appropriate to the classroom.

Excerpt 3. Big kids

D: Alright ladies can you show us you're big kids? Can you show us?
G: (The girls become quiet.)

In this excerpt, Miss Denise's question to the older girls, "Alright ladies can you show us you're big kids?" had two purposes. First, her question was an indirect directive for the older girls to be quiet. Second, it used the girls as a model for younger children to observe that the appropriate form of behavior before eating was to be quiet. To position the girls in a stance of modeling and leadership, the teacher called them "ladies" (line 1) and granted authority to the other children through this title. Older children were asked to behave appropriately so that they could set an appropriate example for younger children to follow.

At other times, the teacher asked children to model appropriate behavior for other children regardless of their age. That is, teachers used children who were behaving in the expected manner as models for other children, whether they were younger or older. In the following excerpt, Miss Marge (M) used Karis (K) who was four at the time and another four-year-old friend, Jane, to model their behavior for other children.

Excerpt 4. A Quiet Hand

I'm waiting for a quiet hand. This is how we do it. You're talking (0.1) (puts finger to mouth) I want you to look at Jane. You see what Jane is doing? (points at Jane) (0.1) Do you see what Karis is doing? (motions to Karis with hand)
M: That's all you have to do. (M holds her hand up.)
K: (Continues to hold hand up and looks at M.)
M: Karis would you do it? (Looks at K.)
K: (Gets up and walks to rug.)

In this excerpt, Miss Marge asked a child to volunteer to stand. While some children responded by verbally asking to be chosen, Karis sat quietly and raised her hand to be chosen. Miss Marge issued gestural and verbal directives for children to follow Karis' example in line (1). She issued a verbal directive by asking, "Do you see what Karis is doing", while issuing a gestural directive by motioning to Karis with her hand. In response, Karis continued to raise her hand up and look quietly at Miss Marge. Finally, as a reward for her compliance, Miss Marge chose Karis to complete the task at hand and to further

reinforce her directive to other children to raise hands quietly in class.

As evident in the excerpt, Miss Marge utilized Karis' compliance to her directive as a model for other children in the class. Her verbal and gestural directives focused the children's attention on Karis. Furthermore, Karis' compliance became a directive for other children as her raised hand and quiet stance modeled for other children the appropriate way to volunteer in class. As such, Miss Marge and Karis collaborated in this instance to socialize other children into appropriate behavior in the classroom.

Children also socialized one another into appropriate behaviors and forms of speech through modeling directives. For example, in the following excerpt from an interview of the three children at school, children spoke to one another during a meal. The children, Karis (K), Juri (J), and Timothy (T) began their interactions with a directive to pray.

Excerpt 5. We have to Pray First

K: Okay let's eat!
K: We have to pray first (folds hands and closes eyes)
J: (folds hands and closes eyes)
T: (looks at J and K)

In line (1) of this excerpt, Karis initiated the conversation with the directive, "Okay let's eat!" Following her verbal directive, she modeled the appropriate gestures for prayer by folding her hands and closing her eyes. She issued gestural directives to the two other children by exaggerating her gestures. She folded her hands and brought them high up to her chin and tightly shut her eyes. In line (3), Juri received Karis' verbal and gestural directives modeling the appropriate stance for prayer and imitated Karis by also exaggerating her movements and holding her folded hands high up and pressing her eyes shut. Even though Timothy only looked on, he attentively looked at both children and observed before eating. Through verbal and gestural directives, children modeled and socialized appropriate behaviors and speech in the classroom for one another.

Signaling-Attention Interactions

Signaling-attention interactions are interactions in which a speaker signaled attention to a directive followed by a hearer who displayed attentiveness. Gestural and verbal directives were used to signal attention to a particular person or object. Children or teachers complied with these directives by demonstrating attentiveness. During an interview, I asked Miss Marge the following question: Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use to get children to do something? (Interview, Miss Marge). In response, Miss Marge explained that she discussed the theme of attentiveness with children to encourage children to listen and focus.

Excerpt 6. Show me Attentiveness

We talk a lot about being attentive. We talk a lot about attentiveness. You know we have the song that we play. We talk about that a lot. Show me attentiveness. You know, just things like that to remind them. And then you know, they kind of just especially the new kids, they say oh that's how school is. You sit quietly. They don't know any other way to be in school except the way you teach them. So when they come back the second year they know. It's a matter of um I don't know. I have to think about what I do. I use a lot of eye contact. We have a lot of hand signals.

For children to focus and listen, Miss Marge taught the children the theme of attentiveness. To teach children attentiveness, she used several different directives to signal children's attention. Miss Marge taught children a song about attentiveness. The lyrics to the song are recorded in the following field note.

Excerpt 7. I'll be attentive

When there's someone else who's saying something that I need to hear,
If I'm easily distracted, it will not be very clear.
I must listen very closely to the things they have to say; I will choose to be attentive ev'ry

hour, of ev'ry day!
I'll be attentive, so very attentive!
I will show the worth of what they have to say!
And when I am tempted to not be attentive, I will choose to be attentive anyway!

