

3 Discourse analysis of ethnographic data

Discourse analysis beyond the speech event has been done with several kinds of data. The concepts and the methodological tools and techniques developed in Chapters 1 and 2 apply to all discourse, but analysts will use these somewhat differently when working with different types of data. In Chapters 3–5 we apply our approach to analyze three types: “ethnographic,” “archival” and “new media.” Ethnographic studies analyze living people and actions in context, typically at shorter timescales and across more limited spatial scales. Archival studies analyze historical processes, typically at longer timescales and broader spatial scales. Studies of new media analyze actions in mediated worlds, typically at shorter timescales and broader spatial scales. New media studies most often focus on highly interconnected messages that depend on each other for completion, whereas the documents, interviews and observations in ethnographic and archival studies are often less immediately interconnected. These three categories are ideal types, and many research projects will involve more than one of them. Analysts will nonetheless apply our concepts and methods somewhat differently when working with the three types of data, and it is useful to illustrate discourse analysis on each separately.

This chapter applies discourse analysis beyond the speech event to ethnographic data—face-to-face participant observation with living people in context. We use examples from ethnographic discourse analyses that the two of us have done. Wortham (2006) analyzes a pathway of speech events that took place in one high school classroom across an academic year. The analysis in this chapter picks up the example that opened Chapter 1, following one of Tyisha’s fellow students and illustrating how tools and techniques from Chapter 2 can be used to trace how he was positioned in increasingly uncomfortable ways across the academic year. Reyes (2013) also examines classroom data across a year, from the Asian American supplementary school introduced in Chapter 2. We use concepts from Chapter 1 and analytic tools from Chapter 2 to show how teachers and students in one classroom deployed nicknames in ways that accomplished social action.

Both of these analyses draw on year-long ethnographic projects in individual classrooms, in which the researcher was physically present with participants. As

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) and many others describe, ethnography involves at least three data sources: field notes and/or recordings drawn from participant observation, interviews and documents. Ethnography is designed to understand people’s activities from their own point of view, uncovering the concepts and models that they use to make sense of experience. This does not mean that ethnographers never use outsider categories in their analyses. But they only do so if they have evidence that participants themselves tacitly presuppose these categories.

Ethnographic research is an excellent complement to discourse analysis. As described in Chapter 2, discourse analysts must know two kinds of things about participants’ understandings. First, they must know what relevant indexical signs point to. For example, in order to understand Tyisha’s use of the term “Nintendo,” and other participants’ construals of this sign, a discourse analyst must know something about video games and the types of people who stereotypically play them. Second, discourse analysts must recognize the cultural models that participants use to construe indexical signs. In Tyisha’s case, for example, a discourse analyst must know about norms of classroom behavior, like the model of a “disruptive” student. Analysts who are already familiar with a setting may have knowledge of indexical signs, relevant contexts and cultural models. But in most cases analysts need to learn at least some of these signs, contexts and models, and this involves participant observation, interviewing and analysis of documents.

Discourse analysis of ethnographic data typically focuses on relatively local, shorter-term processes. It analyzes recordings of naturally occurring events, interview transcripts and/or documents in order to understand how groups of people make sense of their experiences in one or a few settings. Unlike archival data, most ethnographic data come from participant observation and interviews in which an ethnographer records actual people interacting. Unlike new media data, most ethnographic data come from face-to-face interactions in which the ethnographer participates or observes. In order to study pathways of events using ethnographic data, an ethnographer has to record potentially linked events within and across settings, over time, and then identify which events are in fact linked into pathways through which consequential social action occurs.

Example 1: Maurice

Maurice the beast

On January 24, as we have seen in Chapter 1, Tyisha and her classmates discussed selections from Aristotle’s *Politics* in which he argues that “the state is by nature clearly prior to the individual since the whole is of necessity prior to the part” and that “he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be beast or god.” Discussion focused on a “beast in the woods,” a term that they interpreted to mean a person who refuses

"Discourse Analysis beyond the Speech Event provides a useful, clearly illustrated heuristic for anyone interested in seeing how social meaning emerges and circulates in and across interactions."

Barbara Johnstone, *Carnegie Mellon University, USA*

"Wortham and Reyes have developed a timely and much needed adjustment of discourse-analytical frameworks to the realities of transcontextual mobilities of texts, signs and meanings. Theoretically astute, technically sophisticated, yet written in an accessible way, this book must become a classic."

Jan Blommaert, *Tilburg University, The Netherlands*

Discourse Analysis beyond the Speech Event introduces a new approach to discourse analysis. In this innovative work, Wortham and Reyes argue that discourse analysts should look beyond fixed speech events and consider the development of discourses over time. Drawing on theories and methods from linguistic anthropology and related fields, this book is the first to present a systematic methodological approach to conducting discourse analysis of linked events, allowing researchers to understand not only individual events but also the patterns that emerge across them.

Discourse Analysis beyond the Speech Event:

- provides a method for detailed examination of speech, writing and other communication;
- introduces students and researchers to the discourse analytic tools and techniques required to analyze the relationships between discourse events;
- offers explicit guidelines that direct the reader through different stages of discourse analytic research, including worked examples from conversation, magazines and social media;
- incorporates sample analyses from ethnographic, archival and new media data.

This book is essential reading for advanced students and researchers working in the area of discourse analysis.

Stanton Wortham is Judy and Howard Berkowitz Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Angela Reyes is Associate Professor of English (Linguistics) at Hunter College and Doctoral Faculty in Anthropology at The Graduate Center, CUNY, USA.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Routledge titles are available as eBook editions in a range of digital formats.

ISBN 978-0-415-83950-1



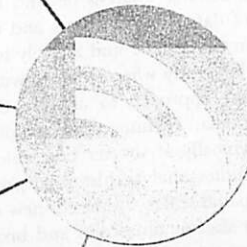
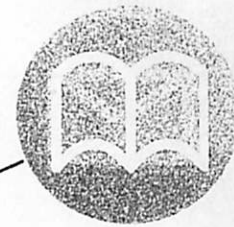
9 780415 839501



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
www.routledge.com
an informa business

Cover images: © Corbis

Discourse Analysis beyond the Speech Event Wortham and Reyes



Discourse Analysis

beyond the Speech Event

青岛学院大学图书馆



001604267

on Wortham
Angela Reyes

401
551

001604267

to make the sacrifices necessary to live successfully with others. Before discussion of the example that included Tyisha and her cat, Mrs. Bailey nominated another student, Maurice, as a hypothetical beast in the woods.

Segment 1: Maurice in the woods

- 315 T/B: I mean think of what- he's saying there. he's saying if Maurice went out and lived in the wo:ods (4.0) ((some laughter))
 FST: °they're talking about you°
 T/B: and never had any contact with the rest of us,
 320 he would be- uh- like an animal.

The example of Maurice the beast disappeared from the discussion relatively quickly at this point. Much later, a few minutes after the discussion of Tyisha and her cat, Mrs. Bailey returned to the example of Maurice as a beast.

Segment 2: Maurice the beast in the woods

- T/B: now we put Maurice out in the woods. Maurice, when would you get up? and go to bed.
 915 MRC: when I was ready to.
 T/B: when you were ready to. Maurice, if you had your druthers what would you be eating all day long, [liver=
 MRC: [whatever I want.
 920 T/B: =or ice cream? you going to eat liver? or are you going to eat ice cream.
 STS: ice cream.
 MRC: with what?
 FST: I eat liver.
 925 STS: ice cream. ((students echo ice cream and comment on the choice of ice cream or liver))
 MST: druthers
 T/B: you have a choice.
 FST: °every day°
 930 MRC: ice cream.
 T/B: ice cream. ummm.
 FST: °be healthier if you ate the liver°
 T/B: shhh. (2.0) the- the water where you are is very, very cold. and it's [not very warm outside.=
 935 MRC: [(3 unintelligible syllables)]
 T/B: =how often are you going to- to- to clean yourself off? ((laughter))

- FST: Right Guard
 MRC: depends when we're talking about.
 940 T/B: okay, so you might go the whole winter and well into the summer, right? without ever getting clean.

By making Maurice an example at line 913, Mrs. Bailey may be putting his actual identity in play. With Tyisha, we saw that discussion of the example about her and her cat had implications for her own position in the narrating event. The same thing might happen with Maurice. Teachers and students could infer something about Maurice himself from their discussion of him as a hypothetical beast in the woods. Is Mrs. Bailey implying that there is something beast-like about Maurice?

Figure 3.1 represents the discussion of this example, mapping the narrated events early in the conversation. In the first narrated event, Aristotle makes the distinction between gods, beasts and humans—with humans living together in society and beasts unable to do so. In the second narrated event, the example, Maurice is a hypothetical beast who lives apart from the teachers, students and other humans who live in society, and he does not follow social norms like bathing. In the narrating event, teachers and students are discussing Aristotle. We have separated girls from boys in the figure because, as described more extensively below, in this classroom the split between girls and boys is especially salient. The girls dominate conversation throughout the year, and Maurice is the only boy who willingly speaks. We have separated out Maurice in the

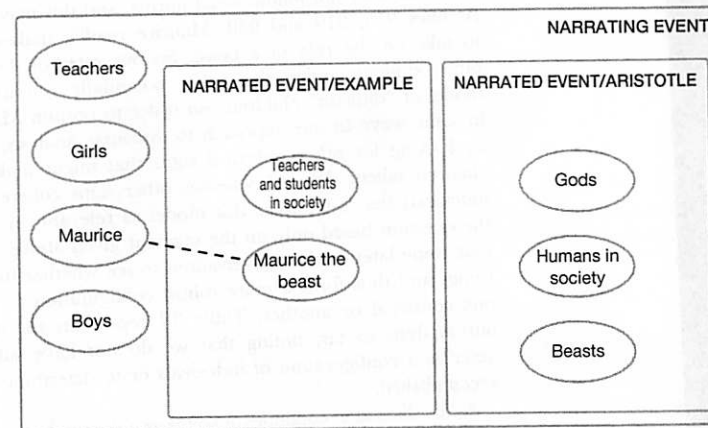


Figure 3.1 The example of "Maurice the beast"

narrating event, because the example with him as a character turns out to have specific implications for Maurice himself. Focusing for the moment on this discrete speech event, our discourse analytic question is: what implications does discussion of these narrated events have for the positioning and social action occurring in the classroom interaction? Figure 3.1 represents this as yet undetermined relationship as a dashed line between the narrated character Maurice the hypothetical beast and Maurice himself, the student participating in the narrating event.

