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Reasons for Rhythm: Multimodal Perspectives on Musical Play

Julia Bishop and Andrew Burn

This chapter describes and analyses aspects of musical play at the two primary schools involved in the research. We are concerned not only with sound but also with other modes of communication, especially sight, gesture and touch, in musical play. There has long been recognition that music's essentially sonic nature is closely allied to speech, gesture and movement (Tagg 2002) and there is a growing literature on music and gesture as well as music and language (Gritten & King 2006; Godøy & Leman 2010; Gritten & King 2011).

The conceptualization of musical play as embodied has also gathered strength in a number of recent works (Gaunt 2006, Marsh 2008, Beresin 2010, Willett 2011). Marsh documents the acquisition, transmission and re-creation of music, text and movement in such forms as hand-clapping games, including media-referenced examples. Gaunt's investigation of black girls' vernacular practices and their relation to African American musical culture leads her to posit the concept of 'kinetic orality', the conjunction of oral and kinetic transmission in which social meanings are observed, acquired and 'naturalized' in personal consciousness (2006: 5). This is suggestive of a kind of bodily habitus developing out of group play experiences (Bourdieu, 1986: 75; Chernoff, 1979: 50; cf. Thompson 1992: 12-13).

We build on this research by considering two examples of children's play from a multimodal perspective (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). We will first consider an episode of a children's clapping game play documented at Monteney school, with particular reference to the synchronization of bodily movements and gestures with the text and music and what the multimodal ensemble of posture, facial expression, gesture, spatial arrangement and touch suggests with regard to the performers' bodily experiences and their artistic, communicative and social ends. Our second example is a sequence of improvisation and rehearsal of cheerleading, which hybridizes with the same clapping game we consider in the first example. We will consider, again, how different expressive and communicative modes are integrated by the children; and also the provenance of the cultural resources they deploy, and the possible social meanings and cultural functions these carry with them.

'MAKING IT INTO A ROUTINE': CLAPPING AND GESTURE IN 'A SAILOR WENT TO SEA'

We had seen many performances of clapping games at Monteney among children in the seven to eleven age group from the outset of our fieldwork in June 2009. It was not until March 2010, however, some nine months later, that they became apparent among the younger children.[i] This may have been partly due to the physical separation of the lower school and upper school play, which reduced the opportunities for the younger children to observe and emulate the older ones playing clapping games during playtime. We do not know what initiated clapping games in the younger children's playground but when they did emerge, the children videoed appeared to be quite proficient at clapping. All of their performances were of 'A Sailor Went to Sea', a rhyme often taken up by novices but, at this school, also clapped among the older and more experienced children too. The four videos we have from March 2010 evidence a range of versions by the younger children: an all-clapping one to the first stanza of text, an all-clapping one to a multi-stanza text in which the words at the line-ends were substituted, and a clapping+gestures one geared to a multi-stanza text in which the

gestures were linked to the changing line-end words. This last version makes the song akin to action songs, such as 'Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush' and 'Head, Shoulders, Knees, and Toes', commonly used by adults with pre-school children, in which the words suggest the actions to be performed.

In May 2010, a further four videos provide evidence of 'A Sailor Went to Sea' performances among the younger children.[ii] This time all the performances videoed are multi-stanza versions incorporating substituted words and associated gestures. They include one in which the children substitute other words for 'sailor' in the first line as well as varying the words and gestures at the ends of the lines. It was during this same time that some of the younger children did our clapping questionnaire in their ICT (Information Communication and Technology) lessons, with the help of the teacher and ourselves.[iii] When the two girls who did the 'sailor' substitutions were asked where they had learnt 'A Sailor Went to Sea', they replied 'when we went in ICT'. Their interest must have been reinforced by the survey, however, rather than triggered by it, as their clapping pre-dates it. They may also have heard or discussed the text in the class as it was not asked about or given in the questionnaire.[iv]

The clip analysed here is from 20 May 2010 and was videoed by Julia Bishop. The performance took place on the grass during lunchtime play. It is one of six short videos taken by the researcher over the course of about a half an hour with the two performers, Kiera and Rachel, and members of Kiera's friendship group who were, by turn, playing racing, clapping and counting out. Kiera and her friends were aged five to six and Rachel was in the year group above, being aged six to seven at this time. Both Kiera and Rachel were on the children's panel for our project. While Kiera and her friends were playing and the researcher was videoing, Rachel had joined the group and begun to take part in the videoing, borrowing the video camera from the researcher briefly, encouraging and directing the players from the sidelines and repeating my questions. The researcher then videoed Kiera and Rachel clapping. The entire clip (MPJB2010-05-20v01526) lasts over five minutes but the section with which we are concerned here is three minutes 27 seconds in duration.

The following is a basic transcription of the performance:
Julia Bishop: OK.
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to sea sea sea (*clapping [C/O, CP] + undulating forearm gesture*)[v]
To see what he could see see see (*clapping + shading eyes from sun gesture*)
And all that he could see see see (*clapping + shading eyes from sun gesture*)
Was the bottom of the deep blue sea sea sea. (*clapping + undulating RH forearm gesture*)
[*Boy attempts to gain Kiera 's attention*]
Rachel (*speaking*): Shall we do that one where we just have to do 'see see see'?
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to sea sea sea... [etc.] (*clapping throughout and increasing in speed*)
Kiera (*speaking*): Pick pick pick. (*index finger miming nose-picking*)
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to pick pick pick... [etc.] (*clapping +mime of nose-picking*)
Rachel : Oh, shall we do 'bed bed bed' one? (*hands on Kiera's shoulders*)
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to bed bed bed...[etc.] (*clapping + head leaning towards palms held together at side of head*)
Kiera (*speaking*): Now 'tree' one. (*pointing to tree behind Rachel*)

Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to tree tree tree...[etc.] (*clapping + pointing to tree in actual physical environment*)
Kiera (*speaking*): Pull pull pull. (*Two hands hauling*)
Rachel : No. (*three second pause*) Key key key.
Rachel &Kiera (*singing*): A sailor went to key key key...[etc.] (*clapping + rotating hand to and fro as turning a key in a lock*)
Julia Bishop: Hey, were you making those up?
Kiera: Yea. We made the actions up.
Rachel: We made-. It were just-. 'Sea sea sea' we knew already.
Kiera: But you can make any-, and all of them up.
Rachel: Anything that rhymes with it.
Kiera: No, you don't, you can just make anything, right?
Rachel: I know. Like we were going to do 'push push push' but we didn't want to do that.
Kiera: And 'pull pull pull'. And 'clean clean clean'.
Rachel: Oh, shall we do 'clean clean clean'?
Kiera: Yea. Vacuuming. (*making sweeping action*)
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to clean clean clean...[etc.] (*clapping + sweeping action*)
Julia Bishop: How did you learn 'A sailor went to sea sea sea'?
Rachel: We just knew it on, like, this nursery rhyme in-.
Kiera: In nursery.
Rachel: Yea. In nursery. Down there (*pointing to location of the nursery classrooms*).
Kiera: My mum and dad learnt it me.
Rachel: And we just made the actions with it.
Kiera: Shall we do 'rainbow rainbow rainbow'?
Rachel: Yea.
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to rainbow rainbow rainbow...[etc.] (*clapping + tracing arc with one or both hands*)
Rachel (*speaking to Julia*): I don't know it. Rainbow rainbow rainbow (*tracing arc using both hands).*
Kiera : How about 'flower flower flower'?
Rachel (*singing*): A-.
Kiera: Flower (*index finger of each hand moving upwards and outwards in shape of a fan*).
Rachel: No.
Kiera (*stooping to pick a daisy*): Why don't we pick a flower and point at it?
Rachel (*off camera, evidently suggesting an alternative hand movement*): Flower. Flower. Flower.
Kiera: Flower (*extending forearm upwards, fingers opening in manner of petals*)
Rachel : No, flower (*circling of upright forearm movement just visible in shot*).
Kiera: OK.
Kiera and Rachel (*singing*): A sailor went to flower flower flower...[etc.] (*clapping + circling of upright forearm*)
Kiera does a cartwheel finishing upright with her hands held above her head. Rachel turns to watch her and smiles before turning away from the camera.

It is instructive to contrast this performance with the ones we have of Kiera and Rachel videoed two months previously (MPJB2010-03-16v01458, MPJM2010-03-30v01479). In the earlier of these (16 March), Kiera and another friend perform a multi-stanza version of the song in which clapping is interspersed with gestures. The substituted words are all verbs,

namely 'see', 'pick', 'pull', 'fight' and 'dig'. The 30 March video is of Kiera and Rachel clapping together. It begins with Rachel and Kiera running up to the researcher, Jackie Marsh, and Rachel saying, 'Do you want me to show you my-, our clap?' The performance initially consists of one stanza accompanied by clapping only but Rachel explains to Jackie:

> When we thought of the song, 'A Sailor Went to Sea Sea Sea', we just did it. And, like, we did some actions [*doing C/O, C/P with Kiera*] and we started making it into a routine. We're trying to think of a second verse.'[vi]

They then pick up the performance again, substituting the words 'tree', 'bee(?)', 'build', 'dig' and (at Kiera's suggestion) 'pull' in the ensuing stanzas. On this occasion, their routine consists of continuous clapping rather than gestures to accompany the words. When asked how they selected the words to incorporate, Rachel replies that they just saw 'obstacles' (objects?) around them and put those in, although their substitutions are in fact a mixture of both nouns and verbs.

As Marsh observes, 'because the process of composition is inextricably linked with performance in playground singing games, innovation in one performance element, such as text, may lead to a corresponding innovation in another element, for example, movement' (2008: 201). If the chronology of the videos we have is indicative of the process, this seems to be exactly what is happening in this example as the later video of Kiera and Rachel includes gestures as well as the word substitutions in the text.

Analysis

The aim here is to build a more precise understanding of how gestures interact with music, speech and touch in musical play. This performance has been chosen as a starting point because of its incorporation of gestures as well as clapping and its improvisatory nature and emergent character. As Marsh stresses, such performances are co-constructed. Composition emerges as an ongoing, and often recursive, process, rather than one in which a final product is the goal (2008: 199–220). The following section focuses on this process of co-construction in performance with regard to the interplay of the modes, synchronisation of words, gesture and music, and the multiple functions of the gestures.

Music – The sonic qualities of the performance are produced by singing and hand-clapping. The singing is pitched throughout.[vii] The tune can be construed as in two-time, as in the following transcription, or a rapid four-time. Its rhythm and pulse (the underlying beat) coincide either exactly (if construed as four-time) or on alternate notes (if construed as two-time) until the final line of the song when the rhythmic values briefly double. The words (which are almost all monosyllables) are set strictly syllabically to the rhythm and therefore correspond to the pulse for most of the song.

[INSERT CHAPTER 5 MUSIC NOTATION HERE]

The song's resulting four-square and march-like feel seem appropriate to the first stanza's apparent frame of reference (the Navy) although the tune, in slightly variant forms, is in fact associated with a series of clapping games without such a military connotation (Opie and Opie, 1985; Arleo 2001; Curtis 2004). The almost exact correspondence of pulse, rhythm and syllable is probably one reason why this song is popular for those first learning clapping games.

Words – The Opies suggest that this clapping song originated in, or was perpetuated by, the pun in a song performed by Fred Astaire, in the character of a sailor, in the film *Follow the Fleet* (1936): ‘We joined the Navy to see the world, But what did we see? We saw the sea’ (1985: 468). Significantly, the same pun in the first stanza of ‘A Sailor Went to Sea’ models the use of both a noun and a verb at this point in the text and these two parts of speech are represented in the substitutions made by Kiera and Rachel, albeit in different stanzas and without the use of punning:

Verbs: See, pick, pull (rejected), clean.

Nouns: Sea, bed, tree, key, rainbow, flower.

It is not clear what is governing Kiera and Rachel’s substitutions although this technique is commonly found in other versions of ‘A Sailor Went to Sea’ collected at different times and places.[viii] Kiera and Rachel make seven such substitutions (beyond the first stanza) in this performance plus another that is suggested but not taken up. Again, as in other versions from elsewhere, the words do not necessarily make sense and, in their final two stanzas, they break the established pattern by introducing disyllabic rather than monosyllabic words necessitating rhythmic alteration of the tune.

