Generating morality in directive sequences: Distinctive strategies for developing communicative competence in Japanese caregiver–child interactions

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Abstract

In an attempt to reconsider communicative competence, this study focused on how young Japanese children and their caregivers mold interactions involving directive sequences, paying special attention to practices related to *omoiyari* ("empathy"), a distinctive value in Japanese culture. This analysis clarified several strategies used by caregivers and children to capture the attention of recipients during directive sequences. These strategies constitute distinctive phenotypes of communicative competence in Japanese caregiver–child interactions and are induced by the structural requirements of conversational settings, which rest primarily on universal elements. Analysis of these strategies disentangles the intriguing relationships among various codes of communicative conduct and illuminates how culturally shared morality, which is associated with the distinctive values of Japanese culture, is transmitted across generations.

Keywords

Introduction

Communicative competence in caregiver–child interactions

According to Hymes (1972, p. 277), communicative competence involves knowing "when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner." In anthropology, this idea focuses on social knowledge about how and when to use utterances appropriately. Hence, anthropological studies of communicative competence have examined how language and other semiotic resources are used in social settings (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). Instead of seeing children as immature, this line of research has demonstrated that even toddlers can employ sophisticated strategies to achieve their purposes in everyday interactions (e.g., Brown, 2002; de León, 2010).

Instructional settings involving teachers and students, instructors and trainees, and experts and novices provide keys to understanding the development of communicative competence. In particular, children and caregivers collaboratively develop communicative

competence by making use of the specific features of contexts. Focusing on the everyday settings in which language is learned, this paper examines the directive sequence involving the perception, deployment, and dissemination of communicative competence. The settings in which language is learned and taught, such as the directive sequence, are the primordial sites of sociocultural production and reproduction, which perpetuate and transform the local communicative competence or particular "habitus" of cultural actors (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

Directness–indirectness of directives

Directives are broadly defined as utterances designed to get (an) addressee(s) to perform a goal-oriented action (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1976) or, in brief, as "an utterance intended to get the listener to do something" (Goodwin, 2006, p. 107). To date, research examining directives has widely agreed that they can be understood in terms of a scale ranging from very direct (imperatives: "Gimme a match") to very indirect (hints: "The matches are gone") (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Falsgraf and Majors, 1995). All languages almost certainly have a variety of language-specific expressions whose meanings can be placed on the directness–indirectness continuum. In this respect, Clancy (1986) proposed a "scale of directness" for Japanese caregiver–child interactions (CCIs) based on data obtained from Japanese mothers while they were issuing directives to their 2-year-old children. The study indicated that a wide range of grammatical forms is used to moderate the directness–indirectness of directives. According to Clancy (1986, p. 222), directives are intrinsically "face threatening" (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967) to the addressee and thus easily lead to a violation of the Japanese ideal of empathy. The tendency of Japanese individuals to resort to indirectness as a less coercive means of conveying a directive is thus not surprising. Telling a child what to do and refrain from doing is a way to communicate what the caregiver deems to be socially appropriate behavior for the child. Other researchers have applied the "scale of directness" developed by Clancy (1986) to analyses of expert–novice discourse among Japanese individuals (Burdelski, 2006; Falsgraf and Majors, 1995). In this article, I propose a modified version of the scale of directness (see below) based on Clancy's (1986) model.

The classification of direct and indirect speech acts depends on the transparency of the utterance and, in particular, on the degree to which the agent, action, and/or object is specified (Burdelski, 2006, p. 90). The directness of a directive is influenced not only by the grammatical forms of the utterance, but also by its prosodic features, the gestures produced with the utterance, and the context in which the utterance is made. Consequently, although speakers may make use of particular grammatical forms to indicate a directive's degree of directness or indirectness, the role of each grammatical item is not always the same. Indeed, additional work is required to analyze the meanings of directives conveyed in the course of actual talk-in-interactions, which provide

opportunities to analyze language, culture, and social organization as integrated components of a single system (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992, p. 23).

Teaching *omoiyari*: Socialization with respect to a dominant Japanese value

Researchers in a variety of fields examining Japanese culture have noted the importance of *omoiyari* when raising children. This notion includes thoughtfulness and consideration toward others, sympathy for others' feelings and circumstances, and recognition and understanding of others' will, desires, and emotions (Endo, 2000, pp. 23–25). *Omoiyari*, often translated into English as "empathy" (Clancy, 1986), "sensitivity to others," or "understanding others" (Horoiwa, 2003, p. 13), is usually described as a distinctive value of Japanese culture (Shimizu, 2001). Horoiwa (2003) further emphasized that training in *omoiyari* can be effective not merely in relationships with humans, but also in relationships with animals and other life forms, such as plants. Researchers have asserted that this view can be traced to the philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintoism, in which it is embedded, which are based on the interconnectedness of human beings and all other living things, including inanimate objects and the spirits of the deceased. The ideal of harmony among humans, the gods, and nature has been argued to be a cornerstone of Japanese religion, and belief in the interconnectedness of human beings and all other living things has penetrated deeply into the everyday lives of Japanese individuals (see Earhart, 2004, pp. 7–8, 14–15; Johnson, 1993, p. 76).

Researchers have claimed that directive sequences contain examples that can be used to teach *omoiyari* (Burdelski, 2006; Clancy, 1986). Directives are closely related to instructional activities, particularly in the context of language socialization (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). For instance, directives in CCIs are often issued when a caregiver observes a child's misconduct or breaching of commonly accepted values. Several studies of Japanese socialization have claimed that such situations provide caregivers with a context in which to train children to be sensitive to the needs, wishes, and feelings of others or, in brief, to teach *omoiyari* (Burdelski, 2006; Clancy, 1986; Horoiwa, 2003).