The lyrics of the song taught children the social value of being attentive to another person “who’s saying something that I need to hear”. Through these lyrics, children were taught the social value of listening to others in conversation. Along with Miss Marge’s verbal directives and the lyrics of this song, Miss Marge also used eye contact and hand signals to gesturally direct children to be attentive. When Miss Marge was asked about the hand gestures she used for signaling attention, she responded: M: (holds up one finger) So you know (0.1) One. Quiet. Two. Sit up straight (stern eyes. two fingers up). Three. Smile (smiles) So you know. They know that. Attentiveness kind of things (Interview, Miss Marge).

Miss Marge used a system of three hand signals to teach children the proper physical stance to demonstrate attentiveness. When she raised one finger, this prompted children to be quiet. When she raised two fingers, this prompted children to sit up straight. When she raised three fingers, this prompted children to smile. When using this system of gestural directives, Miss Marge made eye contact with children to ensure that they saw her fingers. Miss Marge established eye contact with me as she demonstrated her system of gestural directives. In the following excerpt during circle time, Miss Marge (M) used this system to quiet her children (C) down before lunch.

Excerpt 8. Quiet down

M: Shhh (Holds up one finger and looks at children.)
C: (Quiet down.)
M: (Silently holds up two fingers and looks at children.)
M: (Silently holds up three fingers and looks at children.)
M: (Silently holds up one finger in front of her lips.) Shhh.
M: º When I hold up your name card you’re going to get your lunch box. º

During this excerpt, Miss Marge was silent for all the turns except lines (1) and (6). Her silence accentuated her gestural directives issued to the children during circle time. Her directives elicited compliance and the children quieted down when she put her first finger up and said, “Shhh” (line 1). She rapidly and quietly issued gestural directives with her fingers and made eye contact with the children in front of her. By line (6), the class was completely quiet and she was able to whisper her next verbal directive in line (6) for the children to watch for their name card to be held up for dismissal to lunch. Miss Marge elicited attentiveness from her children through her system of gestural directives. Children showed their compliance by demonstrating attentiveness immediately after Miss Marge issued her first gestural directive.

Miss Marge also invited children to collaboratively issue directives with her. Children were called on to explain the meaning of attentiveness, to demonstrate proper attentiveness, and to answer questions about attentiveness for other children. Furthermore, children also issued gestural directives to receive teachers’ attentiveness. When children needed the attentiveness of a teacher, they raised their hands during class. In the following excerpt, Karis (K) receives the attentiveness of her teacher, Miss Marge (M), by raising her hand. Other children (C) also try to receive the attentiveness of Miss Marge by raising their hands.

Excerpt 9. Raising Hands

M: Is there anything we should know about? (Looks at children and turns head from one side to the other.)
C: (Raise hands.)
K: (Karis raises her hand high in the air.)
M: Yes Karis? (Leans forward towards Karis.)
K: Yesterday I went to the dentist and got my teeth cleaned and I got a flashlight.

This excerpt took place during circle time in the morning. Every morning, Miss Marge

asked children to share any important news that they had. As evident in this excerpt, Karis desired Miss Marge to be attentive to her news for the day. She was able to receive Miss Marge's attentiveness by raising her hand in line (3). To exaggerate her gestural directive, Karis raised one hand high into the air while balancing the rest of her body with her other hand on the floor. Her gestural directive requested Miss Marge to call on her and listen to her news of the day. Even though students were preschool aged children, they demonstrated agency in issuing verbal and gestural directives in the classroom.

Claim-Concession Interactions

Claim-concession interactions consisted of interactions in which a speaker claimed something from a hearer through directives followed by a hearer who conceded to the claim of ownership. For example, children used directives to claim ownership of objects and space. Since children were given the opportunity to choose work, or to choose their seats during circle time or work time, children often competed with one another for a lesson or a space they wanted. During times of competition, children used directives to claim ownership over objects and space.

In the daily routines of the classroom, sharing time, space, and objects became a complex task for children. In my research, I found that children argued, debated, fought, and physically and verbally pushed each other as they competed for objects in the classroom. During this competition, directives became a crucial way of claiming ownership over desired things. In the following example, Karis (K) and Juri (J) competed for a lesson that Timothy (T) was working on.

Excerpt 10. My turn

J: (waits at a table for T to finish a lesson)
K: (walks over and stands next to J)
T: (finishes lesson and returns it to shelf)
J: Now it's my turn. (walks around K and picks up lesson from shelf)
K: (follows J)
J: (brings lesson to the table and sits)
K: I'm gonna eat snack. (walks away)

At the beginning of this interaction, Juri waited for Timothy to complete a lesson so that she could begin it (line 1). When Karis walked over and stood next to her, she felt threatened by Karis's act of waiting next to her. In line (4), she issued a verbal directive as a hint, "Now it's my turn", insinuating that it was not Karis's turn and claiming ownership over the work. Along with this verbal directive, Juri walked around Karis to avoid any conflict with her. Although Karis followed her in line (5), Juri did not acknowledge her presence verbally or gesturally and sat at the table alone to work on the lesson. Karis conceded in line (7) by walking away to eat a snack. As a consequence of Juri's verbal directive in line (4) and gestural directives of walking around Karis and towards the lesson and picking up the lesson in line (4), Juri was able to claim ownership over the lesson she desired. In response to Juri's claim, Karis surrendered and walked away to the snack area of the room.