The next step is selecting indexicals. We must identify salient indexicals and the relevant context they presuppose and then construe those indexicals, inferring what types of action may be taking place through the discourse. Mrs. Bailey describes the hypothetical Maurice not eating liver (line 918) and not bathing (line 936). Both of these are stereotypical caricatures of American children and youth, who are often seen as picky about food and resistant to their parents' desire that they eat healthy foods and bathe regularly. By choosing topics that are likely to elicit laughter from teenagers, the teacher may be signaling that she is joking, while also pursuing the academic discussion. Other students act as if they and the teacher have in fact been joking with Maurice, when they laugh at line 937 and a student makes another joke by referring to a brand of deodorant at line 938.

So far, it seems that the teacher is jokingly putting Maurice into the role of a hypothetical beast, at the same time as she explains Aristotle's argument to the students. But the characteristics that Mrs. Bailey attributes to Maurice the beast are not merely funny. They also index typical behaviors of what we might call "difficult" children. Such children stereotypically want to eat only ice cream, refuse to eat healthy food (lines 917–921), resist bathing (lines 933–937) and refuse to go to bed on time (line 914). The hypothetical Maurice the beast does not follow social norms, and this may imply that he is difficult. At lines 915, 919 and 930, Maurice readily makes the appropriate choices to take on the role of a beast. So our question becomes: do teachers and other students index this other potentially relevant context—the cultural model of "difficult" children—in order to position Maurice himself as difficult in some way? In our approach to discourse analysis, we answer this question by looking for other indexical signs that might make the model of difficult children salient. We ask whether other signs cohere into a configuration of indexicals that establishes this model as relevant, or not. We cannot answer the question based only on the segment given above. We must examine signs that come later in the conversation, to see whether they presuppose the same things and thus form a more robust configuration of indexicals that supports one construal or another. Table 3.1 represents the different components of our analysis so far, noting that we do not have sufficient evidence yet to describe a configuration of indexicals or to determine the social action being accomplished.

As the discussion continues, it seems as if the teachers are not in fact positioning Maurice himself as difficult in the narrating event.

Table 3.1 Analysis of "Maurice the beast" early in the example

Map Narrated Events	Aristotle: Gods/humans/beasts Example of Maurice the beast
↓	
Select Indexicals/ Relevant Context	Not eating liver, not bathing, refusing to go to bed on time
↕	
Configure Indexicals	Not yet fully formed
↕	
Construe Indexicals	Perhaps joking with Maurice Perhaps labeling Maurice as "difficult"
↓	
Identify Positioning/Action in Narrating Events	Not determined yet

Segment 3: Maurice is civilized

- 990 *T/B*: what's- what's the difference between the two aspects. Maurice in the forest and the Maurice that we know in this classroom, who doesn't scratch when he itches.
- FST*: he's civilized.
- 995 *MRC*: that's what I said.
- T/B*: umm, he's civilized. what did you say Maurice?
- MRC*: that's what I said.
- T/B*: you're civilized.

At lines 990–993, Mrs. Bailey distinguishes between Maurice "in the forest" and Maurice "in this classroom." Unlike the Tyisha case discussed in Chapter 1, in which the boundary between Tyisha the beast and Tyisha the student blurs, here Mrs. Bailey explicitly separates Maurice the beast from the real Maurice and positions Maurice himself as "civilized," as part of society like the other students in the narrating event.

The teachers and students discuss this example for a few minutes, and they mostly maintain this clear separation between Maurice the narrated character and Maurice himself in the narrating event. There are only a few minor indications that Maurice himself might also be getting positioned negatively. At the end of the class, Mrs. Bailey characterizes Maurice as perhaps even more dangerous than a beast when she tries to explain another of Aristotle's points. Aristotle says:

Segment 4: Quoting Aristotle

- T/B: for man, when perfected, is the best of animals, but when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all, since armed injustice is the more dangerous. and he is equipped at birth with arms meant to be used by intelligence and virtue, which he may use for the w- worst ends. wherefore if he have not virtue, he is the most
- 1150 unholy and most savage of animals and the most full of lust and gluttony. but justice is the bond of men and states.

For Aristotle, the teacher explains, a self-centered human can be even more dangerous than a beast. Mrs. Bailey uses Maurice to illustrate this point.

Segment 5: Maurice could be sneaky

- T/B: what happens if you take someone like Maurice out in the forest is doing what he wants to do, for the immediate pleasure of what he wants to do and then you add on to it the component that he can also think about future pleasures, doing what he wants to do. and he can have some planning mechanism
- 1110 there, to think in terms of the things in the future that he can plan to do that will make him feel good. what happens to him? a lion is dangerous, but what about a Maurice?
- ...
- 1125 Maurice is somebody maybe you don't even see and you know, he can be doing what?
- FST: ((2 unintelligible syllables))
- T/B: the lion you see, you know he's dangerous.
- 1130 Maurice you can see- "let me put it this way" Maurice you can see now (1.0) and don't perceive him as being dangerous, but what else could be happening?
- FST: he could be sneaky.
- 1135 T/B: he could be plannin' how to get somethin' or do somethin' that makes him feel good

This new hypothetical, narrated Maurice is a beast in some ways but not in others. The stereotypical beast is self-interested but unable to reason in complex ways. But this hypothetical Maurice is both self-interested and intelligent. Mrs. Bailey

Table 3.2 Initial elaboration of the "Maurice the beast" example

Map Narrated Events	Aristotle: Gods/humans/beasts Example of Maurice the beast
↓	
Select Indexicals/ Relevant Context	Not eating liver, not bathing, refusing to go to bed on time Dangerous, sneaky, selfish
↕	
Configure Indexicals	Not yet fully formed
↕	
Construe Indexicals	Perhaps joking with Maurice Perhaps labeling Maurice as "difficult" or even resistant and dangerous
↓	
Identify Positioning/ Action in Narrating Events	Not determined yet

uses indexicals that presuppose the hypothetical Maurice is "dangerous," out to get people and sneaking around unseen in a menacing way. He is intelligent, but he pursues what makes him "feel good."

Table 3.2 is similar to Table 3.1, but it adds the new indexicals the teacher uses in this last segment. These signs presuppose a different voice for the narrated Maurice, the hypothetical beast. Early in the example, Maurice the beast was self-centered and apart from human society. But teacher and students quickly made clear that this voice does not characterize Maurice the student himself. As Mrs. Bailey voices the narrated Maurice not only as selfish and anti-social, but also as sneaky and dangerous, a discourse analyst might ask whether this new characterization of Maurice's narrated character has implications for his position in the narrating event. We note this in the "construing indexicals" line of the table. But no robust configuration of indexicals has emerged to support this interpretation yet, so we cannot conclude that the "dangerous" narrated voice has any implications for Maurice's position in the narrating event. In order to discover whether he is in fact being positioned in some negative way, we need to consider other speech events he participated in across the year. By making him a participant example of a "beast in the woods," the teacher has raised the possibility that Maurice is an uncooperative outcast like Tyisha, or perhaps even dangerous to the social order in the classroom. But based only on the conversation in this one speech event, this possibility is not realized.

The girls against the boys

Maurice was a 14-year-old African American boy. Like most of the students in Mrs. Bailey and Mr. Smith's class, he had scored in the third quartile on the assessment test for eighth graders. Like Tyisha and many of his other peers, he

was verbally skilled and seemed more intelligent than his test scores indicated. Maurice was popular with the students and had several close friends in the class. He joked and wrestled playfully with his male friends before and after class. He also sat near the other boys, and he would sometimes talk to them surreptitiously during class. Maurice was physically larger than average, and he played on the football team. He was also attractive, and many of the girls flirted with him. He was interested in the girls as well, and he flirted, teased and occasionally fought with them both during and outside of class.

Maurice participated actively in class discussions all year. He was routinely one of the half dozen students actively contributing to discussions, and he often made thoughtful comments. For the first three months of the academic year, both teachers and students treated Maurice as a good student and a valued participant. But Maurice was the only boy to participate willingly in class. The other boys spoke only when asked a direct question, and so Maurice was an unusual boy in this context. The highly gendered nature of this particular classroom provides essential background that is necessary to construe Maurice's emerging position.

Wortham (2006) describes a somewhat distinctive local model that emerges in this classroom: both teachers and students habitually presuppose that girls are less troublesome, smarter and more promising than boys. This model circulates widely in American society and many American schools, increasingly in recent decades. But teachers and students developed a specific local version of this model that emerged over the first two or three months of the academic year, with teachers and students positioning boys and girls differently. They presupposed that girls cooperate more with teachers, are more intelligent and will more likely succeed in life. Boys, in contrast, supposedly resist classroom expectations, are less intelligent and are less likely to succeed. More than any other category of identity, gender became relevant to the social identification of these students in this particular classroom. By the middle of the year, many students were routinely identified according to these gendered models—as “promising girls” and “unpromising boys”—and these categories of identity could easily be presupposed in almost any interaction.

By the end of November, Mrs. Bailey had articulated the model of promising girls and unpromising boys explicitly, and several girls were beginning to treat the boys as if they were unpromising. The teachers often referred to the class in gendered terms, especially when making comments about discipline. On November 30, for instance, Mrs. Bailey characterized girls and boys this way: “Okay, that’s one meaning of ‘discrimination.’ I look and I see differences. . . . I see that Katrina is a girl and William is a boy and I discriminate against William because he’s a boy and girls are much easier to deal with.” This comment was not tongue in cheek—she said it with a straight face, and it fit with similar comments that she made. The teachers and the vocal girls often excluded the boys from the classroom conversation, treating them as third-person objects of discussion and legitimate targets of the girls’ teasing. The boys, except for Maurice, did not say anything and kept their heads down.

Maurice’s classroom identity emerged in this context. The other boys rarely contributed to class discussion, but Maurice participated actively and successfully throughout the year. He almost always answered questions willingly, articulated his own arguments about the subject matter and engaged in constructive discussion with the teachers and other students. Despite his gender, Maurice began the year being treated by teachers and students as a typical promising student. In the first two or three months, the teachers and many female students accepted and even praised his regular contributions. After a few months, however, the vocal female students and sometimes the teachers began to identify him in a less flattering way—not as the same sort of disruptive outcast that Tyisha became, but as an outcast nonetheless.

The first extended example of the vocal girls picking on Maurice occurred on December 17. They are discussing “The Sniper” by Liam O’Flaherty, a short story in which a soldier for the Republican side unwittingly shoots his brother during the Irish Civil War. In the following segment they define “civil war,” and the girls jump in quickly when it looks as if Maurice is about to make a mistake.

