



‘JUST SAY IT IN YOUR OWN WORDS’

**THE SOCIAL INTERACTIONAL NATURE OF
INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWS INTO CHILD
SEXUAL ABUSE**

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Combined Master of Psychology (Clinical)/Doctor of Philosophy

April 2010

Chapter 6: Responding to children's discomfort about disclosing sexual details

6.1. Introduction

The idea that children may find talking about explicit sexual things embarrassing and that this may affect their willingness to disclose information in an investigative interview is not new (Lyon, 1999; Cronch, Vilojen, Hansen, 2006). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the investigative interviewing literature acknowledges that children's feelings of embarrassment can be a problem when it comes to children disclosing the details of what has happened and offers some practical advice to interviewers for dealing with it. For instance, interviewers are advised that specific questions are more successful than free recall questions at getting children to acknowledge embarrassing material (Saywitz et al., 1991; Saywitz et al., 2002). Interviewers are also encouraged to build rapport with the child. By presenting rapport building as a solution to dealing with children's reticence, the inference is that good rapport is likely to help a child feel comfortable enough to disclose embarrassing material (Wilson & Powell, 2001).

However, as mentioned, rapport is not a very well specified concept in the investigative interviewing literature, which means that interviewers have no clear way of knowing what it is, how to create it, or when they have attained it. Interviewers can, perhaps, infer that rapport is present when a child is responding candidly to their questions but this is circular. Hence, in the previous chapter it was proposed that the conversation analytic concept of progressivity may offer some insight into at least part of what we mean when we observe rapport between people and the data examined in this chapter lends additional support to that idea.

In view of its potential hindrance to effective interviewing, it is surprising that children's embarrassment during sexual abuse interviews has not received more attention. One exception is an analogue study by Steward and colleagues (1996). They set out to measure the link between behavioural indicators of embarrassment and a child's willingness to disclose potentially embarrassing information about an invasive medical procedure. Using a measure developed by Lewis and colleagues (1989, as cited in Steward et al., 1996) to identify the emotion of embarrassment, they focused on that part of the interview where a child was asked to report the body touch involved in the medical procedure. A child was judged to be showing embarrassment or shame if they displayed three linked behaviours: (1) smiling, followed by (2) gaze aversion and (3) the movement of the hands to touch the hair, clothing, face or other body parts. They found that the children who did not disclose their painful experience were the ones who showed all three behaviours indicative of embarrassment. However, as with much of the research in the field, it has not been studied in an ecologically valid way, with actual sexual abuse interviews as data.

From a discursive psychological point of view, emotions such as embarrassment are not topics for exploration in the traditional psychological sense. Because discursive psychology treats discourse as —social practice rather than mental expression” (Edwards, 1999, p. 288), mental states are treated as categories used in talk, rather than the causes of that talk. Hence, a typical DP approach to emotion is to look at how emotion categories are invoked in talk and to what rhetorical ends (Edwards, 1999).

However, some conversation analytic research has studied emotion by noticing how emotion is *displayed* in interaction, and in particular the part played by the body. For example, Goodwin and Goodwin (2000) looked at how emotion displays get built through

a combination of utterance, sequential positioning and bodily gesture. They observed that pre-adolescent girls playing hopscotch communicated emotions like indignation through utterance (e.g. exclaiming “Out, out” when another player steps on the line), the sequential position of that utterance (i.e. immediately following a triggering event of breaking a rule of hopscotch), the intonation and pitch of the utterance, and also gesture (e.g. pointing at the offending player). Thus, Goodwin and Goodwin (2000) make the point that from the perspective of human interaction “affect is lodged within embodied sequences of action” (p.7) rather than in (or merely in) the minds of the actors.

More specific to the present data, Beach and LeBaron (2002) and Heath (1988) have noticed moments where patients show a loss of composure in the context of medical encounters between patients and medical professionals. Heath (1988), drawing upon the work of Goffman (1956) and others, observed what he termed “characteristic signs of embarrassment, in particular a loss of composure and an inability to participate, if only momentarily, within the encounter” (p.138). Writing about embarrassment in particular, Heath (1988) observes that:

[e]mbarrassment . . . is sequentially organized. It consists of actions and activities, systematically coordinated by the participants, at some here and now within the interaction itself. Embarrassment emerges in relation to a specific action produced by a co-participant. The specific movement, for example which embodies the individual's fluster, is designed in part with respect to the immediately preceding action, the offence, whilst simultaneously

attempting to deal with related sequential constraints on their behaviour at that moment in time (p.154).

In this chapter I show that children do display both verbal and bodily signs of being uncomfortable when asked about sexual body parts and sexual actions that have been done to them, or which they have had to do to others. And these displays resemble what we might commonsensically label as being in a state of embarrassment. Often these signs resemble those described by Steward et al. (1996), such as smiling, gaze aversion and fidgeting. However, whatever the emotion or cause of the discomfort, there is the practical matter of its impact on the progressivity of the interaction. For without a disclosure that contains all the essential elements, police cannot successfully prosecute a case.

I examine those parts of interviews where interviewers are trying to establish in detail what sexual acts have been perpetrated on the child or, conversely, what the child has been made to do to the perpetrator. Specifically, I examine some of the ways that interviewers demonstrate responsiveness to the child's discomfort at these moments, and the things interviewers do that appear to help restore a degree of progressivity to the interaction. However, in line with a CA approach, I will talk in terms of verbal and bodily signs of discomfort that are available for inspection (to the police interviewer, to myself as the analyst, and to the reader) rather than embarrassment per se, since this helps retain the focus on visible and audible signs, reminding the reader that no precise claims can be made about a child's state of mind, since that is not accessible for empirical inspection.

One thing that some interviewers do quite regularly is to give children a body diagram (Pipe and Salmon, 2009), which is a two-dimensional picture of a boy's or girl's body, and ask them to mark on the body diagram those parts of their body things were done to

(see Appendix 9). Often they also mark what they had to do to the perpetrator on another body diagram. Another method is to ask the child to draw a plan of the room where one of the alleged sexual acts happened and then to draw themselves and the perpetrator during a particular alleged act.

In the investigative interviewing literature, these body diagrams and drawings are promoted for their value in eliciting forensically useful information, facilitating communication, promoting recall, and usefulness as evidence (Aldridge et al., 2004; Faller, 2007c; Gross & Hayne, 1999). Others have noted their benefit in providing a focus other than the interviewer when the child is being asked to provide potentially embarrassing information (Cohen-Liebman, 1999; Steward et al., 1996; Pipe & Salmon, 2009). Willcock and colleagues (2006) challenge the utility of body diagrams as an aid to helping younger children report body touch, showing in analogue studies that 5-6 year olds may fail to report a high proportion of touches they received and report others that did not occur. But, as mentioned earlier, ecological validity may be a problem here, since children in their study were asked to report where they were touched by a female confederate while being helped to dress up in a fire service costume. Arguably, the incidental touching that happens while being helped to dress up might be experienced as less worthy of paying attention to than receiving sexual touches.

By contrast, my focus is not on the issues of accuracy and quantity of recall when using such props. Whilst not diminishing the importance of such factors, I choose to focus on how body diagrams and children's drawings may function to get a child who seems reticent to disclose the details of what happened to them to start interacting once again; in

other words, how interviewers recruit these props in ways that work to restore progressivity to the interaction. My concern is with their social interactional utility. To illustrate something of how these occasions emerge and get worked out, I show an extended case where, over a long series of turns, it becomes apparent that the child is highly uncomfortable about disclosing the exact nature of what was done to him. Along the way I show the range of interactional resources the interviewer uses in response to these visible and audible cues in order to try and get the child to verbalise the needed detail, including introducing the idea of drawing a picture: first of the room where the event took place, and then of the actions that occurred within it.

Although it takes some time to work through this amount of material, it is important to show the developing context to which this interviewer is responding as she observes signs that the child's discomfort is bringing the interaction to a standstill, since it is this context that occasions the introduction of devices such as drawings and body diagrams. If children were delivering their abuse narratives with no sign of interactional trouble – a rare thing in this data corpus – then there would be no need for interviewers to introduce methods such as drawings or body diagrams in the first place.

This case study and its illustration of the complexity that interviewers face as they respond moment by moment to the contingences presented by a child's discomfort and reticence to disclose certain details is a primary focus of this chapter. Although I show how one child's drawing is used in a way that contributes to restoring progressivity, I also show that there is much more than that going on interactionally as the interviewer works toward eliciting the information she needs. This is important to show because otherwise it might be assumed that the mere use of pictures and drawings is the thing that interviewers need to do in order to get children to talk more openly. To the contrary, I want to show

that these props may assist children through potentially embarrassing moments that hinder their talk, but only in combination with the interviewer's and child's abilities to engage one another by the rules of ordinary talk-in-interaction. In the second section of this chapter, I use data from several other children's interviews to show how body diagrams contribute to overcoming children's discomfort about naming sexual body parts and sexual acts.

6.2. Analysis

6.2.1. *Responding to Richard's discomfort*

This extended case study is from Richard's interview, an 8 year old boy being interviewed about an allegation of abuse on multiple occasions by his step-brother. I examine it in three parts. In extract 1, I focus on the interviewer's efforts to elicit the details of the alleged sexual acts and the emerging signs that Richard is uncomfortable and unwilling to disclose. In extract 2, the interviewer introduces the idea of drawing a picture of the room where the abuse occurred and I show how this restores progressivity to the interaction. Extract 3 is where she uses this picture as a tool to help Richard tell what happened. Finally, extract 4 shows how, once a degree of progressivity is restored, the interviewer finally gets Richard to disclose the important detail of whether or not a certain sexual act did or did not occur.

Extract 1 follows an extended attempt by the interviewer to get Richard to say what has happened to him. Prior to this Richard has said that his step-brother, Damien, told a second step-brother to cook some pasta while Damien and Richard went to make Richard's bed. Richard has also said that this was a lie because Damien in fact got

Richard to take his clothes off and get into Damien's bed, and that Damien lay on top of him and did something that was "~~funny~~", "~~bad~~", and "~~wrong~~", which Richard "~~didn't~~ like". However, he has not up to this point named the sexual act. The interviewer then shifts topic and spends time establishing less sensitive details, such as the number of years the abuse has been happening and details about Damien and other members of the household, before shifting back to the delicate topic of what the abusive act actually was, which is where extract 1 begins.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|--|
| | (1) | Richard (13:15 video 1) | |
| 414 | I3 | .h well. †I just want to go into a little | 414-16. sitting on edge of chair, looking towards I3 414-15. sitting forward in chair, shuffling papers on table, looking downward 416. holding a sheaf of paper, bangs edge on table to neaten 417. brings hand near mouth or nose. I3 lays papers on table, then sits back in chair, looking up at ceiling 419. looks at C9, then presses finger tips together (like a spire) 422. slight nods 423. bounces finger tips together for emphasis. C9 nods 424. chopping motion with both hands parallel, three times from left to right 425. both hands making a circle in air starting from top and meeting at bottom 427-28. palms facing not touching, moves from left to right, even with her face, bringing to rest with hands clasped in front of face 429. nods, hand still held near mouth 431. slight forward motion with clasped hands 432. nods 434-35. nodding 435. gestures to left with both hands as though placing something down 436. gestures toward C9 437. drops hand from mouth to lap, looking at I3. I3 moves hands apart to show expansiveness 442. nods 443. points at C9 briefly, moving hands in circling gesture 444. gestures at herself 444-46. nodding throughout 445. hands formed in a spire, fingers not touching, gestures forward 446. points at herself, sits forward 447. drops head and appears to cover eyes 448-49. looks back up at C9 hand near mouth. C9 smiles and nods. |
| 415 | | bit mo:re about these ti::mes? | |
| 416 | C9 | yea::h? | |
| 417 | I3 | and I- I was hoping (1.4) mpf (0.5) if | |
| 418 | | you could tw- (0.2) †maybe we'll start | |
| 419 | | with the la:st ti:me. †I just want you to | |
| 420 | | concentrate on that la:st time something | |
| 421 | | happened alri:ght? | |
| 422 | | (0.5) | |
| 423 | I3 | think about that la:st ti:me? .h are you | |
| 424 | | a:ble to separate them, .h you know how | |
| 425 | | it's happened lo::ts? | |
| 426 | C9 | yea:h | |
| 427 | I3 | are you able j'st to focus or: just | |
| 428 | | concentrate on that la:st time for †me | |
| 429 | C9 | yep | |
| 430 | I3 | and just te:ll me like you would if I w- | |
| 431 | | you were watching a mov:ie? | |
| 432 | C9 | yeah | |
| 433 | I3 | alri:ght? | |
| 434 | | (0.8) | |
| 435 | I3 | .h ah maybe just say like you watched a | |
| 436 | | movie and then you tell somebody that | |
| 437 | | movie and {you tell em everything that | |
| 438 | | happened.} ((bracketed talk said in a | |
| 439 | | conspiratorial tone of voice) | |
| 440 | | (0.6) | |
| 441 | I3 | .hh= | |
| 442 | C9 | yea[h::] | |
| 443 | I3 | =[do †you †able to do that with that | |
| 444 | | (.) with for me:? you know. .h think | |
| 445 | | about that la:st ti::me? .h and then | |
| 446 | | describe it to me: so that I can | |
| 447 | | shut my eyes and see a | |
| 448 | | really clear picture in my head | |
| 449 | | of [what happened?] | |

| | | | | |
|-----|----|--|---------------------|--|
| 450 | C9 | [yeah:: | [yeah] | |
| 451 | I3 | | [do'you] reckon you | 451-52. sitting forward in chair, points at C9 |
| 452 | | could do †that | | |
| 453 | C9 | yep | | 453-54. nodding, smiling |
| 454 | I3 | .h a:ri:ght. .hh o:kay. well you tell me | | 454. shifting in chair |
| 455 | | about that {pla:st ti:me that he did | | 454. drops head toward table, makes a stabbing motion with the pen toward the note pad, then picks up sheath of notes and taps their edge on the table, looking up at C9 |
| 456 | | something.°} ((bracketed speech is spoken in a softer, conspiratorial tone)) | | 455. chopping motion with right hand for emphasis. C9 looks up toward ceiling to left, still smiling |
| 457 | | | | 456. clasps hands together, looking at C9 |
| 458 | C9 | the la:st ti:me (1.0) after dad's | | 458. shifting in chair, still looking up to ceiling |
| 459 | | birth _{day} ? | | 461. looks down to I3 and smiles, then lowers eyes to ground, nodding. I3 nods and leans forward to write. |
| 460 | I3 | °yep° | | 462-65. writing |
| 461 | C9 | u:m I remembe:r? | | 464. leans forward looking at ground, then sits up and looks up to ceiling |
| 462 | I3 | ye:p? | | 466. looks up from writing. C9 looks at I3. |
| 463 | | (0.5) | | 467. looks back down and writes |
| 464 | C9 | ah:: (0.4) it wa:s: (0.6) he:: (1.8) I | | 468-70. shifting in chair, looking toward floor, looks up at I3 at end |
| 465 | | think (.) i' was the same one | | 469. looks up at C9 |
| 466 | | as the pasta one? | | 471. nods |
| 467 | I3 | [yea:h?] | | 472. shakes head, looking toward table |
| 468 | C9 | [when ((na-))] when I (.) um and Damien | | |
| 469 | | said to ((name)) .h um "I'll e- I'll make | | 475. shakes head |
| 470 | | Richard's bed with Richard?" .h | | 476-79. nodding, still looking at C9 |
| 471 | I3 | °yeah° | | 477. nods, then nods again |
| 472 | C9 | an:d and he didn't? | | |
| 473 | | (0.4) | | |
| 474 | I3 | ye:[ah?] | | |
| 475 | C9 | [he act]ually: got undressed in his | | 480. looks up to ceiling, away to his right and down to table |
| 476 | | bedroom and .h he got me to undressed | | 481. looks back down to notes, starts writing |
| 477 | | (0.2) in m- my .h mine and ((name))'s | | 482. smiling, lowers chin to chest, then lifts head looking toward his left wall, smiling |
| 478 | | bedroom .hh | | |
| 479 | I3 | yep | | |
| 480 | C9 | and the:n he got me to go in his bed? | | |
| 481 | I3 | yep | | |
| 482 | C9 | a:nd hh the:n (1.0) u:m: (1.2) then um: | | |
| 483 | | (1.2) he:: (1.2) he did something:: (0.8) | | |
| 484 | | really ba:d? | | |
| 485 | I3 | yea:h? | | 485. nods, still writing |
| 486 | | (1.8) | | |
| 487 | C9 | like (0.8) he was on top of me:, | | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| 488 | I3 | yea:h | |
| 489 | C9 | and um ((swallows)) he got me to lift my | |
| 490 | | bum up? | |
| 491 | I3 | [yea:h?] | 491. nods, still writing, looking down at notes |
| 492 | | (1.4) | |
| 493 | C9 | and u:m (1.0) [li::ke] ((smiling voice)) | 493. smiling |
| 494 | | (0.8) | |
| 495 | I3 | what happened then. | |
| 496 | C9 | [u:m .h (1.0)] and then [.h he::] | 496. rocks forward and back, looking toward left wall |
| 497 | | (0.4) | 496-98. looks up, nods continuously |
| 498 | C9 | [he did h something .h uh] (0.4) [lik:e] | 498. nodding, looking toward I3, gestures with palms open at end, then looks up to ceiling. I3 glances down and up |
| 499 | I3 | [↑m] | 499. nods |
| 500 | | (1.2) | 500-03. looking up at ceiling, lowers eyes toward I3 at end |
| 501 | C9 | we::ll (0.8) something ba:d? | 502. looks down to notes |
| 502 | I3 | [yea[:h]] | 503. looks up at C9, then nods |
| 503 | C9 | [in]:: (0.2) like a movi:e was .hh[um:] | 504-505. shifting in chair, pulling on left sleeve of jacket |
| 504 | | sexual (0.4) rec- references? | 505. slight nods |
| 505 | I3 | [yea[:h?] | 507. nods |
| 506 | C9 | like >in a movie?< | 508. nods and smiles |
| 507 | I3 | [yea[:h?] | 509. nods, looks back down to notes |
| 508 | C9 | >like that?< | |
| 509 | I3 | [oh oka:y] | |