Gesture – Previous studies have outlined a number of definitions of gesture (discussed in Kendon 2004). There is, however, general agreement that gestures may function in a number of different ways simultaneously. Godøy and Leman distinguish four functional aspects of musical gestures:

1. Sound-producing gestures.
2. Communicative gestures enabling communication between performers and between performers and audience.
3. Sound-facilitating gestures which support sound-producing gestures while not producing sound in themselves.
4. Sound-accompanying gestures which are made in response to sound and follow it, rather than producing it. (2010: 23–24)

Sound-producing gestures – In Kiera and Rachel’s game, the movements directly relating to vocalising the words to a melody and the hand-clapping function as sound-producing gestures. The clapping pattern comprises clapping one’s own hands (C/O) and then both of one’s partner’s hands (C/P). This is a duple pattern which fits the predominant rhythm, pulse and syllabic text very closely, only to be broken at the end of each line by the need to incorporate a gesture instead. This is part of the challenge of the game. Curtis also suggests that ‘clapping one’s own hands becomes a sort of chorus which perhaps allows thinking time for the next movement’ (2004: 423). As we shall see below, the preparation of the gesture immediately following the clapping is a significant technique by which Kiera and Rachel communicate during the performance.

Although clapping is obviously a sound-producing gesture, it also functions as communication. This is apparent when we consider another of the modes, the haptic aspect of clapping. In Kiera and Rachel’s performance, as in many others, the C/O gesture coincides with the unstressed beats and C/P with the stressed ones. The two girls therefore touch each other’s hands on the stressed beats adding a tactile intensity to these moments. Finnegan refers to ‘the tactile language of pressure’ (2002: 201) and it is apparent from our survey that some children are aware of this too. When asked what makes someone good to clap with, they responded:

- Lewis, because he is gentle.

- Girls are more better clappers than boys because they are most lighter hitters.
- I think that girl are better than boy because they are gentle.
- I personally think girls are better than boys because girls are soft-handed and boys are heavy. Some boys think that is a girl's thing and it just depends on the personality of the person.

The gendered construction of 'the tactile language of pressure' is clearly an aspect worthy of further investigation. We certainly encountered instances of girls clapping strongly as well as boys. It seems there is an important dividing line between clapping and pushing, between an egalitarian aesthetic of equal pressure, based on the performers' mutual awareness of, and adjustment to, each other, and dominance by one over the other (see Johnson, 2000; and Chapter Eight in this book).

Related to this is the way in which the need to clap one's partner's hands regulates the proxemics and bodily orientation of the performers. In dyadic formation, their bodies must face each other and be close enough to enable them to reach each other's hands comfortably. This suggests an implicit 'zone of clapping' located roughly equidistantly between their two bodies. Clapping too hard forces the other person's hands nearer to their own body and moves the tacitly agreed zone of clapping nearer to them, with associations of dominance and even rejection (literally pushing them away). In Rachel and Kiera's performance, Rachel's size relative to Kiera, and her enthusiasm to perform for the video camera, leads the zone of clapping being somewhat nearer to Kiera. On the other hand, Kiera appears not to extend her arms as much as she could, as if to exercise her own form of control over the proxemics.

The orientation of the girls' bodies towards each other, required by the clapping, also serves to encourage them to look at each other to the visual exclusion of their surroundings. This formation of clapping games, and also other musical games involving circular formations, has been described as a 'charmed circle' which 'includes and excludes at the same time,…surrounds and enfolds while it walls off and repels' (Jones and Hawes, 1987: 15; cf. Gaunt, 2006; Marsh, 2008: 105-135; Richards, 2012). In this particular performance, it is disrupted by a group of boys, one of whom seeks to gain Kiera's attention. Rachel re-establishes the 'charmed dyad' with Kiera by taking hold of Kiera's wrists and reorientating Kiera's body towards her at the same time as using the outside of her arm to nudge the boy away.

Thus, clapping gestures quite clearly function as communicative in the way that they convey messages to do with the social etiquette of space, the 'language of pressure' and the orientation of the body in giving and receiving the attention of another. With respect to the sung dimension, they can also be said to be sound-accompanying (and vice versa). Although they are not involved in the production of singing, they follow it and support and emphasise certain aspects of it.

Communicative gestures - Kiera and Rachel's performance involves ten non-clapping gestures, nine of which are actually incorporated into the song. As noted above, Rachel explains that they draw on things around them for inspiration so this would account for tree, flower and rainbow (this last is part of the school logo which appears on the sweatshirts they are wearing). 'Pick' would seem to be a favourite of Kiera's as she has used it prior to this performance and here suggests it immediately following the first stanza although it is not taken up immediately by Rachel. Its reference to a socially unacceptable practice, often discouraged by adults in children, and the excuse to pretend to be defying this code of

conduct are a clear source of humour and enjoyment which no doubt add to the attraction of this gesture for her. It is possible that some of the other word substitutions derive from words the girls have practised in phonics (several, for example, make use of the 'ee' sound) but the degree of appeal that the accompanying gesture has appears to be what governs the girls' acceptance of the substituted word.

If we consider the relationship of Rachel and Kiera's gestures to the referential meanings of their associated words, it becomes apparent that there are a number of different ways in which the gestures communicate. These are summarised in the Table 1[ix]:

Table 1

Sea	Shows object properties
See	Acts as semantic specifier
Pick	Acts as semantic specifier
Bed	Acts as semantic specifier
Tree	Makes deictic (pointing) reference
Pull	Acts as semantic specifier
Key	Acts as exhibit or specimen
Clean	Acts as semantic specifier
Rainbow	Shows object properties
Flower	Acts as exhibit or specimen

It will be seen that the gestures associated with verbs always specify a particular form of the action named and often the manner of the action. Thus, 'see' is shielding one's eyes from the glare, 'pick' is picking one's nose, 'pull' is tugging a thin rod or rope, 'clean' is 'vacuuming', as Kiera articulates. The gesture associated with 'bed' suggests an action associated with the object (sleep) rather than the object itself. The gestures associated with nouns may show an object's properties or spatial relationships (the rolling of the sea, the arc shape of a rainbow) or may present the object or suggest it by the use of one's hands. The deictic reference to a tree causes both Kiera and Rachel to momentarily disrupt their face-to-face formation in order to orientate their bodies in the direction of the pointing.

The different gestures used for 'sea' and 'see' mean that the pun on which the first textual stanza turns is not mirrored in the gestures. On the contrary, the girls' movements leave no doubt as to their understanding of the different referents.