Segment 6: Maurice makes a mistake

- T/B: what kind of war do you get family on opposite sides? (2.0) civil war. what’s a civil war?
- FST: °a wa[r]°
- FST: [a war]
- 40 MRC: [a war against- one country against-]
- FST: no:
- FST: no
- FST: ((2 seconds of overlapping chatter))
- T/B: okay, a war within the country. a war with- shhh
- 45 FST: ((6 unintelligible syllables))
- T/B: a war within the country. so brother fights against brother. neighbor fights against neighbor. is there any outside invasion going on here, am I protecting my home against a bunch of foreigners?
- 50 MRC: no
- FST: no:
- FST: no

At line 41, a female student says “no” with noticeable stress and elongation of the vowel (similar to the fall-rise intonation contour as one would find with “duh,” often meaning “how could you be so stupid as to say that?”). Another student repeats “no” at line 42. Maurice had only begun to make an error, but the girls quickly jump on him. At line 50, Maurice says “no” himself, perhaps attempting to preempt the girls’ criticism. But the girls repeat “no” at lines 51 and 52, with the same intonation contour at line 51, reminding everyone of Maurice’s earlier mistake.

As the conversation proceeds, the girls continue to object to Maurice's comments. This pattern recurs from December through the end of the year: girls often tease or disagree with Maurice, and the teachers do not intervene.

Segment 7: Maurice makes another mistake

- T/B: you don't know who you're fighting against? you do know who ((3 unintelligible syllables)) you're fighting against, don't you?
- 90 FST: right=
FST: yeah
T/B: who's that?
FST: ((4 unintelligible syllables))
- 95 MRC: same people in the=
FST: no
T/B: the people that are like you. people in your country.

At line 95, Maurice begins to answer Mrs. Bailey's question. His truncated response may well have been correct, but at line 96 a female student cuts him off with another "no." The teacher steps in immediately and gives the correct answer, without commenting on whether Maurice might have been correct and without intervening in the developing conflict between Maurice and the girls.

Table 3.3 represents our cross-event discourse analysis at this early stage. So far we have the events from December 17 and January 24, together with several others which we do not have space to present in detail—events in which the girls tease or exclude Maurice (cf. Wortham, 2006). We select these two focal events because in both of them Maurice is positioned in unexpectedly negative ways, as making a stupid mistake and perhaps as an outcast, even a dangerous outcast. The second line mentions a few indexicals across the two events that could presuppose these construals. These indexicals have not yet come together into a solid configuration that would support some reading of the pathway Maurice is traveling over time, however. We have seen a few indications that Maurice is not a typical good student. And we know that, as a male in a classroom with a strong model of "unpromising boys," he is anomalous. But his pathway could still go in several directions. He could end up being an exception to the rule, accepted as a good student despite his gender. He could give up his attempt to be a good student and join the boys sitting silently at the back of the room. There are various other possibilities as well. We need to trace his participation across other events to see if more dense cross-event indexical configurations emerge and establish a clearer pathway.

On February 18, the class discussed the scene from the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus encounters the Sirens. The Sirens were female creatures who lured sailors with enchanting songs and then killed them. Having been warned, Odysseus makes his men plug their ears and tie him down, so that he is able to enjoy the Sirens' song while his men keep the ship safely away. The class explores

Table 3.3 Initial cross-event analysis of Maurice's pathway

<p>Select Linked Events/ Map Narrated Events</p>	<p>Linked events: December 17, January 24, and other days on which Maurice was teased and excluded by girls</p>
<p>Select Indexicals/ Identify Relevant Cross-Event Context</p>	<p>Dangerous, not eating or bathing appropriately; "No:"—girls criticizing Maurice</p>
<p>Configure Indexicals/ Delineate Cross-Event Configurations</p>	<p>As "No:" and similar treatment of Maurice recurs across events, a configuration begins to form, perhaps indexing a model of Maurice as unintelligent</p>
<p>Construe Indexicals/ Trace Shape of Pathways</p>	<p>Maurice may be "difficult," unintelligent or deviate from the model of a "good student" which is enacted by the girls. But no clear pathway has formed yet</p>
<p>Identify Emerging Cross-Event Processes</p>	<p>Maurice is being excluded from the core group of students and teachers, and perhaps starting to be positioned as academically unpromising</p>

the implicit messages of this episode, like the representation of women as seductive but dangerous. In the discussion Mrs. Bailey makes Maurice himself an example, a victim of the girls.

Segment 8: Maurice victimized by the girls

- CAN: think you like somebody else on purpose. pretend to like somebody else on purpose.
- 90 T/B: okay, that could hurt Maurice, that kind of thing. They could play with his affections and then toss him overboard. okay, what else c- could the ladies in the room do?
- FST: we can become obsessed
- T/B: not, not the women being obsessed with him, wh-
- 95 what might happen to Maurice? I want your opinion. what, what might happen to you, Maurice? (10.0) Maurice, is this thing in this classroom full of women a distraction? ((female laughter)) would you do better in a classroom full of boys? (4.0)
- 100 MRC: "I don't know"
- T/B: Maurice, I'm asking you a question.
- MRC: I don't know.
- T/B: you don't know.

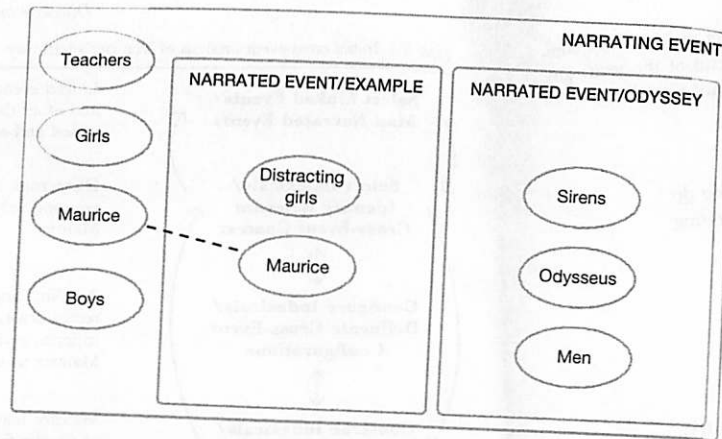


Figure 3.2 The example of the Sirens

Candace describes a generic male who might be hurt by dangerous girls. At line 90, Mrs. Bailey explicitly introduces Maurice as the subject of discussion. This adds Maurice as a character in an example, with Mrs. Bailey and the girls voiced as potentially dangerous females and Maurice as their potential victim. Figure 3.2 represents the narrated and narrating events at the point, with the relationship between the girls and Maurice in the example potentially having implications for Maurice's actual position in the classroom.

Mrs. Bailey refers to Maurice in the third person at line 91, making him an object of discussion for the moment. Mrs. Bailey also makes him the object of the girls' actions—they could hurt him, "play with his affections and then toss him overboard." Maurice has thus become an object in two ways: a few lines earlier in the conversation he refused to participate, and now the females have excluded him interactionally; Mrs. Bailey has also described him, within the example, as an object of the girls' actions. As shown at line 93, the girls continue to position themselves as first-person participants, referring to themselves as "we."

In her comments at lines 94–99, however, Mrs. Bailey makes it clear that she does not want to focus on the women's "obsessions." She wants to focus on Maurice. She turns to him at line 95, referring to him again as "you" and inviting him to be a participant in the conversation. But Maurice, uncharacteristically, does not respond at all. At lines 95–101, Mrs. Bailey increases the pressure on Maurice to respond, escalating to the explicit statement, "Maurice, I'm asking you a question." The teachers often spoke like this to other boys when they refused to participate, but I had never observed them talking like this to Maurice. Maurice responds with "I don't know," twice, which is the only thing he says in this whole discussion.

By focusing on the gendered dimension of the Sirens myth, and by using Maurice as an example, Mrs. Bailey presupposes the separation between boys and girls in the classroom. This opens up the possibility that she might apply gendered categories of identity from the curriculum to students themselves, positioning Maurice and perhaps others in the narrating event. Because Mrs. Bailey and the girls were teasing him, Maurice likely suspected that this would not be a dispassionate academic discussion of subject matter. Mrs. Bailey thus put Maurice in an awkward position. He generally cooperated with the teachers and participated willingly in class, but he may have known that this particular topic would be dangerous, an opportunity for Mrs. Bailey and the girls to tease him or position him in unflattering ways. So it is likely that he chose to act like a stereotypical male student and refused to participate.

Mrs. Bailey and the girls responded by explicitly characterizing the boys as unpromising.

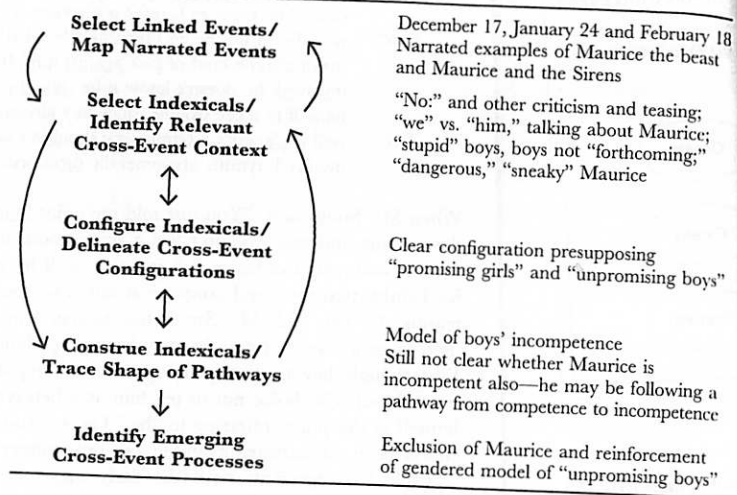
Segment 9: Boys are stupid

- JAS: you would because they are able to take ((4
105 unintelligible syllables)) stupid things because if more boys
than girls
T/B: oh the place would get stupider.
((laughter from female students))
T/B: that's how boys are, they're kind of stupid. maybe,
110 maybe the boys in this room are a little bit ((2 unintelligible
syllables)). okay, ahh, (6.0) I am going to have to ask this
question to the girls because the boys aren't very
forthcoming. anybody in here ever have a crush on
somebody?