The first thing to observe is that extract 1 seems to be made up of three distinct projects that are instigated by the interviewer. Broadly, lines 414-429 are occupied with focusing Richard on a particular time (the last time) something happened with Damien. This is the *particularisation* project. For an offender to be charged when they have abused a child on multiple occasions, the child witness must be able to identify at least one specific occasion by time and place because without these minimal details the defendant has no opportunity to offer an alibi. This is known as particularisation (Pearse, Powell & Thomson, 2003).

The second project instigated by the interviewer is a “how to tell” sequence where she guides Richard in *how* to tell her what happened: as though he had watched a movie and was now telling someone about it to give them a clear picture of what happened. This happens between lines 430 and 453.

The third project is a “tell me” sequence where, having provided the scaffolding for which occasion to focus on and how to tell about it, she asks him to tell her *what* happened. I deal briefly with the first two projects and more extensively with the third.

The first two projects constitute a kind of pre-request sequence that lead up to the interviewer's request at lines 454-56: “well you tell me about that {°la:st ti:me that he did something.°}” (lines 454-456). As noted in chapter 4, pre-expansion sequences in general terms project some specific next activity (an offer, invitation, request etc.) and are designed to be hearable as preliminary to some other action (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff, 2007).

Type specific pre-expansion sequences, such as a pre-request in this instance, tend to function in two ways. First, they work to generate the conditions for a preferred second pair part (SPP) response when the base first pair part (FPP) is ultimately issued, which in this example would be Richard granting her request by telling her what happened. Second, they also tend to be involved with determining whether the conditions in fact exist in order to viably make the request, offer, invitation or whatever specific action is intended.

Armed with this understanding, it becomes possible to see how the interviewer is doing some interactional work during what I have termed her first two projects to both establish the conditions, and work out whether the conditions are right, to eventually issue her base FPP request at line 454-56. Consider extract 1a re-presented here:

| | | |
|------------------------------|----|---|
| (1a) Richard (13:15 video 1) | | |
| 414 | I3 | .h well. †I just want to go into a little |
| 415 | | bit mo:re about these ti::mes? |
| 416 | C9 | yea:h? |
| 417 | I3 | and I- I was hoping (1.4) mpf (0.5) if |
| 418 | | you could tw- (0.2) †maybe we'll start |
| 419 | | with the la:st ti:me. †I just want you to |
| 420 | | concentrate on that la:st time something |
| 421 | | happened alrigh <u>t</u> ? |
| 422 | | (0.5) |
| 423 | I3 | think about that la:st ti:me? .h are you |
| 424 | | a:ble to separate them, .h you know how |
| 425 | | it's happened lo::ts? |
| 426 | C9 | yea:h |
| 427 | I3 | are you able j'st to focus or: just |
| 428 | | concentrate on that la:st time for †me |
| 429 | C9 | yep |

414-16. sitting on edge of chair, looking towards I3
 414-15. sitting forward in chair, shuffling papers on table, looking downward
 416. holding a sheaf of paper, bangs edge on table to neaten
 417. brings hand near mouth or nose. I3 lays papers on table, then sits back in chair, looking up at ceiling
 419. looks at C9, then presses finger tips together (like a spire)
 422. slight nods
 423. bounces finger tips together for emphasis. C9 nods
 424. chopping motion with both hands parallel, three times from left to right
 425. both hands making a circle in air starting from top and meeting at bottom
 427-28. palms facing not touching, moves from left to right, even with her face, bringing to rest with hands clasped in front of face
 429. nods, hand still held near mouth

Where the interviewer could simply have delivered this particularisation information in the form of a directive (e.g. †just focus on the last time it happened”), she instead seeks confirmation from Richard at three separate points that he is comprehending and agreeing to participate in her unfolding project. She does this with her †alright?” at line 421. Then again at lines 423-25 with †think about that la:st ti:me? .h are you a:ble to separate them, .h you know how it's happened lo::ts?” and finally with †are you able j'st to focus or: just concentrate on that la:st time for †me” at lines 427-28. By setting up the particularisation sequence this way, she elicits responsive SPPs from Richard, which display comprehension and agreement to participate: a nod at line 422, †yea:h” at line 426 and †yep” at line 429. In this way there is a developing sense of cooperation and agreement to proceed with the interaction that is being collaboratively built by both the interviewer and by Richard.

Next, the interviewer moves to her “how to tell” project as seen in extract 1b, represented here:

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1b) Richard</p> <p>430 I3 and <u>just te:ll me like you would if I w-</u></p> <p>431 <u>you were watching a mov:ie?</u></p> <p>432 C9 <u>yeah</u></p> <p>433 I3 <u>alri:ght?</u></p> <p>434 (0.8)</p> <p>435 I3 .h ah <u>maybe</u> <u>just say like you watched</u> a</p> <p>436 movie and then you <u>tell somebody</u> that</p> <p>437 movie <u>and {you tell em</u> <u>everything</u> that</p> <p>438 happened.} ((bracketed talk said in a</p> <p>439 conspiratorial tone of voice)</p> <p>440 (0.6)</p> <p>441 I3 .hh=</p> <p>442 C9 <u>yea[h::]</u></p> <p>443 I3 =<u>[do ↑you ↑able to do that with that</u></p> <p>444 (.) <u>with for me:?</u> you know. <u>.h think</u></p> <p>445 <u>about that</u> <u>la:st ti::me?</u> .h and then</p> <p>446 <u>describe it to me:</u> so that I can</p> <p>447 <u>shut my eyes and see a</u></p> <p>448 <u>really clear picture</u> <u>in my head</u></p> <p>449 <u>of [what happened?]</u></p> <p>450 C9 [yeah::] [yeah]</p> <p>451 I3 [do'you] reckon you</p> <p>452 <u>could do ↑that</u></p> <p>453 C9 <u>yep</u></p> <p>454 I3 <u>.h alri:ght.</u> .hh <u>o:kay. well you tell me</u></p> | <p>431. slight forward motion with clasped hands</p> <p>432. nods</p> <p>434-35. nodding</p> <p>435. gestures to left with both hands as though placing something down</p> <p>436. gestures toward C9</p> <p>437. drops hand from mouth to lap, looking at I3. I3 moves hands apart to show expansiveness</p> <p>442. nods</p> <p>443. points at C9 briefly, moving hands in circling gesture</p> <p>444. gestures at herself</p> <p>444-46. nodding throughout</p> <p>445. hands formed in a spire, fingers not touching, gestures forward</p> <p>446. points at herself, sits forward</p> <p>447. drops head and appears to cover eyes</p> <p>448-49. looks back up at C9 hand near mouth. C9 smiles and nods.</p> <p>451-52. sitting forward in chair, points at C9</p> <p>453-54. nodding, smiling</p> <p>454. shifting in chair</p> <p>454. drops head toward table, makes a stabbing motion with the pen toward the note pad, then picks up sheath of notes and taps their edge on the table, looking up at C9</p> |
|--|--|

At lines 430-31 the interviewer instructs Richard on *how* he should tell what happened:

—and just te:ll me like you would if I w- you were watching a mov:ie?”.

She delivers the turn with upward intonation, giving it the sense of a question in need of a response and Richard responds with a display of understanding at line 432, comprised of a “yeah” and a nod. Then the interviewer issues an understanding check: —alri:ght?” and receives more nodding.

This repeat seeking of confirmation by the interviewer (~~→~~alri:ght?) that Richard has both heard and understood even after he has already confirmed understanding at line 432 suggests that her turn at lines 430-431 may not merely have been a simple instruction on *how* to tell, but perhaps also an indirect request aimed at prompting Richard to start telling without explicitly directing him to do so, which, since he doesn't, she eventually has to do explicitly at lines 454-456. This is consistent with Schegloff's (2007) observation that the preferred response to a pre-request is to ~~→~~pre-empt the need for a request altogether by offering that which is to be requested" (p.90). Thus her repeat confirmation seeking is like a recycling of that indirect request, giving Richard one more opportunity to start telling without being expressly asked to do so.

The 0.8 second gap at line 434 is a slot where Richard has the conversational floor and could begin a telling but instead, by nodding, he treats the interviewer's prior turn as straightforwardly seeking confirmation that he has heard and understood her instruction on ~~→~~how to tell". The interviewer then goes on to do an elaborate recycling of her prior turn about how he should tell: ~~→~~ah maybe just say like you watched a movie and then you tell somebody that movie and {you tell em everything that happened.}" (lines 435-39). Once again, this recycling of her prior turn, which adds nothing new in terms of its action, works to offer Richard another slot in which to potentially start his telling without being directly asked.

There is a delay at line 440 where Richard does not immediately respond and the interviewer's in-breath indicates that she is about to take another turn but Richard comes in with his responsive ~~→~~yea[h::]" displaying that he has heard and understood her instruction on how to tell, but as yet has still not taken from her talk any direction to actually start telling. The interviewer continues at lines 443-445 with a yes/no

interrogative designed to gain his assent that he is willing and able to do what she asks, and then follows this with a summary of the two tasks she has set him: to think about that last time it happened, and describe it to her in detail. She *covers* her eyes to demonstrate *shutting* her eyes at line 447 and this, along with the movie metaphor, is arguably part of creating a sense of abstraction for Richard to allow him to tell about highly personal events without feeling so uncomfortable. Richard begins nodding and smiling before her turn is finished and with his overlapping *yeahs* indicates yet again that he has heard and understood the yes/no interrogative but is still not starting any actual telling. The interviewer issues one more interrogative `—do'you] reckon you could do †that"` (lines 451-2), gaining Richard's assent, and then moves into the next project: requesting him to tell.

As mentioned, it is possible that the interviewer's turn back at line 430-31 was aimed at prompting Richard to start telling, but Richard does not follow this possible trajectory and continues to treat the interviewer's turns in the most minimal way: as simply in need of some display that he has heard and understood her but not requiring any further action from him, such as beginning to tell what happened. Her ongoing talk about how he should tell his narrative – as though he were watching a movie and then telling somebody about it; describing it so that she can shut her eyes and see a clear picture in her head – is thus transformed, collaboratively, into a sequence that becomes about gaining Richard's demonstration that he is understanding what she wants but not, as yet, actually providing it to her. As a consequence, this creates a contingency where the interviewer must now explicitly ask him to tell. She closes off the prior sequence with `—h alri:ght."` at line 454 and now issues her base FPP, `—hh o:kay. well u tell me about that {°la:st ti:me that he did something.°"` (lines 454-56), which the lengthy pre-sequence has been involved in either making redundant (if Richard had interpreted her

repeat confirmation seeking as an indirect request to start telling) or, alternatively, in ensuring the success of the base FPP.

At this point, recall that conversational actions are highly contingent activities because they occur in an interactional context. Each turn taken by a co-participant affects the trajectory of the next turn. So rather than the interviewer setting out with a clear objective of issuing a pre-request sequence to “warm Richard up” and seeing it through regardless, we instead need to see the pre-request sequence as a work in progress that can be altered at every turn, depending on Richard's responses. At lines 430-31 in particular, Richard could have taken this up as an implicit request to start telling, which would have made the remainder of the pre-sequence and the base FPP at lines 454-56 redundant. However, Richard does not respond to the interviewer's turn as though it were a request and so the interviewer's additional work to engage Richard in showing her that he understands her instructions on what to tell about, and how to tell it, then becomes the main project up until the point where she issues the request explicitly. Moreover, Richard's apparent reticence to hear the interviewer's prior turns as potential indirect requests to start telling his narrative is part of what generates the impression that he is uncomfortable and reluctant to tell.

Extract 1c is where the interviewer issues a direct request to Richard to start telling what happened and he begins to respond.

| | | |
|--------------|----|---|
| (1c) Richard | | |
| 454 | I3 | .h alri:ght. .hh o:kay. well you tell me |
| 455 | | about that {la:st ti:me that he did |
| 456 | | something.°} ((bracketed speech is spoken |
| 457 | | in a softer, conspiratorial tone)) |
| 458 | C9 | the la:st ti:me (1.0) after dad's |
| 459 | | birthday? |
| 460 | I3 | °yep° |
| 461 | C9 | u:m I remembe:r? |
| 462 | I3 | ye:p? |
| 463 | | (0.5) |
| 464 | C9 | ah:: (0.4) it wa:s: (0.6) he:: (1.8) I |
| 465 | | think (.) i' was the same one |
| 466 | | as the pasta one? |
| 467 | I3 | [yea:h?] |
| 468 | C9 | [when ((na-))] when I (.) um and Damien |
| 469 | | said to ((name)) .h um "I'll e- I'll make |
| 470 | | Richard's bed with Richard?" .h |
| 471 | I3 | °yeah° |
| 472 | C9 | an:d and he didn't? |
| 473 | | (0.4) |
| 474 | I3 | ye:[ah?] |
| 475 | C9 | [he act]ually: got undressed in his |
| 476 | | bedroom and .h he got me to undressed |
| 477 | | (0.2) in m- my .h mine and ((name))'s |
| 478 | | bedroom .hh |
| 479 | I3 | yep |
| 480 | C9 | and the:n he got me to go in his bed? |
| 481 | I3 | yep |
| 482 | C9 | a:nd hh the:n (1.0) u:m: (1.2) then um: |
| 483 | | (1.2) he:: (1.2) he did something:: (0.8) |
| 484 | | really ba::d? |
| 485 | I3 | yea:h? |
| 486 | | (1.8) |
| 487 | C9 | like (0.8) he was on top of me:, |
| 488 | I3 | yea:h |

454. drops head toward table, makes a stabbing motion with the pen toward the note pad, then picks up sheath of notes and taps their edge on the table, looking up at C9. C9 shifting in chair

455. chopping motion with right hand for emphasis. C9 looks up toward ceiling to left, still smiling

456. clasps hands together, looking at C9

458. shifting in chair, still looking up to ceiling

461. looks down to I3 and smiles, then lowers eyes to ground, nodding. I3 nods and leans forward to write.

462-65. writing

464. leans forward looking at ground, then sits up and looks up to ceiling

466. looks up from writing. C9 looks at I3.

