

Progressivity and non-compliance in the interactions between children with autism and their parents

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PROGRESSIVITY AND NON-COMPLIANCE IN THE INTERACTIONS
BETWEEN CHILDREN WITH AUTISM AND THEIR PARENTS

by

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Abstract

Autism has been the subject of many studies, but there is still much uncertainty about the communicative abilities of individuals with autism. Many studies question their very possession of “communicative intent”. Following Sterponi (2010), this paper examines the spontaneous everyday interactions between two boys with autism and their parents, and the nature of intersubjectivity that underlies their interactions. It shows that the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of such children, which might ordinarily have been dismissed or deemed as idiosyncratic, often plays an essential role in contributing to a sequence. While there is an intrinsic presence of intersubjectivity in any interaction, there are moments when tension between mutual understanding and sequence progressivity ensues from an interactional sequence. The analysis examines such cases, where the child risks a breakdown of intersubjectivity with noncompliance, and yet continues to retain the progressivity of the sequence. In many of these instances, their noncompliance also results in a more favourable sequence outcome for them. The study suggests that individuals with autism may have a degree of competence in progressing sequences in interaction.

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*This paper is dedicated to my family,
for being my greatest inspiration.*

1. Background

Autism has been defined as a developmental disorder, with impairment in social interaction and communication as an essential component of the diagnosis. ([*DSM-IV-TR: Section B*, American Psychiatric Association 2000]) This follows the first publication on autism, Kanner (1943), which notes that children with autism produced utterances with “no personal connotation or communicative intention”. The diagnostic criterion for Autism goes further to declare a marked impairment for multiple non-verbal behaviours in the regulation of social interaction, and that individuals with autism “lack social or emotional reciprocity”. Such individuals have also been said to possess a marked impairment in their ability to initiate or sustain a conversation, and use language idiosyncratically.

Past literature on Autism has held notions about individuals with Autism that specifically target their communicative skills (Adams et al., 2002; Capps et al., 1998, Dobbins, 1998 etc.). There is also a great deal of research on pragmatic impairment, and the failure of such individuals to view conversations as a way of “modifying and extending the cognitive environment of a conversational partner” (Tager-Flusberg, 2000).

In his book “The Power of Neurodiversity”, Thomas Armstrong states that there is too much emphasis on deficits in studies of Autism (p. 60). As explained by Sterponi (2010), to date, most studies examine interaction with autistic individuals against a norm, failing to realize that divergence from normativity in mundane communicative interaction can also be useful in furthering our understanding of human communication. Furthermore, these studies do not take into consideration the non-verbal aspects of such interactions. Most research into autism has also used coding to identify pre-established categories of conversation when examining the communicative abilities in individuals with autism (Tager-Flusberg, 1995; Baltaxe & D’Angiola, 1992 etc.).

The use of Conversation Analysis (CA) can provide an alternative perspective (Silverman, 1993:15), enabling a deeper understanding of the intricacies that underlie such interaction and serving as an analytical tool that emphasizes the collaborative

nature of conversation, thus shifting the focus from the language of individual participants to the interaction that goes on between them (Dobbinson, 1996:114-5).

Interactional intelligence is in itself a means of communication, and Grice (1975) among many others (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) has argued that it has made language possible. CA allows for a closer examination of the strategies used by participants with autism within the overall structure of interaction, and additionally provides insight into verbal and non-verbal behaviours that might otherwise be deemed to have no communicative intent.

When placed within a context and examined in relation to its position in a sequence, utterances and behaviours that would normally be dismissed as inappropriate or idiosyncratic could have a much deeper contribution to an interaction than meets the eye. In addition, interaction itself requires mutual salience, a combination of reflexive thinking and coordination between interactants that contribute to a joint undertaking (Levinson, 2002: 49). The progression of a conversational sequence can therefore be said to require the cooperation of all participants within the interaction.

Stribling & Rae (2010) proposes the term “interthinking”, where the “scaffolding” of a conversation is jointly created by all its participants through talk-in-interaction. This concept is important especially when examining adult-child conversations involving a child with autism, or any conversation at all; it is not the adult alone but the joint collaboration of the adult-child dyad that allows the progression of an interaction. Such collaboration suggests that each interactant is forced to make inferences to recreate the basis of his interlocutor’s prior turn (Pike, 2010: 164). Levinson (2002: 44) goes further and proposes the notion that interaction requires the turn-by-turn interpretation of others’ behaviours.

Fundamental to human sociability and successful communication, the notion of intersubjectivity has been featured in many approaches to autism. The management and accomplishment of intersubjectivity are entwined with the procedural infrastructure of interaction (Schegloff, 1992), and it is therefore necessary to consider its nature for the purpose of this study. Taking Sterponi’s (2010) approach towards intersubjectivity, it is considered as both ‘the fundamental ontological

category of human existence” (Schutz 1966:82) and the “communicative achievement of mutual understanding”.

Mutual understanding in this paper is understood not as ‘grasping’ what is in another’s mind, but as being able to “go on” with each other (Heritage, 1984). The possible lapse in intersubjectivity is an attribute of sequence progressivity and essential in communication; progressivity requires that interlocutors accept the risk of failure in their interaction and thus implies mutual trust is needed for the sequence to proceed. The risk of breakdown in intersubjectivity cannot be conceived of as a threat to successful communication, but as an attribute of sequence progressivity and essential component of communication, on the basis of mutual trust (Sterponi, 2010: 116).

Sterponi (2010) investigates the progressivity techniques that allow a boy with autism to continue with an interactional exchange between him and his interlocutors. This prompts a consideration of interactions where the strain between mutual understanding and sequence progressivity is particularly striking, placing immense stress on the security of intersubjective understanding. There is a preference for sequence progressivity in all interactions (Schegloff, 1992), and such situations would therefore compel its participants to progress with an exchange despite the precarious state of the interaction.

Interaction is governed by expectation – it is for example expected that a second pair part (SPP) would be an answer to a question in the first pair part (FPP) (Levinson, 2002:45). A sequence requires turn-by-turn reciprocal alignment and routine evaluation in order to proceed. What happens then, when an interlocutor provides an unexpected or unfavourable response to a prior turn? How would a child provide such a response within his role in a parent-child dyadic interaction?

The present case study of two children with autism shows how they go beyond expectations of their communicative capabilities in instances of noncompliance. This paper examines how both are able to exploit progressivity moves in continuing their sequences in a direction that slants towards their own intentions, but different from that of their interlocutors’. Since it can be assumed that each turn in an interaction involves the evaluation of the prior turn, instances of noncompliance therefore

presuppose that firstly, the child is able to understand the rules of turn taking within the structure of talk-in-interaction, and second, that he is able to interpret the behaviours of his interlocutors and comprehend the implications of their social actions. In situations of noncompliance, participants of the exchange can be seen to progress with the sequence nonetheless by routinely aligning their moves from turn to turn.

2. Participants and Data

We study the interactions of two boys, each diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder at age 2, with their mothers, in their everyday activities at home. At the time of the study, Matthias is five years old, and Jake is seven years old. These occurrences include playtime, meals, bedtime preparations, swim time and other spontaneous activity. Two hours of video data was obtained from the two families, then fully transcribed following conversational analysis conventions (Jefferson, 2004; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

The analysis of the data presented in this paper is largely informed by work in conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974), allowing for the examination of communication within the turn-by-turn context of sequences, which are seen in Conversation Analysis to proceed of its own functioning. The two case studies include interviews with the parents and other interlocutors, and extended observation of both children outside the context of the study. This familiarises the researcher with the lifestyle and interactive habits of the participants, enabling a more robust analysis that is sensitive to the child's usual communicative habits.

This paper will first consider the importance of shared sequences in the children's interactions through Matthias's management of scaffolding in such sequences. We will then examine the range of progressivity strategies that are deployed in their interaction with their interlocutors. Although both children possess limited conversational resources that are dependent on their interlocutor's utterances, and fewer linguistic resources than normally developing children of their ages (Sterponi,

2010), both skilfully use whatever resources they have to propel sequence progressivity, even in situations of noncompliance.

3. Importance of Shared Sequences

Throughout the data, both children and their respective parents seem to share familiar sequences that appear in various situations. These sequences follow a particular verbal format and are usually initiated by the parent. The nature of interaction, as previously discussed, involves cooperation and coordination between its interactants. This is especially evident in such sequences, which are constructed to achieve a common goal, contingent upon each participant's turn-by-turn contribution. Establishing such a sequence is therefore a joint commitment that necessitates the participatory commitment of its participants. It is subject to the sedan-chair principle, where speakers have individual expectations of their interlocutors to complete the sequence appropriately (Clark, 2006:130-1).