At line 105 Jasmine seems to be saying that a predominantly male class would produce more "stupid" comments. Mrs. Bailey echoes this at lines 107 and 109, characterizing boys as stupid. She may be teasing here, trying to entice the boys to participate. Wortham (2006) shows, however, that she has articulated this negative evaluation of boys on several other days, without apparent irony. Thus her blunt statement here is probably not just teasing. The message about the boys' identities in the narrating event is clear: they are uncooperative and unpromising students. Mrs. Bailey then directs her instruction exclusively to the girls at lines 111 and beyond. Thus she not only *describes* but also *enacts* the difference between promising girls and unpromising boys, acting as if it is not worth teaching the boys because they do not respond anyway.

Table 3.4 represents our emerging cross-event discourse analysis of the three events on December 17, January 24 and February 18. These three events are linked because in each Mrs. Bailey and the girls position Maurice as marginal. On December 17 the girls gang up on him in the narrating event, acting as if he is stupid. On January 24 Mrs. Bailey creates the example of Maurice the

Table 3.4 Emerging pathway for Maurice



beast, which might imply that he is an outcast, maybe even a dangerous one. Neither of these events in itself establishes an enduring position for Maurice, but—together with other events in which the girls pounce on his mistakes—these events form a potential trajectory across which Maurice may be getting positioned as an unpromising boy and something of an outcast. The example of the Sirens on February 18 makes clear that Maurice is male and different from the vocal, cooperative, intelligent girls who dominate classroom conversation. Mrs. Bailey and the vocal girls foreground gender as a salient dimension and clearly apply the local classroom model of promising girls and unpromising boys to Maurice.

With the February 18 discussion, a more rigid pathway began to form. Across several events, Maurice's competence was questioned. Mrs. Bailey and the girls reminded him that boys are not good students and that he is a boy. Thus they foregrounded a central tension in Maurice's position, his desire to be a good student in a context where boys are not supposed to be good students. A configuration of indexicals across events emerged, presupposing that he was marginal. Maurice's position in the classroom thus began to solidify across a pathway of linked events. In the early months of the year he was just another good student. But starting in December Mrs. Bailey and the girls placed increasing pressure on him, foregrounding the tension in his position as the one boy who wanted to succeed academically. The example discussed in the next section crystallized the choice teachers and students were forcing on him, a choice between being a promising student and being one of the boys.

Maurice in the middle

Maurice went from being just another good student in the fall, to being the only vocal boy and an outcast whom the vocal girls marginalized in class discussion. In the spring the teachers sometimes joined the vocal girls in treating Maurice as an outcast and in pressuring him to choose between his identity as a good student and his identity as a male. On May 10, for example, the class read Cicero's letter to Atticus. In this letter Cicero ponders what he should do about the tyranny of Caesar and the plot by Cassius and Brutus to overthrow him. Should he tell Caesar? Should he join the plotters? Or should he just keep quiet? The text describes three central characters: Caesar the tyrant, those plotting against him, and Cicero caught between the two. Mr. Smith makes Maurice an example, to illustrate Cicero's dilemma.

Segment 10: Maurice would not tell the teacher

- T/S: Maurice let's give a good example, you'll love this.
suppose this dictator, me. there was a plot going on.
150 and you found out about it. and you knew it was gonna-
it's existing (3.0) among the people you knew. would
you tell me. (5.0)
- MRC: you said they know about it.
- T/S: the plotters, against me. they're planning to push me
155 down the stairs. [and you know about it
[hnhhahaha
- T/S: now we all know Maurice and I have ha(hh)d
arguments all year. would you tell me about it.
- MRC: well- I might but uh what if they- what if they found
160 out that I told you then they want to kill me. (5.0) so I'm
putting myself in trouble to save you, and I'm not going to
do it.
- STS: hnh hahaha

The example describes a role structure analogous to that in Rome: Mr. Smith the hypothetical tyrant, the plotters planning to push him down the stairs and Maurice the potential informer caught between the two.

Figure 3.3 represents the analogy among the roles described in Cicero's text, the roles described in the example and the positions enacted in the narrating interaction itself. The first narrated event is described in Cicero's letter, with Caesar opposed to the plotters and Cicero caught in between these two groups. The second narrated event has three analogous characters, in Mr. Smith's example of himself as a hypothetical tyrant, hypothetical student plotters and Maurice hypothetically caught in the middle. The outer rectangle represents the interaction between teachers and students in the classroom. At this point in the conversation, Mr. Smith and Maurice occupy conventional positions as teacher

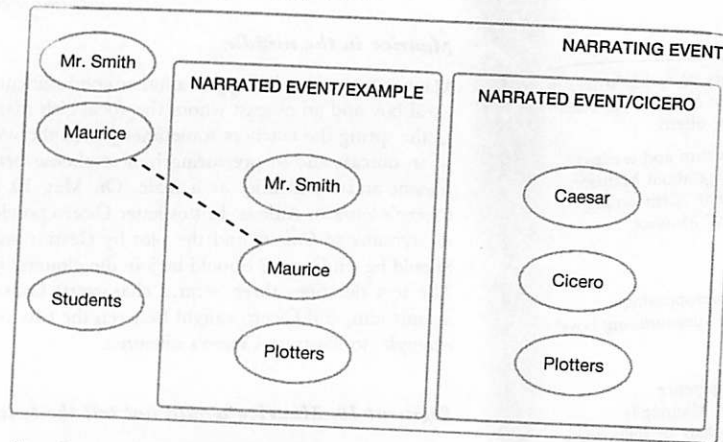


Figure 3.3 Maurice caught in the middle

and student discussing the curriculum. But Mr. Smith's comment at lines 157-158 indicates that their own relationship may also involve tension that would predispose Maurice to join the plot against him.

The dashed line in the figure represents potential implications that the example might have for Maurice and Mr. Smith themselves in the narrating interaction. By asking whether Maurice would side with him against the student plotters, in the hypothetical example, Mr. Smith may be asking Maurice a question that has consequences for Maurice himself: is Maurice on the teachers' side or not? If we were just doing within-event discourse analysis, we could not draw conclusions about the potential parallel between Maurice's hypothetical position as someone caught between a tyrant and the plotters and his actual position as a boy caught between his desire to succeed in school and his male peers' refusal to participate in class. But the cross-event configuration of indexicals described above has already established this position for him. As the latest linked event in this pathway, the example of Maurice caught in the middle presupposes and reinforces Maurice's position caught between the promising girls and the unpromising boys.

As they continue discussing the example, Maurice's hypothetical decision about whether to side with Mr. Smith has increasingly clear implications for Maurice's own position.

Segment II: Maurice would not get involved

T/S: then what's his problem. if the man- you just told me
 190 point blank [that we could be pushed down stairs=
 MRC: [so.

T/S: =and you wouldn't feel a thing about it. what's his big
 deal, if he believes Caesar is a tyrant, so what.
 MRC: well- he- if u:h he ((4 unintelligible syllables)) that they're
 195 making some kind of plot against him, but he doesn't want to get
 involved. he doesn't know if he should get involved, he could get
 himself in more trouble. since he's already ((3 unintelligible syllables))=
 T/S: well if Caesar's a tyrant why shouldn't you get
 involved. tyrants are generally dictatorial nasty people

When Mr. Smith says, "You just told me point blank that we could be pushed down stairs and you wouldn't feel a thing about it" (lines 189-192), both the volume and tempo of his speech increase, as if he is angry. This contrasts with his lighthearted tone and laughter at line 157 above, where he seemed to be teasing. By line 192, Mr. Smith has escalated his emotional involvement. It used to be a joke, but now he may be taking Maurice's choice more seriously. Even though they are just speaking about the hypothetical example, Mr. Smith treats Maurice's choice not to tell him as a betrayal. Maurice tries to distance himself at this point, referring to "he," Cicero, and not to his own hypothetical character in the narrated example, but this strategy does not work.

Table 3.5 represents both the early stages of our within-event discourse analysis on the May 10 event and the solidifying cross-event analysis including

Table 3.5 Maurice's pathway, including preliminary analysis of May 10

<p>Select Linked Events/ Map Narrated Events</p>	<p>May 10 narrated example, linked to the December 17, January 24, and February 18 events that have positioned Maurice as perhaps "unpromising" and/or an outcast</p>
<p>Select Indexicals/ Identify Relevant Cross-Event Context</p>	<p>I/you/they mapping participant roles "You just told me point blank" "No;" "stupid boys" "dangerous," "sneaky" Maurice</p>
<p>Configure Indexicals/ Delineate Cross-Event Configurations</p>	<p>No configuration for the May 10 example yet Clear configuration in earlier events that supports the "unpromising boys" model</p>
<p>Construe Indexicals/ Trace Shape of Pathways</p>	<p>Maurice being positioned on May 10 as caught between the teachers and the resistant boys Model of boys' incompetence well established</p>
<p>Identify Emerging Cross-Event Processes</p>	<p>Maurice is getting caught in the middle, between authority figures like the teachers and the boys who resist authority</p>

the events described above from earlier in the year. Salient indexicals in the example of Mr. Smith the tyrant include the personal pronouns *I*, *you* and *they*, which map out the opposed groups represented in Figure 3.3, as well as Mr. Smith's anger ("you just told me point blank"). These indexicals could be construed to indicate that Mr. Smith is questioning Maurice's own loyalty to the teachers and the academic mission of the school. When we add relevant cross-event context from earlier events like those on December 17, January 24 and February 18, this construal becomes more likely.

As the discussion proceeds, a configuration of indexical signs emerges within the May 10 event and more firmly presupposes the tension in Maurice's position as the only potentially promising boy. This configuration connects to the cross-event configuration of indexical signs that has already presupposed similar positioning in the earlier events, such that a pathway of linked events becomes more rigid and establishes Maurice's predicament more firmly.

Segment 12: Maurice would stay away

- T/S: gee you sound terribly confused Maurice. sort of like Cicero here.
- T/B: what w- if you knew that they actually- you know there's a group of kids that are actually going to do: this dastardly deed. and you know that there's going to be some reaction. what might you do th- and you kn- you know basically wh:ile you might not be- enamored totally of Mr. Smith or myself you- basically: don't wish that we were crippled for life or whatever, what might you do that day. you know that's going to come- that this is all going to happen on Wednesday. what are you going to do that day.
- 225
- 230
- CAN: I would try to warn you.
- FSTS: right. I would [(overlapping comments)]
- 235 T/B: [he's- he's not- he's not going to warn us though.
- T/S: no.
- T/B: what- what are you going to do that day Maurice. (1.0)
- MRC: stay away. ((2 unintelligible syllables))
- 240 T/B: what are you going to do?
- MRC: I'm going to stay away so I won't be- be:
- T/B: so you're not going to come to school on Wednesday.
- MRC: °no°
- CAN: that way he's a coward.
- 245 FST: what would you do.
- MRC: what would you do.
- T/S: a coward.
- CAN: yeah 'cause he's scared.