467. looks back down and writes

468-70. shifting in chair, looking toward floor, looks up at I3 at end

469. looks up at C9

471. nods

472. shakes head, looking toward table

475. shakes head

476-79. nodding, still looking at C9

477. nods, then nods again

480. looks up to ceiling, away to his right and down to table

481. looks back down to notes, starts writing

482. smiling, lowers chin to chest, then lifts head looking toward his left wall, smiling

485. nods, still writing

| | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| 489 | C9 | and um ((swallows)) he got me to lift my | |
| 490 | | bum up? | |
| 491 | I3 | yea:h? | 491. nods, still writing, looking down at notes |
| 492 | | (1.4) | |
| 493 | C9 | and u:m (1.0) li::ke ((smiling voice)) | 493. smiling |
| 494 | | (0.8) | |
| 495 | I3 | what happened then. | |
| 496 | C9 | u:m .h (1.0) and then .h he:: | 496. rocks forward and back, looking toward left wall |
| 497 | | (0.4) | 496-98. looks up, nods continuously |
| 498 | C9 | he did h something .h uh (0.4) [lik:e] | 498. nodding, looking toward I3, gestures with palms open at end, then looks up to ceiling. I3 glances down and up |
| 499 | I3 | [↑m] | 499. nods |
| 500 | | (1.2) | 500-03. looking up at ceiling, lowers eyes toward I3 at end |
| 501 | C9 | we::ll (0.8) something ba:d? | 502. looks down to notes |
| 502 | I3 | yea[:h] | 503. looks up at C9, then nods |
| 503 | C9 | [in]:: (0.2) like a movi_e was .hh um: | 504-505. shifting in chair, pulling on left sleeve of jacket |
| 504 | | sexual (0.4) rec- references? | 505. slight nods |
| 505 | I3 | yea[:h? | 507. nods |
| 506 | C9 | like >in a movie?< | 508. nods and smiles |
| 507 | I3 | yea[:h? | 509. nods, looks back down to notes |
| 508 | C9 | >like that?< | |
| 509 | I3 | oh oka:y | |

After a brief insert sequence at lines 458-460 where Richard seeks confirmation of the target occasion the interviewer wants him to talk about, he begins his responsive SPP to the interviewer's FPP request to tell. The important things to notice are, firstly, that throughout this whole sequence Richard still does not name the abusive act in detail. He alludes to it being something "sexual" (line 504) but apart from that provides no new additional information to that which he provided earlier. Secondly, his talk and his body gestures strongly suggest that he is uneasy. Thirdly, the interviewer uses continuers and silences in ways that create an obligation for Richard to continue his turn in spite of his uneasiness. I deal with each of these points in turn.

Lines 482-84 are the first point where Richard might reasonably tell what it was that Damien did to him but he constructs his turn in a way that avoids naming the act and

instead provides an assessment of the act: it was \rightarrow really ba: :d?". Between lines 496-501 is the next turn where it seems that Richard might be close to disclosing the act but again he transforms it into an assessment of what happened \rightarrow something ba:d?", effectively deferring the detail of what it was that Damien did. In lines 503-505 he introduces an analogy that again defers naming the precise act: it was like in a movie with sexual references. And at this point, in spite of the interviewer's continuers (yea: :h?), he initiates closure on the sequence, by recycling in briefer and briefer terms (\rightarrow like >in a movie?<?", \rightarrow like that?<?") elements of his prior informing at line 503-05. This displays to her that, in spite of her efforts to keep him talking with continuers at lines 502, 505 and 507, he is not extending his turn to provide any additional information. The interviewer then closes the sequence at line 509 with an \rightarrow h" receipt, which registers (or enacts that she registers) a change in her state of knowledge¹⁴ in response to Richard's informing (Heritage 1984b), and an accepting¹⁵ \rightarrow ka:y".

There are several signs that Richard is uncomfortable in this sequence. First, there is the fact that he continues to defer telling the interviewer the explicit sexual details of what Damien did, which in itself implies this is problematic for him. One audible way that he defers this telling is through stretching out his words and through the many intra-turn gaps. For example, at line 461 \rightarrow remembe:r?" is stretched, and at lines 464-65 he stretches \rightarrow ah: :?", \rightarrow it wa:s:?" and \rightarrow he: :?" and leaves substantial gaps in between before restarting

¹⁴ By this I mean that with her \rightarrow b" she does something like display to Richard \rightarrow h, now I understand what you mean" even though, conceivably, she already knew what he meant somewhat earlier, was cognisant of his reticence to say anymore about it, and was trying to encourage him to say more with her continuers. Of course, we have no access to her intentions and can only work with what is displayed in the interaction. The important thing is that her \rightarrow h" receipt displays to Richard a change in her state of knowledge, and it functions to close off the sequence.

¹⁵ By \rightarrow accepting" it is meant that the \rightarrow okay" marks acceptance of Richard's second pair part along with the stance which that second pair part has adopted and embodies within the sequence (Schegloff 2007). It does not mean \rightarrow accepting" in the sense that she necessarily accepts Richard's response as satisfactory. The focus is on characterizing the sequence, not what the interlocutors think or feel about one another's responses.

his turn to deliver an innocuous detail that is not new news: that this occasion was the same as —the pasta one”.

The stretching of words and intra-turn gaps start again the next time Richard approaches the point of telling the sexual detail of what Damien did at lines 482-484: ~~—~~and hh the:n (1.0) u:m: (1.2) then um: (1.2) he:: (1.2) he did something:: (0.8) really ba::d?”. These dysfluencies also pervade his talk in lines 493, 496, 498, 501, and 503-504 up until the point where he initiates closure on the sequence at line 506.

The bodily signs that contribute to making Richard look uncomfortable include his smiling (lines 454, 461, 482, 493), most particularly at those points where his speech is also dysfluent. The way he shifts his gaze between looking up toward the ceiling, to the interviewer, and down to the floor, also suggest discomfort (lines 454, 461, 464, 466, 468-70, 480, 482, 496, 498), as does the shifting in his chair (lines 458, 464, 468-70, 496, 504-05) and pulling on his jacket sleeves (lines 504-505).

The third noticeable feature of this sequence is how the interviewer is responding to Richard even as she no doubt detects all these audible and visible signs of his discomfort. First, she relies heavily on continuers which display to Richard that she is hearing and understanding and also that she is bypassing opportunities to take a substantial turn herself, thus creating an obligation for him to continue talking. This is the same as interviewer 5 was doing with Sarah in chapter 5, extract 3. These continuers recur throughout the sequence at lines 462, 467, 471, 474, 479, 481, 485, 488, 491, 502 and 507. By doing this, and regardless of whether or not she actually notices Richard's discomfort, she is in essence *doing ignoring* of his discomfort, perhaps in the interests of restoring progressivity to the interaction and getting to the all important detail of what

sexual act was perpetrated on him. One clue that she is indeed cognisant of his discomfort, though, is the amount of writing she does, which gives her cause to remove eye contact from Richard. Notably, these moments of writing coincide with moments where Richard sounds the most uncomfortable (lines 462-5, 481-96). She also glances down to her notes toward the end of the sequence at several points in the midst of Richard's discomfort (498, 502, 509), which, by removing eye contact, may make the interaction less intense for him.

In this interviewer's responses, then, we see an orientation to ignoring the child's signs of discomfort by using conversational practices such as continuers and the removal of eye contact. I contend that interviewers may have come to deploy such practices as part of their repertoire for restoring progressivity to an interaction that is threatening to come to a standstill. From the perspective of ordinary conversational practices, these particular practices might be cast as displaying "non-empathy" but from an institutional perspective it is perhaps a lesser evil to ignore children's discomfort at times. Since there is no chance of a case proceeding to prosecution if a child is unwilling to disclose what happened in sufficient detail for a court to make a determination in favour of the child, it is this greater end that perhaps justifies the means whereby interviewers press children to go on, in spite of plain signs of discomfort.

Nevertheless, at this point the interviewer does close off the sequence (line 509) and changes topic for a short while before introducing the idea of getting Richard to draw a picture of Damien's bedroom, which is the focus of extract 2. During the intervening period leading up to extract 2, she moves away from the sensitive topic of Damien's room and what happened in it. She first says to Richard *→e::m ()* what I might get you to do which I find really () really eas- really good. .hhh I'm just gunna

go:: I'm gunna clear up a few things cos I gotta shut my ey:es?"¹⁶.

Removing eye contact by shutting her eyes seems, once again, to be orienting to Richard's displays of discomfort. She then goes on to ask questions about the time of day, who else was home at the time, what Richard was wearing at the time Damien asked him to get undressed, until eventually she gets back to the point where Richard went into Damien's room. At this point, she introduces the idea of drawing a picture to depict the room, seen here in extract 2:

¹⁶ Since this is not one of the extracts analysed, gaps in the talk have not been timed, hence the empty brackets.

(2) Richard – introducing the picture (19:28 video 1)

| | | | |
|-----|----|--|---|
| 651 | I3 | oka:y .h so then you went into: a: | <p>651. slouched in chair, left arm resting on chair arm, right elbow bent with head resting against hand, then lowers right hand to mouth</p> <p>651-53. sitting forward in chair, hands clasped, looking toward wall on her left</p> <p>653. nods</p> <p>654. draws left hand up toward temple</p> <p>654-55. looks to notes, shifts some paper, looks up at C9 at end</p> <p>658-60. taps edge of a piece of paper on table and leans forward to place it on C9's side of the table</p> <p>660-661. lowers both hands and sits to front of chair, left arm resting along chair arm, looking at the paper I3 has placed in front of him</p> <p>661. leaning forward still, places pen on paper, sweeps hand over paper. C9 stands up and starts searching his right pocket for his pen</p> <p>662. picks up pen and sits back</p> <p>662-66. still searching for pen, pulls it out on "cupboard"</p> <p>663-66. drawing on a piece of paper in front of her to demonstrate</p> <p>667. places pen in front of C9 and sits back</p> <p>668. holds the pen out to show I3</p> <p>669. takes her pen back. C9 sits down on edge of chair</p> <p>670. C9 clicks his pen open and shrugs his sleeves away from his hands. I3 scribbles a line through her own drawing</p> <p>671. gestures with palms out</p> <p>672. parts hands in an expansive gesture, lowering and raising chin simultaneously, brings hands back together</p> <p>673. lays left hand on paper, looks at I3</p> <p>674. parts hands slightly, and brings together again, looking at C9</p> <p>675. rests both hands in his lap</p> <p>676-680. brings right hand up to side of head, no movement toward starting drawing</p> <p>677. slight nod, looking at C9</p> <p>680. leans out of chair to trace a square on C9's paper</p> <p>681. tapping on paper to show where door might be</p> <p>681-83. starts to move toward paper to draw, looking at I3</p> <p>682-83. sits back in chair, hands parted in a gesture as though holding a box, shifting them slightly</p> <p>684. clasps hands together, looking toward C9's drawing</p> <p>684-86. drawing</p> <p>686. sits back, looks at I3. I3 nods</p> |
| 652 | | Damien's room. | |
| 653 | C9 | m:. | |
| 654 | I3 | now. >this is where I need you to draw me | |
| 655 | | picture.< | |
| 656 | | (0.4) | |
| 657 | I3 | you reckon you could †do: (.) †that (.) | |
| 658 | | †for †me | |
| 659 | | (0.6) | |
| 660 | C9 | yup hhh | |
| 661 | I3 | 'kay=you draw me a picture of Damien's | |
| 662 | | room. †you know how you do a house pla::n | |
| 663 | | and you draw the .h square:: and that's | |
| 664 | | the doo::r and this is where the bed i::s, | |
| 665 | C9 | yup | |
| 666 | I3 | .h and here's a cupboa::rd | |
| 667 | | .h c'n you do that for †me | |
| 668 | C9 | yeah I've got my self a pen. | |
| 669 | I3 | oh you †ha::ve. †excellent. | |
| 670 | | .h †that's just my scribble there.° | |
| 671 | C9 | so::: just [draw a picture]= | |
| 672 | I3 | [ye::p] | |
| 673 | C9 | of the hou[se? | |
| 674 | I3 | [cos I- erm or j'st ah: or just | |
| 675 | | Damien's room. | |
| 676 | | (0.2) | |
| 677 | I3 | I just want Damien's room. what's in his | |
| 678 | | roo:m. | |
| 679 | | (0.4) | |
| 680 | I3 | so do a squa::re for the bedroom, .h and | |
| 681 | | where the doo:r (0.2) just do a doo:r | |
| 682 | | and show me as you walk in where the bed | |
| 683 | | would be:: | |
| 684 | | and stuff like that and then .hhh | |
| 685 | | (16.0) | |
| 686 | C9 | that's his roo::m? | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| 687 | I3 | yea::h. | 687. sits slightly more forward in chair, hands still clasped |
| 688 | C9 | and hh | 688. leans forward, head resting on left hand, pen on page looking at picture |
| 689 | | (4.0) | 689. points to another part of the page |
| 690 | C9 | there:'s a shel:f | 690. points to another part of the page |
| 691 | I3 | a shelf ↑there | 691. places left hand on his drawing |
| 692 | C9 | yep right here. | 692. draws |
| 693 | | (0.4) | 693-94. draws |
| 694 | C9 | .hhh that's- | |
| 695 | I3 | (or↓:↑) right across the wall. | 695. sits back. I3 draws a line across C9's page |
| 696 | I3 | shall I write shelf there for ↑ya | |
| 697 | C9 | yeah: shelf. | |
| 698 | I3 | °ah:: how'dya spell shelf.° | 698-700. writing on C9's picture, lifts pen at end and clasps hands, leaning elbows on table |
| 699 | C9 | sh::el:f | |
| 700 | | (0.4) | |
| 701 | I3 | that's right (.) shelf. yep? | 701. nods |
| 702 | C9 | that's where the shelf is an::d (0.6) | 702. leans forward to start drawing |
| 703 | | °there's j'st° .h nuther one (.) coming | 703-06. drawing and sits back on "to here" |
| 704 | | that way (1.4) bou:t (.) from he:re? | 704. places her left hand on his picture, still leaning over table with elbows resting on table. |
| 705 | | (0.4) | |
| 706 | C9 | to here. | |
| 707 | I3 | oh okay.=so there's another shelf. | 707. writes on C9's picture |
| 708 | | (0.8) | |
| 709 | C9 | yeah. | |
| 710 | I3 | oka:y | 710. returns to hands clasped, elbows resting on table |
| 711 | | (1.4) | |
| 712 | C9 | a::nd hhh | |
| 713 | | (1.0) | |
| 714 | C9 | that's up the to:p (.) and here, (1.0) | 714-721. moves to draw, drawing, lifts left arm to shrug sleeve away from hand at end |
| 715 | | here's the doo::r | |
| 716 | I3 | yea:h? | |
| 717 | | (1.6) | |
| 718 | I3 | °doo:r° | |
| 719 | | (1.2) | |
| 720 | I3 | °okay excell l ent° | |
| 721 | | (1.0) | |
| 722 | C9 | that's the door. | 722-23. draws |
| 723 | | (7.0) | |
| 724 | C9 | hhh anhd hehre's Damien's bed. | 724. shrugs sleeve away again, and moves hand to another part of page to start drawing. |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| 725 | | (2.8) | |
| 726 | I3 | °al:ri:ght° what size bed is it. do'you | 725-34. drawing |
| 727 | | ↑know | |
| 728 | | (1.6) | |
| 729 | C9 | well I'd say it's a Queen size. | |
| 730 | I3 | oh it's a big be:d? | |
| 731 | C9 | yeah | |
| 732 | | (1.0) | |
| 733 | I3 | .hh °oka:y° | |
| 734 | | (1.2) | |
| 735 | I3 | can you write bed there for me? | |
| 736 | | (6.0) | |
| 737 | I3 | .hhh what end's the pillows. | 735. points on to C9's picture with her pen and returns to hands clasped. C9 sits back from drawing, left hand still resting on edge of table. |
| 738 | | (0.8) | 736-37. writing, then sits back |
| 739 | C9 | pardon? | |
| 740 | I3 | what end is the pillows at. | 740. gestures with her pen over part of C9's picture (the bed picture presumably), returns to hands clasped. C9 places pen back on page, looking at page |
| 741 | C9 | u:m (0.8) I would say: .h it's from this | 741. points to place on page |
| 742 | | end because Damien's pictures.h | 742-55. drawing, sits back at end |
| 743 | I3 | °y[eah° | |
| 744 | C9 | [are in this end? | |
| 745 | | (0.2) | |
| 746 | I3 | yeah? | |
| 747 | C9 | where the wall is? | |
| 748 | I3 | ye:p so his pillows are up against the | 748. points her pen onto part of his picture, returns to hands clasped |
| 749 | | wall there? | |
| 750 | C9 | yea:h like, | |
| 751 | I3 | °oh °oka:y° | |
| 752 | C9 | °°like°° | |
| 753 | | (1.6) | |
| 754 | I3 | °o:ka:y° (.) °got two pillows there,° | |
| 755 | | excellent. | |
| 756 | | (1.2) | |
| 757 | I3 | alri:ght, er:m (1.0) anything else in the | 757. scrapes finger tips lightly over paper under her hands (emphasising "anything else") |
| 758 | | ↑room | |
| 759 | | (1.0) | |
| 760 | C9 | yea::h here's here's the: .h wall:s where | 760. nods, then points onto page with pen |
| 761 | | the pictures (.) are. | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| 762 | I3 | yea:[:h?] | |
| 763 | C9 | [like] .hh there:'s one picture? | 763. drawing |
| 764 | I3 | okay picture. shall I write- I'll write | 764. withdraws hand, watching I3 writing |
| 765 | | picture °for you there picture.° | 764-67. moves to write on C9's picture, writes |
| 766 | | (1.0) | |
| 767 | I3 | [°okay°] | |
| 768 | C9 | [.hh] hhh a::nd | 768. sits back in chair, touching left ear. C9 shaking head looking at picture |
| 769 | | (2.8) | |
| 770 | C9 | um::: (°tr-°) he ha:s a teevee:? | 770. sits forward resting elbows on knees, looking toward C9 or his picture. C9 brings right hand to mouth, looking at picture. |
| 771 | | (1.0) | 772. Brings hand back to page to draw |
| 772 | C9 | and that's near his bed yep (.) he has a | |
| 773 | | [teevee. | |
| 774 | I3 | [tee vee | |
| 775 | C9 | .hhh hh | 775-778. drawing, sits back at end |
| 776 | | (13.0) | |
| 777 | I3 | so: like >the teevee< is that near the end | |
| 778 | | of the be:d. | |
| 779 | C9 | yep | 779. shrugs sleeve away from wrist |
| 780 | I3 | okay | 780-84. draws again up until part way through 6 second silence and sits back |
| 781 | C9 | °it has° | |
| 782 | | (1.5) | |
| 783 | I3 | °oh: that's good so like an° antenna there. | |
| 784 | | (6.0) | 784. looks at C9 as he sits back |
| 785 | I3 | ↑yeah | |
| 786 | I3 | can you remember anythink else. | 786. nods |
| 787 | C9 | nuh that's all. | 787. shakes head, looking at picture |