Familiar sequences are important in both parent-child interactions for two main reasons. First, by initiating a shared sequence, the parent prompts the child to enter a joint commitment with her, thereby encouraging participatory commitment from the child. Second, such sequences can be used as a tool by the parent to establish an eventual goal for both to aim towards by sharing joint attention with their child. This is useful in circumstances involving the completion of a joint activity, or in instigating a repair.

We will now consider how Matthias and his Mother typically build upon a joint verbal sequence through two brief illustrations (Examples 1 and 2), provided one after the other. The first extract below contains the starting of a game between Matthias and his Mother, where both incrementally build a sequence that leads to the blowing of a balloon.

Example 1 – Tape #3 Balloon Time

1 MOM ((holds a balloon)) O:kay↑↓. (1.0) O::ne=
 2 MATT → ((jumps around, then looks at MOM) =two
 3 MOM Two↑=
 4 MATT → =three.
 5 MOM Three?=
 6 MATT → =blow. [(1.0)] Blow=
 7 MOM [(1.0) ((blows balloon))] =blow?

Example 2 is excerpted from a Matthias's lunchtime, with Matthias being expected to request for help.

Example 2 – Tape #1 Lunch Time

84 MOM ((brings MATT to room for lunch, sitting him at
 85 table while she sits beside him))
 86 heh-
 87 MATT el. (.)
 88 MOM ((touches MATT's chin)) He:↑lp?
 89 MATT Open.
 90 MOM O:↑pe::↓n. Oh, good asking for help Matty. (8.0)
 91 ((opens cereal packet and pours into MATT's
 92 bowl))
 There you go. (in a sing-song manner)

While both examples illustrate sequences to different activities, both exchanges contain sequences that have the same turn-by-turn format, and are both shared sequences that Matthias and his Mother are familiar with. The turns in both examples are brief, and form a collaborative sequence that escalates towards a common goal; in Example 1 it is the blowing of a balloon, and Example 2, the opening of Matthias's cereal packet. We will first look at how these sequences are similar, and then discuss the subtle differences between them.

Mom begins both sequences, by holding the balloon, and in "Lunch Time", by seating Matthias at the table, indicating the activity that will follow. She begins their

exchange at line 1 and line 86 as an invitation to Matthias to continue with the sequence. Matthias has four options for the uptake: full acceptance of Mom's proposal, an altered acceptance of the proposal, rejection of the proposal, and disregard of the proposal (Clark, 2006: 131). In both circumstances, he accepts the proposal fully, providing the correct utterance to the sequence (ln. 2, ln. 87), progressing from Mom's initial utterance and also continuing with the sequence. Matthias's move displays his agreement to Mom's initial invitation, as well as his commitment to the activity.

Mom's repetition of Matthias's utterance in line 3 and line 88 coupled with rising intonation acts both as a receipt to Matthias's prior turn, and also as encouragement for him to continue with the sequence. Matthias continues to provide the correct utterances to the sequence; both speakers incrementally proceed with the activity at each of their turns.

Examples 1 and 2 show that if the instigation of a sequence receives a response, an incremental collaboration between the speakers begins, and propels the sequence forward:

Table 1: Shared Sequence Format

A1:	Proposal to begin sequence
C1:	Continuation and acceptance of sequence
A2:	Receipt of prior turn and encouragement for continuation
C2:	Continuation of sequence
A3:	...
A3+	<i>Acknowledgement of completed procedure, followed by execution of action</i>

Example 2 contains a parent-initiated repair in line 88 to Matthias's utterance in line 87, but this repair sequence still shares the same sequential format as the one in Example 1. The table below displays the repair sequence format:

Table 2: *Repair Sequence Format*

A1	Repair initiator
C1	Provision of target word
A2	Second repair initiator (often contains target word from prior turn)
C2	Provision of second target word
A3	...
A4+	<i>Acknowledgement of completed procedure, followed by execution of action</i>

In a repair sequence, the words at C1 and C2, when produced in the same turn consecutively would form a grammatically correct utterance (e.g. “help me”). The words in the sequence are issued one at a time by Matthias, and once all the target words are articulated, an acknowledgement by Mom is given, followed by the execution of the action if necessary.

In both exchanges such as the ones above, turns C2 and A3 would thereafter repeat until both participants jointly reach the goal of the exchange. This involves *stacking* (Clark, 2006:137) – while at the beginning of their exchange, both commit to the eventuality of Mom blowing the balloon, Matthias’s continuation adds a commitment to the stack: the further continuation of the sequence in his second position and subsequent turns (C2 etc.). The completion of the task involves propelling these incremental commitments from the bottom of the stack to the end of the activity, and commitments at the bottom would persist to the top.

The procedural infrastructure of their interaction that is jointly understood by both Matthias and his mother allows greater progressivity in their conversation, since it provides a framework for both interlocutors to produce their turns. In their turn-by-turn assessment of reciprocal alignment within such a structure, there is a lower chance of mismatch if the procedure is followed. Their conversational moves however, as in all interactions, are still subject to a high degree of contingency (Schegloff 1996), and the risk of progressivity arises should an expected turn not unfold.

4. Progressivity in Noncompliance

The children's progressivity strategies are both verbal and non-verbal, and are typically part of sequences familiar to both them and their interlocutors. This section examines cases of noncompliance, where both the child and his interlocutor carry different expectations of a turn, and of what is to be achieved by their collaborative sequence. We will examine the way in which the interlocutors contribute to the prolonging and disrupting of sequences. We begin by examining the importance of joint sequences between parent and child, then illustrate how these progressivity strategies build upon or interrupt conversational material in prior turns, enabling both children to 'go on' with a sequence, and often, to some degree, fulfil their expected achievement of the sequence.

Cerutti (1989) states that child noncompliance is a rule-governed behaviour. In investigating situations where both parent and child have differing expectations of sequence outcome, it is possible to examine these rules in more detail through analysing the turn-by-turn alignment of the children and their interlocutors. This would demonstrate how these children with autism deflect the constraints of their parents' talk and gain some degree of control over shared sequences, thus advancing our understanding of human communication and the communicative intent of individuals with autism.

4.1 Prolonging a Sequence

The first extract below (Example 3) has been broken into three parts, and displays a familiar sequence between Matthias and his Mother. Both however have misaligned expectations of the sequence's eventuality, and Matthias manipulates the sequence he is expected to follow in order to delay their shared activity. Example 3 has been extracted from a longer play session of approximately 4-minutes, where Mom is presenting toy cars to Matthias. Matthias in turn has to place each car on a slope attached to a wooden structure, and can therefore watch the cars roll down the structure. In this excerpt, Matthias is presented with his last car.

*Example 3a – Tape #14**Last Car*

14 MOM [orh::]. Last car! Okay last car?=
 15 MATT =oyah. (last car) ((snatches car from mom, places it on))
 16 MOM ((uses hand to block car)) ready?=
 17 MATT =le-go. ((places car on structure))
 18 MOM Set.
 19 MATT Go.
 20 MOM °go°.=
 21 MATT → °eeee yah:::: ee[ee yah]::::: lahhhh eee yah::.
 22 °((makes the car go up and down the curve without
 23 releasing it))

In the example above, both mom and Matthias follow a sequence that both are very familiar with. When simplified, it will follow the procedure below:

Table 3: Simplified Sequence Format

16 MOM Ready?
 17 MATT Let go.
 18 MOM Set?
 19 MATT Go.
 20 MOM Go.
 21 MATT ((removes obstacle, if present e.g. mom's hand))
 ((releases car))

Mom first tells Matthias in line 14 that he would be releasing the 'last car', thus signalling the impending end of the activity. Instead of formulating a verbal or non-verbal request for the car, as he is previously made to do, Matthias snatches the car from Mom's hand. Both Mom and Matthias go through with the expected sequence from line 16 to 20, which precedes the release of Matthias's toy car. By continuing with the sequence in line 17, Matthias has agreed to proceed with the sequence, engaging in joint attention with his Mother, and establishing participatory commitment to the activity.