This segment further connects the narrated example and the classroom interaction itself. Teachers and students repeatedly start making a point in the conditional, or with a modal that indicates the example is hypothetical (lines 223, 229, 233, 245)—saying "if he knew," he "might" and he "would." But then they use the present indicative, talking about Maurice's actions as if they are happening in the here and now—"there's a group of kids" (line 224), "he's not going to warn us" (lines 235–236) and "he's scared" (line 248). Maurice himself describes his hypothetical narrated actions in the present ("I'm going to stay away" [line 241]).

The girls' appearance in the example raises the question of how this narrated content helps position the girls and Maurice in the narrating event. At lines 233–234, Candace and other female students indicate that they would join the teachers. This adds another group to the example: loyal subjects. But it also reinforces the girls' position as students loyal to the teachers' agenda and opposed to the boys' resistance in the classroom. The girls intensify Maurice's predicament here. When Candace and Mr. Smith call Maurice a coward at lines 244 and 247, Candace begins to speak as Candace herself, in the narrating event, and not as a hypothetical Roman. She is not only elaborating the example but also challenging Maurice himself. Like their characters in the example, the girls affiliate with the teachers and exclude Maurice in the narrating interaction.

When the girls enter the example as loyalists, the local classroom model of promising girls and unpromising boys becomes more readily available as a resource for positioning students in the narrating event. The teachers and the girls use the curricular distinction between the powerful, the loyal and the resistant to reinforce Maurice's awkward dual identity. Insofar as he wants to be a good student, Maurice might want to affiliate with Mr. Smith the tyrant and thus, by implication, with Mr. Smith the teacher. But once the girls enter the example, Maurice would have to affiliate with both the girls and the teachers. This would damage his standing with the boys. Mr. Smith and Candace thus put Maurice into a Cicero-like predicament, caught in the middle and unsure what to do.

Figure 3.4 represents the analogy among (1) Caesar, Cicero and the Roman plotters; (2) Mr. Smith the tyrant, Candace the loyalist, Maurice the potential informer and the student plotters; and (3) the teachers, the "loyal" girls, Maurice and the "resistant" boys. The figure represents the analogy with dashed lines across the three realms. Teachers and students intensify Maurice's predicament by using a model of identity borrowed from the curriculum, one that represents Cicero caught in the middle between those in power and those who resist. Like Maurice the hypothetical informer, and like Cicero, Maurice himself gets excluded from the classroom interaction as he thinks about what to do. The teachers and the vocal girls accomplish this marginalization in part through pronoun usage. For much of the remaining discussion after line 244, other speakers exclude Maurice from the conversation, referring to him as *he*, whereas before they had referred to him as *you*. Immediately after Candace has said that she, unlike

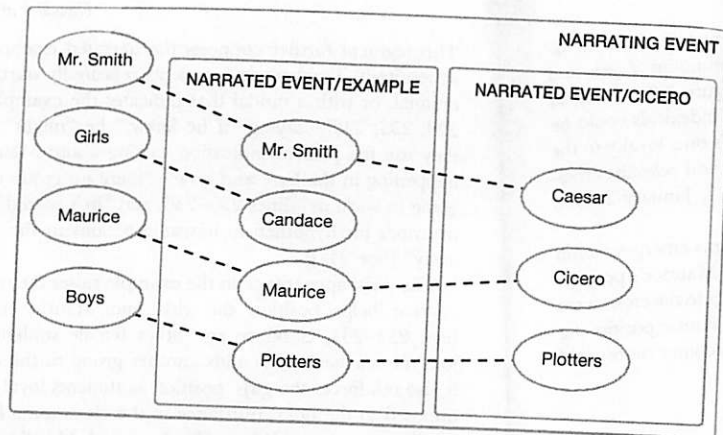


Figure 3.4 Parallelism across narrated and narrating events

Maurice, would warn the teachers about the plot, the teachers and girls start to exclude Maurice as *he*, positioning him as an outcast who no longer belongs to the group that dominates classroom discussion.

Later in the conversation Mr. Smith speaks about Maurice's interactional position in the past tense, as if Maurice has made a final decision to betray him.

Segment 13: Maurice would be an accomplice

- T/S: you told us you wouldn't tell us anything.
- FST: haha
- FST: °I wouldn't.°
- 365 T/S: you'd rather see our mangled bodies at the bottom of the staircase.
- MRC: I: told you I wouldn't be coming to school that day.
- T/S: does that mean you're not part of the plot.
- FST: yeah
- MRC: I'd still be part of it. I- [if I
- 370 T/B: [if you- if you know about it=
- T/S: if you know about it that's: an accomplice. you knew about it. you could have stopped it. all you had to do is say- it shouldn't be done, it's wrong.

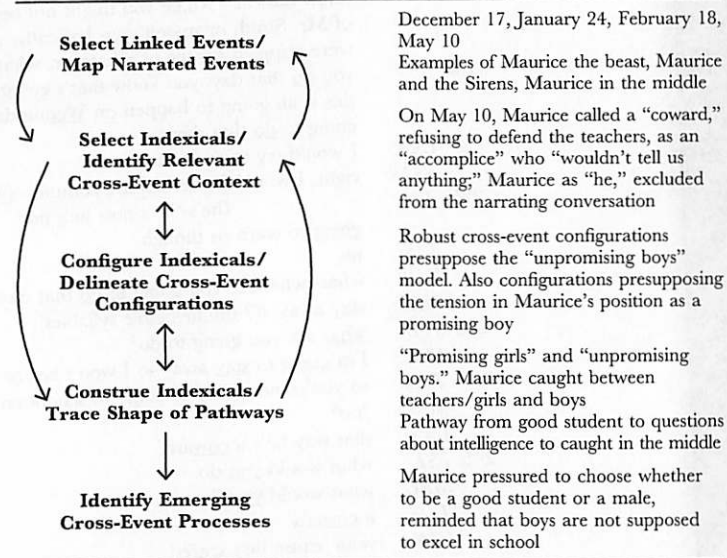
Note the use of reported speech in lines 361 and 366. "You told us you wouldn't tell us anything" contributes to the voicing of Maurice's hypothetical narrated character as morally questionable. Maurice uses a parallel construction at line 366

to try to change the implications. Maurice must decide whether to accept Mr. Smith's description of the evils that Maurice's hypothetical actions have caused, or whether to change course and affiliate with the teachers in the classroom. In his response, Maurice tries to cast himself as a potential victim of the plotters, just as the teachers are. But he does not succeed. Candace and the girls have labeled him a coward. And Mr. Smith accuses Maurice of wishing for the teachers' violent demise. Mr. Smith's colorful comment at lines 364-365 might be a joke, but Maurice's tone at line 366 is earnest. Mr. Smith speaks in an angry tone again at line 371. By using the word "accomplice" to refer to Maurice, Mr. Smith further voices Maurice's hypothetical character as morally questionable.

Maurice says that his hypothetical character will stay away, and then he withdraws from the conversation in the narrating event. After line 373 the teachers and students consistently refer to Maurice as *he* for about six minutes. Maurice can still be a member of the boys' group, but the other boys almost never participate in class. He tried to maintain his position both as a student who makes valuable contributions in class and as an adolescent male respected by his peers. But through the example Mr. Smith and the girls made this difficult, and for the moment they have forced him to choose one position over the other.

Table 3.6 summarizes the cross-event discourse analysis we have given of Maurice from December 17 to May 10. A cross-event configuration of indexical

Table 3.6 The full cross-event analysis of Maurice's predicament



signs has solidified, establishing a robust construal of relevant indexicals. We can now describe the interactional positioning and social action occurring in the various events along the pathway, as well as the overall shape of that pathway. Maurice began as just another good student. When the local model of promising girls and unpromising boys became robust in October and November he was the one boy who acted like a promising student, and no one challenged him. But starting in December the vocal girls questioned his academic contributions and worked to marginalize him. In January teachers and students made Maurice a “beast,” which reinforced his awkward position as the only boy who participated in class discussions. Then in the spring, the teachers joined the vocal girls and forced Maurice to choose between the loyal, promising girls and the resistant, unpromising boys. Our approach to cross-event discourse analysis has allowed us to uncover the mechanisms teachers and students used to establish this pathway and pressure Maurice in this way. Now we move on to our second example of discourse analysis beyond the speech event using ethnographic data.

Example 2: Nicknames

A 10-year-old boy raises his hand and informs the teacher that he prefers to be called by his first name instead of the name of a corporation. The teacher refuses. In this after school program the student, Samuel Jung, was sometimes referred to as “Samsung,” but on this day Samuel attempted to change that. As the teacher, Mrs. Turner, was asking the class for sample sentences for their assignment, Samuel raised his hand and she called on him:

Segment 14: Student resists the nickname “Samsung”: *March 9, 2007, 4:33 pm*

- Mrs. Turner:* yes?
Samuel Jung: from now on I’m Sam, he’s Sam P. ((referring to Sam Park))
Mrs. Turner: you’re Samsung.
Sam Park: Electronics
 5 *Mrs. Turner:* Samsung
Sam Park: Electronics
Mrs. Turner: in your case it ((Samuel Jung’s sentence)) might be “help me Sam my circuit breakers are going”
Sam Park: Electronics
 10 ((Sam Park, Chul laugh))

At line 2 Samuel explicitly states his desire to be referred to in a different way: “from now on I’m Sam, he’s Sam P.” Mrs. Turner rejects this, reiterating his established nickname by saying “you’re Samsung.” The deictics “I” and “you” organize the narrating event as a conversation between Samuel and Mrs. Turner. Samuel positions others—like “he,” referring to fellow student Sam Park—

as overhearers, not direct participants. Sam Park nevertheless inserts himself into the conversation, supporting Mrs. Turner’s continued use of the nickname “Samsung” by interjecting “Electronics” each time she says “Samsung,” thus completing the full name of the corporation.

Mrs. Turner also uses reported speech to suggest that Samuel is connected to Samsung Electronics and should be referred to in these terms. At line 7 she returns to the academic task at hand. She constructs a hypothetical sentence Samuel could use in the class assignment: “help me Sam my circuit breakers are going.” The deictics “me” and “my” presuppose Samuel Jung as the speaker of the direct quote. She also makes Sam Park the addressee of this quote. The sample sentence has the format required for the assignment, but the content returns to the presupposition that Samuel is connected to electronics. Sam Park and another student, Chul, treat this as a joke by laughing, thus ratifying Mrs. Turner’s refusal to give up the link between Samuel Jung and his nickname Samsung. Thus a configuration of indexicals has emerged—the continued use of “Samsung,” the use of “electronics” immediately following these uses, “circuit breakers” and the laughter—and this configuration supports our interpretation that Mrs. Turner and the other students are rejecting Samuel’s bid to change his nickname.