If these gestures function as communication, though, who are they directed to and what are they saying? The bodily orientation of the performers in clapping and their gaze (as far as it is possible to discern this in this particular video) suggest that the girls are primarily communicating with each other (cf. Kendon 2004: 1)

While those standing at right-angles to them can view the gestures, the girls appear to be looking at their own or each other's hands during the game. They thus have the kinaesthetic

experience of making a gesture but they are only able to appreciate what that gesture looks like by viewing their partner's synchronised embodiment of it in addition to any partial view they have of themselves performing it. The dyadic formation allows each girl to function as a mirror for the other, reflecting back the image of their gesturing.

Finally, it is apparent that the non-clapping gestures are also functioning as sound-accompanying gestures. In the manner in which Rachel and Kiera execute them, each of the gestures involves three strokes corresponding to the thrice-repeated word at the end of each line.[x] We now turn to other aspects of the execution of the gestures to throw light on ways in which Rachel and Kiera achieve synchrony in their movements and manage the improvisatory nature of their performance.

Cueing Gestures in Clapping Games

Marsh emphasises the primacy of movement and verbal text over melody to the players in clapping games (2008: 273). She notes that the children she observed would correct each other's movements or words but never the melody. In particular, disagreements tended to arise 'when variation interferes with the synchronization of game elements, especially movement' (2008: 11). In Kiera and Rachel's performance, the negotiation and synchronization of gesture and movement is not only discussed verbally but is also managed and controlled to some extent by the manner in which they execute the gestures and movements. This is especially pertinent in the case of this performance in which the girls appear to be continuing their project to 'make it into a routine'. A clue to where we can look for insights into this kind co-construction in performance is provided at the very outset of the clip.

The Initial Clap - Analysts of gesture in spoken discourse distinguish five phases through which gestures usually pass, namely preparation, pre-stroke hold, stroke, post-stroke hold, and retraction (Duncan & McNeill, n.d.). Of particular relevance here are the preparation and pre-stroke hold. Frame by frame playback shows that when Rachel considers that it is time to start the performance she opens her mouth (without vocalizing), lifts her hands and opens them wide as a preparatory and cuing gesture to Kiera whose hands are nearer together. They both begin to close their hands together to clap, Rachel moving faster. At the last moment Kiera adjusts her speed and they arrive on the stroke of the clap together, at the same time vocalizing the first word of the song.

The synchronization of the initial clap, and indeed of other initial claps following breaks in the performance, is clearly a challenge in all such games as there is no counting in and no introductory phrase of music. The success of Rachel's exaggerated stroke preparation depends on the attention of Kiera to Rachel's gesture, her interpretation of Rachel's move, and the speed at which she can adjust to match Rachel.

The First Gesture – Observation of the ensuing performance indicates that gesture preparation is central to the way in which one girl cues the other to the next gesture. At the first occurrence of the words 'sea sea sea', Kiera moves to prepare the undulating right-hand forearm gesture a fraction ahead of Rachel who is preparing the C/P gesture that she is clearly expecting to follow. It takes Rachel one stroke of Kiera's undulating arm movement to realise that they are out of synch and for her to adjust for the next two strokes.

The Tree Gesture – There are too many other such fleeting anticipations, negotiations and adjustments at this point in each stanza of the song to describe in full here. Mention will be made of just one more, the 'tree' gesture. This is suggested verbally and gesturally by Kiera at a break in the performance. She motions to a shrub lying off-camera just behind and to the right of Rachel. They take up the song and clapping again but, at the moment when the gesture comes in, Rachel moves ahead of Kiera and orientates her body and her gaze towards the tree which lies to the left-back of Kiera, at the same time as beginning to extend her arm to point at it. It is Kiera who has to adjust this time, eventually catching up on the third stroke of 'tree tree tree'.

Thus, through the anticipation of gesture preparation in relation to each other, the girls artfully and subtly steer the choice of gesture in their improvised performance. This technique has a number of uses, even in games where one's partner's moves are more predictable. It allows performers to momentarily take control of the game and assert their conceptualisation of one or more of its elements (cf Carspecken, 1996: 35). It allows one performer to challenge the other by testing the speed at which they can follow any innovation introduced in this way. Logically it must also be the way in which one performer 'pushes' the speed of the clapping and quickens the pace. It also has application in the teaching of clapping and the transmission of unfamiliar clapping chants and songs. The success of the strategy nevertheless relies on the ability of one's partner to notice, interpret and react to it in the time allowed by the rhythm and tempo of the music. It also depends on their willingness to adapt to the cue. Ignoring it, however, runs the risk of disrupting the flow of the performance, uncoupling its synchrony and potentially causing it to break down entirely.

We can see how the technique facilitates the kind of composition-in-performance highlighted by Marsh in which two or more people's efforts must be coordinated (2008: 200–206). In terms of Rachel and Kiera's performance, we can view it as a dialogue about what constitutes the game 'A Sailor Went to Sea'. Rachel may be conceptualising it as an 'all-clapping' performance (by preparing the C/P gesture in the first stanza at the first occurrence of the word 'sea', for example, and in her suggestion following the first stanza, 'Shall we do that one where we just have to "sea sea sea" (*miming C/P, C/P, C/P*)?'. Kiera is clearly keen on gesturing and therefore steers the performance towards what Marsh terms 'disjunction by mimetic intrusion' (2008: 265). It is possible that she is displaying an influence from home: she mentions to the researcher, 'my mum and dad learnt it me'. Rachel is not totally averse to Kiera's suggestions but it may be in a bid to reclaim some ground in deciding the direction of the performance that she rejects Kiera's suggestion of 'pull pull pull' and seizes the initiative when it comes to deciding which tree will be pointed to in 'tree tree tree'.

WILDCATS, SAILORS AND OTHER CULTURAL FRAGMENTS

The play-performance analysed in this section was videoed during a lunchbreak at the London school, by one of the research team and contributors to this volume, Chris Richards (CHCR2009-10-05v00062).

In the foreground, three Year Three (seven to eight year-old) girls are developing a dance routine. It seems immediately recognisable as a cheerleader routine: the girls are using cheerleading pom-poms, from among many play resources provided by the school; and the movements they employ resemble, at first glance, the kind of moves UK audiences might recognise from representations of American cheerleaders in film. Cheerleading is part of the UK children's activity scene – there are after school cheerleading programmes in the area

local to the school, and cheerleading themed birthday parties are also available at a local gym.

After a couple of minutes, it becomes clear that the girls are not performing a set routine, but are composing it as they go along; at least one seems to be taking a leading role, and demonstrating each move for the other two to follow.