Hymes (1972) defined communicative competence as the knowledge that a speaker requires to function as a member of a social group. Such knowledge must be closely associated with "sensitivity to others," "empathy," or *omoiyari*. Only through ethnographically grounded work can we begin to identify universal aspects of the empathic process and specify those that are more culturally shaped and determined (Hollan and Throop, 2011, p. 2). Hence, analyzing how young Japanese children are socialized into *omoiyari*, a distinctive value in Japanese culture, should help us to better understand the development of communicative competence.

Purpose and method

Based on the aforementioned considerations, this study examined the distinctive features of directive sequences in dynamic talk-in-interactions between Japanese children and their caregivers. Special attention was paid to practices related to *omoiyari* in the reconsideration of the concept of communicative competence. This study constitutes part of a broader examination of the cultural formation of responsibility, focusing on the developmental transition whereby children's responses become behavioral patterns that meet caregivers' expectations (Takada, 2012). For this purpose, I will focus, from the perspectives of participants, on how mutual understanding is achieved in multi-party interactions *via* directive sequences. Japanese caregivers are said to believe that animating speech, as a form of "simplification" or "paraphrasing," is easier for a child to understand than other kinds of speech (Burdelski, 2006, p. 280). This paper examines these notions.

The data used in this study were collected as part of a longitudinal study of Japanese CCIs in the Kansai area, which was the site of the imperial capital of Japan for nearly 1200 years before the capital was relocated to Tokyo. Beginning in 2007, the research team visited 18 middle-class families with children aged 0–5 years. The families were chosen from among those who expressed interest in the Kyoto University Child Development Research Group (http://www.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~sitakura/infant_scientist.html). All families used the Kansai dialect for daily communications.[1] Although Kansai people are stereotypically considered to be more assertive and brash than are other Japanese populations, no clear evidence to support this opinion is available. Some mothers who participated in this study were pregnant during the data-collection period. The researchers recorded about 2 h of interactions per month in natural settings in the home. The video clips, which totaled about 500 h, were transcribed to yield the data set. Orientations derived from conversation analysis (Schegloff, 2007) and linguistic anthropology (Duranti, 1997, 2004) were used as theoretical frameworks to enable exploration of the management of micro-interactions through multimodal, intersubjective, socialization-based, and participatory exchanges and to mediate between micro- and macro-analyses of sociocultural processes. This paper reports on the preliminary analysis of the aforementioned data set and primarily uses examples of toddlers, their younger siblings, and their caregivers.

Results and Discussion

I extracted directive sequences from the data set and classified caregivers' directives and children's responses into several categories. Categories of caregivers' directives, which were

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[1]Recently, researchers have examined naturally occurring interactions employing the Kansai dialect (e.g., Ball, 2004; Burdelski, 2006; Koyama, 2001).

combined to form strategies designed to guide children toward appropriate behavior, are discussed first.

Caregivers' directives: Dimension of directness–indirectness

        Directive sequences were seldom completed in a single adjacency pair. When a caregiver issued a directive, the child often responded with an utterance that was in compliance with the directive (see "Children's responses to caregivers' directives"). Following the child's reaction, the caregiver often modified the type of directive used to regulate that child's behavior.

        As noted above, previous studies have proposed a "scale of directness" for classifying directives. Here, I propose a modified version of the scale of directness originally presented by Clancy (1986) based on the analysis of the present data set. The classification of utterances according to the extent of directness or indirectness contributes to the understanding of variations in directives. Unlike Clancy's (1986) model, which presents a unidimensional continuum from directness to indirectness, I propose a multidimensional scale of directness. As shown in Table 1, which presents a portion of each action taken by the participants ($n = 316$), this examination focuses on at least two independent dimensions.

Table 1. Caregivers' directives: Dimensions of "directness" ($n = 316$)

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1. Intensity of action (from more intensive to less intensive)

	n	Rate
Command	37	12%
Request	111	35%
Suggestion	70	22%
Prompt	50	16%
Invitation	14	4%

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2. Change in footing

	n	Rate
Reported speech	29	9%
Speech to a figure	5	2%

        First, the degree of directness, determined by the intensity of action,[2] ranged from (1) "commands," such as utterances in which the verb takes the form of the imperative -*nasai*; to (2) "requests," such as utterances that take the form of the compound verb V-*te-kureru* (V + TE + give); (3) "suggestions," such as utterances that take the conditional form V-*tara* (V + COND); (4) "prompts," such as utterances that take the form of the compound verb V-*te-goran* (V + TE + try); and (5) "invitations," such as utterances that take the form of volition. Of these, requests were observed most frequently, followed by suggestions and prompts (Table 1). The following

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[2]Following the conventions of conversation analysis research (Schegloff, 2007), I use the term "action" to indicate what each utterance is doing in a conversational sequence.

examples were transcribed from our data set. Each line includes the original Japanese utterance, word glosses, and the English translation.[3]

(1) Command (SG_Y080113_2: 259)
   K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant), F (father)
   K: o.
      IJ
      o.
->F: to, ton'nel wo   tsukuri nasai, ton'neru
          tunnel ACC make   IMP   tunnel
       Make a tu, tunnel. ((Make)) a tunnel

(2) Request (SG_Y080113_2: 354)
   K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant)
->M: shime-t-oi-te,   koko.
       close-TE-put-TE here
       Keep it shut.
   K: nande?
       why
       Why?

(3) Suggestion (KT_A080222_1: 399)
   M (mother: 9 months pregnant),   C (2:9)
->M: koko ni shima-tt-oi-tara? ((M points to a toy bag.))
        here DAT store-TE-put-COND
        What about storing ((it)) here?
   C: ((C put a toy necklace into the toy bag.))

