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## **EMBRACING THE CARNIVALESQUE: YOUNG CHILDREN'S HUMOUR AS PERFORMANCE AND COMMUNICATION**

**LAURA TALLANT**

[l.tallant@bathspa.ac.uk](mailto:l.tallant@bathspa.ac.uk)

Bath Spa University

**ABSTRACT.** Today, in the field of early childhood education and care in the UK we do not always demonstrate a constructive attitude towards humour and laughter. We have seemingly stood by as humour and laughter have been subsumed by rhetoric that intimates their importance and value but, in reality, sits on top of contrasting ingrained authoritative discourses that view humour and laughter as a challenge to seriousness, rationality and innocence—qualities that seem to be highly sought after within the early childhood field. A number of ideas have emerged from my data that suggest that any negativity associated with humour and laughter may be confined to adults, and that children may have a more positive approach that embraces Bakhtin's notion of carnivalesque humour. This paper addresses two findings that reflect the themes of children's humour and laughter as carnivalesque performance and communication. Firstly, it explores the idea that in nursery settings young children may use humour to perform, but not in the conventional performer/audience understanding of the word. Instead, it seems young children may engage in a carnivalesque performance in which there is no distinction between audience and performers. Secondly, the paper examines the notion that young children may use humour and laughter as a significant form of communication between themselves, as well as with adults. Evidence within the data suggests that this communication could facilitate adult understanding of children's intentions and motivations.

**Keywords:** humour; laughter; early childhood practice; performance; communication; carnivalesque

### **Introduction**

The sense of ubiquitous anarchy within the medieval carnivalesque environment—a space that was separate and free from the everyday, and yet in many ways fiercely controlled—leads us to the notion of carnivals being a fitting domicile for humour; especially if we accept the argument that humour always appears to represent an altered version of reality (Mcgraw & Warren, 2010), and that carnivals are the ultimate 'anti-reality' (Bakhtin, 1984a). It is the liberating, anarchic, topsy-

turdy nature of carnivalesque humour that underpins the study addressed within this paper. That children's humour can and, arguably, should be framed as carnivalesque is discussed, supported by findings that suggest the young children in this study can be seen engaging in carnivalesque humour that is manifested in a variety of ways. This finding is substantiated within the paper via a discussion of the data illustrating the children's inclination to exhibit signs of carnivalesque performance within their humour, and to use this form of humour as a means of communicating with peers. As part of the Bakhtinian dialogic methodology (Sullivan, 2012) adopted by the study, a number of Bakhtinian concepts (Bakhtin, 1984a; Bakhtin, 1984b; Bakhtin, 1993) are operationalised in order to analyse the data—concepts which are explained and contextualized later in the paper.

### **Humour and Laughter within Bakhtin's Carnavalesque**

The humour associated with carnivalesque theory Bakhtin terms 'folk humour' and is comprised of three concepts: carnival, laughter and the grotesque (Bakhtin, 1984a). As this paper is concerned with how humour is reflected within the carnivalesque it seems apt to highlight that laughter appears to be the driving force of a carnivalistic awareness of the world, and arguably the backbone of the theory of carnivalesque. Bakhtin stipulates that after its time in a pre-class society, as a phenomenon hailed as sacred and a symbol of the comic—the comic being a concept that had parity of status with the serious—laughter became something much more negative in the eyes of the ruling classes. This pushed it underground and as class society evolved laughter became the domain of the working classes and, far from being the negative phenomenon labelled by those at the top of class society, was a wholly positive symbol of freedom, liberation and belonging for the masses (Bakhtin, 1984a). On this theme Bakhtin suggests that, '[t]he people's ambivalent laughter...expresses the point of view of the whole world; he who is laughing also belongs to it' (1984a, p.12). Akin to the notion of laughter as a driving force is the suggestion that it holds an inordinate amount of power, which is arguably transferred to those who engage in it. The different views of laughter held by those with societal power and those without it seem to place humour and laughter in a dichotomous position, generating cognitive dissonance as the phenomenon appears to be simultaneously positive and negative (Bakhtin, 1984a).