This composition develops over the whole half-hour of the available playtime, an iterative as well as cumulative process in which moves are added, rehearsed and refined. The girls remain committed to their creative endeavour, unconcerned by the extremely loud noise around them, other kinds of play also visible in the video, and by regular disruptions by lone boys breaking through their routine, though at times clearly interested in it too.

In the background we can see a succession of young girls playing clapping games, well-represented in our study as the previous section in this chapter shows. The words and tune can just be heard over the noise of the playground: it is identifiable as the ubiquitous 'apprentice' clapping game, 'A Sailor Went to Sea, Sea, Sea' (Opie and Opie, 1985; Curtis, 2004), another example of which, from the Monteney playground, has been examined in the previous section.

The first impression, then, is that the two cultures at the heart of our project's research question, the so-called 'traditional' games of the playground and those derived from children's media cultures, are completely separate here. As the lunchbreak draws to a close, however, there is a moment of transformation. The cheerleaders' routine changes into 'A Sailor Went to Sea', though performed with the cheerleading pom-poms instead of the handclapping sequence. Though this is in some ways a performative joke, accompanied by loud laughter and exaggerated movement and singing, it represents two of the ways in which Bishop et al. propose that children employ references to media sources: by *synthesising* them with established games, and by *parody* (Bishop and Curtis, 2006). In this case, however, it is the childlore which is the subject of parody rather than the media sources.

An obvious question for us to explore was the media sources that might lie behind the cheerleading sequence. The girls confirmed in an interview that the sequence was informed by the Wildcats chorus from *High School Musical*, which the survey (see Chapter Two in this book) showed as one of the most popular films for girls in these schools.

Might it be, then, that this sequence consists largely of three girls copying a dance routine from a favourite film? To explore this possibility in more detail, we looked at the Wildcats chorus in the 2006 film of *High School Musical*. None of the movements performed by the girls were evident. However, the style, tempo and rhythm of the piece were similar. To see how close the resemblance was, we stripped out the audio-track from the film sequence and laid it under the video of the girls' performance. It fitted exactly, both in rhythm and tempo. These elements, then (and possibly the words and tune, which they might have been singing), were borrowed from the film. The dance moves, however, came from somewhere else: were they derived, then, from different sources, or made up, and if made up, on the basis of what?

The interview suggests some possibilities (audio transcript CHRW2010-01-15at00008).
Rachel: I think we might have had PE (Physical Education) just in front of it so we did some dancing or something, so it might have got us into….

Rebekah Willett: started you thinking about kind of moving in a certain way?
Diella: Yeah. We got started like we were trying to do something then we got …started dancing then we came up with the idea.

Dance is located in PE in the English National Curriculum, so this is a possible source, though we are not told what kind of moves may have been adapted from the lesson.
Diella (the 'leader' of the composition process) is particularly enthusiastic about dancing in her own time: "I dance anywhere ... I dance in disco's anywhere. I'm not really shy". It becomes apparent that the other two girls regard Diella as an expert, a leader, even a teacher in this field; and furthermore, that Michael Jackson is the inspiration for some of the moves:
Rachel: Remember a few days ago that they were teaching
Diella: Yeah they were trying to learn a Michael Jackson song.
Rachel:….yeah she's trying to teach us some dancing.
Rebekah Willett: Who was?
Diella: Me.
Rebekah Willett: You were trying …to dance like Michael Jackson?
Diella: And the song yeah because they wanted to know 'Billy Jean'.
Alia: So she started teaching us then.

We get an increasingly strong sense of Diella's interest in Michael Jackson, and of the provenance of the routines she develops:
Diella: I know all of the song of 'You're Not Alone', all of it.
Rebekah Willett: 'Billy Jean'?
Diella: No, 'You're Not Alone'.
Voices: 'You're Not Alone'.
Diella: All of it.
Rebekah Willett: Is that a Michael Jackson song?
Diella: Yeah. I know nearly all of the songs of him.
Rebekah Willett: Where did you?
Diella: Sometimes…I just learned them, I don't know. I hear them in everywhere.
Rebekah Willett: Do you watch MTV, is that how you see his dance moves as well?
Diella: No…
Rebekah Willett: Do you look them up on You Tube?
Diella: No, me and my cousins, we go on the computer because our favourite singer like Michael Jackson from the moment. So we've seen lots of videos and we just get the moves.
Rebekah Willett: And then you teach them to Alia and Rachel?
Diella: Yeah because they want to know.

Diella seems to feel as if she acquires this knowledge in a mysterious way, which recalls the cumulative processes of accretion through which oral tradition works: "I don't know, I just learned them. I hear them in everywhere." However, she is also able to provide the less mysterious example of watching online videos with her cousins to "get the moves". This can be seen as a difference between the age of new media and the 70s media cultures of the Opies' respondents. The ability to recall, repeat, and rehearse is the common condition of digital media across all its platforms, informing a cycle of iterative consumption and production we will call *cultural rehearsal* (see Chapter Ten). However, there are also continuities between the cultural practices of these two periods. Both are notable for a migration of popular cultural repertoires from the commercial media of radio and television to the improvisatory bricolage of oral transmission, though also the transmission of

choreographed movement. *The Singing Game*, in the section on Impersonations and Dance Routines (Opie and Opie, 1985: 415-439) includes examples of dances adapted from popular media culture, including routines from Cliff Richard, the Eurovision Song contest, and American dances surviving in the post-war period such as the Tennessee WigWalk and the boogie-woogie.

However, other sources also appeared to have informed the girls' dance routine. The interview revealed that they had been learning about Egypt recently. At one point in the sequence, Diella introduces the 'Walk like an Egyptian' movement. Another possible source for this, however, might be Michael Jackson again, given Diella's viewing of old videos online. The moves of the 'sand dance', popularised 'Walk Like and Egyptian', the Bangles' hit record of 1986, are adapted in the 1992 Michael Jackson song and video, 'Remember the Time', and versions of this are available on YouTube at the time of writing (February 2012).

The evidence suggests, then, that the girls' dance routine incorporates elements from several different sources, amongst them: the tempo and rhythm of the Wildcats chorus; moves from their PE lesson; Michael Jackson moves; Walk Like an Egyptian. Re-fashioned, transformed, stitched together by Diella and taught to the other two, this is a far cry from the casual assumption that the girls are just copying a routine from their favourite film. Instead, this seems to be a choreographic equivalent of the process of composition-in-performance applied to the musical aspects of children's singing games by Marsh (2006).