(4) Prompting (TM_K080730_1: 715)
   Ko (1:1), S (3:1), M (mother)
   M: jaa sore one:chan   ni   douzo   shite
       then it   HON-e.sister DAT "here you are" do
       Then give it to the elder sister,
->M: one:chan   ni   douzo   tte
       HON-e.sister DAT "here you are" QT
       saying "here you are" to the elder sister.
   Ko: u: ((K goes toward his father and sister while holding a puzzle piece.))

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[3]In the excerpt, utterances are transcribed according to a modified version of the conventions developed in conversation analysis research (for details, see Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007). Information important for the utterance is indicated in double parentheses: (( )). Equal signs (=) indicate run-on utterances or an utterance that has been interrupted by someone else. Pause length is marked in parentheses, in tenths of a second (e.g., (0.6)). Overlap of utterances is marked by square brackets: [ ]. Two degree signs (° °) enclose remarks that were markedly softer in tone than the discussion surrounding it. An up arrow (↑) marks an increase in the pitch of the voice. Talk between "more-than" and "less-than" symbols has been compressed (> <) or slowed down (< >). Audible laughter is indicated by the letter "h," and additional "h"s indicate sustained laughter. Stressed words have been underlined, and single parentheses indicate that an utterance was unintelligible or made by an unidentifiable source. Interlinear gloss abbreviations are indicated as follows: ACC: accusative, ASP: aspect marker, CAU: causative suffix, COND: conditional form, COP: copula, DAT: dative, DIM: diminutive marker, HON: honorific marker, IJ: interjection, IMP: imperative form, LK: linker, NEG: negative, NOM: nominative, PFT: perfect, PP: pragmatic particle, PST: past, Q: question marker, QT: quotative particle, SSW: sound-symbolic word, TE: conjunctive (-te form), TOP: topic particle, VOL: volitional suffix.

(5) Invitation (SG_Y080113_2: 138)
    K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant)
->M: ja, isshoni   nor-o-kka?
       then together ride-VOL-Q
       Then shall ((we)) ride ((on it)) together?
    K: un.
       yeah
       Yeah

The grammatical items noted above are modals or modal auxiliaries, which include a variety of morphological classes with respect to the verbal forms to which they are attached and the classes of inflection to which they belong. Within the tradition of Japanese linguistics, they are characterized as expressions of subjectivity (Takubo, 2009, pp. 151–152). Although the directness of directives may appear to be determined by grammatical form, this form comprises only part of a broader range of resources that organize talk-in-interactions. The behavior of each grammatical item is thus not predetermined, but instead depends on how it is used during the course of dynamic interactions.

Second, the directness of directives is affected by differences in footing. Goffman (1981) deconstructed the concept of speaker in relation to the production format of utterances. For example, when a spokesperson for the Japanese government reports a statement issued by the Prime Minister, s/he is considered to be an *animator* of the statement; the *principal* is the Prime Minister, and the *author* is usually a bureaucrat. Differences in production format reflect differences in footing. In our data set, (6) "reported speech" and (7) "speech to a figure" accounted for 9% and 2% of all cases respectively (Table 1). Reported speech involves quoting or reporting the speech of others or attributing speech to others. According to the "scale of directness" proposed by Clancy (1986), reported speech is considered to be an "attributive directive" located toward the less-direct side of the scale. Several researchers (e.g., Aoki, 1986; Burdelski, 2006; Clancy, 1985; Maynard, 1996) have pointed out that reported speech in Japanese, which includes complex grammatical forms that can reflect epistemological nuances, is an obscure construct that can be represented in ways that differ from its English counterpart. This characteristic also applies the next type of utterance, "speech to a figure," in which the speaker talks to a figure (Goffman, 1981), including an inanimate object.

(6) Reported speech (TM_K080528_2: 504)
    Ko (0:11), S (2:11), F (father)
    F: sore. sore kosuke asonde-ta-yo ima. kashi-te-age-te
       it   it   Name   play-PST-PP now lend-TE-CAU-TE
       That one. Ko played with it now. Please lend ((it to him)).
->F: hora: kosuke, kocchi no okkina basu ga   iina: tte i-tteru.
       look Name   here   LK big   bus NOM nice QT say-ASP
       Loo:k. Ko is saying, "This big bus is n:ice."

(7) Speech to a figure (KT_A080222_1: 546)

M (mother: 9 months pregnant), C (2:9)
C: omawari san wa? ((C sits in a place surrounded by toy rails.))
   policeman Mr. Q
   What about a policeman?
->M: omawari san hitori de ya-tte-age-te
   Policeman Mr. alone by do-TE-CAU-TE
   "Policeman, please do it alone."

In the next section, I will examine how these strategies are employed in actual interactions to provide insight about their cultural distinctiveness.

Caregivers' strategies: attracting the attention of the child and eliciting interaction
In example (8), 37-month-old K was playing with toy trains at home. His father (F) watched him while sitting on the floor. His mother (M) was 9 months pregnant with her second child. She also watched her son while sitting on the floor.[4]

[Insert link to video 1(ll. 1–10) approximately here]

(8) Modifying the intensity of directives (SG_Y080113_2: 256)
K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant), F (father)
1 F: °yai°
   IJ
  °yai°
2 F: ton'neru tsuku-tte-age-tara,   ton'neru
   tunnel   make-TE-CAU-COND tunnel
   What about making a tunnel?
3 K: o.
   IJ
   o.
4 F: ton'neru sa:n, tsuku-tte-age-tara.
   tunnel Mr. make-TE-CAU-COND
   What about making Mr. Tunnel?
5 F: ja::n to (kisha detekuru wa)
   IJ   as train come out PP
  (The train will come out) like ja::n
6 K: o.
   IJ
   o.
7 F: to, ton'nel wo   tsukuri nasai, ton'neru
      tunnel ACC make   IMP   tunnel
   Make a tu, tunnel. ((Make)) a tunnel
8 F: dokka   ni   ton'neru san.
   somewhere DAT tunnel   Mr.
   ((Make)) Mr. Tunnel somewhere
9 F: ton'neru, tsuku-tte-mi-tara
   tunnel   make-TE-try-COND
   What about making a tunnel?
10 K: ton'neru(.)tsukuyu[5]

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[4]The video excerpts of examples (8), (9), and (18) are available online on the journal's website.
[5]"*tsukuyu*" is a childish articulation of "*tsukuru*" (make-VOL).