Mom prevents Matthias from continuing with his move, and attempts to restart the familiar procedure in line 26. After his curt reply and noncompliance (ln. 27), Mom brings his hand up to the structure top to proceed with the activity (ln. 28), and continues with the sequence (ln. 29), to which Matthias responds accordingly (ln. 30). However, he prematurely releases the car; Mom's hand is blocking the slope, and the car would therefore not slide down. Matthias's early release of the car is noncompliance to the game and its rules, making this a unique instance in the activity; he is only supposed to release the car when there is no obstacle blocking the slope, as can be seen in the excerpt that occurred just before the above two episodes:

*Example 3c – Tape #14**Last Car*

```

1  MOM          ((gives MATT the car)) ready?
2  MATT         Eh-oh.
3  MOM          se::t?=
4  MATT         → =go. Go. ((tries to make the car go down, but
5                  → MOM's hand is blocking))
6  MOM          Kay put it nicely ready::?
7  MATT         D[i:]
8  MOM          [se]t.
9  MATT         → Go= ((removes MOM's hand from slope))
10 MOM          =go::[:::: ]
11 MATT         →      [((releases car))]
12 MOM          yay:::::↓↑.
13 MATT         °lu:: l[u:]°

```

In lines 4 to 5, and line 9, Matthias has to remove Mom's hand since it is obstructing the slope, so that upon the car's release, it would be allowed a smooth journey down. When Matthias does not succeed in making the car go down in line 4, Mom urges him to 'put it nicely' before restarting their sequence. Returning to Example 3b, Matthias's noncompliance to the procedure of the game (ln. 30) prompts Mom to restart the 'ready set go' sequence, allowing for more delay of the activity. In the next turn, Matthias repeats his noncompliance by again releasing the car prematurely (ln.

33). This time however, Mom lifts her hand, allowing the car to roll down, thus ending the activity.

Matthias's performance in the examples above is noteworthy for a few reasons. First, Matthias displays a clear understanding of turn taking, participating in the procedure accompanying his activity, and taking his turn with precision to both timing, and word-usage. Second, Matthias skillfully delays the activity by prolonging the sequence he is familiar with three times (ln. 21, 27 and 30). In the first instance, he obliges to the verbal procedure with perfect timing, allowing his 'delay turn' (ln. 21) to latch onto the previous turn while changing its content. In line 27, he tries to keep the car away from the slope by playing with it at the bottom of the slope, in the process delaying its release and allowing him to hold onto it for a longer period. Matthias later releases the car earlier than expected (ln. 30 and 33), so that Mom would invite him to carry out the action more appropriately; it is only when his last attempt to delay the activity fails, that the activity ends. Matthias's delays result in the repetition of Mom's sequence twice more.

The shared sequence used between Matthias and his interlocutors serves as joint knowledge between them, and both can be seen to follow it strictly throughout the data set. Once the sequence begins, and is continued by Matthias, both interlocutors are incrementally involved in contributing to the sequence, making it difficult for either speaker to extricate him/herself from it. Matthias is therefore able to manipulate its usage and turn-by-turn predictability, producing delay turns that progress from the sequence. He knows that Mom would indicate non-acceptance of an incomplete response by instigating a repair through the reiteration of the sequence. As a result, Matthias is able to further delay the activity by prompting Mom to restart the sequence a few times. He gains some time to play with the last car, and prolong the activity he enjoys¹.

A third example illustrates how Matthias deliberately ignores his mothers' previous turns by prolonging his own turns. Matthias's noncompliance occurs in the middle of

¹ This seems to be a common occurrence – The same pattern of delay can be observed in two other activities in the data, where Matthias wants to delay the last part of his activity.

a sequence, and in the midst of his morning activity, which involves retrieving puzzle pieces from Mom's hand placing them within a wooden puzzle structure.

Example 4 – Tape #12

Puzzle with holes

```

1  MOM      ((tries to make MATT place piece, but piece falls
2           out onto his lap))
3           I::n=
4  MATT      =I::
5           ((scratches stomach))
6  MOM      ((puts piece in MATT's hand)) yes, i:n.
7  MATT      I:: ((brings piece towards structure, then takes
8           hand away))
9           → ((examines piece)) mmmmm. Mmmmmm. Mmm.
10 MOM      Put in. ((moves MATT's hand))
11 MATT      ((accidentally drops piece, picks it up))
12          → ((examines piece))°hehhhhh.° mm-mmmmmmm.
13 MOM      ((holds MATT's hand, then taps piece)) put in!
14 MATT      → mmmMMMMMMMMmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm.
15 MOM      ((makes MATT's hand touch top of structure))
16 MATT      ((slowly puts piece in))=
17 MOM      =i::n.=
18 MATT      =in.

```

Matthias provides the appropriate verbal responses in lines 4 and 7, repeating after Mom's utterances as expected by the game that both are playing. In line 7 however, he brings the puzzle piece away from the structure, and starts to examine it while humming (ln. 8), which can be deemed an act of noncompliance. A preferred response to Mom's turn in line 6 would be to state 'in', and place the puzzle piece on the wooden puzzle structure.

Instead of stating the word that Matthias was to repeat after, Mom instead chooses to issue a directive in line 10, telling Matthias to 'put in' the puzzle piece while moving his hand. Matthias drops his piece, and immediately bends down to retrieve it, but follows this with ignoring Mom's previous turn, and examining the puzzle piece while humming. Mom issues a more insistent directive, raising the tone of her voice

and tapping the puzzle piece in line 13 to urge Matthias to do as he is told. In response to this, Matthias increases the length of his humming and continues to ignore Mom (ln. 14). It is only after Mom moves his hand towards the top of the wooden structure without further issuing any verbal directives (ln. 15) that Matthias complies, continuing to follow through with their game (ln. 16-18).

Matthias can be seen to prolong the sequence above three times by ignoring Mom's directives and prompts. His first delay occurs when he has the puzzle piece in his hand – he brings it towards the structure, and as if on second thought, brings it backwards for examination, accompanied by some humming. Matthias continues this tactic in line 12, and makes a long hum in line 14.

While Matthias's behaviour can easily be dismissed as verbal self-stimulatory behaviour, otherwise known as *stimming* (Westeyn et al., 2005) when placed within the context of a sequence, it seems to carry a much bigger role in its contribution to the exchange. To begin with, Matthias's hums occur within his turns, following the framework of interaction he participates in. Matthias complied from lines 1 to 7, giving responses appropriate to the game until he had the puzzle piece in his hand – this suggests the hums were made with awareness of their role within the sequence. At line 11, Matthias accidentally drops the piece and immediately bends down to pick it up, showing his awareness of the situation and the selective use of his hum. In addition, the hum in line 14 increased in terms of length and volume after the amplified assertion of authority by Mom in line 13. Matthias's hums not only occur within the turn-by-turn structure of their interaction; they also seem to swiftly align themselves to his interlocutor's turns, allowing him to use them in delaying the sequence.

It is interesting to note that Jake, the other child in this study, also uses the same humming technique as Matthias on some occasions:

Example 5 – Tape #10

Dinner

65	MOM	Right hand Jake right hand. Use your right hand.
66		No hold your spoon with your right hand. Where.
67		This way. ((switches JAKE's utensils))=
68	JAKE	→ =mm. [mm.]

The frequent use of hums in the middle of such sequences suggests that they are more deliberate than initially perceived to be. While Matthias has shown skill in using hums within the sequence to prolong his turn, he accompanies this by the selective use of his gaze. Throughout the above sequence, Matthias only focuses his gaze four times – twice at lines 9 (figure 5.1) and 12 when he examined the puzzle pieces, once at line 11 when he retrieved his fallen puzzle piece (figure 5.2), and once at line 16 when he placed the puzzle piece on the structure (figure 5.3). All four instances required Matthias's gaze to carry an action out, and he therefore exercised his gaze in these instances.



Figure 5.1: Matthias examines his puzzle piece at line 9 ²



Figure 5.2: Matthias picks up a puzzle piece at line 11

² All images are used with participants' permission.



Figure 5.3: Matthias places puzzle piece on structure at line 16

In all other instances however, Matthias did not provide eye contact on the task at hand, looking neither at Mom nor at the puzzle. In line 14 for example, Matthias looks towards his right while humming to himself (figure 5.4), before turning to look at the puzzle after his hum to place his piece in.



Figure 5.4: Matthias looks away at line 14

The exploitation of eye gaze in such sequences can also be seen in some of Jake's sequences. Jake in Example 6 is seated at the table with his mother and is just starting to have his dinner.

Example 6 – Tape #10

Carbonara

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| 1 | MOM | Cah-b[o:-nah-ra] |
| 2 | JAKE | [bo:-nah- re:] pa::sta↓.= |
| 3 | MOM | =kay what. is cheh cheh doing? |
| 4 | JAKE | → ((looking away)) |
| 5 | MOM | Eh Jay-Jake. ((taps JAKE's shoulder, and JAKE |
| 6 | | turns towards camera)) what is this cheh cheh |

- 7 doing.
- 8 JAKE Taking pictures ((looks away))

Jake stares at his mother's mouth (figure 6.1), presumably to use it to help him in his utterance, and provides an overlapping utterance that contains what he is having for dinner. When asked a question in line 3 though, Jake turns away from Mom towards the television, ignoring Mom completely (figure 6.2). He only responds when Mom taps him on the shoulder.