The main point I want to make about this sequence is that after Richard has established that he understands the task (lines 671-680), and the interviewer has prompted him by drawing a square on his piece of paper (line 680), Richard then takes the lead in the interaction and begins a lengthy response to her request that he draw. This lengthy response is made up of both the act of drawing and by the small announcements of what he is drawing as he draws (lines 686, 690, 702-706, 712-15, 722, 724, 760-61, 763, 770, 772). For her part, the interviewer facilitates this extended turn by responding minimally to each of his announcements with continuers (687, 710, 716), understanding checks (691, 707, 793), offers to label the picture (696, 764), -oh" receipts (707, 783), and assessments (720, 783).

This collaborative activity focused on the drawing plays an important part in restoring progressivity to the interaction during this sequence and there are none of the earlier signs of discomfort on Richard's part, such as the verbal dysfluency, or smiling and shifting his gaze from the ceiling to the floor. The interviewer's question at line 726 (~~w~~hat size bed is it. do'you ↑know") briefly brings the interaction back to the usual order where the interviewer is taking the lead and asking the first pair part (FPP) questions. However, Richard responds to her questions and requests with none of the earlier signs of trouble and eventually sits back from his drawing at line 755. This necessitates the interviewer prompting again with a new FPP question ~~a~~lri:ght, er:m (1.0) anything else in the ↑room" at line 757 and Richard once again begins responding easily with more drawing and announcing the parts of his picture. He sits back from drawing at line 784 and, after one more prompt from the interviewer ~~e~~an you remember anythink else."(line 786), claims not to remember anything else in the room, which brings the sequence to an end.

In extract 3, still using the picture, the interviewer brings the topic back to the sensitive issue of what happened while Richard was in Damien's room, which has previously threatened to bring the interaction to a standstill.

| | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|--|
| | | (3) | Richard – using the picture to tell what happened (23:19 video 1) | |
| 787 | I3 | alright. now. what we're gonna do is | | 787. leans forward and places hand on C9's picture. C9 sitting on edge of chair, looking at picture, hands folded in lap |
| 788 | | we're gonna use this as your plan. (.) | | 788. taps fingers onto picture for emphasis |
| 789 | | an' I- and I'm gonna get you to tell me | | 789. nodding. I3 nodding, hand still on page |
| 790 | | what happened in this room. so .h (0.8) | | 790. gestures with a sweeping motion over drawing |
| 791 | | you- he's called you in to his room? or | | 791. taps on picture with pen |
| 792 | | he's told you to come in[to: h]is room? | | 792. taps onto picture again |
| 793 | C9 | [yeah] | | 793. points over page |
| 794 | | yep | | 795. sits back, elbows on knees, looking at C9 |
| 795 | I3 | and what happened when you got in the | | 795-96. shifts in chair, withdrawing hand |
| 796 | | room. | | 797. points onto picture, looks up at I3 at "bed" |
| 797 | C9 | um: he told me to come in his bed? | | 798. nods |
| 798 | I3 | alri_g[ht] | | 799. lifts pen from page, flips hand over at "top of me" looking at I3, head tilted to his left |
| 799 | C9 | [and] then he got on top of me:. | | 800. looks down at picture, then starts moving to draw. I3 leans forward and waves pen over picture, looking at picture. |
| 800 | I3 | oka:y now w-your-w- can you draw yourself | | 801-03. sits back in chair, crossing legs at end |
| 801 | | as a stick figure on the [bed ↑for ↑me | | 801-12. drawing |
| 802 | C9 | [hh | | 804. makes some notes on her notepad |
| 803 | | yehh | | 805. points onto the picture with her pen |
| 804 | | (10[.0]) | | 806. pulls pen back, sits back |
| 805 | I3 | ↑alright.=so your head's up near the | | 810. writing notes, stops and looks up at "your" |
| 806 | | pi[llows? .hh | | 811. pulls pen off page, sits back |
| 807 | C9 | [°yeah°] | | 813. sits back, then brings hand to chin looking at I3 |
| 808 | I3 | [↑yep] | | 814. puts hands on her stomach, leans forward in chair, then parts hands horizontally as though outlining a bed |
| 809 | | (1.0) | | 815-17. lies back in chair |
| 810 | I3 | and what par:t of your body: | | 817. sits back up. |
| 811 | | are you lying on. | | 817. leans right back in chair, starts to get out of chair at end |
| 812 | | (1.0) | | 818. out of chair, bending forward with hands on knees |
| 813 | C9 | um (0.4) mpf.h my stomach. | | 819. lies back in chair again |
| 814 | I3 | you're lying on your stomach on the be:d. | | 820. arches backward, as though lying on her back. C9 sits back up. |
| 815 | C9 | like this | | |
| 816 | | (0.5) | | |
| 817 | I3 | so where's the bed behi- behind you o::r | | |
| 818 | | (0.4) d- if you were to lie: dow:n he:re? | | |
| 819 | C9 | yeh I w'd go like this. | | |
| 820 | I3 | >like that< so you're lyin' on your back | | |
| 821 | C9 | ye[ah] | | |
| 822 | I3 | [you']re showing me. | | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|--|---|
| 823 | C9 | ye[p | |
| 824 | I3 | [alright so you're laying on your ba:ck? | 824-33. moves back to chair and writes, nodding at "yeah" |
| 825 | | | |
| 826 | C9 | an:[d he:: | 826-28. leans out of chair to draw, looking down at picture, forehead resting against left hand |
| 827 | I3 | [on the bed? | |
| 828 | C9 | um goes on top of me | |
| 829 | I3 | and he's on top of ya. [oh oka:y] | |
| 830 | C9 | [yea:h] | |
| 831 | | lik:e (0.2) I'll draw another stick figure [like [this | 831-41. drawing |
| 832 | | [.hh [yea::h? | |
| 833 | I3 | [.hh [yea::h? | |
| 834 | | Draw: him on to:p | 834. sits back in chair, crosses legs |
| 835 | | (1.0) | |
| 836 | I3 | .h oka:y | 836. clasps hands on lap, looking toward picture |
| 837 | | (1.2) | |
| 838 | I3 | so:: (0.2) °he's lying on top of you.° | 838. moves to write |
| 839 | | (1.0) | 839-40. writing |
| 840 | I3 | which way is his- which way is he fa- | 840. stops writing, lifts pen off page |
| 841 | | facing. | 841-43. resumes writing, stopping and looking up at "like" bringing hands to lap |
| 842 | | (0.8) | |
| 843 | C9 | um: he's facing .hh li:ke (1.0) ah::n | 843. sits back from drawing |
| 844 | | (0.4) this way | 844. gets out chair, leans forward, hands out in front, facing downward |
| 845 | I3 | >oh so you're< looking dow::n >and you | 845. sits back in chair, looking at I3 |
| 846 | | just showed me then looking down.< | 845-46. gets out of chair, leaning forward, holding right hand half a metre below face as though to symolise C9 underneath Damien |
| 847 | | so he's looking down? | 847. holding position, looks at C9 for confirmation |
| 848 | C9 | yea:h | 849. holding position, moves hand to head and back to prior position below face, looking at C9 |
| 849 | I3 | so his face is facing [your face? | 850. nods |
| 850 | C9 | [yeah | 851. still nodding |
| 851 | | (2.0) | 851-53. sits back in chair, writes |
| 852 | I3 | .hh °he's facing° | 854. points at C9 but doesn't look up, continues writing |
| 853 | | (1.0) | 855-60. writing |
| 854 | I3 | °w-° †can †you †tell †me †what †he's | |
| 855 | | †wearing °°(_ _ _ _)°° | |
| 856 | | ((inaudible talk is directed at self as she's writing)) | |
| 857 | | | |
| 858 | C9 | he was wearing:: .h ay::: short top? | 858. looks away to his right, then back to front, nods |
| 859 | | (0.8) | |
| 860 | C9 | an' some shorts. | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 861 | I3 | and when he was lying on top of you: | 861. points at C9 again, without looking up |
| 862 | | [.h] | |
| 863 | C9 | [yeah?] | |
| 864 | I3 | what was he wearing. | 864. drops head to his left shoulder |
| 865 | | (1.0) | 865. looks up at C9, pen still on page |
| 866 | C9 | >he was wearing nothing.< | 866. shakes head |
| 867 | I3 | oh: nothing. .h oka:y .hh | 867-68. lowers head, writes |
| 868 | | (2.8) | 867-69. straightens head up, taps pen against thigh with right hand |
| 869 | I3 | °al:ri:ght.° | 870. sits back in chair, brings hands to shield eyes at "see that" |
| 870 | | .h OKAY so I can see: that no:w, | 871. holds hands out to front, palms down, points to C9 on "you". C9 does a single, slow nod. |
| 871 | | can I just go through you correct me: | |
| 872 | | if I'm wrong? | 872. shifts a piece of paper on the table as he begins to sit back into seat |
| 873 | C9 | sure. | |

Before asking the potentially delicate question —and what happened when you got in the room.” (lines 795-96) the interviewer first orients Richard to the picture, placing her hand on it, tapping on it, and sweeping her hand across it as she tells him that they will be using the picture to help him tell what happened in Damien’s room. Then she asks the question and he responds without delay —um: he told me to come in his bed?”. He expands in overlap with the interviewer’s —al:ri:g[ht]” to add a bit more detail —[and] then he got on top of me:.” and this turn-constructural unit (TCU) has final contour intonation, suggesting that he is finished his turn. Significantly, he is simultaneously pointing onto the page with his pen as he talks, thus cooperating with the interviewer’s initiation of using the picture as a tool for telling. Then, at what is a potentially delicate moment (judging by sequences 1a-c), she immediately utters a request that he draw himself as a stick figure on the picture and Richard begins moving to draw even before she completes her turn. In contrast to the signs of interactional trouble observed earlier before the picture project was introduced, here the picture appears to be aiding Richard’s continuing responsiveness even when the material is becoming more delicate and potentially embarrassing.

Richard continues to be engaged during the remainder of the sequence, with none of the signs of hesitating speech and lengthy intra-turn delays that marked extracts 1a-c. He initiates his own drawing of Damien's body position without prompting (lines 831-33) and gets out of his chair to physically demonstrate Damien's body position when the interviewer pursues clarification, which she presumably does because of the inconsistency in lines 810-822 between what Richard says about the position of his body at the time and his simultaneous demonstration with his body movements. Finally, when the interviewer asks what Damien was wearing while he was on top of Richard, Richard delays but then answers quickly and fluently while maintaining eye contact: →he was wearing nothing.<" (line 866).

In extract 4, the interviewer returns to the sensitive topic of what sexual act was purportedly done to Richard by Damien. As becomes apparent, without the picture functioning as a mutual point of focus, Richard once again begins to display all the signs of discomfort and embarrassment seen in extracts 1a-c. Nonetheless, eventually the interviewer does elicit the all important detail of what Damien did to Richard, aided by a tissue box, which is another device commonly used by interviewers to establish how children's bodies have been touched. In extract 4 I provide the whole, lengthy sequence to give the reader a sense of how the interaction unfolds as a whole. Then I break the sequence down into the different activities the interviewer is initiating to show how she moves through the difficult moments until eventually she elicits the needed detail.