This notion was proposed within oral-formulaic theory, developed originally to explain and analyse the Homeric epics. It argued that certain formulaic structures enabled the poet to compose in performance, using stock phrases, epithets, narrative structures, character types and so on (Parry, 1930). It was later applied to Serbo-Croatian narrative poems (Lord, 1960). More recent developments engage with social contexts and functions. Finnegan, whose work is particularly relevant to the approach taken in this chapter, relates the literary theory of the oral-formulaic to a sociologically-informed emphasis on context, arguing that the composition and performance of oral poetry can only be fully understood in relation to the social conditions in which they take place, and that it is the social functions of such performances which are of real interest (Finnegan, 1977).

Finnegan also disputes the homogeneity of oral poetry and narrative, proposing that genres, structures and cultural influences overlap, infiltrate and hybridise, so that oral poetry's condition is typically heterogeneous and diverse (1977: 15). We make much the same argument in this chapter in relation to clapping games and cheerleading. Finnegan's argument makes it both impossible and counter-productive to attempt to maintain distinctions between supposedly folkloric forms and contemporary media forms. Once media resources have been absorbed into children's repertoires, they will be passed from child to child in exactly the way that folkloric material is transmitted. Everything becomes assimilated to this process, so that the apparently clear distinctions between folk culture for folklorists, and popular culture for sociologists, become barely tenable. Contextual approaches to folklore have observed this convergence, regarding folklore as informal face-to-face performance drawing on heterogenenous sources (e.g. Buckland, 1983; Handler and Linnekin, 1984). Meanwhile, in the field of new media studies, Henry Jenkins' studies of convergence cultures across different media also make connections with the social practices of folkculture:

> Participatory culture didn't begin or end with the internet. Most of what I am describing as participatory culture can be found in any thriving folk culture. At its best, a folk culture is defined through the expanding opportunities for participation. (Jenkins, 2010)

As Finnegan and Jenkins both imply, then, the social contexts of play have emerged as all-important in our project. They concern the very particular sets of circumstances in which a child's memories of a particular text, or her learnt repertoire of moves, or the hoop, pom-pom or wooden plank to hand, have converged with a moment of boredom, or of excited creative impulse, or of friendship through play, or of transgressive fantasy, to produce a unique event, albeit one which is dense with history and cultural reference. Diella's dance routine is a concatenation of different social moments: iterative viewings of Michael Jackson videos with her cousins; dancing in PE; the iterative business of making stuff up with her friends; performing for the boys. Formulaic memes are shuffled around and adapted, recalled, re-made, rehearsed and performed, susceptible to imitation and memory both for teacher and learner, performer and audience. This looks very like the oral formulaic process, especially in Finnegan's version. It also resembles an informal version of the choreographer, patiently assembling an expert repertoire for teaching through demonstration to pupils. And, in relation to Jenkins's folksonomies and textual poaching, it resembles the work of the media fan, emulating the routines of the star performer.

A final point emphasised in Finnegan's work is the range of communicative modes in which performances of song, dance, story, and drama are devised in these cultures; a question which also applies to children's musical play, as the previous section has demonstrated. To address this question, we need to look at the improvisatory grammars of dance, gesture, movement, and the elusive cultural histories that lie behind them, questions which the next section will address.

Multimodal Performance

The Opies' work began with written notation, focusing mainly on the linguistic features of the games, and it is these features which are interrogated in most detail in their historical analyses of change and continuity over, in some cases, centuries of play. The reason for this is simple: the changing linguistic forms are relatively well-documented. There was no notation of music until *The Singing Game* (1986), by which time they were using analogue tapes, both reel-to-reel and cassette. This, as we have discovered in our exploration of the archive, captured a far greater range of musical variation than was ever transcribed or published. More recently, the study of linguistic features of the games has continued (e.g. Widdowson, 2001), as has study of the musical features (Marsh, 2008; Bishop, 2010).

The picture looks considerably more sparse in relation to other communicative modes. The Opies noted with care the clapping routines, identifying the three-way clap that often, interestingly, accompanies songs in duple time. Other commentators have explored this in more detail since (e.g. Arleo, 2001).

However, the games that the Opies documented involve an infinitely greater range of movement, gesture, dramatic action, mimicry, dance, and embodied expression generally than studies so far have been able to analyse. One good reason for this is the lack of conventional 'grammars' with which to approach such analysis, of the kind that language and music can, to some degree, take for granted. With this in mind, we experimented in our

project with the frameworks of multimodal analysis suggested by the work of, among others, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), Finnegan (2002), and Burn and Parker (2003). One such framework is an analytical grid, adapted from the work of Roberta Taylor (cf., Taylor, 2006). Its function is to identify specific modes in play at each moment of the sequence. The modes represented are: speech, action/gesture, gaze, facial expression, proxemics and music. Table 2 shows an extract of four minutes from the grid used to analyse the cheerleaders' sequence.

Table 2: Multimodal analysis grid of four minutes of the cheerleaders' sequence

Time	Speech	Action /gesture	Gaze	Facial expression	Proxemics	Music
00.10-00.19	inaudible singing, possibly Wildcats chorus	Girl 1 – r-hand in, l-hand in, both hands above head, jump up, touch ground. Girl 2 out of shot. Girls 3 – waving pom-pom with r-hand – jumping.	G1 at Girl 2. G3 at other two.	G1 – serious, intent. G3 smiling.	G1 and two facing each other – dyad – G3 behind/at the side.	Recalled Wildcats chorus. 4/4 march time.
00.20-00.45		G1 repeats the routine. Then improvises – alternate arms, and high leg kicks. G2 out of shot. G3 beginning to imitate the alternating r and l hands.	G1 at G2. G3 at other two.	G1 serious at first, then smiling as she improvises. G3 smiling.	As above.	
00.45-00.57		G1 – shaking pom-poms down; jump up. Kick both legs out.			Dyad	
1.35-1.42		G1 – r-hand in, l-hand in; cross arms, both hands down, shake to l, shake to r, jump up legs apart.			Dyad	
1.43-1.55		G1 and G2 face each other, arms above head, ready to try something.	G1 and 2 at each other. G3 at them. Then all three at each other.		Dyad – then G1 and G2 turn to include G3 in a triad.	
1.55 -		G1 crouches,	All 3 at each		Triad	