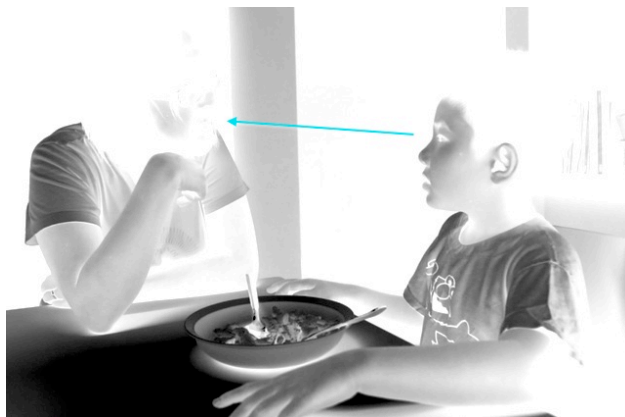


Figure 6.1: Jake is looking at his mother's mouth at lines 1 and 2



Figure 6.2: Jake is looking towards the television at line 4

Jake's act of noncompliance in line 4 occurs directly after his mother asks him a question. By combining selective eye gaze with selective response to their mothers, both Matthias and Jake are able to successfully ignore the unfavoured turns of their interlocutors and prolong the sequence. Goodwin (1980:276) shows how speaker and recipient gaze play an important role in shaping a sequence by influencing the

restarting and pausing of a turn. Upon close inspection of the above examples, we can see that both children control their eye gaze carefully, and use it to add to the ignoring of an unfavourable prior turn.

In contrast to Matthias's earlier use of delay strategies that are based on the manipulation of shared sequences, the delays in Example 3 and 4 occur in the middle of a sequence. We can see that through the use of selective eye gaze, and humming within the structure of interaction, which both children use discerningly to competently ignore their parents in their noncompliance.

4.2 Disrupting a Sequence

The examples above display the children's ability to manipulate a situation to their favour by prolonging and progressing with sequences. In this section we examine how Matthias instead disrupts sequences in his noncompliance. In the following excerpt, Mom has just approached a cupboard to obtain an item for Matthias's morning activity. A clear mismatch of priority is later evident when Matthias follows Mom to the cupboard as seen below

Example 7a – Tape #11

Cupboard

- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | MOM | Okay let's close first okay? ((closes one cupboard door)) |
| 2 | MATT → | ee-yuh↑. ((squeezes between MOM and open door, pushes MOM's wrist aside)) |
| 3 | MOM | Later::, I will open this cupboard, and you can [tell] me what you want. |
| 4 | MATT | [duh:::] d[uh:::] ((looks up)) |

In line 1, Mom closes one side of the cupboard door and tells Matthias that the cupboard ought to be closed. Instead of complying with Mom's question, which is also hearable as a directive, Matthias disrupts the sequence by strategically placing himself between Mom and the open door and pushing her wrist away, thus preventing

Mom continues by implementing an offer to retrieve a toy truck for Matthias – She verbally names the item, and reaches up to touch it (ln. 6). Matthias’s response in line 7 latches onto the previous turn, and consists of a verbal repetition of Mom’s prior utterance. This response shows his possible consideration of the suggested item, but does not commit to accepting the offer made by Mom, leaving the next turn open for his offeror to make other offers. Furthermore, Matthias continues to look up at the contents of the cupboard,

The sequence progresses with Mom making another offer of the *fan* in line 8, which Matthias once again verbally repeats (ln. 9). Mom’s turn that follows in line 10 (“you want the fan”) is a “yes/no” question that makes an “acceptance” or “rejection” answer relevant next (Schegloff, 2007:76), but also seeks to clarify and confirm that Matthias indeed wants to have the fan. Matthias then replies Mom with “beh” in line 11. At this point it is necessary to explain that Matthias’s utterance “beh” sounds similar to “yeh” due to the similarity between his pronunciation of the word-initial “b” and “y” consonants. Mom could therefore have perceived this as an acceptance of her offer (“yeh”). Throughout the data, it was found that Matthias’s utterance “beh” is also the way he pronounces “back” as in the phrase “put back”. This could therefore be Matthias’s rejection of Mom’s offer.

It is clear in line 12 that Mom assumes from Matthias’s response that he wants the fan, and takes the toy down, instigating a repair of Mathew’s previous turn. This consists of the request format that Matthias has to use according to her standards – the name of his wanted item, followed by a deferential marker (“fan please”), and he is then expected to repeat the utterance in his next turn. Matthias responds in line 13 by promptly repeating his previous utterance from line 11 (“beh”) twice, and grabs Mom’s hand, pushing it toward the top of the cupboard in his attempt to make Mom put the item back. This shows that Matthias’s use of “beh” in line 11 was a definite disagreement to Mom’s question in line 10. The disagreement is then reiterated by his repeated use of “beh” in line 13.

Mom continues the sequence by stating, “you said fan”, and putting the fan back. While this serves as a telling, it is also a complaint, which proceeds with the question

“what do you want”. Mom does not know which item Matthias wants, and seeks an answer from him. Matthias’s turn in line 16 however, overlaps with Mom’s question in line 15 when he says “open” twice, followed by the deferential marker “please” – he interrupts Mom’s speech by producing his utterance before the completion of Mom’s turn. By doing so, he discards Mom’s turn and thus disrupts the sequence, by stating clearly that he wants the cupboard to be opened.

This move is especially noteworthy for several reasons. Firstly, without having to be prompted by a repair sequence, Matthias provides the correct request format in line 16 by adding the deferential marker that is expected of him. This is different from most of his requests throughout the data, which generally have to be prompted by Mom to include a deferential marker. Second, his move can also be seen as a rather hazardous progressivity move that carries the intrinsic risk of a communication breakdown due to the positioning of his sequence disruption, coupled with his noncompliance in not accepting Mom’s item suggestions.

Interestingly, Matthias turns to walk away after his utterance in line 16. While Matthias’s intentions behind the move are unknown to us, his walking away seems to make his request clearer since Mom can no longer suggest toys to him and assume that he wants an item from the cupboard. It also dissipates the persistence of his disruption, allowing for easier progressivity of the sequence – Mom follows this move with a clarification, which Matthias then seems to agree to with a “yeh”.

Later, we observe how Matthias reinforces his prior disruptions to the sequence. The interaction unfolds further:

Example 7c – Tape #11

Cupboard

- 21 MOM ((closes door)) [Kay matt] can we play::?
 22 F[first]? ((walks away))
- 23 MATT → [mmmmmm]. ((walks to cupboard, and opens it))
 24 mmm-meh. ((walks away)) Mmmm-meh.mmm[mm-meh]
- 25 MOM [mmmmmmmmmm↑↓]
- 26 MATT mmmm-meh. Mmmm-meh. Mmmm-mah.

Instead of fulfilling Matthias's request, Mom closes the door, and once again asks Matthias if they could first play (ln. 21) before walking away to prepare her activity for Matthias's schedule. Matthias then uses his humming technique, which, as previously discussed, allows him to ignore his interlocutor. Matthias interrupts Mom's utterance before the end of her TCU with a hum, which as explained earlier, dismisses and ignores Mom's previous turn. He then proceeds to the cupboard and opens it (ln. 23), continuing to hum. Matthias had therefore eventually achieved the objective of his earlier disruptions, thus fulfilling the objective he had in contributing to the sequence.

The entire episode demonstrates Matthias's ability to disrupt a sequence in his noncompliance, yet allows it to progress all the same. The disruptions we next consider are more specific; they are disruptions that also shift the direction of a sequence.

4.2.1 Shifting a Sequence

Throughout the data, repair sequences are often instigated by the children's interlocutors; these repair sequences, as in Example 2, follow the same procedural format as sequences initiated for the completion of an activity or an action (Example 1). In previous sections, we have established that once a joint sequence begins, and is continued by the child in C2, it involves participatory commitment from both parties. Extricating oneself from such a sequence is therefore difficult, and it would thus continue propelling to its end through contributions from both participants. In the following examples, we will examine how the children's trouble-source turns prompt their parents to initiate a repair sequence, thus distracting them from their original intentions.