As an ethnographer in this classroom, Reyes (2013) had been witnessing the playful use of corporate names as student nicknames for over a month in her fieldwork. But she was troubled by this moment. She wrote in her field notes that day: “Samuel cannot control how he is referred to. Mrs. Turner won’t allow it. Granted, she’s doing it in a joking manner, but it still seems coercive.” Why did Mrs. Turner reject Samuel’s request to change his nickname? Why did she insist on referring to her student with the name of a corporation? In what ways does and should the teacher control the forms of address? Reyes had been observing this classroom every week for nearly seven months. One might think, after such extended ethnographic observations, she would have had a clear sense of how the nickname “Samsung” was being used. But these questions could only be answered by adding discourse analysis to her ethnography. It was only after she started doing discourse analysis across speech events, reviewing video recordings of the classroom in which the nickname “Samsung” was used, that she began to understand the social actions being accomplished through these acts of naming.

The following interaction took place on February 9, 2007, the first day that the nickname “Samsung” was used in the classroom and exactly one month prior to the interaction above. Mrs. Turner was handing out papers to students, and she called “Samuel” as the name of the student whose paper she was holding. But Samuel Jung indicated that it is not clear to whom she is referring:

**Segment 15: Teacher resists the nickname "Samsung":
February 9, 2007, 4:28 pm**

- Mrs. Turner: Samuel
 Samuel Jung: me?
 Chul: Samsung ((laughs))
 Bill: Samsung
 5 Samuel Jung: Samsung- ((smile, waves hands in air))
 Mark: Samsung
 Mrs. Turner: Sam Jung, not Samsung
 Samuel Jung: but I prefer Samsung
 Mrs. Turner: well
 10 Mark: Samsung
 Samuel Jung: I used to let people in my school call me that
 Bill: Samsung?
 Samuel Jung: yeah Samsung

On the first day that the nickname "Samsung" was used, it was Samuel himself who accepted and promoted its use. Mrs. Turner resists the nickname at line 7, asserting that his name is "Sam Jung, not Samsung." After Samuel Jung responds "but I prefer Samsung," Mrs. Turner replies not with agreement but with an ambivalent "well." Samuel and his classmates seem to enjoy the nickname and treat it as appropriate, repeating it several times while laughing and smiling. Samuel both implicitly and explicitly gives reasons why "Samsung" is an appropriate nickname. At line 2 he says "me?" after Mrs. Turner calls "Samuel," presupposing that his first name results in confusion because other children in the classroom are also named Samuel. At line 11 he explicitly says "I used to let people in my school call me that," trying to establish the nickname's appropriateness in a school context.

Something clearly happened between the interactions in February and March. In February Samuel insisted on "Samsung" and Mrs. Turner resisted it. In March Samuel resisted "Samsung" and Mrs. Turner insisted on it. Did the nickname mean one thing in February but something else in March? How did the meaning of the name solidify or transform over time? These questions can only be answered by doing discourse analysis across speech events. First, we have to find other interactions along the pathway, other events in which the nickname Samsung appeared. Then we have to analyze both within-event and cross-event patterns, analyzing the social actions accomplished through use of this name and the pathway across which Samuel went from embracing to rejecting it.

Background on the students and the school

In order to understand the emerging meaning of "Samsung" in this classroom, we need some background information that Reyes (2013) gathered in her year-long ethnographic and discourse analytic study at "Apex," an Asian American

supplementary school (sometimes called a "cram school") in New York City in 2006–2007. Apex is located in a middle-class Queens neighborhood in which Asian Americans—primarily Korean Americans and Chinese Americans—comprise about a quarter of the population. Across the year, Reyes gathered video recordings of classroom interaction among Korean American fifth graders and European American teachers in an English language arts class that met on Fridays after school, and she did participant observation inside and outside of class with teachers, students, staff and administrators. Students were very sensitive to issues of race, class and gender, which they frequently discussed in classrooms, hallways and elsewhere.

Asian American supplementary schools are private educational institutions that offer additional academic instruction during nonschool hours. These schools are often established by Asian immigrants in urban ethnic enclaves in the U.S., and they primarily serve Asian immigrant communities. Asian American supplementary schools often also act as sites of ethnic community formation and urban immigrant support, in addition to their function of academic enrichment, particularly for parents with concerns about navigating American educational institutions and raising children in the U.S. (Zhou, 2009).

In interviews with administrators and teachers at Apex, as well as at other Asian American supplementary schools throughout New York City, Reyes was told that Asian immigrant parents typically prefer the following school organization: the director is an Asian immigrant like themselves, the teachers are "American" (which usually means native English-speaking European American), and the students are children of Asian immigrants. Immigrant parents reportedly want to have their children taught by those whom they consider most familiar with the American educational system. Apex reflected this preferred organization for the administration, staff and students—with the exception of one native Spanish-speaking teacher and one American-born Korean American teacher out of the dozen teachers employed.

Nicknaming in the class

On January 12, 2007, the spring semester began at Apex. The fifth grade class Reyes had been following since September was assigned to a new classroom and a new teacher. The class had 11 students, three girls and eight boys, all of whom had emigrated from Korea as children or were born in the U.S. to Korean immigrant parents. The European American teacher, Mrs. Turner, realized that there were two "Sams" in the class—Samuel Jung and Sam Park—and she commented on this while taking attendance. Samuel Jung offered a solution, asking to be called by his initials, "S.J." Mrs. Turner sternly replied, "I don't do nicknames." Having two students with the same first name created problems for Mrs. Turner. During an interview toward the end of the semester she said: "One of the Sams, I don't remember which one. I forget which one. I just don't remember the last names. I get them confused." Despite this difficulty, she did not accept Samuel's suggested nickname. Already on the first day of class,

she asserted that only she had authority to establish legitimate naming practices in the classroom.

Despite her claim not to use nicknames, however, Mrs. Turner proceeded to assign several nicknames over subsequent months. In some ways this change ran parallel to a shift in her teaching style and the classroom atmosphere, which gradually changed from strict and conventional to more relaxed and informal. She dubbed one boy "Freckles," because he had many freckles. She called another boy "Billy Goat," apparently because his name was Bill. And she called a third boy "Patricia." His name was Pat, but one day he said he was a girl, in response to Mrs. Turner saying that the girls' essays were better, and at that point she dubbed him "Patricia."

Nicknames for Samuel Jung and Sam Park

Although Samuel Jung offered the nickname "S.J." for himself on January 12, as a solution to the problem of differentiating between the two Sams, Mrs. Turner rejected this. Instead she tried to use "Samuel" for Samuel Jung and "Sam" for Sam Park. As time went on, she used other nicknames as well. On February 9, as we have seen, Samuel embraced the nickname "Samsung," a Korean electronics corporation, and Mrs. Turner started using this nickname shortly thereafter. A few days later, she began using "LG," another Korean electronics corporation, as a nickname for Sam Park. She also occasionally used "Sam's Club," an American corporation, as another nickname for Sam Park. "Samsung" and "LG" are in many ways comparable corporate brands—both large, successful Korean electronics corporations, often associated with advanced levels of knowledge, state of the art technology, sleek design and upscale markets. Sam's Club, by contrast, is an American corporation often associated with bulk products, overconsumption, discount items and bargain hunters.

Although both students could be mischievous, Samuel Jung and Sam Park came to be positioned in different ways across the semester. Samuel Jung was more outspoken, often bragged about his academic achievements, and was repeatedly labeled "smart" and a "genius" by his classmates. Sam Park had a lower profile and—though not timid—he was more deferential to the teacher and no one remarked about his intelligence one way or the other. Although the two boys expressed different views about their nicknames on different occasions, during one interview Samuel Jung had this to say about being called Samsung: "I don't really care. People used to call me Samsung a lot. People used to call me that in school sometimes, so I'm not that unused to it or anything." Reyes asked him if people used the nickname "in a mean way." Samuel replied: "No, in a funny way, fun."

Tracing nicknames in the classroom

The following excerpt contains the first use of "Samsung" in the classroom. This occurred just a few minutes earlier than the excerpt given above, on February 9.

Nearly a month into the semester, Mrs. Turner was handing out copies of the homework assignment. On each sheet of paper an office administrator had written the name of a student. As Mrs. Turner was calling student names, she paused, looked at the paper in her hand, then asked:

Segment 16: First use of the nickname "Samsung": February 9, 2007, 4:04 pm

- Mrs. Turner: Samuel, what is your last name?
 Jeff: Jung
 Samuel Jung: J, U, N, G.
 Mrs. Turner: I asked him
 5 Samuel Jung: J, U, N, G.
 Mrs. Turner: okay they wrote down Sam Sung
 ((Pat, Chul, Bill laugh; Samuel Jung shrugs then smiles))
 Chul: ha ha ha Samsung
 Samuel Jung: yeah, people used to call me that in my old- in my real school
 10 Chul: Samsung
 Samuel Jung: Samsung
 Bill: Samsung? uh Samsung, oh it's supposed to be a "j"
 Samuel Jung: yeah
 Bill: Sam Jung
 15 Samuel Jung: it's just one letter difference

At line 6 Mrs. Turner informs the class that the name written on the paper is not "Sam Jung" but "Sam Sung." Several students laugh, enthusiastically repeat "Samsung" and discuss the similarity between Samuel's surname and the corporate name. Samuel Jung then says at line 9 that Samsung was his nickname at his "real school," differentiating his "real" public school from the supplementary school, which is perhaps "pretend" or "unofficial."

The use of the deictics "your," "I" and "him" position participants in the narrating event, with the conversation occurring between Mrs. Turner ("I") and Samuel Jung ("your," "him"). But the terms "they" and "people" suggest that others outside of the classroom are responsible for creating the nickname "Samsung." The nickname has a longer pathway of usage behind it, which might give it more weight than other possibilities suggested by participants in this classroom, like the "S.J." suggested by Samuel Jung.

Figure 3.5 represents the narrating and narrated events in this brief interaction so far. In the narrating event, the teacher, Samuel Jung and other students are interacting. There is not yet evidence that any distinctive social action is occurring, other than routine classroom administrative business and some joking about a potentially humorous nickname. In the narrated event, they are discussing "Samsung" as a variation on Samuel Jung's name and as a potential nickname for him. It is too early to tell whether this nickname will recur or whether it will facilitate more complex social action.