### **Humour and Laughter within Early Childhood Education and Care**

Humour and laughter, as seen within the field of early childhood education and care (ECEC), appear to be subsumed by rhetoric that intimates their importance and value but, in reality, sits on top of contrasting ingrained authoritative discourses (Tallant, 2015). Ingrained ECEC discourses appear to frame humour and laughter as a challenge to seriousness, rationality and innocence—qualities that seem to be highly sought after within the early childhood field (Taylor, 2015). This

paper proposes that framing young children's humour as carnivalesque (an alternative to the more frequently adopted developmental lens; see Mcghee, 1989; Loizou, 2007) can shed light on the reasons that underpin the challenging nature of young children's humour and laughter in the context of early years settings. In addition, the paper argues the need for young children to engage in carnivalesque humour for the benefit of their holistic development. Although the children within this study expressed carnivalesque humour in a variety of ways, this paper focuses on two aspects, performance and communication, in order to highlight the simultaneously positive and negative nature of children's humour in ECEC and offer suggestions as to how this dichotomy might be addressed by practitioners working in the field. Little research that frames young children's humour as carnivalesque has been conducted. White's (2014) study of toddler metaphoricity, however, raises interesting ideas about young children's engagement with and enjoyment of carnivalesque behaviours. She writes about the carnivalesque humour that was expressed by children in the study that passed by unnoticed by well-meaning educators; and argues that further research into the phenomenon is warranted.

### **Procedure and Ethical Considerations**

This paper adopts a Bakhtinian carnivalesque lens to frame children's humour and laughter outside of, but complementary to, the popular paradigm of developmental psychology, using a dialogical methodological framework which operationalizes a range of Bakhtinian concepts (Sullivan, 2012) that are explained later in this section. The study (Tallant, 2015) explored children's humour in an urban, private nursery setting and this paper discusses data generated by eight 3 and 4 year olds of British and Eurasian extraction (3 girls and 4 boys) and me (as researcher) in Key Moment 1; as well as two 4 year old girls of British extraction and one early years practitioner, in Key Moment 2. All of the children (whose names within this paper are pseudonyms) attend the same nursery and have known each other for at least a year. The overarching conceptual framework is predicated upon the idea that early years practice consists of two separate realms: routine and challenging (see Fig. i).