Example 8a – Tape #21

Hold the cup

9	MATT	[((MATT drinks from straw and holds it with both hands))] (12.0)
10		Mmm mmmmmmm! Mmmmm.
11	MOM	Hold the cup. ((takes MATT's hand to hold cup))
12		Ho::ld the cup. (14.0)

13 Can Matthias hold the cup himself?

14 MATT *((stares ahead briefly, then continues to drink*
 15 *from and hold the straw))*

16 MOM → Hold. (.) *((takes MATT's hand to hold cup))* hold
 17 handle.

18 MATT → *((wiggles hand out of Mom's hand, continues to*
 hold straw)) mm. mmm-mmmmm.

19 MOM Hold. (4.0) Ma::↑↓tt.

20 MATT Mmm, mmm-mmm.

Mom has been holding Matthias's cup for him from line 9 to 20, and issues directives for Matthias to hold his own cup on every one of her turns (ln. 11-13, 16-17, 19, 21). At each of these turns, Matthias can choose to comply, ignore, divert, or disagree with Mom's directive – he chooses to disregard these with a brief glance upwards in line 14, as well as his continued drinking. At line 16, Mom adds to her verbal directive by also imposing a gestural directive – she takes Matthias's hand and places it on the cup handles. But Matthias wiggles his hand off (ln. 18), resuming his hands' previous position on the straw of the cup.

Example 8b – Tape #21

Hold the cup

21 MOM → Hold the cup. *((takes straw out))*

22 MATT *((holds cup with both hands and drinks))* mm-mmm.
 24 → *((looks ahead but reaches for the straw in MOM's*
 hand))

25 MOM Why?

26 MATT Straw=

27 MOM =you want the straw?=
 28 MATT =plee-ee.=

29 MOM ° okay°

30 MATT → *((holds straw with one hand, then the other))*
 31 *((finishes drink))*

Mom compounds her directive yet another step in line 21 by removing the straw, giving Matthias no choice but to hold on to the cup. Matthias holds his cup for a turn,

and soon reaches for the straw (ln. 24). Mom identifies Matthias's turn as a trouble source, either because she requires a proper verbal request, or she finds Matthias's movement unclear. The occasion therefore calls for the instigation of a repair in the next turn, in which Mom issues the open class repair 'why?' (ln. 25). While this is a repair, it can also be taken as the start of their familiar sequence, which can be re-captured below, and combined with Example 8b in Example 8c:

Table 4: *Repair Sequence Format*

A1	Repair initiator
C1	Provision of target word
A2	Second repair initiator (often contains target word from prior turn)
C2	Provision of second target word
A3	<i>Acknowledgement of completed procedure,</i>
(+)	<i>followed by execution of action</i>

Example 8c – Tape #21

Hold the cup

25	MOM	A1	Why?
26	MATT	C1	Straw=
27	MOM	A2	=you want the straw? =
28	MATT	C2	=plee-ee.=
29	MOM	A3	° okay°
30	MATT	C3	((holds straw with one hand, then the other))
31			((finishes drink))

Matthias makes a verbal request for the straw in line 26, which is the production of his first target word – the name of an item he wants. This places both Matthias and his Mother in the progression of the joint sequence, and Mom is now committed to continuing with the sequence. Although the procedure would eventually elicit a proper request from Matthias, it also involves the common goal of returning the straw to Matthias.

A second repair is initiated (ln. 27) in response to Matthias's turn in line 26 in the form of a clarification, inviting Matthias to provide the second target word in their interaction, which in this case is a deferential marker 'please' (ln. 28). Having provided all the necessary words, Mom acknowledges Matthias's completion of the repair procedure, and follows with the execution of the common goal – giving Matthias his straw.

The above repair sequence appears very often throughout the data, and is Mom's attempt to turn any incomplete utterance into a training session for her child to complete the request. The immediate launch of the repair sequence in a trouble-source turn locks both parent and child into reaching a common goal that might defer from the parent's original intentions, therefore providing the child with an opportunity to change the direction of an interaction.

This can be further illustrated by another example involving Jake and his Mother. We can see how Jake manages to change the direction of sequence progression, preventing Mom from continuing with her own agenda.

Example 9a – Tape #1

Killer Whale vs. Go Home

- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 1 | MOM | ((examining JAKE's legs)) Are you tired? |
| 2 | JAKE | Yes. |
| 3 | MOM | ((jerks head upwards urging JAKE to respond)) |
| 4 | JAKE | (__)= |
| 5 | MOM | =oh. You want to go now?=
=((turns to left for toy))= |
| 6 | JAKE | |
| 7 | MOM | =what d'you want to do now?=
=killer whale.= |
| 8 | JAKE | |
| 9 | MOM | =donwan you to play with the killer whale |
| 10 | | anymore ((Taking toy away from JAKE)) |

The excerpt begins with Mom asking a yes/no type question ("Are you tired?"), to which Jake provides the type-conforming response "yes" (ln. 2). This adjacency pair (ln. 1-2) is a pre-expansion, or "pre-sequence" (Sacks, 1992a:682-92) to the turns that follow. In line 3, Mom jerks her head upwards, urging Jake to provide a request to go

home. At this point, Mom and Jake had been swimming for an hour, and Mom herself is possibly tired. Jake mumbles in line 4, and Mom responds by asking yet another yes/no type question – Jake is asked if he wants to go home (ln. 5). He swiftly ignores Mom’s question by turning his head, trying to find his “killer whale” toy (ln. 6). Mom immediately makes another suggestion to Jake through a ‘what’ question (“what do you want to do now”) in line 7, to which Jake responds with “killer whale”, meaning he wants to play with his “killer whale” toy. Jake issued then a directive from Mom in line 9 (“don’t want you to play with killer whale anymore”), which is coupled with his toy being taken away from him.

In the above excerpt, Mom makes continuous suggestions to Jake, each one designed to solicit a favourable response from Jake. In the sequence that builds up, Jake can be seen to align his responses to Mom’s at every turn he takes. Other than ignoring Mom’s question (ln. 6), Jake’s replies can be read as honest answers to Mom’s questions in accordance with his own agenda, as in line 7-8, where Jake says “killer whale” in response to Mom’s question “what do you want to do now?”. Jake’s non-submission to Mom’s suggestions then builds towards her directive in lines 9-10, where she exercises her authority by refusing to allow Jake to play with his toy. In the sequence that ensues, the same pattern unfolds in the subsequent turns:

Example 9b – Tape #1

Killer Whale vs. Go Home

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 11 | MOM | Are you tired?=
=yes. |
| 12 | JAKE | |
| 13 | MOM | Then? What d’you want to do:?= |
| 14 | JAKE | =°killer whale°= |
| 15 | MOM | =no if you’re tired you have to go home. D’you |
| 16 | | want to go home? |
| 17 | JAKE | ((<i>looking away</i>)) |
| 18 | MOM | Do you want to go home?=
=°no::° = |
| 19 | JAKE | |
| 20 | MOM | =l-ere-look here ((<i>pushes JAKE’s face towards</i> |
| 21 | | <i>hers</i>)) do you want to go home?=
=°mmm° [((<i>looks away</i>))] |
| 22 | JAKE | |

Mom repeats her question (ln. 11) from line 1, thereby restarting the exchange with the pre-sequence, hoping to achieve her goal through the new sequence. Their subsequent turns, however, echo the ones exchanged above. In response to his Mother's question, Jake uses the "yes" token (ln. 12). Mom, drawing from this adjacency pair, suggests once again "then? What d'you want to do?", to which Jake provides the same response as the one in line 8 by whispering "killer whale" (ln. 14). By this juncture, Jake has been told that he cannot play with his toy, but still attempts to 'try his luck' with Mom and push for his agenda.

By line 15 Mom discontinues with the same questions as before, and instead issues a blatant directive – that if Jake is tired, he would have to go home. She then asks 'do you want to go home' (ln. 16), which although is a yes/no-type question, favours an acceptance-answer that is backed with Mom's authority. Jake avoids answering Mom's question by looking away (ln. 17). Mom requires Jake to respond, and repeats her question in line 18, to which Jake states a disagreeing answer 'no'. While Jake has, at this turn, directly disagreed with Mom's intended outcome of the sequence, she still wants Jake to respond to her favour and repeats her question a third time (ln. 20-21), and Jake ignores this with a short hum, and by looking away.

This exchange demonstrates that Jake, like Matthias in the above sequences, has a clear understanding of turn taking, completing each adjacency pair with precision to timing, and providing utterances that latch on to the sequences he partakes in. We can also observe that both the interlocutors' turns draw different associations between 'being tired' and 'going home'. Mom states being tired as a cause for going home, but Jake's responses do not go beyond it being a state. Jake completes each adjacency pair with a SPP that reflects what he really wants, whether it is playing with his "killer whale" or disagreeing with "going home", and wants to stay in the pool for a longer despite being pressured by Mom to leave. It is interesting to note that the exchange drags for 22 turns without a clear resolution, due to Mom's restarting of the sequence, directives, and repetition of questions, together with Jake's noncompliance to Mom's suggestions.