		pushing the other two's pom-poms up – trying something new?	other.			
		G2 jumps up – all three put arms/pom-poms in the middle to begin the routine – do alternate hands in to the middle. – boy jumps in the middle, interrupts.	All three at each other.		Triad	
2.29		G1 & 2 do shake-down to l and r, jump/legs apart, point at each other, G2 crossed hands.	G1 and 2 at each other.		Revert to G1 & 2 dyad.	
3.00		Repeating the shake-down movement. G1 tries the 'Egyptian', jokily.	At each other.	G1 laughing.	Move to another part of the space; still moving between dyad and triad.	
		Routine firms up – r hand, l hand, shake-down l and r, jump up/legs apart, now Egyptian incorporated. G2 following closely; G3 increasingly imitating the movements.	At each other.		Still moving between dyad and triad.	
4.00		Two boys appear and seem interested. G1 does demo of routine so far, with extra elements improvised. G2 & G3 join in.	Girl 1 at boys. Boys at G1.		G1 facing the boys; other two girls join in. Girls move to face 'outward'.	

Participants:

Girl 1: Diella

Girl 2: Rachel

Girl 3: Alia

We can see here some of the detail of the choreographed moves devised by Diella. This information in principle allows us to identify specific features and trace the provenance of the movements through additional information, such as the interviews discussed above.
It was impossible, amid the noise of the playground, to hear if they were singing the Wildcats chorus, so the speech and music columns are blank; though again the interview helps us to fill in some of the missing information, and the matching-up of the video and the 2006 *High School Musical* soundtrack produces, as we have seen, specific information about rhythm and tempo, and its likely sources. But what can we say about the meaning?

The social semiotics of sound and music are discussed by van Leeuwen (1999), who argues that apparently formal qualities of music express social meanings, and are never simply formal aesthetic categories (Bourdieu, 1986: 18-19). In the mediaeval church, for example, unmeasured time (as in plainchant) represented the infinite nature of the sacred; while measured time, whether duple or triple, represented the secular (deriving ultimately from measured human actions such as walking or dancing), and was resisted by the church authorities as profane.

How might this approach suggest something about the meanings of the cheerleaders' routine? The rhythm and tempo are the 4/4 march time typical of cheerleading, which has quasi-military associations, in keeping with the uniforms, group formations and team support values of cheerleaders in American football. However, these apparently dutiful institutional meanings combine with others, those of desirable features of teenage female identity, for example, attractive to the 'tween' audiences who form its core demographic, and who aspire to older identities and cultural properties (Willett, 2009). In addition, the meanings which might be imported from *High School Musical* are, as we have seen, combined with others: Michael Jackson might carry similar associations, though gendered meanings are obviously different, and the significance of a cult pop star, especially this one, are clearly quite specific. Meanwhile, the jokey incorporation of the Egyptian dance, and other moves from PE and disco, may all subtly change the social meanings that flutter in and out of this improvisatory process. While these interpretations can only be speculative, they are justifiable given the particular combination of context, text and social action observed here, and represented in the video and interview data.

Other meanings can be derived from the multimodal analysis in the remaining columns. *Proxemics*, for example, refers to the disposition of bodies in space: how proximity represents social distance and relation. This column shows an oscillation between dyad and triad, showing how the third girl, Alia, is at times distanced from the action: briefly separate, and then invited in as part of the threesome. The relationship between Diella as choreographer with the other two as students, is the important social function, with the proxemics expressing this social hierarchy.

The disposition of the girls' bodies as they rehearse and perform the sequence is shown, in the Proxemics column, to shift between an inward-facing *circle* and an outward-facing *line*. Circles are quite foreign to cheerleading, which, like military formations, is always performed in outward-facing lines, rows and squares. The circle is to be found, however, in basic formations of folkdance in different cultures, and is typical of many playground games,

especially clapping games, where performance is for the group itself, not for an external audience (Richards, 2012). In this case, the circle also indicates the exigencies of the compositional process. The girls have to see each other in order to repeat moves demonstrated by Diella, and for the cycle of iteration, evaluation, experimentation, rehearsal to function. In fact, they may never have really intended it for an external audience, as the interview suggests: they say they had considered showing it to the class, but that this never happened, and they grew bored with it.

The fluid movement between the inward-facing circle and the outward-facing line explores the possibilities of the shift from rehearsal to performance in a more immediate way, with passing boys as a provisional audience. Meanwhile, the *Gaze* column reinforces this shift between what, in social semiotics, would be seen as the orientation of the communicative act (Burn and Parker, 2003). The girls' gaze is directed at each other when in the circle formation, and outwards or at the boys when they re-form in a line.

The last column notes *Facial expression*. This column is also marked by an oscillation between two patterns: serious facial expressions and laughter. In general terms, the serious expressions seem to accompany the moments in the compositional cycle which require intense concentration, either of innovation, as Diella works out a new move; or of learning, as the other two acquire it. By contrast, the laughter or smiling seems to indicate the pleasures of repeating moves securely learnt, of the outward-facing quasi-performance, and of the parodic coupling of the clapping game and the pom-poms as the game disintegrates into comedy.

We can summarise the main principles which work across and between these different communicative modes. The first is *rhythm,* built across music and movement: the compelling duple beat of the collective experience of march-time, in this case suggestive of cultural identities on the brink of 'tweenhood', aspiring to teenhood; but also a parodic gesture backwards to a younger girlhood in which 'A Sailor Went to Sea' was the text to aspire to, signalled here by the shift to the triple rhythm of the clapping game. The second is the *line and circle*, the dispositions of body and gaze, suggestive of the oscillation between the iterative cycle of composition and rehearsal, and the show of performance: not neat, orderly shapes, but fluid, disrupted by shifts in the hierarchy of rehearsal and the instability of the proto-audience of boys. The third is the *hybrid provenance* of the cultural resources incorporated into the sequence, signalling, as we have seen, fandom, the interplay between family and peer enthusiasms and affiliations, and a range of styles: relatively serious, jokey, parodic. These resources are subjected to the rapid, improvisatory innovation of composition-in-performance, grown out of the thick cultural bedrock of sedimented memes: movement, song, dance, group formation, clapping.