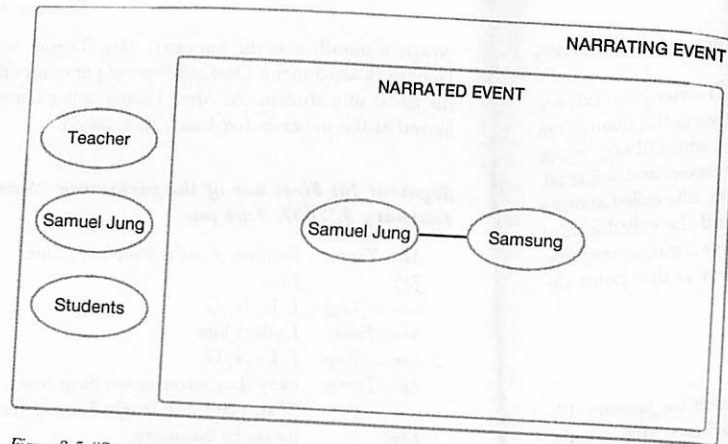


Figure 3.5 "Samsung" as potential nickname for Samuel Jung

About a month later, the nickname LG was first used for Sam Park. In the following excerpt, students are discussing their next essay topic, which is about an "evil twin." Sam Park tells the class that his evil twin is Samsung Electronics, presupposing that "Samsung" is the nickname for the other "Sam" in the class (i.e., Samuel Jung). Then a classmate assigns the nickname LG to Sam Park, a move that is quickly ratified by Mrs. Turner and another classmate.

Segment 17: First use of the nickname "LG": March 16, 2007, 4:22 pm

- Sam Park: my evil twin is um Samsung Electronics
 Bill: why are you pointing to me
 ((Jeff, Chul laugh))
 Mrs. Turner: okay he's not-
 5 Mark: Samsung's evil twin is LG
 Mrs. Turner: yes LG Electronics
 Jeff: L- LG is Sam ((pointing to Sam Park))

Here the students presuppose the nickname "Samsung" for Samuel, presupposing a pathway of linked events and drawing this locally established nickname from some of those previous events. They contrast Samsung with its business rival LG, and they use this opposition to map out the contrast between Samuel Jung and Sam Park.

Less than an hour later, Sam Park acquires a second nickname: "Sam's Club." In the following excerpt, Mrs. Turner calls on one of the Sams to read. As noted above, Mrs. Turner has sometimes differentiated between the two Sams

by calling Samuel Jung "Samuel" and Sam Park "Sam." In this passage she first says "Sam," then after a pause adds "-uel," which causes some confusion.

**Segment 18: First use of the nickname "Sam's Club":
 March 16, 2007, 5:14 pm**

- Mrs. Turner: who would like to begin reading? okay Sam. -uel
 Sam Park: okay
 Samuel Jung: ((looks up)) huh? Samuel's me
 Mrs. Turner: I don't know, you're Samsung, that's Sam something.
 5 Sam Park: Sam
 Mrs. Turner: Sam's Club. Samsung, Sam's Club. go ahead

When her awkward pause between "Sam" and "-uel" causes confusion, Mrs. Turner turns to Samuel Jung's nickname, Samsung. She then seems to need a parallel construction, but at line 4 she just says "Sam something." Sam Park suggests simply "Sam," but Mrs. Turner makes the construction more parallel by filling in a corporate name. For some reason she chooses "Sam's Club."

These excerpts represent the baptismal events in which the nicknames "LG" and "Sam's Club" were first used for Sam Park. After only these brief mentions on March 16, we cannot yet know whether the nicknames will recur or have more serious implications for social action in the narrating event. But there are some clues already. First, both excerpts show that "Samsung" has become a presupposable nickname for Samuel Jung, established across a pathway of events. Second, even in these few excerpts there have been several potentially salient indexicals. After "Samsung" was first introduced in response to a typographical error that administrators made on the attendance sheet ("Sam Sung" instead of "Sam Jung"), Samuel Jung quickly offered his history with "people" using that nickname at his "real school." "LG" emerged as a "twin" corporate nickname, giving Sam Park a parallel nickname from a corporation with similar scale and prestige. "Sam's Club" emerged in response to a need for differentiation between the two Sams. The poetic parallelism with "Samsung" created a slot that Mrs. Turner filled with "Club" to complete another corporate name. As they move forward in a pathway of linked events it may come to matter that Sam's Club provides relatively inexpensive items to lower-status customers, in contrast with the relatively high status objects made by Samsung and LG. But this presupposition is not yet salient. In none of these three cases does anyone object to the introduction of corporate names as student nicknames. In fact, the nicknames inject some humor into the discussion that both teacher and students seem to appreciate. So far, then, the use of the nicknames seems to create a more casual classroom atmosphere in which teacher and students engage in playful banter.

Figure 3.6 represents the narrating and narrated events, combining the several interactions we have discussed so far. In the narrated event, Mrs. Turner,

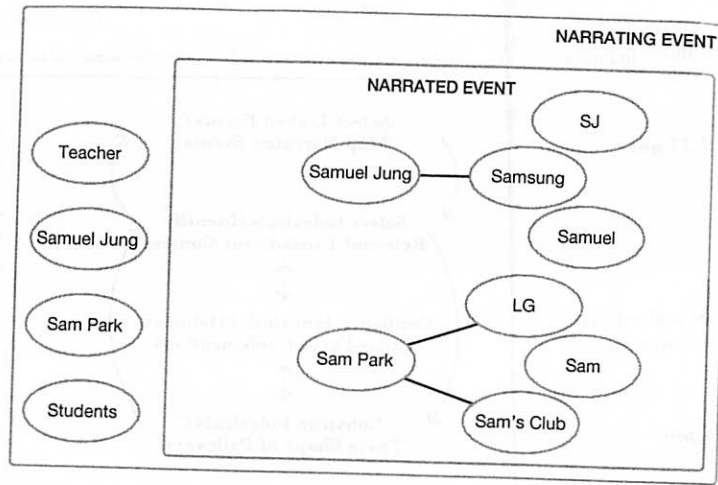


Figure 3.6 Potential nicknames for Samuel Jung and Sam Park

Samuel Jung, Sam Park and other students are discussing the nicknames they might use for Samuel Jung and Sam Park—both because they need to distinguish between the two and because the proposed nicknames are amusing. We do not yet know if these nicknames will be used consistently. There is some evidence that Samsung is already established, because it has been used for more than a month. But it remains to be seen whether “LG” or “Sam’s Club” will recur. The other nicknames that have been suggested—“S.J.,” “Samuel” and “Sam”—also remain possible names for the two students, although “S.J.” has not recurred and ends up fading away. In the several narrating events the teacher and students are discussing these possible nicknames, and they are also joking with each other.

Table 3.7 describes the various elements of our cross-event analysis so far. We have discussed four narrated events in which potential nicknames are suggested for Samuel Jung and Sam Park. Teacher and students have created a poetic parallelism between Samuel Jung’s nickname “Samsung” and Sam Park’s potential nicknames “LG” and “Sam’s Club.” The phrase “real school” and various other potentially relevant indexicals have occurred, but none of these have recurred or become particularly salient. It may be that “Samsung,” “LG” and “Sam’s Club” are emerging as viable nicknames for Samuel Jung and Sam Park, while others (e.g., S.J., Samuel, and Sam) are not. It may be that nicknames are one way to establish a casual, more entertaining classroom atmosphere. From looking only at these four events, we do not yet have enough evidence to draw firm conclusions about the social actions being accomplished across this pathway.

Table 3.7 Initial analysis of the nicknames across events

Select Linked Events/ Map Narrated Events	Linked events: January 12, February 9, March 9, March 16 All contain proposed nicknames for Samuel Jung and Sam Park
Select Indexicals/ Identify Relevant Cross-Event Context	Samuel Jung: “Samsung” Sam Park: “LG”/“Sam’s Club” “real school”
Configure Indexicals/ Delineate Cross-Event Configurations	Not yet fully formed
Construe Indexicals/ Trace Shape of Pathways	Perhaps establish “Samsung,” “LG,” and “Sam’s Club” as viable nicknames Perhaps establish informal classroom atmosphere
Identify Emerging Cross-Event Processes	Not determined yet

Establishing “Samsung”

Across several events, the nickname “Samsung” changes from being something Mrs. Turner resists—saying “I don’t do nicknames”—to something that teacher and students presuppose as a normal term of address. On February 9, a few minutes after the nickname “Samsung” was introduced, we saw in the passage above that Samuel said “I prefer Samsung” and “I used to let people in my school call me that.” Although the teacher initially used “Samsung” herself in this passage, she ended up resisting the nickname, saying “Sam Jung, not Samsung.” About five minutes later, Mrs. Turner was handing out a different set of papers. She initially called “Samuel” but abruptly stopped and used “Samsung” instead. This was followed by laughter and repetitions of the nickname by students, as well as verbal and physical displays of triumph by Samuel Jung.

Segment 19: Samsung marked: February 9, 2007, 4:33 pm

Mrs. Turner: Samuel- Samsung
 Chul: Samsung ((laughs))
 Samuel Jung: whoo ((smiles, raises arms sharply into a V-shape))
 Bill: Samsung

Two minutes later, Mrs. Turner asks a question to the class and then calls on Samuel Jung. Previously, when she used the nickname “Samsung” she always

preceded it with "Samuel." Here she uses only "Samsung," and this is followed by student laughter.

Segment 20: Samsung less marked: February 9, 2007, 4:35 pm

Samuel Jung: oh, I know I know ((hand raised))

Mrs. Turner: okay Samsung
((Chul, Bill, Pat laugh))

Samuel Jung: a sentence is made up of at least one noun

One minute later, Mrs. Turner asks another question to the class and calls on Samuel Jung. Again she uses "Samsung." At this point, however, there is no laughter, echoing or other responses to the use of Samsung.