Due to the differing agendas of both interlocutors, their exchange from line 1-22 sees a strain between mutual understanding and sequence progressivity. Despite this, both Jake and Mom manage to progress with the sequence together through turn-by-turn

alignment. While Jake's stating of his agenda has worked in the lengthening of the previous sequence, his Mother has continued to persist in eventually achieving her objective of their sequence. In the exchange that shortly unfolds, Jake reformulates his request and diverts the direction of the sequence:

Example 9c – Tape #1

Killer Whale vs. Go Home

- 23 MOM [Pull up] the arm bands, higher up.
 24 (towards LUKE who has just walked towards MOM)
 25 pull up ((helps LUKE)) wei-wait. Jump go! Go!
 26 ((pushes LUKE into water)) y-yah. Mm? yes?
 (towards JAKE)
- 27 JAKE → Ju::m.=
- 28 MOM =jump where?
- 29 JAKE There=
- 30 MOM =where. Jump? Where=
- 31 JAKE =swimming=
- 32 MOM =oh. You want to jump into the swimming pool?=
 33 JAKE =ye:s.
- 34 MOM → What d'you want to do?
- 35 JAKE → =°jump. Into the swimming pool.° =
- 36 MOM =okay. Then you stand and jump.
- 37 JAKE ((stands up))

Mom is briefly preoccupied with Jake's brother, but soon returns to Jake. (ln. 23-26) In line 26 she issues an open-class question ("Mm? Yes?"), expecting that he request to "go home". Jake however, initiates a topic shift, and asks to "jump" instead (ln. 27). Prior to the episode and during their time in the pool, Mom had spent quite a while urging Jake to jump off the ledge into the pool. Jake's request to "jump" was not only a self-initiation, but also his first willing attempt at the activity during the entire trip to the pool. His proposal to "jump" is therefore readily accepted by Mom, and sparks off a new sequence where the focus is now on ensuring that Jake provides the correct format to his new request.

Lines 28-36 proceed with a repair procedure, instigated by Mom in line 28 and incrementally building towards line 35, where Jake provides the correct utterance “jump into the swimming pool” in response to Mom’s question “what d’you want to do?”. The exchange is then resolved, and Jake is allowed to continue with the activity, and therefore stay in the pool for a longer period.

Jake’s initiation and shift in agenda is especially significant because it is employed in a sequence laden with adult-issued directives. Every turn by Mom was a relentless exhortative to eventually steer Jake into expressing a stance. Jake’s utterance in line 27 is a counter normative expectation, which Mom quickly used as a learning opportunity for Jake to elaborate on and repair his initiation, and thus make a request to her standards. In the process, she was led away from her original intention, and Jake was allowed to stay in the pool.

Jake understood that he would not be allowed his first choice activity, which was to play with his ‘killer whale’, and compromised by instead proposing an alternative that would potentially divert the exchange from the ultimate activity of ‘going home’. His careful directing of the sequence demonstrates firstly, an understanding of Mom’s underlying intentions, and second, his ability to progress with their exchange in a direction more favourable to him.

5. Conclusion

This study analysed the everyday interactions of a five-year-old and a seven-year-old with autism. It has shown that using CA in studying autism can provide useful insights into the underlying nature of their interactions, and the way they communicate. Although both children possess limited language skills, they are able to contribute to joint sequences with their interlocutors, even when the sequence goes against their favour. By examining cases of noncompliance, we observe how both children risk the breakdown of intersubjectivity by pursuing their agenda, but are still able to jointly progress the sequence alongside their parents. Often, the sequence leads to an outcome that is favourable to them.

Throughout the data, Matthias and Jake exhibit noncompliance through various turns that progress the sequence. Both prolong their turns in shared sequences to delay the activity they are involved in, or use a combination of non-verbal behaviours to ignore their mothers' utterances. Matthias sometimes disrupts an unfavourable sequence by interrupting and discarding a prior turn. The later examination of two episodes shows how both children distract their parents from an original intention by shifting the direction of an unfavourable sequence. A closer look at the data allows us to realize that the talk often addressed to both Matthias and Jake can be repetitive. This sometimes influences the nature of their interaction to be constrained to fixed sequences between both parent and child, allowing for easier lengthening of the sequence by the child, and sometimes leading to the difficult extrication of either interlocutor from the sequence once it is started.

While the language of these children may look idiosyncratic or repetitive on the surface, they have a larger interactive role to play when placed in the context of a sequence. These allow them to gain some control over sequences despite being faced with the overarching presence of their parents' authoritative control within the interaction.

Mutual trust is fundamental to intersubjectivity, and studying the interactions of individuals with autism reveals their acceptance of risk in communication, and openness to their parent (Sterponi, 2010:138), especially in situations of noncompliance. In these instances, both children deflected the constraints of parents' directive talk, and accepted the uncertainty, risk of failure, and potential communication breakdown that co-occurred with this. It is through examining such interactions that the conclusion can be drawn that individuals with autism may have a degree of competence in progressing sequences in interaction.

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Appendix 1: Glossary of transcript symbols

Notational conventions employed in the transcribed excerpts follow that of Gail Jefferson (2004).

.	Period indicates a falling, or final, intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence.
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation, not necessarily a question.
,	Comma indicates “continuing” intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary.
:::	Colons indicate stretching of the preceding sound, proportional to the number of colons.
↑↓	Upward and downward pointing arrows indicate marked rising and falling shifts in intonation.
→	Right facing arrow indicates lines in the transcript where the phenomenon of interest occurs.
-	A hyphen after a word or a part of a word indicates a cut-off or self interruption.
<u>word</u>	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis on the underlined item.
Word	Upper case indicates loudness.
=	Equal sign indicate no break or delay between the words thereby connected.
(())	Double parentheses enclose descriptions of conduct.
(word)	When all or part of an utterance is in parentheses, this indicates uncertainty on the transcriber’s part.
()	Empty parentheses indicate that something is being said, but no hearing can be achieved.
(1.2)	Numbers in parentheses indicate silence in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicated a “micropause,” hearable but not readily measurable; ordinarily less than 2/10 of a second.
[word] [word]	Separate left square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances by different speakers, indicates a point of overlap onset.
° but °	The degree marks show that the utterance is very soft.

Appendix 2: Transcript

NOTE: Personal and family names have been changed to protect the participants' privacy. The "Mom" used in the excerpts with "Matthias" and "Jake" refer to two different people.

Example 1 – Tape #3 Balloon Time

1 MOM O:kay↑↓. (1.0) O::ne=
 2 MATT ((jumps around, then looks at MOM) =two
 3 MOM Two↑=
 4 MATT =three.
 5 MOM Three?=
 6 MATT =blow. [(1.0)] Blow=
 7 MOM [(1.0) ((blows balloon))] =blow?
 8 MATT ((jumps around room excitedly)) (uhh uhhh uhh)
 9 MOM Bigger? (.) bigger=
 10 MATT =bigger.
 11 MOM (1.0) ((blows balloon)) Bigger?
 12 MATT Hh. Bigger!
 13 MOM ((blows)) Bigger::↓ (1.0) A:::nd?=
 14 MATT =Blow.
 15 MOM Blow? ((blows)) bigger?
 16 MATT Bigger.
 17 MOM ((blows)) And?=
 18 MATT =stop.=
 19 MOM =stop OH okay I'll stop.
 20 rea[dy:::??]
 21 MATT [let go.]
 22 MOM s°e::t°?=
 23 MATT =go.
 24 MOM GO↑↓! ((lets go of balloon.))
 25 ((Both MOM and MATT stare at balloon as it flies

26 *around room))*

27 *Wooo:~! (1.5)*

28 *Finished! All done. (1.0)*

29 MATT *((stares at balloon and scratches chin))*

30 MOM *All done okay, fi~nished! (3.0)*

31 MATT *((jumps up and down, flapping his shirt and*

32 *smiling))*

33 MOM °Aiyoh° (2.0) Give mommy all done, fi~nished.

34 MATT *((bends down to pick toy up, then passes it to*

35 *MOM))*

36 MOM *Tha:~nk you.*

Example 2 – Tape #2 Help Open

84 MOM *((brings MATT to room for lunch, sitting him at*

85 *table while she sits beside him))*

86 *heh-*

87 MATT *el. (~)*

88 MOM *((touches MATT's chin)) He:~lp?*

89 MATT *Open.*

90 MOM *O:~pe::~~n. Oh, good asking for help Matty. (8.0)*

91 *((opens cereal packet and pours into MATT's*

92 *bowl))*

There you go. (in a sing-song manner)