**Fig. i** Conceptual Framework

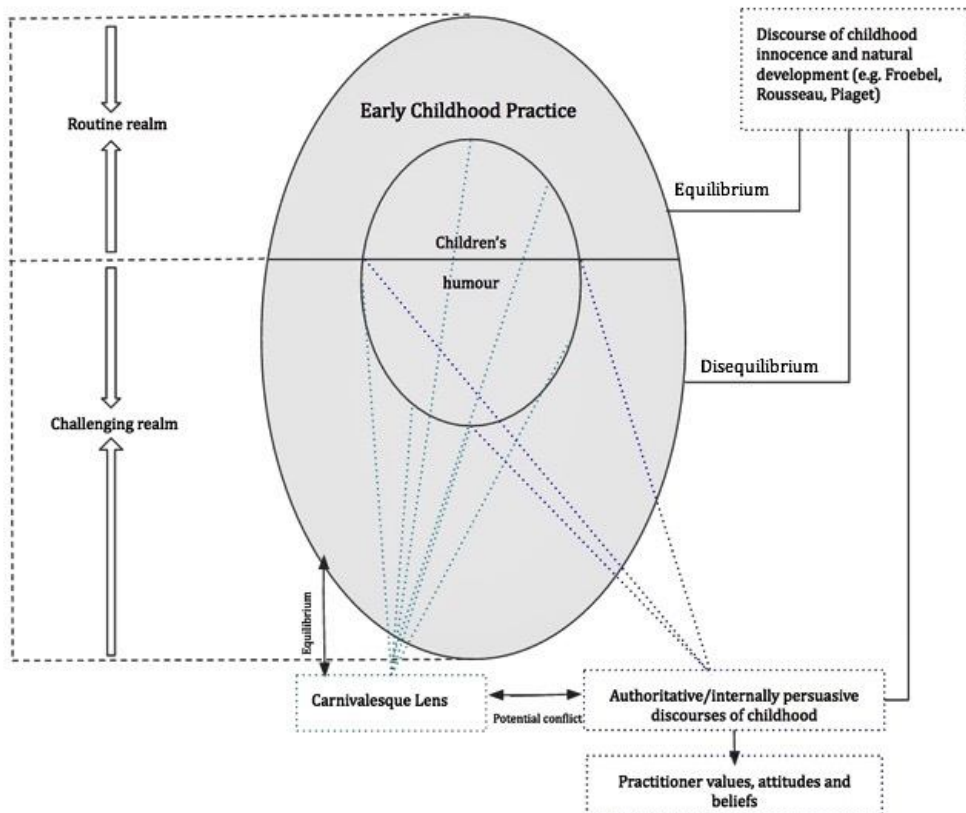


Fig. i depicts the main study's conceptual framework. Based on my experience of working in early years settings, limited relevant literature and data from this study, it can be argued that children's utterances and actions that fit with practitioners' held constructions of childhood sit within the routine realm in the diagram. These constructions are characterised by Rousseauian and Frobelian notions of innocence and Piagetian natural development (Taylor, 2015) and, as long as children's behaviour is in line with these images of innocence and order, equilibrium is maintained for the practitioners. Contrarily, children's utterances and actions that do not fit with these held constructions instigate disequilibrium between practitioners' view of the innocent and naturally developing child, and the behaviour they witness children engaging in which cannot easily be categorized as innocent, and does not necessarily reflect the predicted stages of development (Tallant, 2015). These behaviours appear, for the most part, to fall into the challenging realm depicted in the diagram. However, it has become apparent throughout the study that although many aspects of children's carnivalesque humour do fall into the challenging realm, this is not exclusive. Some aspects of the children's humour, although not necessarily embodying the notion of routine

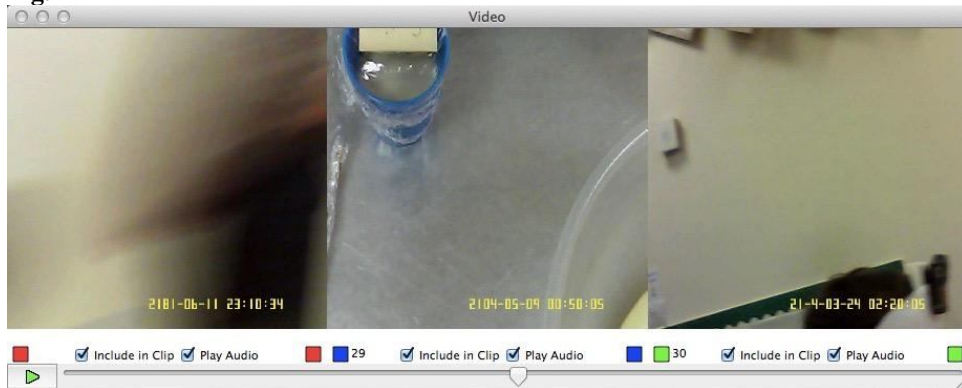
behaviour, appeared not to be wholly subversive or challenging, such as episodes of clowning and ‘topsy-turvy’ language play (Tallant, 2015). As such, this paper focuses on the performance and communicative elements of young children's carnivalesque humour that fall into both the routine and challenging realms described. Via highlighting examples of children’s carnivalesque humour, the following research question is addressed: As performance and communication are both integral to Bakhtin’s theory of carnivalesque, is there evidence within the data of children demonstrating these two concepts within their humour?

The analysis tools utilised within the study were adapted from Sullivan’s (2012) work on dialogical analysis and used utterance, in the form of ‘key moments’, as the unit of analysis. According to Bakhtin (1984b) an utterance is always answerable. Sullivan (2012) suggests that this answerability facilitates meaningful discourse interpretation as the purpose of such interpretation is not to discover a single meaning, but to grapple with the variety of ways that meaning can be experienced. The key moments presented here are comprised of utterances that relate to the research question. In line with another example of dialogical analysis from this project (Tallant, 2015) I drew on the concepts of ‘genre and discourse,’ ‘emotional register,’ ‘chronotope’—or Bakhtin’s idea that ‘different social genres (each with their own social memory, values and traditions) offer different sets of potential to experience and give value to time and space’ (Sullivan, 2012, p. 89). The data is presented both within summary tables and in direct quotations, which affords the opportunity to demonstrate an ‘engagement with different voices’ (Sullivan, 2012, p. 89) in the data. The analysis and discussion elucidate specific aspects of the Bakhtinian concepts operationalized for this research, and illustrate possible methods for exploring their significance in relation to the data.