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        tunnel    make-VOL
        ((I will)) make a tunnel.
   ((15 lines are omitted))
26 K: dou sue-ba      ii?
        how do-COND good
        How should ((I)) do ((it))?
27 F: origami mitaini o-tte-goran(.) origami [(mitaini)
        origami like    fold-TE-try   origami   like
        Try to hold ((the newspaper)) like origami, origami [(like)
28 M:                              [tsuku-tte], ton'neru
                                    make-TE    tunnel
                                   [Make] a tunnel.

29 F: origami mitaini o-tte
        origami like     fold-TE
        Hold ((the newspaper)) like origami.
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At the beginning of this exchange, K approached F and stayed by him. In line 2, F offered a suggestion, "What about making a tunnel?" K then interjected "*o*" while looking at the toy train moving. This utterance showed a lack of understanding about how he could make a tunnel and thereby served as a repair initiator for F's prior utterance. In line 4, F repeated the suggestion. Note that the father added the honorific title "*san*" to the tunnel in this second trial and then vocalized an onomatopoeic word, "*ja::n*," to dramatize the train coming out of the tunnel. The causative suffix *age* of the predicate *tsuku-tte-age-tara* (make-TE-CAU-COND) implied that the object of the sentence (= the recipient of the conduct) had agency. The honorific title personified the tunnel and thereby strengthened the agency of the recipient (i.e., "Mr. Tunnel"). The dramatizing onomatopoeia prompted implementation of the suggested plan. He thereby reformulated the suggestion in a more casual and playful fashion to facilitate K's understanding.

However, K again uttered the repair initiator "*o*" in line 6, F then increased the intensity of the action by changing the final part of his utterance to *tsukuri nasai* (make IMP), which, in line 7, functioned as a command to make the tunnel. The command did not elicit an immediate response from K, and F added an utterance that complemented the prior command and then reiterated the suggestion in a slightly modified manner in line 9, K then stood up straight and, in line 10, announced "((I will)) make a tunnel." This utterance demonstrated acceptance of the directives.

After 15 lines of conversation, K asked "How should ((I)) do ((it))?" in line 26, F then suggested he "Try to hold the newspaper like *origami*, *origami* (like)." Overlapping with the final part of this utterance, M added a request to "[Make] a tunnel." F then partially repeated his prior utterance, which had served as a request in line 29.

As shown in this example, caregivers often increase or decrease the intensity of their actions when recycling various directives in response to children's lack of acceptance. Facing the child's lack of understanding, the father created a playful situation by modifying the expression of the suggestion. The framework of play activity could have been maintained if the child had

collaborated with the parent in the following interactions. However, the child did not clearly understand this conversational move. In response, the father shifted to a more compulsory action and then reiterated the suggestion by complementing the prior command. By making his or her moves contingent on the child's reactions, a caregiver can alter his or her approach to elicit the target action from the child.

The grammatical features of the Japanese language make it possible to modulate the intensity of action by using particular grammatical items, such as "*nasai*," "*tte*," "*tte-age-tara*," "*tte-mi-tara*," and "*tte-goran*," at the ends of sentences. These items, considered modal markers (cf. Pizziconi and Kizu, 2009), can reflect the speaker's interactional concerns and allow the caregiver to coordinate her or his actions with a child's behaviors while progressively monitoring the latter.

Moreover, because these grammatical forms appear in only a small portion of the sentences, modified directives have certain formal similarities. The repetition and modification of directives contributes to the creation of a rhythm that helps to involve the child in dynamic interactions. Indeed, K could have accepted the directive to create a tunnel (line 10) by only partially repeating F's prior suggestion (line 9).

A directive is defined as "an utterance intended to get the listener to *do* something" (Goodwin, 2006, p. 107), and the listener indicates his or her acceptance by providing an appropriate and preferred response *via* simple verbal expressions such as "yeah" and/or by simply performing the target behavior. Directives thus do not require children to exhibit verbal fluency and thus facilitate their participation in interactions.

In addition to modifying the intensity of an action, a caregiver often recycles a variety of directives by modifying the footing, such as by using reported speech. In example (9), a woman, M, sat next to her 43-month-old daughter, A, while holding her 8-month-old infant, Kt. A was looking at Kt while lying on the floor.

[Insert link to video 2 approximately here]

(9) Modifying the footing (FM_A080612_1: 411)
   Kt (0:8), A (3:7), M (mother)
 1 M: kera-nai, kera-nai.
       kick-NEG kick-NEG
       don't kick, don't kick.
 2 A: ne::cho::
       IJ   IJ
       ne::cho::
 3 M: (nee)chan, ano bouru totte.
       e.sister-DIM that ball take-TE
       (big sis)ter, take that ball.
 4 M: kouchan   to   isshoni   korokoro shi-you.
       Name-DIM with together SSW   do-VOL
       Let ((us)) roll ((it)) together with Kt.