| (4) Richard – getting the detail of the sexual act (26:01video 1) | | | |
|---|----|---|---|
| 915 | I3 | .h now. need you to describe to me: (0.2) step by step (.) what he's done while he's lying on top of ya. (0.7) | 915. sitting back in chair, points several times at C9 with her pen and brings left and right hands back to point at own temples 915-917. slumped in chair, elbows on chair arms, hands on head (picture still in front of him on table) 917. sits forward in chair, points at C9 and looks down at her notes on table. 918-23. lowers hands to chair arms and pushes himself upright and comes to sitting on edge of chair, left arm still resting along chair arm, looking toward the table 919-23. shifting note pages around on table |
| 919 | I3 | can ya do that | 924. angles her head and body to her left and brings both hands to her temples |
| 920 | C9 | yep | 925. pushes hands outward in a chopping motion, brings hands back with fingertips touching at end, still looking to left and down |
| 921 | | (0.3) | 926. drops chin to chest |
| 922 | I3 | alright. I'm runnin' outa paper. (0.2) | 927. folds hands over crossed legs, still looking away to left. C9 looks back up at I3 |
| 924 | I3 | okay. what happened.=he- now I can see he's laying on top? | 928. looks back to her notes but not at C9, shifts her papers |
| 926 | C9 | yep ((clears throat)) | 929. looks up at C9, then down to notes and moves to write. C9 looks away to his right, and back to the table/I3's notes, nodding on "bum" |
| 927 | I3 | what's: the first thing that happens. (0.4) | 930-33. writing, underlines and looks up at C9 part way through silence, folds hands on lap |
| 929 | C9 | um: he told me to lift (.) my bum up? | 932. looks up to ceiling, smiling, also holding pen suspended in front of him |
| 930 | I3 | yeah lift (0.2).hh bum up yep? (0.2) | 934. appears to glance briefly at I3 and back up to ceiling, still smiling, then making stabbing motions with pen |
| 932 | C9 | a::nd | 935. looks downward toward left wall, then starts the stabbing motion with pen, as though "doing remembering", then looks back up to ceiling, bringing hand to chin in a "thinking" pose, still smiling. I3 nods slightly |
| 933 | | (2.5) | 936. lowers head and eyes to look at I3 and lowers hand to lap. I3 nods |
| 934 | C9 | then:: hhhh (0.6) I think (0.4) he:: | 937. nods, looks down as she moves to write |
| 935 | | u::m: mpf (0.8) ah::: (1.0) hhh (1.0) | 938-40. lowers eyes toward I3's notes, gestures with left palm upward at "bum up" |
| 936 | | it's hard um mpf (0.2) his: rude part? | 938-44. writing, stops and looks up at "has that" |
| 937 | I3 | yeah his rude part yep? | 941. turns left palm back over and places it on chair arm, looking towards I3's notes, then looks toward his left thigh and pokes at it with his pen |
| 938 | C9 | um he told me .hh (0.2) to lift >my bum up< then (.) he put his rude part under my bum? | 945. gestures outward with both hands and back to writing. C9 looks up at I3 |
| 941 | I3 | oka:y, °he: (0.6) pu:t (0.8) hi::s (0.6) | 946. stops writing and looks up. C9 looks back to his thigh and continues poking at his leg with his pen |
| 942 | | ru::de (0.6) par:t (1.6) under (1.4) my:° (0.2) bum.= | 949. slight headshake, still looking toward his thigh |
| 944 | I3 | =.h now that- his rude part.=has that (.) part got another name? like a- a special name? or a .hh er other than rude part? do you know what the name of it's ↑called= =yeah: but I don't wanna say it. | 950. still looking at C9, folds hands crossed legs |
| 949 | C9 | | |
| 950 | I3 | oh::: [oka:y | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| 951 | C9 | [°an°) | |
| 952 | I3 | >i's just I was gonna make sure we're | |
| 953 | | talking bout the same< body part. | 953. starts to look up |
| 954 | C9 | yeah. | 954. nods and smiles |
| 955 | I3 | yea::h. so (.) are you able to just say | 955. looks away to his right, smiling, then looks back to I3 smiling |
| 956 | | it quickly for me | |
| 957 | C9 | yea::h er dee eye see:? | 957. small nods. C9 still smiling |
| 958 | I3 | dee?= =kay. | 958. looks to notes and moves to write |
| 959 | C9 | | 959-61. writing |
| 960 | I3 | eye: see kay. so you just said dick? yep? | 960. looks down to hands, moving pen between his fingers |
| 961 | C9 | yep. | |
| 962 | I3 | .hhh and what do you use a dick for. (.) | 962. sits back from writing, looks at C9, folds hands across knees. C9 looks up at I3 |
| 963 | | what's that used for. | 964. smiling |
| 964 | C9 | ah:: peeing in the toilet. | 965. points at C9 and leans forward in chair as though to write, then waves both hands in air while still looking down at notes |
| 965 | I3 | peeing in the toilet. well we're talkin' | 966. looks up at C9 |
| 966 | | about the same par-°I gotta do that. | 968-69. gesturing with hands in a rolling motion, nods at "names" and looks back to notes at "so" |
| 967 | | I've gotta ask° cos some children call | 970-73. writing, stops and looks up at "this" |
| 968 | | .hh (0.6) different parts of their body | 971. looks down |
| 969 | | different na::mes? so that's for .h | |
| 970 | | peeing in the toilet. | 974-75. turns to her left and shields her eyes with both hands |
| 971 | C9 | mmhh | |
| 972 | I3 | mn.h o:kɑ::y, (0.8) (°in the°) >toilet.< | 976. mirrors her eye shielding movement (but to his left) hand to forehead then reverts to facing her. I3 drops her hands so palms are facing up chest height, looking sideways at C9 |
| 973 | | now I've gotta picture this | 978. nods, eyes averted downward |
| 974 | | .h he's laying on top of you: | 979-80. slides one hand under the other as a demonstration |
| 975 | C9 | mmhh | 982. palms still open, slaps back of left hand against palm of right. C9 looks up at I3 |
| 976 | I3 | ri:ght and he's asked you to lift your | 983-84. right hand tapping at back of left hand |
| 977 | | bum up | |
| 978 | C9 | yeah | 986. taps hands together |
| 979 | I3 | so that he could put his dick under your | 987. folds hands together, still looking at C9 |
| 980 | | bu:m? | 988. looks up to ceiling |
| 981 | C9 | yup | |
| 982 | I3 | mnp.h what part of his (0.7) | |
| 983 | | you know his dick.=what part of your bu:m | |
| 984 | | has it touched. | |
| 985 | C9 | under. | |
| 986 | I3 | under. oka:y, mnp.h what do you use your | |
| 987 | | bum for. | |
| 988 | | (0.8) | |

| | | | |
|------|----|--|--|
| 989 | I3 | °what's a bum used for°. | |
| 990 | | (0.4) | |
| 991 | C9 | uh: <u>doing</u> number two:s. [(doing)] | |
| 992 | I3 | [<u>doing</u>] number | |
| 993 | | two: .oka:y, .hh <u>was it</u> <u>nea:r</u> where you | |
| 994 | | do number <u>two</u> that he put his- his <u>dick</u> ? | |
| 995 | | (0.2) | |
| 996 | C9 | MPF <u>yea:h</u> | |
| 997 | I3 | <u>how clo:se</u> to where you do number two:. | |
| 998 | | (1.4) | |
| 999 | C9 | <u>just near the hole.</u> | |
| 1000 | I3 | <u>ju:st near the h[ole?</u>] | |
| 1001 | C9 | [° <u>yea::hh.</u> °] | |
| 1002 | I3 | <u>oka:y .hh (0.8)°ju:st nea:r (0.4) .h</u> | |
| 1003 | | (0.4) <u>the ho- now I need to::</u> | |
| 1004 | | <u>ju'st (0.4) °where are the (.) tissue bo°</u> | |
| 1005 | | .hh hh <u>"I'm missing something.</u> oh: I | |
| 1006 | | usually try and get somebody to do | |
| 1007 | | <u>something for me.</u> | |
| 1008 | | AH >hang on there it is.< I use the rub- | |
| 1009 | | ↑OH >here it is< here's the tissue <u>box</u> I | |
| 1010 | | <u>wanted</u> the <u>tissue</u> box. | |
| 1011 | | (0.3) | |
| 1012 | I3 | now if ↑I was to say to <u>you::?</u> | |
| 1013 | C9 | y[eah] | |
| 1014 | I3 | [could] you <u>put your hand on</u> the tissue | |
| 1015 | | box <u>for me.</u> | |
| 1016 | | (.) | |
| 1017 | I3 | <u>how would ya- what would ya do.</u> | |
| 1018 | I3 | <u>just put your hand on top of</u> the tissue- | |
| 1019 | | <u>on</u> >okay.< | |
| 1020 | I3 | .hh if I said to you <u>could you</u> put your | |
| 1021 | | hand <u>in</u> the tissue box for me: <u>what would</u> | |
| 1022 | | you do. | |
| 1023 | C9 | <u>I'd put my hand in the tissue box.</u> | |
| 1024 | I3 | ↑oh: . <u>okay.</u> .hh (.) <u>excellent.</u> | |
| 1025 | I3 | <u>now.=when you say that</u> he's <u>his dick</u> was | |
| 1026 | | <u>nea:r your hole</u> <u>hnp.h</u> was it <u>on or in</u> | |
| 1027 | | <u>your hole.</u> | |
| 1028 | | (0.2) | |
| 1029 | C9 | <u>on.</u> | |
| 1030 | I3 | <u>on.</u> did it go <u>in at all?</u> | |
| 1031 | I3 | you [know how you've got]= | |
| 1032 | C9 | [no:] | |
| 1033 | I3 | <u>so it was just on.</u> | |
| 1034 | C9 | <u>yea:h.</u> | |

991. starts smiling, then looks down from ceiling to I3, still smiling
 992. points at C9, still looking at him
 993. shifting in chair, looking at pen in his right hand, then glances at I3 and back to pen
 995-97. nods, looks up at her and nods again
 997. tilts head to left slightly
 998-99. looks away to his right and looks back at I3 at "hole"
 1000. points at C9
 1001. nods
 1002-1004. writes
 1003-1004. moves right arm towards neck as though about to stretch and yawn but adjusts collar instead
 1004-1007. leans to left to look for tissue box, leans to right to look, then back to left
 1005. looks behind him to his left and looks back at I3, brings right hand to rest on left arm.
 1007-11. turns head and body to look where I3 is looking and moving toward and turns back as she moves back. Ends with right forearm resting along chair arm, sitting on edge of seat, looking at I3
 1008. gestures outward with palms as she spots the tissue box, then moves out of chair to get it from other side of room
 1010. gestures toward C9 with tissue box as she walks back to seat
 1012. sits back in chair
 1014. I3 places tissue box on table in front of C9. C9 looks down at the tissue box
 1015. sits back and folds hands on knees, looking at C9
 1017. glances up at I3, begins to move left arm toward tissue box
 1018. lays his hand on top of the tissue box. I3 gestures outward with open palms and back to hands folded
 1019. looks up at I3. I3 repeats prior movement.
 1020. gestures at tissue box with right hand and returns to hands folded
 1021. lifts hand off tissue box and looks down at the tissue box.
 1023. puts his hand in the tissue box slot, looking up at I3 at "box"
 1024. nods and gestures at tissue box with right hand, then repeats the movement. C9 removes his hand from the tissue box and looks down

1025. pointing toward C9, looking down at notes. C9 looks away to right, then reaches and moves tissue box, leaving hand there
 1026. moving hands in forward rolling motion, right index finger pointed, looks up at "hole", then two chopping slight chopping motions with palms facing each other
 1027. folding hands on knees
 1030. looks up at I3 and nods, hand still on the tissue box, then looks down at tissue box. I3 leans forward and points at tissue box and back
 1033. looks up, shakes head. I3 holds palm up to face C9, pushing gesture
 1034. nods and looks down

Extract 4 begins with one main action orientation – the interviewer trying to get Richard to tell precisely what was done to him – and this is the main occupation of the whole sequence. However, at various points the interviewer initiates insert sequences that are involved with different activities. These side-activities are to do with establishing the meaning of Richard's names for body parts, which is evidentially significant if the case gets to court.

Breaking the extract down, extract 4a shows the interviewer's initiation of the main activity (getting Richard to tell the details of what Damien did to him) and also shows the emergence of interactional signs of Richard's discomfort, which once again threaten the progressivity of the interaction.

(4a) Richard – getting the detail of “what happened”

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| 915 | I3 | .h <u>now</u> . need you to describe to me: (0.2) <u>step by step</u> (.) what he's done while he's lying <u>on top of ya</u> . | 915. sitting back in chair, points several times at C9 with her pen and brings left and right hands back to point at own temples 915-917. slumped in chair, elbows on chair arms, hands on head (picture still in front of him on table) |
| 916 | | | 917. sits forward in chair, points at C9 and looks down at her notes on table. |
| 917 | | | 918-23. lowers hands to chair arms and pushes himself upright and comes to sitting on edge of chair, left arm still resting along chair arm, looking toward the table |
| 918 | | (0.7) | 919-23. shifting note pages around on table |
| 919 | I3 | can ya do †that | 924. angles her head and body to her left and brings both hands to her temples |
| 920 | C9 | yep | 925. pushes hands outward in a chopping motion, brings hands back with fingertips touching at end, still looking to left and down |
| 921 | | (0.3) | 926. drops chin to chest |
| 922 | I3 | alright. I'm <u>runnin'</u> <u>outa</u> paper. | 927. folds hands over crossed legs, still looking away to left. C9 looks back up at I3 |
| 923 | | (0.2) | 928. looks back to her notes but not at C9, shifts her papers |
| 924 | I3 | okay. <u>what</u> happened. <u>-he-</u> <u>now</u> I can <u>see</u> | 929. looks up at C9, then down to notes and moves to write. C9 looks away to his right, and back to the table/I3's notes, nodding on “bum” |
| 925 | | <u>he's</u> laying on <u>top</u> ? | 930-33. writing, underlines and looks up at C9 part way through silence, folds hands on lap |
| 926 | C9 | yep ((clears throat)) | 932. looks up to ceiling, smiling, also holding pen suspended in front of him |
| 927 | I3 | <u>what's</u> : the first <u>thing</u> that happens. | 934. appears to glance briefly at I3 and back up to ceiling, still smiling, then making stabbing motions with pen |
| 928 | | (0.4) | 935. looks downward toward left wall, then starts the stabbing motion with pen, as though “doing remembering”, then looks back up to ceiling, bringing hand to chin in a “thinking” pose, still smiling. I3 nods slightly |
| 929 | C9 | um: <u>he</u> told me to lift (.) my <u>bum</u> up? | 936. lowers head and eyes to look at I3 and lowers hand to lap. I3 nods |
| 930 | I3 | yea:h lift (0.2).hh bum up yep? | 937. nods, looks down as she moves to write |
| 931 | | (0.2) | 938-40. lowers eyes toward I3's notes, gestures with left palm upward at “bum up” |
| 932 | C9 | a:::nd | 938-44. writing, stops and looks up at “has that” |
| 933 | | (2.5) | 941. turns left palm back over and places it on chair arm, looking towards I3's notes, then looks toward his left thigh and pokes at it with his pen |
| 934 | C9 | then:: hhhh (0.6) I think (0.4) he:: | 945. gestures outward with both hands and back to writing. C9 looks up at I3 |
| 935 | | u::m: mpf (0.8) ah::: (1.0) hhh (1.0) | 946. stops writing and looks up. C9 looks back to his thigh and continues poking at his leg with his pen |
| 936 | | it's <u>har:d</u> um mpf (0.2) his: <u>rude</u> <u>part</u> ? | |
| 937 | I3 | yea:h his <u>rude</u> <u>part</u> yep? | |
| 938 | C9 | um he told me .hh (0.2) to lift >my bum up< then (.) he put his <u>rude</u> <u>part</u> under my <u>bum</u> ? | |
| 939 | | | |
| 940 | | | |
| 941 | I3 | oka:y, <u>he</u> : (0.6) pu:t (0.8) hi::s (0.6) | |
| 942 | | ru::de (0.6) par:t (1.6) under (1.4) my:° (0.2) <u>bum</u> .- | |
| 943 | | | |
| 944 | I3 | -.h now that- his <u>rude</u> <u>part</u> .-has that (.) | |
| 945 | | <u>part</u> <u>got</u> another <u>na:me</u> ? like a- a <u>special</u> | |
| 946 | | <u>name</u> ? <u>or</u> a .hh er <u>other</u> than <u>rude</u> <u>part</u> ? | |

The first thing to note about extract 4a is that the interviewer is no longer orienting them both to the picture that Richard has drawn even though it still remains in front of him on the table. Hence, there is no device at work here for them to focus upon, which, as we saw previously, gave a legitimate reason not to have direct eye contact and also allowed Richard to communicate some of what happened without having to verbalise it. Her first

turn, →h now. need you to descri:be to me:(0.2) step by ste:p (.) what he's done while he's lying on top of ya." (lines 915-17), is potentially an indirect request for Richard to start telling. But he does not respond in the slot at line 918, which necessitates the interviewer reformulating to a →ean you" question at line 919. This only succeeds in gaining Richard's agreement that he *can* describe what happened but does not achieve any further progress in the activity at hand, that is, the actual telling.

The interviewer thus needs to formulate a more explicit request to tell, which she begins at line 924 with →wha:t happened.="". She then quickly recaps where she is up to in the story thus far (→he- now I can see he's laying on top?) possibly in anticipation of Richard repeating the more peripheral details once again and thus further deferring the information she needs. Then she re-formulates her request to focus Richard on what happened *after* that: →wha't's: the first thing that happens." (line 927). Notably, from the end of line 917, the interviewer has removed eye contact from Richard, shifting her gaze from her notes then to her left, suggesting that perhaps she is orienting to the emerging trouble and diagnosing it in terms of Richard's discomfort.

Richard's delay at line 928 is another indicator of trouble and the interviewer continues to keep her gaze off Richard. When he does begin his responsive SPP, the interviewer glances at him but then directs her attention to her notes and begins writing, prompting him with a repeat that works as a continuer →yea:h lift (0.2).hh bum up yep?". At line 932, Richard begins to show even stronger signs of trouble. His stretching on →a: :nd", which delays the delivery of whatever he is finding difficult to say, coupled with his looking up to the ceiling and smiling, suggest that his discomfort is holding up the interaction at this point.