93 MATT *Thank you mommy. ((reaches out for bowl))*

94 MOM *Look at mommy[when] you're talking. ((touches*

95 *MATT's chin. MATT looks at MOM))*

96 MATT *[uh:~] (~) uh:~ (~) uh:~*

97 *((scoops cereal into spoon and feeds himself))*

Example 3a-c – Tape #14 Last Car

1 MATT *((takes car and puts it on structure))*

2 MOM *((helps MATT with car)) higher. Ready?~*

3 MATT *=let go.=*

4 MOM *=set?~*

5 MATT =go.
 6 MOM Go. ((*car falls off halfway*)) Oh-oh. Try again.
 7 Ready-set?=
 8 MATT =go. ((*car rolls down*))
 9 MOM There::: ((*takes two cars*)) More car?
 10 MATT ee-nuh.=
 11 MOM =more?=
 12 MATT =more car.
 13 MOM Which one?
 14 MATT wuh. ((*grabs a car*)) Di.
 15 MOM This one.=
 16 MATT =euh. ((*puts it on structure*))
 17 ((*car falls off halfway*)) EEEYAHHHHHHH.
 ((*screams*))
 18 MOM ((*hands MATT another car*)) This one. Try.
 19 [Rea:dy:::~::~~:]
 20 MATT [°eeeyuh eeeyuh eeeyuh°]
 21 MOM Ready:::~::~~. Ready set?=
 22 MATT =°go°
 23 MOM go:::~::~~.
 24 MATT ((*puts car on structure and holds it while it*
 25 *goes down*)) eeeluh eeeluh eeeluh
 26 MOM ((*waits for car to run through structure*))
 YE:::S!
 27 MATT eeeluh eeeluh eeeluh
 28 MOM ((*pushes structure aside a little*)) more cars?
 29 ((*holds MATT's hands*)) car?=
 30 MATT =Yeh
 31 MOM ((*holds out two more cars*)) more cars? ((*grabs*
 32 *MATT's hand*))
 MORE cars. More cars?=
 33 MATT eenuh. more.=
 34 MOM =more.°okay° ((*holds MATT's hands*))
 35 MATT Fu fah fah. [mm mm mmmm.]
 36 MOM [((*MOM makes MATT point to a car*))]
 37 THIS car.=

38 MATT di-car. ((suddenly faces MOM)) FU FAH
FAH::::::::::!

39 MOM This car. [There-you-go]

40 MATT fo [FAHHHHHHH] [°uhhhh eeeee uhhh°]

41 MOM [This car!]

42 [Ready::::: se:::::t] [a::nd?]

43 MATT [((places car)) [gogo]

44 MOM ((lets go of MATT's hand)) Go:: Le↑tgo.

45 MATT ((lets car go and watches it))

46 MOM YE::↓↑S. ((car drops to floor)) oh-oh.((bends down to pick fallen car)) more cars?

47 MATT ye. ((suddenly shakes his hands)) DAAAAAAAAAAAAA.
48 DAAAAAAAAAAAAA.

49 MOM Kay. More car.=

50 MATT =more-car.

51 MOM ((Puts car into MATT's hand))

52 MATT Car:::

53 MOM This car=

54 MATT =mmcar. Car.=

55 MOM =This car.=

56 MATT =oh yar=

57 MOM =This (.) car=

58 MATT =Okeh. CAR.

59 MOM ((puts car aside and reaches out to MATT))

60 MATT Car:. [Car:::::::::: ar::::::::::].

61 MOM ((points to structure)) [Kay put it on. Stand up
62 Matthias stand.]
63 [Matthias stand.]

64 MATT [uhh uhhh::::] car. Uh. Uh.

65 MOM Kay ready:::

66 MATT ((MATT releases car from top of structure))

67 MOM Set. ((while car rolls down)) wooooo::.

68 MATT ((looks around, then at MOM)) Eh low!

69 MOM ((holds out three cars to MATT))

70 mmm[mmmmmm]↑↓.°More cars?°=
 71 MATT [ye↑low::↑↑↓]
 72 =°yeh°. ((reaches for car))
 73 MOM ((takes hand away)) mmm=
 74 MATT =more=
 75 MOM =more:=
 76 MATT =Morecuh
 77 MOM °cars°
 78 MATT °Mmmmmmmmmmm::: yehyo. Le°. (under his breath)
 79 MOM ((puts car in MATT's hand)) this car.=
 80 MATT =dicar.
 81 MOM °okay°=
 82 MATT =°leh leh°=
 83 MOM =Ready? ((hand on structure to prevent MATT from
 84 letting car run down))
 85 MATT °Leh°
 86 MOM Ready?=
 87 MATT =mm-mah=
 88 MOM =SEt?=
 89 MATT =go.
 90 MOM ((releases hand)) go:::↓↑↓. ((both watch car go
 down))
 91 MATT °leh leh (2.0) [leh:::]°
 92 MOM [wooooooooooooo↑↓] ((takes more
 93 cars))
 [more cars?]
 94 MATT [yuh yuh yuh] yuh::: (.)
 95 more=
 96 MOM =more?
 97 MATT More car.=
 98 MOM =oh::: Kay More↑. More↑ and more↑ cars. ((makes
 99 MATT point to car)) This car.=
 100 MATT =inar (trying to say 'this car')
 101 uh uh.

102 MOM ((gives MATT the car)) ready?
 103 MATT Eh-oh.
 104 MOM se::t?=
 105 MATT =go. Go. ((tries to make the car go down))
 106 MOM Kay put it nicely ready::?
 107 MATT D[i:]
 108 MOM [se]t.
 109 MATT Go=
 110 MOM =go:::::::::: ((car rolls down)) yay::::::::::↓↑.
 111 MATT °lu:: l[u::]°
 112 MOM [orh::]. Last car! Okay last car?=
 113 MATT =oyah. ((snatches car from mom, places it on))
 114 MOM ((uses hand to block car)) ready?=
 115 MATT =le-go.
 116 MOM SEt.
 117 MATT Go.
 118 MOM °go°.=
 119 MATT =°eeee yah:::: ee[ee yah]::::: lahhhh eee
 120 yah::°((makes the car go up and down the curve
 without releasing it))
 121 MOM [go::↑]! ((stops MATT from
 122 doing that))
 123 ((takes his hand with car and puts it on
 124 structure))
 ready::::=
 125 MATT =mm.=
 126 MOM =se:::t=
 127 MATT =go. ((bows head and looks at structure from top
 128 of eyes))
 129 MOM °kay° ready: set and?=
 130 MATT =go ((looks up))
 131 MOM Go::::↑↓.
 132 MATT Luh luhhh:::: (.) luhhh↓=
 133 MOM =fi↑ni↓shed!

23 MATT Out. ((starts playing with a puzzle piece,
24 tapping it on the table))

25 MOM Take out. ((moves his hand away from the piece))
26 Ta:↑ke? Ou::↓↑t?

27 MATT ((stares ahead)) mm. mmmmmmmmm.

28 MATT Take-

29 MATT mm. mmm[mmmm]

30 MOM [ta::ke] (0.5) take (.) °ou::° o[u::t]

31 MATT [mmmm. Mmmmmmm.]

32 MOM [((clears pieces))]

33 MATT [AHmmmmmm. AHmmmmmmmm.UHmmmmmm.] ((while looking
34 at fingers))
35 EHHH:::::uhhhhh::::: (1.5)
36 mmmmmmmmmmm.

Example 5 – Tape #10 Dinner

62 MOM Kay can you hold your spoon with your right
63 hand.

64 JAKE ((looks ahead))

65 MOM Right hand Jake right hand. Use your right hand.
66 No hold your spoon with your right hand. Where.
67 This way. ((switches JAKE's utensils))=
68 JAKE =mm. [mm.]