5 A: <isse:[:]no::>
    all.together
    <one, two:[:], three::>
6 M: [hai]
         IJ
      [come on]
7 M: hai, to-tte.
    IJ   take-TE
    come on, take it.
8 M: un, un, hai,   koro-
    yes yes come.on SSW
    yeah, yeah, come on, ro-
9 M: a:n. korokoro shi-te-age-te.
    IJ   SSW   do-TE-CAU-TE
    No. Let it roll ((for Kt)).
 ((three lines are omitted))
13 M: hai, chugi[6], kouchan,
    IJ   next   Name-DIM
    hey, next, Kt(('s turn))
14 M: ei.
    IJ
    Hey.
15 M: [a
    IJ
    [a
16 A: [a
    IJ
    [a
17 M: hoshii, hoshii.
    want   want
    ((I)) want, ((I)) want.
 ((four lines are omitted))
22 M: hhh chouda:[:i,
        receive
    hhh gi:[:ve ((it to me)),
23 A: [hhh=
24 M: =ch[ouda:::i.
        receive
    =gi[:::ve ((it to me)).
25 Kt: [aaaaa::
      IJ
    [aaaaa::

At the beginning of this interaction, A moved her legs and then touched Kt with her leg. The mother pushed A's leg to protect Kt while directing "Don't kick, don't kick" in line 1. Subsequently, M pointed at the ball and requested "(Big sis)ter, take that ball," whereupon M prepared to take the next action, suggesting "Let ((us)) roll ((it)) together with Kt" in line 4. However, A did not respond appropriately to this suggestion and instead threw the ball too forcefully for Kt. The mother complained about this in line 9, saying "No. Let it roll ((for Kt))."

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[6]"*chugi*" is a childish articulation of "*tsugi*" (next).

After the ball rolled, M whispered to Kt using infant-directed speech in line 13 and then transmitted Kt's reported speech to A, exclaiming "Hey" in line 14. She thereby served as the animator of Kt's voice and continued speaking and acting for Kt in the following exchanges while holding Kt's hands. A kept rolling the ball while laughing. Kt also got excited and began screaming "aaaaa::" in line 25. In brief, M, A, and Kt coordinated their actions and achieved mutual understanding.

In this example, the mother issued a command, request, and suggestion to A and then started to narrate Kt's reported speech to facilitate A's involvement in the joint activity with Kt. During this process, M introduced a participation framework characterized by a nesting structure in which M played with A, who was playing with Kt. Notably, the nesting structure operated not only verbally (i.e., the production format of utterances), but also spatially (i.e., the configuration of body positions).

Reported speech adds indirectness to utterances because it does not convey the explicit intention of the speaker, who is not considered the principal. In the above example, the mother served as an animator of the baby's voice. Moreover, during reported speech, the footing of the speaker is divided into animator, author, figure, and so on, which allows the speaker to manipulate the meaning and interpretation of what is quoted. Accordingly, the responsibility for the utterance is dispersed (Besnier, 1993; Goodwin, 1990).

These features of reported speech contribute greatly to the diversity of strategies available for achieving mutual understanding. Of particular interest, by splitting the footing of the speaker, reported speech allows participants to adopt a triangulated configuration that includes the principal and the animator; this process establishes a type of mutual understanding or conflict resolution in multi-party interactions. Despite its frequent occurrence in actual CCIs, triangulation in multi-party interactions has been largely neglected in research on mutual understanding.

In Japanese CCIs, a caregiver often promotes the process of triangulation by introducing an unborn baby or inanimate object. Example (10), which illustrates this point, was drawn from the same family cited in example (8). The recording was made slightly before but on the same date as example (8). The mother (M) was sitting on the floor, and her husband (F) looked at their 37-month-old son, Ko, who leaned on F and looked up at his face.

(10) Triangulation by introducing an unborn baby (SG_Y080113_2: 236)
  K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant), F (father)
 1 F: (ru)kondo, akachan (ga) umare-tara   keihan age-yo-kka, akachan ni.
     next.time baby   NOM be.born-COND Name give-VOL-Q baby   DAT
     (r) when the baby is born next month, will ((you)) give the *keihan* ((i.e., toy train)), to the baby.
  2 K: datte(.)keita no:
      but   Name LK
      But(.)((it is)) m:ine.

3 F: kei(h)ta(h) noo(h)?
    Name   LK
    Is(h) it(h) yours(h)?
4 M: (ja) akachan (ni) nani age-yo-kka.
    then baby   DAT what give-VOL-Q
    (Then) what do ((you)) give to the baby.
5 K: ∘u:n∘
    well
    ∘well∘
6 F: aka[chan ni (yo)]
    baby   DAT PP
    to the [baby]
 ((five lines are omitted))
12 K: zenbu keita no:
    all   Name LK
    All ((toys)) are m:ine
13 M: kawaiso, akachan nai-chau yo:
    miserable baby   cry-PFT PP
    Poor ((baby)), the baby will cr:y
14 F: ya: hidoi yatsu ya:
    IJ bad   guy PP
    O:h, ((you are)) basta:rd
15 F: [san, sansai-kun   yaro demo.
    three three.years.old-DIM PP   but
    [Three, ((you are)) Mr. Three-Year-Old, aren't ((you)) though.
16 M: [↑en e::n
     SSW SSW
    [↑"en e::n
17 M: ↑oniichan,   nanka   chouda:[i tte.
    HON-e.brother something receive   QT
    ↑big brother, give ((me)) something", [saying.