From part way through the silence at line 933 through to 937, the interviewer appears to be looking at Richard but he does not meet her gaze, glancing briefly at her once, but for the most part directing his gaze to the ceiling and still smiling. His ongoing SPP from lines 934-936 is filled with signs of trouble: *—then:: hhhh (0.6) I think_ (0.4) he:: u::m: mpf (0.8) ah::: (1.0) hhh (1.0) it's har:d um mpf (0.2) his: rude pa:rt?*. The stretching of words, fillers such as “um” and *—ah*”, out-breaths, and lengthy intra-turn delays, together with the smiling and gaze averting, all work together to give a strong impression of discomfort. Another continuer turn from the interviewer at line 937, coinciding with her removing eye contact again as she looks down to start writing, prompts Richard to complete his turn, which he does with comparable ease: *—um he told me .hh (0.2) to lift >my bum up< then (.) he put his rude part under my bum?*” (lines 938-40). The interviewer then repeats the last part of Richard’s turn in time with the pace of her writing it down.

In this example, and others in the data corpus, interviewers frequently repeat the words for sexual body parts and sexual actions that children have just used in the prior turn, and they tend to do this in continuer turns and in sequence closing thirds, as happens here (lines 930, 937, 941-43). This appears to be a helpful practice because by delivering these repeats in a fluent, untroubled way, the interviewer is demonstrating that they are not surprised or shocked by the child’s disclosures and in this way the activity of talking about genitals and explicit sexual things becomes more normalised as the interaction proceeds.

Whatever labels children use to name either their own or the perpetrator’s genitals, bottom or other potentially sexual parts, interviewers need to establish with the child precisely which body part they are referring to (Cheung, 1999; Poole & Lamb, 1998).

Once again, this is important for any future prosecution, where a child's case might be undermined if it turned out that "rude part" meant one thing to a child and the interviewer had inferred it meant another. Pursuing this clarification is the interviewer's main activity in extract 4b, which interrupts the prior activity of finding out where and how Damien touched Richard (specifically whether or not penetration occurred).

(4b) Richard – establishing a joint understanding of "rude part"

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>944 I3 =.h now <u>that- his</u> rude part.-has <u>that</u> (.)</p> <p>945 part <u>got another na:me?</u> like a- a <u>special</u></p> <p>946 <u>name?</u> <u>or a</u> .hh er <u>other than</u> rude par:t?</p> <p>947 do you know what the name of it's</p> <p>948 ↑called=</p> <p>949 C9 -yeah: but I <u>don't</u> wanna say it.</p> <p>950 I3 <u>oh::↓</u> [oka:y</p> <p>951 C9 [°an°)</p> <p>952 I3 >i's just I was gonna make sure we're</p> <p>953 talking bout the same< <u>body part.</u></p> <p>954 C9 <u>yeah.</u></p> <p>955 I3 <u>yea::h.</u> so (.) are you able to just say</p> <p>956 it quickly <u>for</u> ↑me</p> <p>957 C9 <u>yea::h</u> er dee eye see:?</p> <p>958 I3 <u>dee?=-</u></p> <p>959 C9 =kay.</p> <p>960 I3 <u>eye:</u> see kay. so you just said <u>dick?</u> <u>yep?</u></p> <p>961 C9 <u>yep.</u></p> <p>962 I3 .hhh and what do you <u>use a dick</u> for. (.)</p> <p>963 <u>what's that</u> used for.</p> <p>964 C9 <u>ah:: peeing in the toilet.</u></p> <p>965 I3 <u>peeing in</u> the toilet. <u>well we're talkin'</u></p> <p>966 about the same par- <u>I gotta do</u> that.</p> <p>967 I've gotta ask° cos <u>some children</u> call</p> <p>968 .hh (0.6) <u>different parts of their body</u></p> <p>969 <u>different na::mes?</u> so <u>that's</u> for .h</p> <p>970 <u>peeing in the toilet.</u></p> <p>971 C9 <u>mmhh</u></p> <p>972 I3 mn.h o:ka::y, (0.8) (°in the°) >toilet.<</p> <p>973 now <u>I've</u> gotta picture <u>this</u></p> | <p>944. still writing, looks up at "has that"</p> <p>941. turns left palm back over and places it on chair arm, looking towards I3's notes, then looks toward his left thigh and pokes at it with his pen</p> <p>945. gestures outward with both hands and back to writing. C9 looks up at I3</p> <p>946. stops writing and looks up. C9 looks back to his thigh and continues poking at his leg with his pen</p> <p>949. slight headshake, still looking toward his thigh</p> <p>950. still looking at C9, folds hands crossed legs</p> <p>953. starts to look up</p> <p>954. nods and smiles</p> <p>955. looks away to his right, smiling, then looks back to I3 smiling</p> <p>957. small nods. C9 still smiling</p> <p>958. looks to notes and moves to write</p> <p>959-61. writing</p> <p>960. looks down to hands, moving pen between his fingers</p> <p>962. sits back from writing, looks at C9, folds hands across knees. C9 looks up at I3</p> <p>964. smiling</p> <p>965. points at C9 and leans forward in chair as though to write, then waves both hands in air while still looking down at notes</p> <p>966. looks up at C9</p> <p>968-69. gesturing with hands in a rolling motion, nods at "names" and looks back to notes at "so"</p> <p>970-73. writing, stops and looks up at "this"</p> <p>971. looks down</p> |
|--|--|

When the interviewer settles upon the final formulation of her first turn at lines 947-48

"do you know what the name of it's ↑called=" it is in the form of a yes/no

interrogative (YNI), a turn which makes a yes or no answer relevant (Raymond 2003). To

properly appreciate Richard's responsive SPP (→yeah: but I don't wanna say it.") it is helpful to first consider Raymond's (2003) insights into the preference organisation of yes/no interrogatives for this helps shape the kinds of relevant responses Richard can make (see chapter 4 for a basic outline on the topic of preference organisation).

Raymond notes that there are multiple levels of preference organisation operating in these types of turns. At the most basic level, as noted in chapter 4, within any adjacency pair (a FPP and a SPP) a FPP ought to be, and normally is, followed by a *type-related* SPP. That is, a greeting should be followed by a greeting and not, for instance, a report on the weather, and a question should be followed by an answer and not another question.

This first type of preference is the *action-type* preference (Schegloff, 2007; Raymond 2003). It is a complex area but one upshot is that speakers of FPPs and SPPs normally design their turns at talk in ways that minimise the trouble caused by misalignment with the *action*. For instance, whilst accepting an invitation (a preferred/aligned response) is normally done without delay or qualification, refusing an invitation (a dispreferred/misaligned response) is usually done in a more complex way, typically with delays and accounts for why it is not possible to accept the invitation and other such things.

The next level of preference Raymond (2003) refers to applies specifically to yes/no interrogatives (YNIs), which is where our focus of interest lies. When speakers produce YNIs, their *design* prefers either a yes or a no. This is termed the *polarity* of the interrogative and it may *or may not* align with the action-type preference of the FPP.

Raymond gives the following example:

A speaker can ask: "Can you give me a ride home?" In terms of its action-type preference, such a request prefers granting. In addition, the polarity of such a FPP prefers a "yes." Thus, in such a request, both the action-type preference and the polarity of the interrogative align in preferring a "yes." However, speakers can "reverse" the polarity of their utterances, as in "You can't give me a ride home can you?" While the request embodied in such a turn still prefers granting, its polarity prefers, or anticipates, a "no". This latter FPP would have what Schegloff ([1995] forthcoming) calls "cross-cutting" preferences - the action-type preference "prefers" one type of response (e.g., granting), while its polarity prefers another (e.g., a "no," which declines the request). (p. 943)

Raymond's additional observation is that YNIs carry a third level of preference: *type-preference*. Specifically, recipients of YNIs most often conform to the constraints embodied in a YNI's *grammatical form*, which calls for a yes or a no, regardless of whether the recipient is doing a dispreferred or preferred response in terms of action-type preference and polarity.

This brings us back to Richard's response —yeah: but I don't wanna say it." (line 949) to the interviewer's YNI. Applying Raymond's observations, Richard's —yeah:" conforms to the type-preference embodied in the YNI for a yes or no response and also aligns with the polarity of the interrogative which is designed to prefer a yes. However he goes on to give a *dispreferred* response in terms of the FPP's action-type preference, the

action being a *request* by the interviewer for Richard to display his knowledge of another name for “rude part”. Richard does not grant this request and he achieves this refusal using a typical feature of dispreferred responses: by giving an account for why he is refusing “but I don't wanna say it.” Moreover, his obligation in the sequence is ended and the onus is now on the interviewer to take another turn. In this apparently simple response, then, it is possible to see how Richard is showing a strong grasp of conversational norms that operate as people navigate their way through delicate moments in interaction.

In extract 4b above, the interviewer has already departed from the main action orientation of the larger sequence in order to clarify Richard's meaning of “rude part”. Now she faces the further difficulty of how to work with Richard's clear discomfort with articulating another word for “rude part” and needs to resolve this before she can bring the interaction back to the main topic of getting on record the details of what sexual acts occurred.

Her receipt “h: : ↓” at line 950 works as a *change of state token* (Heritage, 1984b), registering (or enacting that she registers) a change in her state of knowledge or information (that Richard does know another word but is unwilling to say it) and her “oka:y” marks acceptance of the action contained within Richard's turn.

The interviewer now initiates a repair on Richard's prior non-informative turn (in the sense that it did not progress the activity with which the sequence is involved) by providing a justification for why she needs to know another word for rude part: “i' s just I was gonna make sure we're talking bout the same< body part” (lines

952-53). But his response *→yeah.*” merely receipts her turn and does not progress the activity of eliciting another word for *→ude part*”.

Richard’s smiling at this point suggests that his discomfort is still a live issue. The interviewer closes this small sequence off with *→yea::h.*” and tries again, this time more explicitly requesting him to say the word: *→so (.)* are you able to just say it quickly *for ↑me*” (line 955-56). Now Richard provides the word (*→dick*”) even in the presence of multiple signs of discomfort: the stretching on his type-conforming response to her YNI *→yea::h*” that delays speaking the embarrassing word, the spelling out of the word instead of saying the word, as well as his continued smiling. Once past the difficulty of getting the word said, the remainder of this *→sa the word*” sequence unfolds comparatively smoothly, including the interviewer’s extra task of ensuring that Richard’s meaning of *→dick*” matches hers.

Now, in extract 4c, the interviewer returns to the main project of finding out where and how Damien touched Richard’s body.

| (4c) Richard – returning to the main project of “what happened” | | | |
|---|----|---|--|
| 973 | I3 | now I’ve gotta picture thi:s | 973-75. looking down 973. writing, stops and looks up at “this” 974-75. turns to her left and shields her eyes with both hands 976. mirrors her eye shielding movement (but to his left) hand to forehead then reverts to facing her. I3 drops her hands so palms are facing up chest height, looking sideways at C9 978. nods, eyes averted downward 979-80. slides one hand under the other as a demonstration 982.palms still open, slaps back of left hand against palm of right. C9 looks up at I3 983-84. right hand tapping at back of left hand 986. taps hands together |
| 974 | | .h he’s laying on top of you; | |
| 975 | C9 | mmhh | |
| 976 | I3 | ri:ght and he’s asked you to lift your | |
| 977 | | bum u:p | |
| 978 | C9 | yeah | |
| 979 | I3 | so that he could put his dick under your | |
| 980 | | bu:m? | |
| 981 | C9 | yup | |
| 982 | I3 | mnp.h what part of his (0.7) | |
| 983 | | you know his dick.-what part of your bu:m | |
| 984 | | has it tou:ched. | |
| 985 | C9 | under. | |
| 986 | I3 | under. | |

The main activity in this sequence is to ascertain precisely where on the ~~bum~~ "the ~~dick~~" has touched. But before the interviewer initiates her base FPP question at line 982 she first embarks on a pre-expansion sequence that recaps the story thus far and elicits Richard's agreement to each element of the story (lines 975, 978, 981). In this way, she appears to be working to focus Richard on the moment in the story they were up to before she took them off the main track into the insert sequence to establish the meaning of ~~rude part~~."

Her initial topic shifting TCU, ~~now I've gotta picture thi:s~~" (line 973), which is followed by a bodily display where she turns slightly away to her left and shields her eyes, work together to display to Richard that she is visualising the unfolding event. Arguably, this removal of eye contact and display of being in her inner visual world is also a less confronting way to re-introduce what has already proved an uncomfortable topic for Richard. One sign that this move may be effective is that when she does issue her base FPP question, ~~what part of his (0.7) you know his dick.=what part of your bu:m has it touched.~~" (lines 982-85), Richard responds with no delay: ~~under.~~".

So at this point in the interaction, the interviewer has overcome some of Richard's discomfort, evidenced by the fact that he is no longer smiling as though uncomfortable and he responds without delay to her confirmation eliciting turns (lines 974, 976-977, 979-980) and her eventual base FPP (982-984). However, his base SPP response ~~under.~~" is not new information and is also not the detail the interviewer is seeking. As becomes evident, she needs to know whether or not Richard was anally penetrated. This necessitates another departure from the main action orientation of the overall sequence to

establish a shared meaning of “bum” as well as a display by Richard that he understands the difference between the crucial concepts of “in” and “on”, which is the subject of extract 4d:

(4d) Richard – establishing a joint understanding of “bum” and determining where the penis touched the “bum”

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>986 I3 under.</p> <p>987 I3 oka:y, mnp.h what do you use your bum for.</p> <p>988 (0.8)</p> <p>989 I3 °what's a bum used for°.</p> <p>990 (0.4)</p> <p>991 C9 uh: doing number two:s. [(doing)]</p> <p>992 I3 [doing] number</p> <p>993 two: .oka:y, .hh was it near: where you</p> <p>994 do number <u>two</u> that he put his- his <u>dick</u>?</p> <p>995 (0.2)</p> <p>996 C9 MPF yea:h</p> <p>997 I3 how clo:se to where you do number two:.</p> <p>998 (1.4)</p> <p>999 C9 just near the hole.</p> <p>1000 I3 ju:st near the h[ole?]</p> <p>1001 C9 [°yea:hh.°]</p> <p>1002 I3 oka:y .hh (0.8)°ju:st near: (0.4) .h</p> <p>1003 (0.4) the: ho- now I need to::</p> <p>1004 j' st (0.4) °where are the (.) tissue bo°</p> <p>1005 .hh hh °I'm missing something. oh: I</p> <p>1006 usually try and get somebody to do</p> <p>1007 something for me.°</p> <p>1008 AH >hang on there it is.< I use the rub-</p> <p>1009 †OH >here it is< here's the tissue <u>box</u> I</p> <p>1010 wanted the <u>tissue</u> box.</p> <p>1011 (0.3)</p> | <p>986. taps hands together</p> <p>987. folds hands together, still looking at C9</p> <p>988. looks up to ceiling</p> <p>991. starts smiling, then looks down from ceiling to I3, still smiling</p> <p>992. points at C9, still looking at him</p> <p>993. shifting in chair, looking at pen in his right hand, then glances at I3 and back to pen</p> <p>995-997. nods, looks up at her and nods again</p> <p>997. tilts head to left slightly</p> <p>998-999. looks away to his right and looks back at I3 at “hole”</p> <p>1000. points at C9</p> <p>1001. nods</p> <p>1002-1004. writes</p> <p>1003-1004. moves right arm towards neck as though about to stretch and yawn but adjusts collar instead</p> <p>1004-1007. leans to left to look for tissue box, leans to right to look, then back to left</p> <p>1005. looks behind him to his left and looks back at I3, brings right hand to rest on left arm.</p> <p>1007-11. turns head and body to look where I3 is looking and moving toward and turns back as she moves back. Ends with right forearm resting along chair arm, sitting on edge of seat, looking at I3</p> <p>1008. gestures outward with palms as she spots the tissue box, then moves out of chair to get it from other side of room</p> <p>1010. gestures toward C9 with tissue box as she walks back to seat</p> |
|--|--|

(4d continued)

| | | | |
|------|----|---|--|
| 1012 | I3 | now if †I was to say to you:;? | 1012. sitting on edge of seat, looking at I3 |
| 1013 | C9 | y[eah] | 1012. sits back in chair |
| 1014 | I3 | [could] you put your hand on the tissue | 1014. I3 places tissue box on table in front of C9. C9 looks down at the tissue box |
| 1015 | | box for me. | 1015. sits back and folds hands on knees, looking at C9 |
| 1016 | | (.) | 1017. glances up at I3, begins to move left arm toward tissue box |
| 1017 | I3 | how would ya- what would ya do. | 1018. lays his hand on top of the tissue box. I3 gestures outward with open palms and back to hands folded |
| 1018 | I3 | just put your hand on top of the tissue- | 1019. looks up at I3. I3 repeats prior movement. |
| 1019 | | on >okay.< | 1020. gestures at tissue box with right hand and returns to hands folded |
| 1020 | I3 | .hh if I said to you could you put your | 1021. lifts hand off tissue box and looks down at the tissue box. |
| 1021 | | hand in the tissue box for me: what would | 1023. puts his hand in the tissue box slot, looking up at I3 at "box" |
| 1022 | | you do. | 1024. nods and gestures at tissue box with right hand, then repeats the movement. C9 removes his hand from the tissue box and looks down |
| 1023 | C9 | I'd put my hand in the tissue box. | |
| 1024 | I3 | †oh: . okay. .hh (.) excellent. | |

Richard's delay at line 988 after the interviewer asks "okay, mnp.h what do you use your bum for.", combined with his breaking eye contact to look up at the ceiling, signals new trouble. The interviewer's prompt "what's a bum used for?" does two things: it reformulates her question in a more abstract, less personal way through the use of "a bum" in place of "your bum" and it also shows Richard that her question is still live, that the obligation is still upon him to respond. After another delay, Richard begins to smile again, his stretched "eh:" also functioning to delay his substantive response, and these two features working together to mark the upcoming material "doing number two:s." as discomfiting to Richard. As soon as he utters the response, she responds immediately with a repeat with stopping intonation "[doing] number two:." and points at him simultaneously, signalling that he has offered a definition that matches her understanding of what a bum is used for and the sequence is now closed.