Full ethical consent was gained from the university ethics committee and, subsequently, data were collected via video observations. The dialogical encounter, or dialogue, with the children in Key Moment 1 involved one static camera (see Keyes, 2006; Loizou, 2007) located within a laptop to film the children; and the observation seen in Key Moment 2 was captured by head cameras worn by the child, practitioner participants and me. It involved the children being filmed watching a film of themselves and interacting with me and each other. The film was comprised of multiple screens displayed side by side, each depicting the same event but from the individual perspectives of those involved (a screenshot of the multiple screens can be seen in fig. ii). In this respect, the video technique used was ‘polyphonic,’ an approach created by White (2013) in light of Bakhtin’s notion of ‘polyphony.’ This term, inspired by Bakhtin’s interest in Dostoevsky’s novelistic approach, when used in a research context, requires the researcher to consider the nature and position of the multiple voices and perspectives present (Sullivan, 2012). These unique viewpoints include what Bakhtin describes as an individual’s ‘visual surplus’ (White, 2014), a concept closely related to polyphony and that explains the way individuals have a unique field of vision, allowing them to see and interpret the world in a way that is inaccessible to others (White, 2016). It is

important to note that this particular key moment is taken from a dialogic encounter with the children and, for ethical reasons (there were children present who did not have parental permission to be part of this study), this encounter was not recorded using the polyphonic video technique. As a result, the analysis of Key Moment 1 does not include reference to the technique. Key Moment 2, however, *was* recorded via the polyphonic method and, as such, it will be referred to within the corresponding analysis.

**Fig. ii**



### **Data Analysis: Humour as Carnavalesque Performance and Communication**

The following key moment formed part of the children’s first dialogic encounter: an experience designed to give the children an opportunity to respond to their behaviour captured on film.

#### ***Key Moment 1 – Children’s Dialogic Encounter 1: ‘I fell on my bottom’***

(The children are sitting around a laptop waiting to watch films of themselves that were captured from the head cameras they wore during the observation process. The films are made up of more than one screen, each screen showing the images from an individual head camera or from one of the static cameras—see the screenshot in fig. ii.)

**Ermintrude:** Oliver’s on it. (In the video, Oliver is dancing and then slips, falling on to the floor).

**VIDEO:** Oliver: I fell on my bottom. Elsa: You fell on your bottom? Oooooh. (Sebastian laughs and Oliver, Ermintrude and Dave and Annabelle smile and Oliver looks at Laura).

**Laura:** (With a neutral facial expression) You fell on your bottom, Oliver.

(Oliver smiles, walks away from the laptop and falls over exaggeratedly, whilst laughing. Annabelle watches him and then exaggeratedly falls off the child-sized sofa. Laura, now smiling) Are you falling again?

**Oliver:** Yeah (smiles and comes back and sits down on front of the screen). I want to see me again.

**Laura:** You want to see you again? (The other children do not seem keen to do as Oliver suggests) Well, we've got another one here and I think Nathaniel is in this one... (The video continues to play and all of the children watch the screen as Nathaniel is singing in the video. Oliver then jumps up and falls onto the floor, exaggeratedly, once again. He turns back to the screen smiling. Oliver laughs and Sebastian laughs, too. Sebastian jumps up and falls onto the floor.)

**Ermintrude:** It goes like this, (falls on to the floor) buuurrrr (smiles).

Based on joint exploration and analysis of this key moment, the practitioner participants and I engaged in a dialogue which influenced the conception of a Summary Table of Key Moment 1 (Fig. iii).

**Fig. iii** Summary table of Key Moment 1 (headings from Sullivan, 2012)

Participants	Key Moment	Genres and Discourse	Emotional Register of learning/truth	Time-space elaboration (chronotope)	Context
Ermintrude, Annabelle, Alice, Oliver, Sebastian, Dave, Nathaniel, Yanto and Laura (me)	Dialogic Encounter 1 (Child participants)	Carnavalesque – performance, free communication between unlikely individuals, clowning, mimicry	Humour/the comic, joy, denial, uncertainty, togetherness	Reflecting on the past, time as full of potential	Organised dialogic encounter – the children watched the video on own volition and were free to stop watching at any point.