       At the beginning of this interaction, F pointed to a toy train ("*keihan*") and then, in line 1, asked K "When the baby is born next month, will ((you)) give the "*keihan*" to the baby?" However, K claimed his ownership (i.e., legitimacy) in line 2, saying "But(.)((it is)) m:ine." Next, in line 4, the mother asked "(Then) what will ((you)) give to the baby?" which suggested another option.

       K did not accept this suggestion and reinforced his rejection by noting "All ((toys)) are m:ine" in line 12. In line 13, M said "Poor ((baby)), the baby will cr:y," which served as an evaluation of the baby's status, and then complained to K by discussing the situation in greater detail. She then adopted the baby's perspective and voiced the baby's imagined response, "↑*en e::n* big brother, give ((me)) something" in lines 16 and 17.[7] The reporting frame was marked by the citation marker "*tte*" to designate the performative aspect of the utterance, which was issued in a high-pitched voice. The use of "big brother" also emphasized the familial relationship between the participants and the baby.

       In this example, by introducing the unborn baby as a figure (Goffman, 1981), the

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[7]"*en e::n*" conventionally indicates an onomatopoetic expression of the cry of a child in Japanese.

caregiver engaged in the practice of speaking for the baby (Schieffelin, 1990), a type of reported speech, and thereby incorporated the unborn baby into current familial relationships. [8]

Furthermore, a caregiver sometimes introduces an inanimate object as a figure in Japanese CCIs. In example (11), taken from Burdelski (2006), a 22-month-old child pulls books from a shelf. The father then issues a directive, "Quickly ((put the books back))" and the mother says "((The books are)) crying." The father reinforces this utterance by using reported speech for the books, "((They))'re saying, '*e:n e:n*.'"

(11) Triangulation by introducing an inanimate object (Burdelski, 2006: 281)
```
   M (mother), F (father), Ms (1:10)
    ((To 22-month-old child who pulled books from a shelf))
   F: hayaku.
      quickly
      Quickly. ((put the books back))
   M: nai-te-haru    wa.
       cry-TE-HON PP
       ((The books are)) crying.
->F: e:n e:n tte yuu-ta-han     de.
      IJ   IJ  QT say-TE-HON PP
      ((They))'re saying, "e:n e:n."
```

Previous studies have assumed that Japanese caregivers use these utterances to teach children *omoiyari* toward humans and all living things, or that they are the result of respect for *yaoyorozu no kami* (lit. 8 million gods) (Burdelski, 2006; Clancy, 1986; Earhart, 2004; Horoiwa, 2003). The present analysis suggests that the causal chain can work in the opposite direction. That is, a caregiver introduces an unborn baby or inanimate object as a figure to elicit a target action from the child by adopting the format of triangulation [e.g., lines 16 and 17 of example (10); example (11)]. The format is structurally akin to situations in which a caregiver issues a directive by using the voice of another participant in the interaction [e.g., lines 17, 22, and 24 of (9)]. The figure is thus a structural requirement for triangulation, and the parental ideology of *omoiyari* follows as an interactional consequence rather than as the reason for these practices.[9] The format of triangulation also allows a caregiver to issue a directive to an unborn baby or inanimate object, which the child can manipulate [e.g., example (7)]. The structures of triangulation introduced here are summarized in Figure 1. By introducing a third party, a caregiver creates a playful and theatrical situation in which the child does not have to directly respond to the caregiver's directive, which would be intrinsically face-threatening to the addressee. Although this process appears to complicate the participation framework and require more imagination from the child,

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[8]Note that the mother portrayed the future voice of the baby. Although the baby existed as a fetus at that time, other participants did not confront her by pointing out its actual status.
[9]I do not claim that triangulation is absent in CCIs in other cultures. Instead, I suggest that Japanese caregivers typically engage in triangulation in a wider variety of situations than do caregivers in some other cultures, such as the middle-class culture in the US.

even toddlers were able to successfully engage in the participation frameworks arranged by the caregivers in our examples. Note that, in many societies, empathic processes are encouraged and amplified in some contexts and discouraged and suppressed in others (Hollan and Throop, 2011, p. 7). Practices related to *omoiyari* are expected to appear more often when a caregiver tries to attract a child's attention.

[Insert Figure 1 approximately here]

Children's responses to caregivers' directives

       A child is not a passive recipient of directives, but is rather an active agent who sometimes escapes from the caregiver's control. In this section, I address instances in which children did not comply with caregiver directives. Table 2 presents a typology of the actions with which children responded to directives; it is not an exhaustive list, but is offered only for expository purposes. The proportion of each action within all actions ($n = 171$) is displayed on the right side, and responses are classified as acceptance, initiating repair, changing frame, claiming legitimacy, challenging, and rejection.

Table 2 Types of children's responses to directives ($n = 171$)

----

	n	Rate
Acceptance	83	49%
Initiating repair	15	9%
Changing frame	23	13%
Claiming legitimacy	5	3%
Challenging	7	4%
Rejection	38	22%

       Examples of each type follow. Responses were unevenly divided between two polar responses to directives: acceptance and rejection.

(12) Acceptance (SG_Y080113_2: 121)
  K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant)
  M: ja, akachan ni   kii-te-mi   isshoni keihan nor-o   tte.
     then baby   DAT ask-TE-try together Name ride-VOL QT
    Then ask the baby, saying "let's ride on the *keihan* train together."
  K: ((K creeps toward M's belly.))
->K: isshoni keihan nor-o. ((K looks up at M while smiling shyly. K places his hands on his forehead.))
    together Name ride-VOL
    Let's ride on the *keihan* train together.