With this joint understanding established of what a “bum” is used for, the interviewer returns to the main project of ascertaining where the “dick” was in relation to “were you do number two”. By line 1001 she has established that it was “just near the hole” and is writing this detail down. However, she evidently considers this to still be inadequate to rule out the possibility of anal penetration and so she once again departs from the main action orientation of the sequence to establish that Richard understands the difference between “in” and “on”.

Between lines 1003 and 1011, the interviewer is searching the room for a tissue box. Most of the interviewers doing sexual abuse interviews in this corpus use the tissue box as a device to get children to display their understanding of the concepts “in” and “on”, by first asking the children to place a hand “on” the tissue box and then “in” the tissue box. This is normally done as a prelude to asking the child to confirm whether some body part of the perpetrator (a penis, finger or tongue) went “in” or “on” the child’s anus, vagina or mouth, since this has important implications for forming the charge against the defendant if the case is prosecuted.

At line 1012 the interviewer begins the insert sequence to establish Richard’s understanding of the difference between in and on, using the tissue box to demonstrate. He momentarily appears uncertain of what she is asking him to do (or perhaps why she is asking him to do it), evidenced by his delay in moving to put his hand onto the tissue box, and this prompts her imperative at line 1018 “just put your hand on top of the tissue-”. He then grasps her intent and completes the demonstration, which she accepts at line 1019. When she repeats the question to ascertain his knowledge of “in”, he now grasps her intent and completes the task quickly with both the physical demonstration of putting his hand in the tissue box and a simultaneous verbal account (“I’d put my hand

in the tissue box.”), grammatically fitted to her own prior turn —what would you do.”. The interviewer’s sequence closing response at line 1024, comprised of a change of state token (—oh:.”), an acceptance of his responsive SPP (—okay.”) and high-grade assessment (—excellent.”), suggest that Richard’s display of knowledge has fulfilled the action this insert sequence was involved with.

With Richard’s comprehension of these concepts on the official record, the way is now open for her to set up a simple yes/no question/answer sequence to determine whether Richard was anally penetrated, or not, as seen in extract 4e.

(4e) Richard – establishing that no penetration occurred

| | | | |
|------|----|--|--|
| 1025 | I3 | <u>now</u> .-when you say that he:'s <u>his dick</u> was | 1025. pointing toward C9, looking down at notes. C9 looks away to right, then reaches and moves tissue box, leaving hand there 1026. moving hands in forward rolling motion, right index finger pointed, looks up at "hole", then two chopping slight chopping motions with palms facing each other 1027. folding hands on knees 1030. looks up at I3 and nods, hand still on the tissue box, then looks down at tissue box. I3 leans forward and points at tissue box and back 1033. looks up, shakes head. I3 holds palm up to face C9, pushing gesture 1034. nods and looks down |
| 1026 | | <u>near</u> :r your <u>ho:le</u> mp.h was it <u>on</u> or in | |
| 1027 | | <u>your hole</u> . | |
| 1028 | | (0.2) | |
| 1029 | C9 | <u>on</u> . | |
| 1030 | I3 | <u>on</u> . did it go <u>in at all?</u> | |
| 1031 | I3 | you [know how you've got]- | |
| 1032 | C9 | [no:] | |
| 1033 | I3 | <u>so it was</u> just on. | |
| 1034 | C9 | <u>yea:h</u> . | |

Richard delays only slightly before emphatically answering with —on.” at line 1029. And there is no delay in his response to the interviewer’s follow up question —did it go in at all?”, his —no:” overlapping what looks set to become a clarification on her part. After one more understanding check from the interviewer, Richard confirms that it was —just on.” and the interviewer now has the important detail she needs.

So far I have shown how the judicious use of a drawing appears to help a child who is showing numerous visible and audible signs of being uncomfortable at the point of being asked to tell what sexual things have happened to him to start talking more freely again. What should also be clear, though, is that the drawing only succeeds in conjunction with the interviewer's and child's abilities to engage one another by the rules of ordinary talk-in-interaction.

For instance, we saw how the interviewer engaged in a lengthy pre-request sequence before directly asking Richard to start telling what had happened to him (extract 1). Borrowing from the findings on ordinary conversation, which show that indirect requests are preferred in conversation and that pre-request sequences are generally involved with making an explicit request redundant, I argued that this pre-request sequence could have been taken up by Richard as an indirect request to start telling what had happened to him. However, its ambiguity also allowed him to treat the interviewer's turns within that particular sequence as straightforward checks that he was hearing and comprehending her. Thus, ultimately, she faced the contingency where she needed to issue the request explicitly.

Importantly, it is the fact of Richard not taking up the interviewer's prior turns as potential indirect requests to start telling his narrative that starts to build the impression that he is uncomfortable and reluctant to tell and this, ultimately, creates a contingency where she introduces the picture as an aid to help him tell. Thus the picture is consequential to the interviewer's ability to hear and respond to the growing interactional signs of Richard's discomfort. And the picture's success as a prop is largely achieved through the interviewer and Richard's mutual responsiveness to one another's actions in

the talk, which accompanies their focus on the picture. The picture, at least in this instance, functions as an adjunct to responsive interaction and not as a substitute for it.

A second point to be drawn from the analysis thus far is the complexity that interviewers face as they manage multiple activities within sequences ostensibly focused on finding out the details of what happened to a child. In this case, the interviewer departed several times from her main project of getting Richard to articulate the details of what was done to him sexually in order to label sexual body parts, clarify the meaning of those body parts and to check his conceptual understanding of *–in*” and *–on*” before returning to the main project. And, as we saw here, because these side projects are also involved with asking the child about sensitive, potentially embarrassing material, they open up more opportunities for the interaction to stall.

Next, I examine two more interviews for those moments where children are being asked to name sexual body parts and sexual acts and show how body diagrams appear to contribute to overcoming children's discomfort.

6.2.2. Body diagrams as a device to overcome trouble naming sexual body parts and actions

In Richard's case, the interviewer responded to his discomfort by having him do his own drawing of the bedroom layout in order to elicit the details of what happened to him.

Another occasion where pictures are sometimes used is to clarify what children mean when they use a certain word for a sexual body part. Often interviewers get this detail by asking the child about the function of the body part. Thus, when Richard used the word *–bum*”, the interviewer established a shared meaning of bum by asking him what you use

a bum for (its function), which established that for him it is the body part that does "number twos" (extract 4d).

In several interviews, instead of asking about the body part's function, interviewers get the child to point at the area they are referring to using a body diagram of either a boy or girl's body. This achieves the same outcome as asking the child what the body part is used for but in a non-verbal way.

As we saw with Richard, children can display obvious discomfort at those moments where they are called upon to name a sexual body part, or a sexual action. In these next extracts I show how two different interviewers use the body diagrams to assist children through such moments. I contend that this seems the most sensitive means to responding to children's discomfort about naming, while at the same time effectively establishing a shared understanding of body parts and sexual actions because clarity of meaning has important implications in the legal context (Cheung, 1999).

Extract 5 is from Robert's interview. The interviewer is focused on an occasion when Robert was 2 or 3 years old and his uncle first abused him. She has asked him what he remembers about that time and he has twice said that he cannot remember. We take up the extract at her third request to tell what he can remember.

(5) Robert – naming trouble (14:46 video 1)

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>322 323 I4 324 325 326 C7 327 328 I4 329 330 I4 331 332 C7 333 334 I4 335 336 I4 337 338 C7 339 I4 340 341 C7 342 343 I4 344 345 C7 346 347 I4 348 349 I4 350 351 C7 352 353 I4 354 355 I4 356 357 I4 358 359 360 361 I4 362 363 I4</p> | <p>(1.2) °°well°° °tell me the <u>l</u>ittle bit that you c'n remember.° (1.8) him <u>touching</u> <u>m</u>e? (0.6) °°okay.°° (1.0) mnp.hh <u>w</u>here did he <u>touch</u> you. (1.5) m: (2.0) <u>be</u>low my <u>stom</u>ach? (1.0) °mmhh° (1.7) h:as that got a <u>na</u>:me? (1.0) mmhh? °what's the <u>na</u>:me.° (10.6) m:: (2.2) or <u>what</u> do you call it. (1.2) willy. (2.8) °°m' <u>kay</u>.°° (2.4) <if I show you this drawing he::re?> (0.4) mmhh (2.2) can <u>y</u>ou show me where is: the willy. (1.8) ((sound of scrunching paper)) ↑wh↑toops (2.6) c'n <u>y</u>ou: (0.4) put a <u>c</u>ircle around the willy for me. ((sound of her writing on page)) (1.8) so that I know what you're <u>talk</u>ing about. (1.0) ((sound of drawing a circle)) o:kay. <u>thank</u>you?</p> | <p>322-337. looking down toward lap, fidgeting with hands 322-335. leaning to left in chair, resting head against left hand. Right hand resting on note pad on lap 336. straightens up in chair, readies to write, pen poised over notepad on lap 338. nods once. I3 shakes head back 339-48. still looking into lap, fidgeting with hands 339. brings head to rest against left fist, leaning to left again 340-3. starts writing part way into 10.6 second silence, and lowers left hand onto page 344. stops writing, brings left hand up from page, and rests temple against it 346. writing, stopping at end running hand over head 348. sits up straight in chair 349-50. searching through papers on lap for the drawing of a boy 349. looks up sharply toward I4 351. pulls the drawing out and starts to move out of her chair 352. eyes follow I4's movements toward table 352-53. out of chair, leaning over table, sound of her pen drawing on paper 354. reaches toward table (visibility blocked by interviewer leaning over table) 361. leaning over table 362. puts pen/texta down I3 starts moving backward toward seat.</p> |
|--|--|---|

The trouble with naming the penis is projected by the long delays at lines 331 and 332 following the interviewer's question *→where did he touch you.*". Robert avoids naming the specific body part by instead naming the area of his body *→below my stomach?*". The interviewer utters a continuer at line 334 *→mmhh°*" that passes the obligation back to Robert to say more. But after another delay and no uptake from Robert, she initiates repair with *→h:as that got a name?*", displaying to Robert that *→below my stomach?*" was not an adequate response to her FPP question at line 330.

But because she formats her new question as a yes/no interrogative (YNI), Robert can still be minimally responsive by claiming that, yes, it does have a name (*→mmhh?*" line 338), but not responding to the action embedded within the interviewer's question: an indirect request for him to provide the name of the body part. Now the interviewer must issue the request directly *→what's the name.°*" and she is met with a very long 10.6 second delay at line 340. An apparent start by Robert at line 341 is followed by another delay and the interviewer reformulates her question *→or what do you call it.*", displaying to Robert that she diagnoses his problem as finding, or uttering, the correct word. Her question effectively lowers the epistemic bench mark, so that Robert's task now becomes to offer his own word, rather than the correct word, which her initial question may have implied. After another delay, Robert provides the word *→willy.*".

In addition to these audible signs of interactional trouble, which display Robert's discomfort at naming his penis, there are also visible signs. Up to this point in the sequence, Robert has been looking into his lap and fidgeting with his hands. But the interviewer still has the task of checking that Robert is referring to the penis when he uses the term willy. At this point, several interviewers might start the verbal sequence that asks the child to name the *function* of the willy, as was the case in Richard's interview (see

extract 4b and 4d above). But this interviewer instead introduces a body diagram of a boy (line 349), and asks Robert to show her where the willy is and draw a circle around it (lines 357-58), which he does with no sign of trouble. In this way she is able to elicit the extra detail about function without inducing any further discomfort for Robert by having to do more potentially embarrassing talk about what a willy is for.

What is also useful about the drawing, though, is that it now becomes a tool to sustain the progressivity of the interaction the next time the topic moves back onto delicate ground.

Extract 6 comes 1 minute after extract 5 and the interviewer is asking about the time when Robert's uncle began abusing him again when he was 7 years old.

| (6) Robert – naming trouble (17:56 video 1) | | | |
|---|----|---|--|
| 419 | I4 | so <u>where</u> was he touching you th:en. (1.0) | <p>419-424. looking down toward lap, fidgeting with hands. I4 leaning to left of chair, elbow resting on chair arm, head leaning against hand</p> <p>425. starts moving forward in chair and ends leaning over table. Looks up from under brow</p> <p>426. pushing drawing from her side of table toward C7. C7 leans out of chair and draws the picture to his side of the table.</p> <p>429. points on to the picture</p> <p>432. pushes drawing back across the table to I4</p> <p>433. receives drawing and pulls it back toward her side of table</p> |
| 421 | C7 | m:: (0.8) below the stom <u>ach</u> ? | |
| 422 | | (0.6) | |
| 423 | I4 | °'kay° | |
| 424 | | (0.7) | |
| 425 | I4 | can you point t- <u>point to me</u> agai:n? | |
| 426 | | (2.5) | |
| 427 | C7 | inside the <u>ci</u> :cle. | |
| 428 | | (0.5) | |
| 429 | I4 | °inside the circle.° | |
| 430 | | (0.4) | |
| 431 | I4 | so on your <u>willy</u> again. | |
| 432 | | (0.7) | |
| 433 | C7 | <u>mmhh</u> | |
| 434 | | (1.0) | |

As in extract 5, the signs of trouble begin to emerge in the delays at line 420 and 421 before Robert again shows his discomfort with naming the penis by reverting to “below the stomach?” and, as before, he appears visibly uneasy, looking into his lap and fidgeting. This time, however, the picture is available and the interviewer invites him to

point onto the picture, rather than naming the body part, which he does. She repeats his utterance —“inside the circle.” and then issues an understanding check —“so on your willy again.”, which he confirms at line 433. In this way she moves quickly past a delicate moment, avoiding the more obvious disruption to progressivity caused by Richard's discomfort with naming sexual body parts seen in extracts 4b and 4d. Instead, this interviewer does the naming and invites Robert to confirm, but only after he has already pointed to that body part on the picture. This allows her to neatly manage two competing contingencies: (1) the institutional imperative to avoid leading the child or putting words in his mouth, which might damage the evidence and (2) the immediate contingency of how to sustain an interaction at risk of being derailed because the child appears uncomfortable at naming his penis.

In the first of Harriet's two interviews, the interviewer also uses body diagrams at a point where the interaction begins to stall because of a problem with naming. This time the diagrams are used to assist with naming sexual acts that her grandfather has performed on her, seen here in extract 7.