Key Moment 1 can be characterised as embodying the carnivalesque genre and exhibiting a carnivalesque discourse, due to the children’s (in particular, Oliver, Annabelle and Ermintrude’s) engagement in playful performance where a blurring of boundaries between the performers and the audience occurs. Bakhtin argues that ‘carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators’ (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 6) supporting the idea that a performance in which the boundaries are blurred could be described as carnivalesque. Further, he suggests that ‘[c]arnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people’ (ibid.), an idea that reflects Annabelle and Ermintrude’s acts of mimicking Oliver falling over and their apparent display of an emotional register of



desire to be part of the performance. Further evidence of the carnivalesque nature of this key moment comes from the instances of clowning that can be seen. Oliver's staged fall—after seeing himself fall over in the film—and Annabelle and Emrmintrude's mimicry, embody the idea of carnivalesque performance as acts of clowning. Bakhtin stipulates that clowning and fools 'are characteristic of the medieval culture of humor' and that in medieval times clowns and fools were 'constant, accredited representatives of the carnival spirit in everyday life out of carnival season' (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 8) illustrating that the children's 'performances' could be described as being carnivalesque in spirit, and as inhabiting a chronotope in which time is full of potential. In support of this, it can be argued that clowns represent a sense of 'standing on the borderline between life and art' (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 8), thus placing the children in an empowered position of being able to act and/or re-enact their roles however they wish and, importantly, in a space which is outside of any perceived need to be understood by others.

Previous experience of the children's friendship groups, coupled with testimonies from the practitioner researchers, suggests that the alliance between Oliver, Ermintrude and Annabelle was not necessarily a common occurrence. The data suggest that a shared desire to engage in a humorous carnivalesque performance brought them together, an idea that Bakhtin argues reflects the essence of relationships and communication within carnivals, where 'a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided' (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 10).

The notion of time being full of potential pours through this key moment. Arguably, it is most evident in the children's enjoyment of watching themselves on the screen; the reenactment of past events they are reminded of by the video; and the contagious nature of their smiles and laughter. The children's shared experiences of reminiscing, reenactment and humour within the key moment embody a sense of potential, possibly highlighting for the children that things are never finished, never completed, and can be renewed (Bakhtin, 1984a). In essence, old experiences can become new experiences and be played with all over again: a theme which is central within a carnivalesque view of the world.

For ethical and methodological reasons (Tallant, 2015), it is important to note the final column of the analysis table: the context. Key Moment 1 took place in a familiar environment for the children and, one where I was a visitor and where they welcomed me into what they viewed as 'their' space, offering them an opportunity to feel an element of control. I asked all of the children, individually, if they would like to watch a video of themselves and that, if they did, it would be playing over in the corner of the room. Once a group of children had sat down waiting for the video to play, I asked if any of them minded me playing a video that starred all of them, and whether they minded all of us watching it. In addition, I reminded them that they could, at any time, ask me to stop the video if they changed their minds and that they were free to stop watching the video whenever they chose. A number of children did just that, returning later when they deemed something of interest

might be occurring. That they felt free (Bakhtin, 1984a) and at liberty to dip in and out of the screening is another indication that the carnivalesque genre was at play in Key Moment 1.

The next key moment was gleaned from an observation of a free-play scenario involving two children and one early years practitioner.

***Key Moment 2: Eggs, beans and sausages***

(Elsa—a practitioner—and Eloise are sitting together at a table. Elsa is pretending to be on the phone to Eloise's nanna. Emily is standing beside them, watching their interaction).

Elsa: Hello Eloise's Nanna (Eloise giggles). Hello. Yes, she's been a good girl (Eloise giggles). Bit cheeky is our Eloise...

Eloise: Yeah.

Elsa: Isn't she? What is she doing? She is playing with the tea set. She's making me eggs, beans and sausageeeeeees. (Eloise laughs). Yum yum yum. Egg, beans and sausages.

Eloise: Have you finished...can I have it back?

Elsa: I have...ooo...whose is it now?

Emily: It's my nanna (smiles).

Elsa: Is it your nanna? Oh you say hello to your nanna...well...oh...(Elsa mimes being on the phone again). Hello Emily's nanna. (Emily laughs). Yeah.

Eloise: I've got eggs now. I've got eggs.