(13) Rejection (TM_K080227_1: 158)
  Ko (0:8), S (2:8), F (father)
  Ko: ((Ko stretches out his hand toward a teapot located in front of S.))
  S: u: a: ((S moves Ko's hand away.))

```
     IJ
     u: a:
  F: chotto kashi-t-age-te      yo
     a little lend-TE-CAU-TE PP
     Lend ((it to him)) for a while, please.
->S: iya ya:
     no PP
     No:
```

Table 2 shows that 49% of responses were identified as acceptance, whereas 22% were coded as direct rejection. Non-compliance with a directive was manifested in several ways in addition to direct rejection: initiating repair (9%), as in example (14); changing frame (13%), as in example (15); claiming legitimacy (3%), as in example (16); and challenging (4%), as in example (17).

(14) Initiating repair (SG_Y080113_2: 425)
```
  K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant)
  M: keita   marui-no    koko ni   ire-te.
     Name round-thing  here DAT  put-TE
     K, put the round thing here.
->K: marui-no.   koe? 10
     round-thing this
     Round-thing, this?
  M: un,  sou sou sou.
     yeah right right right
     Yeah, ((that's)) right, right, right.
```

(15) Changing frame (US_Ke110305_1, see (18) for details)
```
  Ke (2:2), M (mother: 7 months pregnant)
  M: kore kashi-te.
     this lend-TE
     Let ((me)) have it ((=the key holder)).
->Ke: hu:hu:[hu:hu:
     SSW
     hu:hu:[hu:hu: ((mimicking blowing sound))
  M: [nani ga    hu: shi-ten   no yo.
     what NOM IJ do-ASP  Q PP
     [What are ((you)) blowing at.
```

(16) Claiming legitimacy (SA_Y100511: 16)
```
  B (1:8), T (5:0), M (mother)
  M: mou iyaga-tte-han     noni yame: yo
     IJ   dislike-TTE-HON but   stop  PP
     No. ((She)) dislikes ((it)) though. Stop ((doing it)).
->T: jibunde     koke-tan yade
     by herself  fall-PST PP
     ((She)) fell down by herself.
  M: mo:::
     IJ
     No:
```

---

10 "*koe*" is a childish articulation of "*kore*" (this).

(17) Challenge (SG_Y080113_2: 354)
  K (3:1), M (mother: 9 months pregnant)
  M: shime-t-oi-te   koko
     Close-TE-put-TE here
     Close it, here.
->K: nande?
    why
    Why?
  M: omocha hai-tte-nai.
     toy   enter-TTE-NEG
     The toy is not there.
->K: nani omocha?
    what toy
    Which toy?
  M: omocha hai-tte-nai.
     toy   enter-TTE-NEG
     The toy is not there.
->K: nande?
    why
    Why?

When instances of rejection, initiating repair, changing frame, claiming legitimacy, and challenging were combined, 51% of responses reflected non-compliance with caregivers' directives. Of these, changing frame, which accounted for 13% of the responses and was often observed among toddlers, is discussed in the next section.

Strategies for eliciting caregivers' responses

Example (18) was drawn from the family cited in example (15). M was 7 months pregnant and lay on the sofa. In front of the sofa, her 26-month-old son, K, held a key holder.

[Insert link to video 3 approximately here]

(18) Changing frame by child (US_Ke110305_1)
  Ke (2:2), M (mother: 7 months pregnant)
1 M: ja: mo: kashi-te.
    then already lend-TE
    Then let ((me)) have ((the key holder)).
2 Ke: hu:hu:[hu:hu:
    SSW
    hu:hu:[hu:hu:
3 M: [nani ga   hu: shi-ten no yo.
    what NOM IJ do-ASP Q PP
    [What are ((you)) blowing at.
4 Ke: deki-ta.=
    can-PST
    ((I)) did it.=
5 M: =a, deki-ta.
    oh can-PST
    =Oh, ((you)) did it.

6 M: arigato.
    thanks
    Thanks.
7 Ke: hu: tte deki-ta.
    IJ QT can-PST
    ((I)) was able to blow it.
8 M: hu: tte deki-ta.
    IJ QT can-PST
    ((You)) were able to blow it.

At the beginning of this interaction, M issued a request, "Let ((me)) have ((the key holder))" and pulled the string of the key holder. Instead of directly responding to the request, Ke started blowing at the string in an attempt to change the frame of conversation. M saw him pretending to blow at something other than the key holder and asked a *wh*-question ("What are ((you)) blowing at?") in line 3.[11] Ke then announced "((I)) did it" while looking at M's face. In an interview that was conducted later, M stated that this phrase indicated that Ke had blown out candles placed on a birthday cake; it had been uttered repeatedly in conversations between Ke and M that had occurred during this period of time. The following "Oh" served as a change-of-state (Heritage, 1984) token, which indicated M's acknowledgment of what Ke meant. She then repeated Ke's prior utterance, which functioned as an acknowledgment of a topic shift by Ke, which she followed with "Thanks" while she took the key holder away from Ke. However, this response was not adequate, as reflected in Ke's reformulated report in line 7, through which he restated his previous utterance and thereby checked the accuracy of M's understanding. M provided another acknowledgment in line 8 by repeating Ke's prior utterance.

As illustrated here, in response to caregivers' directives, children often changed the frame of conversation by citing their involvement in a pro-moral activity, such as a tradition practiced at birthday parties. This strategy effectively elicits a response from caregivers in that it serves as a clue for caregivers to further develop the conversation about morality. In other words, children make use of the implicature (Grice, 1975, 1978) of their utterances in the service of not complying with caregivers' directives. When this strategy succeeds, children and caregivers may jointly shift the topic of conversation.