The absorptive power of performative play

Willett proposes three ways in which children's play and games might draw on their media culture:closely imitative, hybrid/intertextual media-referenced, ambiguously referenced (Chapter Two, this volume). In many ways, the Wildcat Sailors episode bears out these categories; but the analysis of movement here adds to them. Here, however, something more sustained is going on. The dance moves are more deeply intertwined in the structure of the whole piece, rather than supplementary. They form allusion, as we have seen, to choreographed movements in popular cultural texts such as Michael Jackson's dance moves. They are not, however, simply 'lifted', but rather creatively adapted: the routine is clearly not

an emulation of a single source, but rather an original composition incorporating many different sources, identifiable to a greater or lesser extent.

Willett also notes parodic play, as do Bishop and Curtis (2006). This does not seem to appear here until the final section, when the routine is hybridised with 'A Sailor Went to Sea'. It seems to be this, the traditional clapping game, which is the subject of parody, as they exaggerate the moves and scream out the song, perhaps suggesting that this is a routine for smaller girls which they have outgrown.

Conclusion: Reflexive Rhythms

These two analyses, as we have said, consider the multimodal nature of children's musical play. In both cases, it is clear that the modes used do not have equal value, but are fluidly organised in hierarchies of importance, or modal weighting, with movement particularly important. One lesson to be learnt from this is that the close attention to the fine detail of movement produces new interpretations, so that scholars of children's playground games need to balance this against the details of word and melody more often attended to in the past. However, the ethnographic question, as we emphasised in our introduction to this chapter, is the social functions and value of these cultural forms and practices, and specifically of different semiotic modes within them.

Firstly, then, we have considered the relationship between sedimented cultural resources and the innovative purposes they are put to. 'A Sailor Went to Sea' (the words and melody at least) is a resource originating perhaps in the 1930s; while Michael Jackson videos mostly originate in the 1980s and 90s; and the three *High School Musical* films from the first decade of the twenty-first century. From the point of view of these children, the chronology is immaterial. The resources are subordinated to the processes of adaptation, composition and experiment with rhythm and patterned movement that we have seen in both examples. In this respect, we can say that the cultural resources of the past, sedimented forms dense with associative freight, are the necessary condition for innovative work, as Merleau-Ponty argued was the case for language (Bourgeois, 2002; cited in Chapter One). If the processes of playground lore are, then, a dialectic of sedimentation and innovation, then this is, as scholars of folklore have argued for some time, what we should now take 'tradition' to mean:

> ... tradition as a dialectical process within culture ... a process of both continuity and change, stability and variation, dynamism and conservatism, both through time and across space. (Bishop and Curtis, 2000: 10)

In this sense, what these case studies show is a dynamic tradition, where the hybridisation of older folkloric resources and contemporary media resources is entirely to be expected, as the Opies themselves noted. We can also call it creative, not in a vague or celebratory way, but with specific reference to the model of creativity offered by Vygotsky (1931/1988), who argued that it consists of the imaginative transformation we see in play allied to forms of rational thought. Here, the transformations may be those of the movements and rhythms of the various sources; while the rational purpose might be the aesthetic shape of the sequence.

In this example, as is the case with all the data produced in our project, there is a critical intersection of the synchronic purposes to which these resources are put at this moment, in this social context, and the diachronic processes out of which the resources and their associated cultural practices emerge. There are complex histories behind Diella's

improvisatory choreography: the sedimented practices of handclapping games and of cheerleading routines; the cultural history of Michael Jackson; the historic constructions of dance in the school curriculum; the life-histories of these girls and their fandoms, creative skills, friendships and school lives.

In the case of the clapping game, something very specific is happening in the movements of the hand-clapping. The analysis shows how the dyadic structure and the mirroring of movement between the partners requires an attention to the movement of the other partner, and the establishment of a fine balance of pressure to maintain the midpoint of social proximity and power. Aesthetic form here means the physical act of experimenting with this fragile balance, and the difficulty of achieving it, and thereby exploring the purposes and limits of this structure, and the meanings and consequences in terms of micro power, friendship, inclusion and exclusion.

These sequences of movement, in both cases, demonstrate a kind of embodied reflexivity. They draw on the colourful fragments of tradition and media culture, elaborating experimental forays into forms of expressivity which ask vital social questions: who is my friend? What do I like? What does it say about me? Who do we want to be? What am I good at? Embodied, physical play of this kind explores these questions through a range of resources, though our analysis has shown how important *rhythm* is, how it encodes and explores social roles and relationships (Chernoff, 1979). In this way, aesthetic form and social function are indivisible, and they press into service the hybrid traditions of playground life, its obscure skills and physical challenges, its fluid and delicate forms of collaborative effort, its multifarious sources and cultural hinterlands.

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[i] The playworkers on the various play areas of the school during playtime and lunchtime confirmed that they, too, had not witnessed any clapping play among the younger children during this time.

[ii] MPJB2010-05-21v01533, MPJB2010-05-24v01536, MPJB2010-05-24v01542, MPJB2010-05-24v01543.

[iii] This questionnaire aimed to gather qualitative data concerning the extent, nature and degree of knowledge, practice, interest and aesthetics among both boys and girls about clapping play. It encouraged both informational and evaluative comment from the children as well as exploring their past and current engagement with clapping.

[iv] By July 2010, the song had been reinforced by school singing sessions in which the children learnt a version which incorporated the substituted words ‘sea’, ‘chop’, ‘knee’, ‘chestnut tree’ (as disseminated by the national singing programme, *Sing Up*; see http://www.singup.org/songbank/song-bank/song-detail/view/146-a-sailor-went-to-sea-sea-sea/). This appears to have been taught without associated actions in class.

[v] C/O, C/P stand for ‘Clap Own’ hands and ‘Clap Partner’s’ hands (both at once). These abbreviations are borrowed from Marsh 2008: 342.

[vi] The first clause of this speech is difficult to hear so this transcription of it is provisional.

[vii] As is usual with this tune, the range is a minor sixth and melodic movement is confined to seconds, thirds and fourths. It has been transcribed here at the pitch that it was sung by Kiera and Rachel, although they had gradually dropped the overall pitch by about a semitone by the end of the performance.

[viii] These refer to actions, parts of the body or distant lands. They are sometimes recapitulated in the final stanza of the song (‘A sailor went to sea, chop, knee, China’) and, in some

versions, this spells out a phrase ('I love you') or compound word ('Disneyland') (Opie and Opie 1985: 468; Roud 2010: 298–99).
[ix] These distinctions are indebted to Kendon (2004: 176-98).
[x] 'The stroke caries the imagistic content of the gesture and is the phase whose synchrony with speech is maintained by the speaker' (McNeill Lab, n.d.).

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