(7) Harriet (1) – naming sexual actions (25:18 video 1)

| | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| 856 | I2 | .hh °an:d° .h (.) | 856-61. sitting with arms folded across belly, hands tucked into opposite sleeves, looking at I2 |
| 857 | | what are all the things that he's done to | 857. legs crossed, notepad on lap, repeated chopping gestures with left hand for emphasis |
| 858 | | you: y've you've told me that he's (.) | 858. pointing onto notepad with pen, looking down at it |
| 859 | | put (.) one thing that he's done he's put | 860. looks up and back down |
| 860 | | his um (0.7) tch willy on your vagina? (.) | 862. nods |
| 861 | | and you've told me that he's (0.2) ki:ssed | 863. looks up at C4 |
| 862 | | your vagina (0.7) <and you've told me that | 864. shakes head |
| 863 | | he's> ki:ssed ya on the lips. | |
| 864 | I4 | has he done anything else to †you | |
| 865 | | (1.0) | |
| 866 | C4 | °um° | |
| 867 | | (2.0) | 867. slowly averts eyes away to right looking at floor |
| 868 | I2 | this can be anyti:me. | 868. shakes head, looks down to notes at end |
| 869 | | (8.5) | 869. turns page of notes over, poised to write, looking at C4, and shifts to rest elbow on arm of chair, leaning cheek against fingers. C4 moves head to look to her left and downward toward table |
| 870 | I2 | TCH I know it's not very nice to talk | 870-2 lifts cheek away from hand slightly, still looking at C4, and shifts to rest elbow on arm of chair, leaning cheek against fingers. C4 moves head to look to her left and downward toward table |
| 871 | | about but it's important that we know.= | 872. nod, barely perceptible |
| 872 | C4 | =°m:° | 876. shakes head, eyes still directed down toward table |
| 873 | | (0.5) | 877-80. reaches for girl picture on table and places it between herself and C4 on table, pointing to it at end |
| 874 | C4 | mnp.hh hhhhhhhh | 882. looking at picture, hands still tucked in opposite sleeves |
| 875 | | (6.0) | 883. moves paper closer to C4 |
| 876 | C4 | °not that I can think of.° | 886. points onto another piece of paper (boy picture) |
| 877 | I2 | °alright.° what i- if I show you a picture | 888. picks up the boy picture and places it on top of girl picture in front of C4 |
| 878 | | (.) that might help jog your memory. | |
| 879 | | (1.2) | |
| 880 | I2 | .h °okay° I've got a little gir:l he:re? | 891. waving pen over the paper |
| 881 | | (0.3) | |
| 882 | C4 | yu[p] | |
| 883 | I2 | [a]lri:ght [so:]= | |
| 884 | C4 | [mmhh] | |
| 885 | I2 | =um (.) .hh >and we've got a little< bo:y | |
| 886 | | too and he can be (0.3) °even though >it's | |
| 887 | | only a little boy° that- we can make that< | |
| 888 | | boy Michael: so .hh maybe if we jus': .h | |
| 889 | | do on Michael where you've had ta (0.2) | |
| 890 | | what you've had to do to Mi+chael you've | |
| 891 | | had to (.) kiss him ,where if you want to | |
| 892 | | do some exes for †me | |
| 893 | | (1.5) | 893. pulls hands out of sleeves |

| | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| 894 | I2 | tch the places where you told †me so:= | 894. C4 takes pen from I2 895-899. leans out of chair and starts marking the paper with the pen, lifts it from page at end 896. plants right hand on the drawing, turning head to look at what C4 is marking on page 906. marking page 908. pulls hand back and sits back on edge of chair, leaning forward looking at page still. I4 points on to page 909. sits back in chair, chin resting on right fist 910. leans forward and writes, sits back at end |
| 895 | C4 | =°yep° | |
| 896 | | (0.3) | |
| 897 | I2 | you had to kiss him <u>what's that</u> | |
| 898 | | [his] | |
| 899 | C4 | [theire] | |
| 900 | | (0.2) | |
| 901 | C4 | °°w[illy°°] | |
| 902 | I2 | [what's that] <u>called?</u> | |
| 903 | C4 | °wi[lly?°] | |
| 904 | I2 | [will]y? (.) †yep | |
| 905 | | (0.2) | |
| 906 | C4 | °and his <u>nipple[s [and] (.)] there.</u>° | |
| 907 | I2 | [ok[ay] | |
| 908 | I2 | °alright.° well I might get you to | |
| 909 | | put your name on there for †me | |
| 910 | | (11.0) | |

Here, the interviewer's project is to find out what Harriet's grandfather, Michael, has done to her. The signs of trouble start to emerge after the interviewer's reformulated FPP question at line 864 *→* "has he done anything else to †you", narrowing it from *→* "all the things that he's done to you:" (line 857) to *→* "anything else" apart from those things Harriet has already told (lines 858-863). The trouble is initially visible in the delays at lines 865 and 867 and again in the 8.5 second delay at line 869 after the interviewer prompts with *→* "this can be anyti:me." As was the case with Robert's interviewer, this interviewer appears to diagnose the problem in terms of discomfort, or delicacy in talking about sexual things when she utters *→* "I know it's not very nice to talk about but it's important that we know.=" (lines 870-71). Yet this still fails to draw a substantive response from Harriet until, after further delays, she claims not to be able to think of anything else he has done (*→* "not that I can think of.°") and the interviewer accepts this response with a sequence closing third *→* "alright.°".

Now the interviewer introduces the body diagrams of a girl and a boy (see Appendix 9) and sets Harriet the easier task of first marking on the boy diagram all the things she has already claimed she has had to do to Michael. Harriet accepts the task in the visible action of taking the pen and with her accepting —°yep°”, going on to mark the picture accordingly. With both people’s attention on the picture, the interviewer gets past a naming difficulty at line 899. Harriet’s overlapping —[the:re]” responds to the interviewer’s prior turn as though it were complete from the end of —you had to kiss him”, but she must also hear the next TCU —what’s that [his]”, since her quietly uttered —°w[illy]°°” at line 901 is fitted to it. The interviewer appears not to have heard the start of —°w[illy]°°”, though, and initiates repair on Harriet’s —[the:re]” with —[what’s that] called?”, asking Harriet to provide a word for the part she has just pointed at. Then, just as Harriet starts to repeat her prior utterance at line 903, the interviewer shows that she has now picked up on Harriet’s prior, softly spoken —°w[illy]°°” at line 901, by overlapping Harriet with a questioning —[willy]?” and an accepting —yep”.

With this easier task completed and progressivity restored, the interviewer goes on to introduce the picture of a girl and succeeds in getting Harriet to disclose that grandpa has kissed her on her vagina, put his penis on her vagina, and tried to put his willy inside her bum. After exploring these acts in a general way as things that happened repeatedly over time, she then starts a particularisation project (see section 6.2.1 above for an explanation of particularisation and its forensic significance), focusing on a specific time frame: —the last week”. Harriet has just disclosed that something happened on a particular night during the week but has so far managed to avoid saying precisely what happened by glossing it as —the sa:me (.) as:° >***day.<” (extract not shown here) and she

continues to avoid naming what happened over several turns. We take up the sequence as the interviewer makes another attempt to elicit a telling about this particular occasion, seen here in extract 8.

(8) Harriet 1 – naming sexual actions (3:47 video 2)

| | | | |
|------|----|--|---|
| 1239 | I2 | [what did] <u>he do to you then.</u> | 1239-42. looking at C2, notepad on lap |
| 1240 | C4 | the sa:me (.) as: ***day. | 1239. reaching down and scratching/pulling on trouser leg, looking at I2 |
| 1241 | I2 | so <u>what</u> was that. °can you j'st° tell †me- | 1240. lowers head, gestures toward drawing with right hand, ends with hand near mouth, looking toward drawing |
| 1242 | C4 | -(°_ _°) <u>w'll he didn't (.)</u> (put up a sumber) .h um on the ***day ni:ght? | 1241. brushes fringe out of face, tucks hair behind ear |
| 1243 | | | 1242. moves feet apart, knees together, looks and points toward picture with right hand |
| 1244 | | (0.2) | 1243. drops pointing hand to leg |
| 1245 | I2 | SORRY WHAT DID IT? | 1244-5. leans forward out of chair as though to hear better |
| 1246 | C4 | he didn't (0.6) do: that (.) <u>there?</u> | 1246. half stands out of chair, points onto picture on table |
| 1247 | I2 | okay <u>what did he do.</u> you <u>show me on</u> the picture [what he did.] | 1247. looking at drawing, nods, then gestures toward picture with pen, looking back up at C4. C4 sits back in chair, looking toward picture |
| 1248 | | | 1250. leaning out of chair, points, points, points onto picture |
| 1249 | C4 | [(vocalized outbreath/sigh)] | 1251-52. sits back in chair, pulling ends of sleeves down to cover hands, looking toward table |
| 1250 | | <u>that that an' that.</u> | 1252. sits back in chair, gestures toward table with pen on "got it", looking at C4 |
| 1251 | | (0.5) | 1256. looks down to notes, moves writing hand to page |
| 1252 | I2 | <u>so:: have I got it right</u> does that mean that he's: (0.4) what did he do to your boob:bs or y'r nipples. | 1256-9. still pulling on ends of sleeves, looking toward floor, shakes head back and looks toward camera at end |
| 1253 | | | 1258-60. writing |
| 1254 | | (0.2) | 1260. looks back toward I2, hands together but covered by sleeves |
| 1255 | | | |
| 1256 | C4 | °°he su:cked <u>them</u> °° | |
| 1257 | | (0.2) | |
| 1258 | I2 | so on ***day night he <u>suck:ed your nipples:</u> | |
| 1259 | | | |
| 1260 | | (3.0) | |

Harriet again responds to the interviewer's attempt to elicit a telling with a glossed version —the sa:me (.) as: ***day.” (line 1240), which avoids naming any specific sexual acts. Then, after another try by the interviewer (line 1241), Harriet tells what

grandpa *didn't do*, rather than what he did do, and the interviewer initiates repair (~~—SORRY~~ WHAT DID IT?" line 1245) because of a problem of hearing. Harriet then points to the body diagram to show what grandpa *didn't do* instead of verbally repeating her prior turn, possibly because the content is embarrassing, or because she interprets the interviewer's repair initiation as an indicator that there was something wrong with the words she used¹⁷.

Now the interviewer follows Harriet's lead and uses the body diagram as a means of eliciting further information: ~~—~~what did he do. you show me on the picture [what he did." (lines 1247-48). Harriet points onto the picture as she utters ~~—~~that that an' that.". On its own this is insufficient for the interviewer's purpose, since Harriet is pointing to body parts rather than naming sexual acts. To resolve this problem, the interviewer begins to formulate a candidate list of the sexual acts grandpa has performed for Harriet to confirm or disconfirm with a yes or a no (~~—~~so:: have I got it right does that mean that he's:" lines 1252-1253). However, perhaps recognising the potential for this to appear leading, she self-repairs following the 0.4 second pause at line 1253 to ~~—~~what did he do to your boo:bs or y' r nipples.", thus altering the trajectory to an open-ended question that invites Harriet to name the sexual acts. Importantly, the interviewer takes some of the naming burden from Harriet by uttering the potentially embarrassing body part labels (boobs, and nipples line 1254) and only asking Harriet to name the acts grandpa performed on those parts, which Harriet does very quietly at line 1256 with ~~—~~°he su:cked them°°".

Extracts 5-8 show the usefulness of body diagrams when responding to children's obvious discomfort at moments where they are called upon to name body parts and/or

¹⁷ Harriet's words at this moment are not audible to the analyst either

sexual acts they have had to perform on a perpetrator, or a perpetrator upon them. At their first use, the pictures normally emerge as a method of checking that children's words for body parts match the interviewer's own understanding of what body part that word refers to. As mentioned, this is critical in order to avoid potential challenges from defence lawyers that a child's word for a body part may not reflect the common meaning.

However, body diagrams also get used in the context of clear signs that the interaction is stalling due to the child's reticence to name body parts or sexual acts. Hence, once they have been used to establish what body part a child is referring to with a particular word, these pictures are readily available when naming once again becomes a source of trouble. Allowing children to point to the body diagram instead of overtly naming the body part or act appears to restore progressivity to the interaction and allows the interviewer to get the necessary detail and move on with the interview. The body diagram works as a shared, visible representation of what was previously inaccessible to the interviewer until uttered by the child. Using the body diagram, once the child has pointed to a body part the way is open for the interviewer to collaborate in the production of potentially embarrassing namings, either by producing a name for the child to confirm, as the interviewer does with Robert in extract 6, line 431, or naming the body parts but asking the child to name the sexual acts, as happens with Harriet in extract 8, lines 1253-1254. This is achieved without the concomitant risk of damaging the evidence if the interviewer were to do the initial naming.

6.3. Conclusions and implications

In this chapter I have shown how props such as body diagrams and children's drawings can help restore progressivity to an interaction that appears to be stalling due to children's discomfort with naming sexual body parts and sexual actions.

To date, the investigative interviewing literature has focused mainly on how such props assist in overcoming the language limitations of young children and also their role in increasing the amount of material that children can recall and report. Whilst there is some reference in the literature that drawings and body diagrams may assist children who feel shame or embarrassment when reporting sexual information (Steward et al., 1996), it does not explicate the process by which the props might achieve this.

The present study suggests one way into the process question is to look at when and how these props get introduced into the interaction by an interviewer, the kinds of interactional happenings that precede their introduction and the impact they have upon the interaction. With its focus on the sequential organisation of interaction, conversation analysis is the ideal method to explore such questions.

While it appears that these props do play an important part in restoring progressivity when the interaction seems to be hindered by children's discomfort, it is critical not to see these props in isolation: as things that can be introduced ad hoc with positive results. As the analysis showed, interviewers were only introducing them when a child was already displaying signs of discomfort and the interviewer was unable to get the child to name body parts or sexual acts. Props, therefore, should be seen as part of the interaction, with

their success as tools to assist with restoring progressivity relying upon the mutual responsiveness of the interviewer and child to one another's turns at talk.

Therefore, while this study does point to their usefulness as tools for investigative interviewers to use to help children at those moments where they are being asked to do potentially embarrassing naming of body parts or sexual acts, the more important factor is an interviewer with the interactional skill to notice and respond to children's discomfort in ways that help, and do not make it worse. Without this skill, the props are unlikely to be of value.

There is also potential for these findings to be extended into clinical settings, most particularly where embarrassing material is being talked about. The clinical literature already encourages the use of pictures and drawings to encourage reluctant children to talk (Sattler, 1998). What this study adds is an empirical demonstration of how the interaction improves when these kinds of props are introduced. A clinician working therapeutically with a child who has been sexually abused could use body diagrams and children's drawings to restore progressivity to the interaction when children seem reluctant to talk about what has happened. Importantly, clinicians who are tasked with assessing the impact of proven abuse, or offering therapy to a child impacted by proven abuse, do not operate under the same rigorous legal standards as forensic investigators and, hence, would not use the props in quite the same way. Clinicians could, for example, use diagrams and pictures to allow the child more freedom to show what happened to their bodies by pointing, without also needing to press them to verbally articulate details, since this is unlikely to be as important therapeutically as it is forensically.

The findings from this study support existing advice to clinicians to use drawings or pictures to make the interactional environment less intense for children (Sattler, 1998). As we saw with Richard's drawing of the bedroom, it opened up slots for the interviewer to ask questions about elements of the drawing while both parties focused their gaze jointly on the drawing, rather than each other, and Richard interacted much more freely during this section of the interview. I say more about the clinical implications of using props in the concluding chapter.

In sum, body diagrams and drawings, when used sensitively and opportunely, appear to be a valuable aid for helping children through those moments where they are called upon to report potentially embarrassing information in forensic settings. But they should only be seen as an adjunct to, and not a replacement for, skilled, sensitive interaction on the part of the interviewer.

In the next chapter I shift focus from the interviewers' conversational practices, to a closer examination of some things that children do conversationally that imply they are orienting to social concerns, in particular their efforts to present themselves as precise reporters of their own experience. Specifically, I examine children's epistemic claims: how it is that children formulate their claims to know or remember things or, conversely, not to know or remember things.