Segment 21: Samsung unmarked: February 9, 2007, 4:36 pm

Samuel Jung: ((hand raised))

Mrs. Turner: okay Samsung

Samuel Jung: um, I think this is right- I don't know

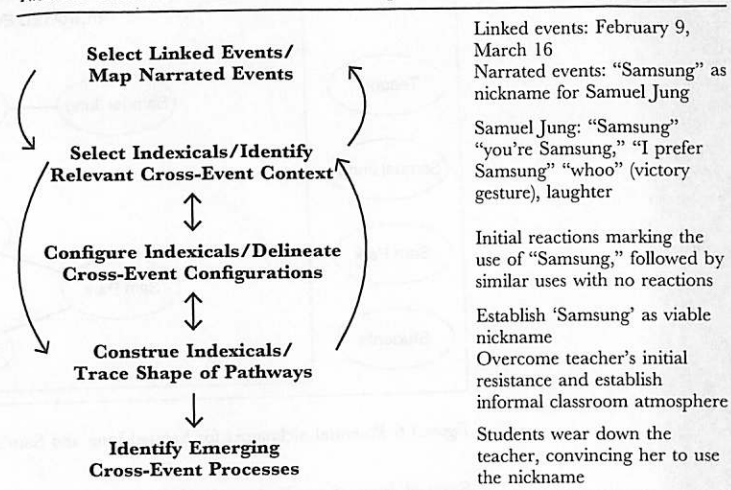
Across these several minutes on February 9, teacher and students establish "Samsung" as an unremarkable, presupposable nickname for Samuel Jung. Using "Samsung" avoids confusion between the two Samuels, and by the final excerpt it has become unproblematic and no longer causes commentary.

One construal of the social action here would be: in getting the teacher to accept this nickname students are overcoming her initial resistance to nickname use and enjoying a small act of defiance. Using the nickname loosens the formality of the classroom that Mrs. Turner tried to create in the first few weeks of the semester. As the teacher gradually surrenders and comes herself to use "Samsung," she weakens a bit. Table 3.8 represents our analysis at this point. The conversations about nicknames on February 9 and March 16 are linked events in which Samuel Jung is called "Samsung." Within the event on February 9, and across these events on February 9 and March 16 (as well as intervening events recorded by Reyes), a cross-event indexical configuration emerges, more and more robustly establishing "Samsung" as an unremarkable nickname for Samuel Jung. The students take some pleasure in getting their way on this issue, on convincing the teacher to use the nickname and act less formally in the classroom.

Nicknames as tools for targeting students

Let's return to the puzzle we started with. Why did Samuel Jung ask to be called "Samsung" on February 9, and accept the nickname on several other occasions, but then resist it on March 9? Here we reproduce the relevant transcript from March 9, introduced above.

Table 3.8 Cross-event establishment of "Samsung" as an unremarkable nickname



**Segment 22: Student resists the nickname "Samsung":
March 9, 2007, 4:33 pm**

Mrs. Turner: yes?

Samuel Jung: from now on I'm Sam, he's Sam P. ((referring to Sam Park))

Mrs. Turner: you're Samsung.

Sam Park: Electronics

5 *Mrs. Turner:* Samsung

Sam Park: Electronics

Mrs. Turner: in your case it ((Samuel Jung's sentence)) might be "help me Sam my circuit breakers are going"

Sam Park: Electronics

10 ((Sam Park, Chul laugh))

At line 2 Samuel explicitly calls for a new naming practice: "from now on I'm Sam, he's Sam P." Mrs. Turner directly refuses, asserting "you're Samsung." Even though the deictics "I" and "you" suggest that this is a conversation between Samuel and Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Turner and Sam Park override Samuel and work as a team to maintain "Samsung Electronics" as Samuel Jung's nickname. In lines 7-8, Mrs. Turner uses reported speech to position Samuel Jung in an unusual way. Her hypothetical sentence for Samuel, "help me Sam my circuit breakers are going," characterizes Samuel as a faulty piece of electrical equipment. It is not yet clear what implications this might have for his position in the narrating event. Sam Park and Mrs. Turner seem just to be joking, with their use of the nickname continuing the more lighthearted tone.

As we move across the trajectory of linked events in which "Samsung" occurs, we find more jokes, with a mildly negative tone. In several interactions following March 9, Samuel Jung was absent but nonetheless became a topic of conversation. In these interactions, "Samsung" is used not to address Samuel Jung directly, but instead to talk about him. In the first excerpt, Mrs. Turner provides an explanation for Samuel Jung's absence.

**Segment 23: "Samsung" deals with complaints:
March 16, 2007, 4:18 pm**

- Mrs. Turner: all right. we're still missing two people, we're missing Samsung and Mi-
Sam Park: Electronics
Mrs. Turner: yes and Mike. Samsung probably went to Sony, that's why he's not here today
5 Mark: Sony's there to complain

In this interaction, Samuel Jung is "he," separate from "we" (Mrs. Turner and the rest of the class). Sam Park interjects "Electronics," in the familiar way that we have seen before, and then Mrs. Turner and Mark continue the joke by mentioning another large electronics corporation and suggesting that Samsung has to deal with complaints.

About a month later, Samuel Jung was absent again.

Segment 24: "Samsung" went bankrupt: April 20, 2007, 4:22 pm

- Jeff: where's Sam Jung
Mark: Samsung went out of business
Mrs. Turner: ((laughs)) he went bankrupt

Here Samuel Jung is jokingly referred to less as a student and more as a corporate entity, in this case a bankrupt corporation. This joke is similar to the others, which cast him as a corporation that had to deal with complaints and a faulty piece of electrical equipment. In this last case a student initiates the joke, then Mrs. Turner laughs and contributes. By this point she has clearly accepted the use of nicknames and allows the students to create a more informal tone in the classroom.

About a month later, Samuel Jung was absent again.

Segment 25: "Samsung" went abroad: May 18, 2007, 4:07 pm

- Mark: what happened to Samsung
Min: yeah he never comes anymore
Mrs. Turner: he- he is- he went abroad to Hitachi ((laughs))
Chul: Hitachi
5 ((Mrs. Turner laughs))
Chul: Hitachi yeah

Table 3.9 The cross-event analysis of "Samsung"

Select Linked Events/ Map Narrated Events	March 9, March 16, April 20, May 18 Narrated events: "Samsung" as nickname for Samuel Jung
Select Indexicals/Identify Relevant Cross-Event Context	"he" vs. "we" "complain," "out of business," "bankrupt" "help me Sam my circuit breakers are going" Uptake: "yeah," laughter
Configure Indexicals/Delineate Cross-Event Configurations	Parallelism across jokes, associating Samuel with electronics corporations and with negative characteristics
Construe Indexicals/Trace Shape of Pathways	Establish "Samsung" as nickname Establish informal classroom atmosphere Perhaps target Samuel, implying something negative about him
Identify Emerging Cross-Event Processes	Create solidarity between teacher and the students other than Samuel Position Samuel outside of the group Attribute negative qualities to Samuel

Here Mrs. Turner accepts Mark's use of the nickname "Samsung," and she makes a familiar joke with the name of yet another Asian electronics corporation. Chul appreciates the joke, ratifying her contribution through repetitions and an affirmative "yeah."

Table 3.9 represents our analysis of the linked events in March, April and May in which the narrated events include references to Samuel Jung as "Samsung." All of the events include jokes, which are parallel with one another, inducing laughter by associating Samuel initially with Samsung Electronics and then with other well-known electronics corporations. They all include mildly negative characterizations. They all position Samuel Jung apart from the teacher and his classmates, as someone talked about and not with. Collectively, these events accomplish several social actions. They establish Samsung as a viable nickname. They establish an informal classroom atmosphere. They also target Samuel Jung, as an electronic or corporate object that has more negative qualities than positive ones. He is portrayed as an entity with faulty circuit breakers that receives complaints and has financial problems—all of which contrasts with the actual Samsung, which is a prosperous corporation creating desirable technology. These negative characterizations of Samuel also contrast with his more common position as an unusually intelligent and industrious student. The teacher and other students establish solidarity at the expense of Samuel Jung, positioning him outside of the group and making veiled criticisms of him.

A similar thing happens to Sam Park on May 18. In the following excerpt, Mrs. Turner directly asks Sam Park if he likes the nickname Sam's Club.

**Segment 26: Student resists the nickname "Sam's Club":
May 18, 2007, 4:24 pm**

- Mrs. Turner: you like being called- um- Sam's Club?
 Pat: no
 Sam Park: I like it a little but then-
 ((Min laughs))
 5 Jane: who cares if you like it or not
 Samuel Jung: he likes Amy ((Sam Park's other nickname))
 Sam Park: there's no point- there's no point of saying Sam's Club
 Mrs. Turner: why not
 Sam Park: I don't have a club
 10 Mrs. Turner: there is a store called Sam's Club
 Jane: what about LG, what about LG
 Sam Park: yeah but then it's- it's a poor club then, a poor club
 Min: what?
 Mrs. Turner: it's not poor. people go there to buy wholesale goods

In this passage they explicitly discuss the nickname "Sam's Club" that was first used for Sam Park on March 16 and recurred occasionally throughout the semester. Unlike "Samsung," the nickname "Sam's Club" was not used often. But here and on another occasion in April analyzed in Reyes (2013), Sam Park resists the nickname "Sam's Club" just like Samuel Jung resists "Samsung." Furthermore, in the May 18 discussion the teacher and students used the nickname to exclude, tease and negatively characterize Sam Park just as they had treated Samuel Jung. The teacher and other students united in using a nickname to associate Sam Park with a negative aspect of a corporation—in this case the low-status goods and customers associated with Sam's Club.

If we examined only this brief event, it might seem a stretch to conclude that teacher and students exclude and negatively characterize Sam Park. But if we examine it within the trajectory of events about "Samsung" described above, the parallelism is clear. The cross-event context of the other events about "Samsung" has established a robust pattern in which teachers and students associate a corporate nickname with negative connotations and attach it to a student, both excluding and teasing him. Both Sams are characterized in comparable ways, as corporate entities that have negative qualities. Both Sams become the target of jokes and are positioned outside of the unified group of teacher and other students. Both Sams resist this use of the nickname, but are unsuccessful. The discussion of Sam Park and Sam's Club follows the same pattern as the one established for "Samsung," even though it is less extensive, and the other events along the pathway provide structure that helps establish similar exclusion and teasing even in this brief interaction on May 18.

This example of nicknaming, together with the example of Maurice's emerging identity that we analyzed above, illustrates how to do discourse analysis beyond the speech event on ethnographic data. The analyst must record many events in the settings being studied, across an extended period of time. We cannot tell in advance which events will be linked into pathways that accomplish social actions of analytic interest, although we can predict that perhaps certain individuals or topics might form the basis for relevant pathways. Ethnographic research necessarily takes place over more limited temporal and spatial scales, because of limitations on ethnographers' time. But discourse analysts should gather as much data as possible in relevant settings. Analysis then proceeds by identifying pathways of linked events that together accomplish social actions.