There were instances in which children claimed ownership of objects in the classroom. For example, in the next excerpt, Karis (K) claimed ownership of a smock worn during art activities. Excerpt 11. This one is for girls

K: (Leans into child, puts hands on hips.) This one is for girls.
C: Okay (Takes off smock.)
K: You can do this one. (Puts smock on another girl. Touches another smock.) That's for boys.

When Karis saw that a boy wore a pink smock with white polka dots, she issued a directive for him to take it off through a hint that this smock was only for girls in line (1). Along with her verbal directive, she gesturally pressured him to take it off by leaning in towards the boy and putting her hands on her hips to assert her position. By issuing this directive, Karis claimed this object for the girls in the classroom and attempted to take it

away from the boy. In response, the boy verbally and gesturally conceded by taking off the pink smock (line 2). Afterwards, Karis placed the pink smock on another girl and offered a different colored smock to the boy. Even though rules for ownership of the smocks were not explicit, Karis claimed ownership of the pink smock for her friend through the use of a verbal and gestural directive. Karis' directives were successful, which resulted in the boy's surrender of the pink smock and her ownership of the object.

During circle time, children were allowed to choose their seats, which resulted in competitions over spaces to sit. In the following example, Karis (K) competed with another girl (G) over a space to sit. While the other girl attempted to sit in the space next to Karis, Karis tried to push the other girl away and claim the empty space between them as her space.

Excerpt 12. Pushing

K: No no no (Pushes girl away from her with both hands.)
G: No.
K: No you have to. I'm squished. No::o. (Pushes girl away with hands.)
G: No.
K: Move. I'm squished. (Pushes girl away with hands.)
G: (Stays still.)
K: (Pushes girl with body.)
G: (Stays still.)
K: (Pushes girl by pressing feet into her legs.)
G: Stop!
K: You stop!
G: (Moves over.)

As evident in this excerpt, Karis employed several verbal and gestural directives to claim ownership of sitting space. In lines (1), (3), (5), and (11), Karis issued several verbal directives to push the girl out of what she claimed as her space. Furthermore, Karis' gestural directives physically pushed the girl out of the space she claimed to own. Her gestures escalated from pushing the girl with her hands (line 1), to her body (line 7), and finally to her feet (line 9). As a result of the verbal and gestural directives, the girl finally moved over in line (12). Through the use of escalated verbal and gestural directives, Karis claimed ownership over a space that another girl desired to have. Although Karis met resistance, she repeated her verbal directives and increased the force of her gestural directives to push the other girl into compliance.

CONCLUSION

Through an examination of directive interactions in the classroom, this article revealed ways in which children were socialized into modes of behavior and speech appropriate in their preschool classroom. Teachers and preschool students used a variety of multimodal resources, including their verbal discourse, intonation, gestures, and objects to use discourses in the classroom. Teachers socialized children into appropriate response of compliance to the teacher and classroom rules through their use of directives. In response, children socialized each other into shared ideas regarding ownership of objects and space in the classroom through directive interactions. Children also used verbal and gestural directives to claim ownership over objects and space in the classroom. Through directives that were repeated and escalated, children were able to gain power over other children and claim ownership of lessons, objects, and spaces to sit and work. In this way, directives played a major part in the multidirectional language socialization of children and teaching children culturally situated modes of using language with one another.

Given the findings, there are several implications that can be drawn for research, policy, and practice. A major implication that can be drawn from this study for researchers is to examine the metalinguistic awareness of preschool children who draw on multimodal resources and metalinguistic awareness to interact in a complex manner (Sung & Spolksy,

2015). This study demonstrated that children possessed a metalinguistic awareness of their directive interactions and the consequences of their interactions. In addition, teachers had a meta-awareness of their directive practices with their children, which contributed to more complex and multimodal interactions.

There is a need for more research on the metalinguistic awareness of young children as they learn to use directives with others, and the ways in which metalinguistic awareness influences the children's practices of using language.

Another implication from this study for researchers and teachers is the generative quality of resistance evidenced in the directive interactions. For teachers and practitioners who work with preschool children, this study challenges prior notions of static language use of children in the classroom and opens possibilities for more creative linguistic interactions that may result from an increased level of agency for children. This study calls for teachers and practitioners who work with preschool children to invite increased agency of preschool children in the classroom to allow greater growth of the child's linguistic creativity and for richer interactions.

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