Example 6 – Tape #10 Carbonara

1 MOM Cah-b[o:] -nah-ra

2 JAKE [bo:-nah- re:] pa::sta↓.=

3 MOM =kay what. is cheh cheh doing?

4 JAKE ((looking away))

5 MOM Eh eeJake. ((taps JAKE's shoulder, and JAKE
6 turns towards camera)) what is this cheh cheh
7 doing.

8 JAKE Taking pictures ((looks away))

9 MOM Taking pictures of who::↑↓.

10 JAKE ((trying to catch a glimpse of the TV)) eh.
 11 MOM ((taps JAKE's shoulder)) taking pictures of who.
 12

Example 7a-c – Tape #11 Cupboard

1 MOM Okay let's close first okay? ((closes one
cupboard door))
 2 MATT ee-yuh↑. ((squeezes between MOM and open door))
 3 MOM Later::, I will open this cupboard, and you can
[tell] me what you want.
 4 MATT [duh:::] d[uh:::]
 5 MOM [cham ah], he saw the. (tsk). What.
 6 Truck.=((touches truck))
 7 MATT =truck. (eh-oo)= ((looking up))
 8 MOM =fa::n.((touches fan))
 9 MATT Fa=
 10 MOM =you want the fan?=
 11 MATT =yeh.
 12 MOM ((takes fan down)) fan please.=
 13 MATT =ooyeh. ((struggles to make MOM put fan back))
ooyeh.=
 14 MOM =you said fa:::↑↓n. ((fan is put back))
 15 [what d'you want.]
 16 MATT [ope:: ope:::] ((looks at toy below)) plee.
 17 ((turns away and walks off))=
 18 MOM =open?=
 19 MATT =yeh. ((still walking away))°oooo ooooo°.
 20 Mmmmm-mmmmmmmmmmm-mm[mmmmmmmm].
 21 MOM [Kay matt] can we play::?
 22 F[first]?
 23 MATT [mmmmmmmm]. ((has walked to cupboard, and opens
 24 it)) mmm-meh. ((walks away)) Mmmm-meh.mmm[mm-
meh]
 25 MOM [mmmmmmmm↑↓]
 26 MATT mmmmm-meh. Mmmm-meh. Mmmm-mah.

Example 8a-b – Tape #21 *Hold the Cup*

1 MOM Here's your [juice. Oh oh] oh careful.

2 MATT [(_____)]

3 ((MOM and MATT enter bedroom from kitchen))

4 AHHHH!! (scream) (5.0)

5 mmm!=

6 MOM =Here=

7 MATT =Tankew. Mommy. Tankew=((reaching for straw))

8 MOM =look at mommy when you're talking, yes.=

9 MATT =[((MATT drinks from straw))] (12.0)

10 Mmm mmmmmmm! Mmmm.

11 MOM Hold the cup. ((takes MATT's hand to hold cup))

12 Ho::ld the cup. (14.0)

13 Can Matthias hold the cup himself?

14 MATT ((stares ahead briefly, then continues to drink

15 from straw))

16 MOM Hold. (.) ((takes MATT's hand to hold cup)) hold

17 handle.

18 MATT mm. mmm-mmmmm.

19 MOM Hold. (4.0) Ma::↑↓tt.

20 MATT Mmm, mmm-mmm.

21 MOM Hold the cup. ((takes straw out))

22 MATT ((holds cup with both hands and drinks)) mm-mmm.

24 ((looks ahead but reaches for the straw in MOM's

25 hand))

26 MOM Why?

27 MATT Straw=

28 MOM =you want the straw?=
29 MATT =plee-ee.=

30 MOM ° okay°

31 MATT °uh uh° (35.0)

32 mm-mmm. ((continues to drink for a long time))

33 ((springs up and runs to bed))=

34 MOM =enough?

35 MATT ((climbs on bed)) mmmmmmmmm.=

36 MOM ((walks towards MATT))
 37 MATT ((looks at MOM)) =E-enough.
 38 MOM Enough:::::↓.
 39 MATT Mmmmmm [mmm-ehhhhhhhhhh]
 40 MOM [all right]

Example 9a-c – Tape #1 Killer Whale vs. Go Home

1 MOM ((examining JAKE's legs)) Are you tired?
 2 JAKE Yes.
 3 MOM ((looks up at JAKE, jerks head upwards urging him to answer))
 4 JAKE (___)=
 5 MOM =oh. You want to go now?=
 6 JAKE =((turns to left for toy))=
 7 MOM =what d'you want to do now?=
 8 JAKE =killer whale.=
 9 MOM =donwan you to play with the killer whale
 10 anymore ((Taking toy away from JAKE))
 11 Are you tired?=
 12 JAKE =yes.
 13 MOM Then? What d'you want to do:?=
 14 JAKE =°killer whale°=
 15 MOM =no if you're tired you have to go home. D'you
 16 want to go home?
 17 JAKE ((looking away))
 18 MOM Do you want to go home?=
 19 JAKE =°no::° =
 20 MOM =l-ere-look here ((pushes JAKE's face towards
 21 hers)) do you want to go home?=
 22 JAKE =°mmm° [((looks away))]
 23 MOM [Pull up] the arm bands, higher up.
 24 (towards LUKE who has just walked towards MOM)
 25 pull up ((helps LUKE)) wei-wait. Jump go! Go!
 26 ((pushes LUKE into water)) y-yah. Mm? yes?

(towards JAKE)

27 JAKE Ju::m.=

28 MOM =jump where?

29 JAKE There=

30 MOM =where. Jump? Where=

31 JAKE =swimming=

32 MOM =oh. You want to jump into the swimming pool? =

33 JAKE =ye:s.

34 MOM What d'you want to do?

35 JAKE =°jump. Into the swimming pool.° =

36 MOM =okay. Then you stand and jump.

37 JAKE *((stands up))*

38 MOM I count to three then you jump ah. Listen I

39 count to three okay?

40 LUKE (_____ [____])

41 MOM [wait.] okay:. Later. Okay:..

42 You wait for me to count okay.

43 O:ne=

44 JAKE =one.

45 MOM Two:?. Three-jump.

46 LUKE *((jumps first))*

47 JAKE *((jumps close to ledge))*

48 MOM Kay le-tieh, you jump at five okay. When I say

49 five then you jump. EeJake gorgor will jump at

50 three okay. *((places LUKE on ledge))* okay?

51 EeJake gorgor jump. *((places JAKE on ledge))*

52 Luke you jump (____) okay? Kay jump again.

53 JAKE *((stand up on ledge))*

LUKE

54 MOM Okay. EeJake. *((looks at him, raising fingers))*

55 three okay. Jump. Luke. Five okay.

56 O:ne.=

57 JAKE =°two° .

58 MOM Two::? =

59 JAKE =*((claps hands))*

60 MOM Three:::?

61 ??? EeJake? count three already.

62 LUKE Go::! ((pushes JAKE's back))=

63 MOM =okhhay okhay stop stop. Again ah::. EeJake

64 listen. I ju-I count to three::↑, you jump.

65 Okay?

66 JAKE ((looks into distance))

67 MOM k-one::?

68 JAKE ((looks at MOM))

69 MOM Two:::?. (.) Three!=

70 LUKE =(pushes JAKE's back)) go jump! ((pushes

71 harder))=

72 JAKE ((falls into pool))

73 MOM Four::? FIVE!

74 LUKE Ju:::::m ((jumps into pool))

75 MOM hh. hhhh. Ye::s! hh. Hh. Hhh. Again again! Okay

76 okay. ((helps JAKE and LUKE up onto ledge)) jump

77 again. (.) Okay. Okay. EeJake (1.0) yaya ok.

78 EeJake five and then you three okay?

79 One. Two? Three?

80 LUKE [((jumps in))]

81 JAKE [claps hands] ((looks away))

82 MOM [woah::] loo::k. One::. Loo!

83 JAKE ((looks at MOM))

84 MOM Count to three you jump okay. Two, three::.

85 LUKE JU:::::M!

86 JAKE ((looks away, then jumps towards his right))

87 MOM hh.hh.hh.hh. You didn't jump at three. EeJake!

88 Again again again.

89 ((holds JAKE)) again again okay. eeJake. Listen.

90 ((puts JAKE on ledge)) okay. I say jump you jump

91 okay. I say one, two, three jump you jump, okay.

92 ((adjusts JAKE's legs))

93 rea. Ready? Are you ready?=
94 JAKE =ye::s.=

95 MOM =I said jump you jump. Okay? I sa- (1.0)

96 JUMP!

97 JAKE ((looks away))

98 MOM JUMP!

99 JAKE ((continues to look away))

100 LUKE Go!=

101 MOM =hahahahaha.

102 LUKE Go! ((jumps into water))

103 MOM ((steers JAKE towards ledge)) kay. Again. Up up
104 up again. Okay? Uhh:: EeJake look at me! Le
105 tian are you okay? ((looks at JAKE, pointing))
106 EeJake? Jump! Jump! (.) Jum↑p! Jum↑p! Jum↑p!

107 JAKE ((jumps))

108 MOM (____) why didnt' you jump hh. Hh. Hh.! ((thinks
109 JAKE was pushed by brother)) Kay let's go to the
110 slide and play.

~ The End ~