Elsa: Emily's been a good girl too. (Emily is laughing and Elsa laughs too. Eloise is smiling.). What is she doing? Well she's giggling actually. She's giggling in my ear. (Emily continues to laugh). Yes. She's being cheeky too. Bye bye. Ooooo, it's my nanna now. My nanna's on the phone. You talk to my nanna.

Emily: Hello, bye bye (laughs and Eloise laughs too).

Elsa: (laughs) You've not said hello to my nanny...

Eloise: (mimes taking the phone from Elsa) Hello, bye bye (laughs and Elsa laughs).

Elsa: Can you tell her what I've been doing?

Emily: It's my, it's my ya ya (laughs).

Elsa: (smiling) It's what?

Emily: (laughing) It's my (Eloise laughs) ya ya. (all laugh).

Elsa: Who's ya ya? (all laugh). What does ya ya mean?

Emily: Ya ↑ya means...mummy.

Elsa: Ah, is that mummy in French? Mama?

Emily: That’s my, that’s my mummy.

Elsa: Oh. Go on then, say hello to your mummy.

Emily: You say hello to my mummy.

Elsa: Oh hello, it’s a dog. Hello ...

Emily: No it’s ↑NOT a dog, it’s my mummy.

Elsa: Oh hello Emily’s mummy. Yes, she’s looking forward to going to the hotel tonight. Yes.

Once again, the practitioner participants and I engaged in dialogue to analyse this key moment and our reflections influenced the conception of the Summary Table of Key Moment 2 (Fig. iv).

**Fig. iv** Summary Table of Key Moment 2 – Eggs, Beans and Sausages

Participants	Key Moment	Genres and Discourse	Emotional register of learning/truth	Time-space elaboration (chronotope)	Context
Elsa, Eloise and Emily	‘Eggs, Beans and Sausages’	Carnavalesque genre – clowning, anti-reality	humour joy connectedness with peers and authority figure jouissance (Barthes, 1975) displeasure personal power	Time as having potential and uncertainty	Free-play time. Interaction with peers and a practitioner moving between carnivalesque and ‘real world’ spaces

The occurrence of role-play where the children and practitioner inhabit a pretend ‘second life outside officialdom’ (Bakhtin, 1984a, p.6) and encapsulate a sense of ‘anti-reality’ (Bakhtin, 1984a) supports the key moment’s categorisation within the carnivalesque genre. Again, the experience appears to unite those who, outside of the carnival space, may be separated, this time by barriers of age and hierarchy, but within this carnivalesque space are ‘considered equal’ (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 10). In everyday nursery life we may see a natural divide between the children and the practitioner as a result of the significant age difference and due to the hierarchy that exists between adults, in this context viewed as human ‘beings,’ and children, who are often viewed as ‘human becomings’ (Qvortrup, 2005). In addition, the experience seems to facilitate the formation of ‘human relations’ that are ‘not only a fruit of imagination or abstract thought’ (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 10) but are ‘experienced’ (ibid.), placing the scenario within a chronotope that embodies

potential, as 'pravda' or 'lived truth' (Sullivan, 2012) and in the sense that length of time and parameters of space appear indeterminate, yet almost tangibly real. This is supported by the actions of Eloise, Emily and Elsa whose polyphonic video footage seems to show them engaging in focused interactions. This can be seen via the children's and practitioner's screens showing whomever is speaking at the time, with the head cameras remaining focused on the speaker until someone else takes over. Research supports the idea that the levels of focus seen in this carnivalesque interaction could signify significant and meaningful human, relational communication, as well as the children's desire to engage in attuned, concordant, intersubjective experiences with others; a phenomenon which it is argued develops from an early age (Stern, 1985; Trevarthen & Aitken, 2001).

The emotional register of Key Moment 2 has a sense of Barthes' (1975) *jouissance* or sheer 'bliss', particularly when Emily joins in and is laughing as she is trying to say 'it's my ya ya'; an invented phrase which is nonsensical. Emily's anticipation of Elsa's response elicits an almost hysterically joyful response in her, akin to Barthes' concept which he suggests is a form of joy on higher plane.

Although this key moment only lasts for minutes, it appears that *jouissance* and displeasure both inhabit the space. They do so at separate times but, that they both appear in this short scenario illustrates the speed at which the mood apparently changes. The moment of change occurs when Elsa takes the play in a different direction by suggesting that there is a dog on the other end of the phone. Emily reacts to this quite strongly, highlighting her displeasure at this turn of events, and exclaiming '[n]o it's ↑NOT a dog, it's my mummy,' seemingly wishing to leave Elsa in no doubt that this turn of events was unwelcome. In this moment, Emily steps out of the play frame (Garvey, 1977) to correct Elsa and there is a sudden change of emotional register. Far from this event souring the mood and pushing Key Moment 2 away from the carnivalesque genre, this sudden change strengthens the notion of the key moment's carnivalesque nature. The concepts of change and the unexpected can both be described as being carnivalesque traits (Bakhtin, 1984a) and, although there is sudden jump from being inside the play frame to being outside, Elsa takes the issue in hand and immediately attempts to rescue the situation.

Another identifiable carnivalesque trait present within this key moment is the idea that the children and Elsa are acting out a scenario which seems familiar to all present and almost re-modelling it and playing with it as the children explore one another's developing personalities at the same time as almost testing what they believe Elsa's personality to be, almost in an act of transactional analysis (Solomon, 2003) and whether or not it can be flexible within a play scenario. Elsa tells the person on the phone that Eloise is being 'good' and that she is also 'cheeky,' suggesting that it is possible to be both and the two are not mutually exclusive. In this act, Elsa seems to be confirming that she is happy to blur any existing hierarchical boundaries and relinquish any sense of authority, momentarily, to exaggerate her practitioner role for the purposes of the play, and

engage with the children as an equal: the blurring of hierarchies, equality and exaggeration all being strong carnivalesque themes (Bakhtin, 1984a).

Outside of the carnivalesque space, when the barriers between adults and children are restored, it can be argued that the children only have access to imagined equality between themselves and practitioners. Entering into a space characterised by a carnival spirit enables them to engage in a lived experience of truth or 'pravda' of 'free and familiar contacts' (Bakhtin, 1984a) between themselves and the practitioner: 'pravda' being explained by Bakhtin as 'individual truth' that is 'artistic and irresponsible' and opposed to truth as 'istina' which is said to represent universality (Bakhtin, 1993).

## **Conclusion**

The examples of humour depicted here suggest that the children in these scenarios do show signs of carnivalesque performance and communication. Further, they suggest that engaging in humorous carnivalesque performance and communication was a positive experience for them. It appeared to bring together those who would not normally mix; facilitate the children's awareness of each other's developing personalities; and provide a space in which equality was palpable, thereby offering a safe space to explore ways of communicating. It would be positive for the practitioners to initiate the creation of such conditions by ensuring that the non-physical environment facilitates the generation of what Fine & Wood (2010) call a 'joking surround.' This would be a space where, arguably, affiliative humour—that oils the wheels of social interaction, creating a sense of common ground and lessening perceived social gaps between people (Vaillant, 1977; Hopton et al., 2013) would thrive.

Extending this to the wider context of early years education, if Tobin's suggestion that practitioners can experience 'fear of dissolution of boundaries' (1997, p. 165) and if carnivalesque humour presents a clear challenge to the establishment of boundaries (Bakhtin, 1984a), then it would follow that practitioners' meaningful consideration of how receptive they are to providing space for carnivalesque humour would be positive for young children. Further, perhaps practitioners would benefit from support to challenge any negative or neutral feelings towards young children's humour and to encourage and, importantly, at times adopt 'positive disregard' (Tallant, 2015), or a pedagogical blind eye towards children's engagement with carnivalesque humour, in order for children to engage in a carnivalesque world situated 'under the radar'. From the perspective of the English Early Years Foundation Stage (Early Education, 2012), the formation of an 'enabling environment' by sympathetic professionals may empower young children to explore their unique and blossoming identities, form positive relationships and be inspired to learn, for instance, by taking on the subversive, positive, folklore-bound identity of a carnivalesque clown.

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**Laura Tallant** is a Senior Lecturer in Early Childhood Education at Bath Spa University and studying for a PhD at the University of East Anglia. Her research frames young children’s humour in early childhood settings as carnivalesque and adopts a Bakhtinian dialogical methodology to explore the nature and place of young children’s humour, and adult responses to it.