Transcription (19) provides another example of a child's involvement in a pro-moral activity. In this interaction, a 32-month-old girl, S, held a toy in front of her 8-month-old brother. Her father (F) then issued the directive to "((Give)) other thing ((to your brother)). Other thing that ((you)) don't use." S did not directly accept or reject this directive but replied, "((I'll go to)) clean up ((my)) hands," which was consistent with instructions she had frequently received in the service of emphasizing the importance of sanitation.

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[11]M later admitted that she had mistaken the particle "*ga*," which indicates the nominative, for the particle "*wo*," which indicates the accusative, in this utterance.

(19) Showing involvement in pro-moral activity (TM_K080227_1: 573)
  S (2:8), F (father), Ko (0:8)
  ((S is holding a toy))
  F: Jaa hoka no yatsu? Hoka no tsuka-tte-nai   no.
    then other LK thing other LK use-TTE-NEG thing
    Then ((give)) other thing ((to your brother)). Other thing that ((you)) don't use.
->S: te   hui-te-ku(ru).
    hand wipe-TE-come
    ((I'll go to)) clean up ((my)) hands.

A related strategy for eliciting a caregiver's response is issuing an "alarm call," which involves drawing attention to a danger that the child or caregiver is confronting or is going to confront. This strategy may elicit a response from the caregiver that is designed to avoid the danger, which is a pro-moral action. In example (20), a mother (M) issued the directive, "Chew and swallow" to her 26-month-old son Ke, who was eating a piece of pizza. He immediately said, "Spicy!" although the pizza had no hot spices. This utterance served as an alarm call, which required a more instantaneous reaction from the caregiver to avoid danger than reactions required by other responses for escaping from face-threatening situations (e.g., claiming that chewing and swallowing was beyond his ability, that he didn't like pizza, or that he was already full). However, M immediately corrected this and denied that the piece of pizza was spicy. Thus, Ke's attempt to elicit the caregiver's attention failed and, after a long pause, he took the chunk of pizza out of his mouth.

(20) Making alarm call (US_Ke110305_1)
  Ke (2:2), M (mother: 7 months pregnant)
  ((Ke is eating pizza at the dinner table))
  M: kami-kami gokkun. ((=a phrase derived onomatopoetically))
     bite-bite   swallow
    Chew and swallow.
->Ke: karai!
    spicy
    Spicy!
  M: karaku-nai!
    spicy-not
    ((It's)) not spicy!
  ((After a long pause, Ke takes the chunk of pizza out of his mouth))

By using these strategies (performing a pro-moral action or issuing an alarm call), which are designed to appeal to the caregiver's emotions, a child often tries to change the frame of the conversation to avoid a face-threatening situation. Although such attempts leave room for various interpretations, when they successfully attract the caregiver's attention, they can lead to a shift in the topic of conversation. The caregiver may then further develop the conversation about morality. These practices thus constitute a context in which a culturally shared morality, associated with the distinctive values of Japanese culture, can be introduced.

Revisiting communicative competence in Japanese caregiver–child interactions

This paper clarified several caregiver and child strategies, summarized below, used to gain the attention of targets during directive sequences.

When a child does not comply with a caregiver's directive, the caregiver often issues a modified directive while monitoring the child's behavior. This strategy is summarized in (21). Actions 1–3 can be recursively applied until acceptance is achieved. The grammatical features of Japanese make it possible to modulate the intensity of these speech actions by the use of particular modal markers placed at the ends of sentences. These features also contribute to the rhythm characterizing interactions in that they involve the repetition and modification of directives and thereby encourage the child to become involved in dynamic interactions.

(21) Recursive application of directives
Action 1 CG: directive
Action 2 C: non-acceptance
Action 3 CG: modified directive
Action 4 C: acceptance

Moreover, caregivers effectively used reported speech or speech to a figure when issuing modified directives and thereby tried to indirectly regulate children's behavior. By introducing a third party, which can be an unborn baby or inanimate object, into the frame of interaction, caregivers adopt the format of triangulation and make it easy for children to avoid a face-threatening situation. Furthermore, the use of multiple voices creates playful and theatrical situations and facilitates the involvement of the child in the frame of interaction. This practice establishes a context in which actions consistent with culturally distinctive values, such as *omoiyari*, are put into practice.

On the other hand, children often react to caregivers' directives with attempts to change the frame of conversation, which distracts from the directive but nonetheless attracts the attention of caregivers and elicits a reaction. This strategy is summarized in (22). Action 2 represents the child's attempt to change the frame of conversation to avoid a face-threatening situation. Children often cite their involvement in a pro-moral activity or issue an alarm call while pursuing this strategy. When this attempt succeeds, the topic of conversation can be shifted, whereupon action 2 serves to introduce a new topic. These practices comprise a context in which the culturally shared morality associated with the distinctive values of Japanese culture is introduced.

(22) Changing frame
Action 1 CG: directive
Action 2 C: action to attract CG's attention
Action 3 CG: reaction to action 2

The uses of utterances examined in this paper constitute distinctive phenotypes of communicative competence in Japanese CCIs. Analysis of the dynamic processes in which these strategies emerged indicated that they were induced by the structural requirements of conversational settings, which rest primarily on universal elements. This analysis sheds new light on communicative competence, which has played a determinative role in the ethnography of communication, at least with regard to the two interrelated domains discussed below.

First, analysis of directive sequences disentangles the intriguing relationships among the various codes of communicative conduct that are used to realize communicative competence. Directives are widely and frequently observed in CCIs occurring in different cultures (cf. de León, 2010; Goodwin, 2006) and are particularly relevant to the practices involved in socialization. The use of directives is of primary importance because the acceptance of directives does not require much verbal fluency on the part of the child, who has a limited range of verbal expressions. However, this is not to say that the organization of a directive sequence is simple. This paper demonstrated how caregivers and children effectively make use of multi-modal resources, such as the grammatical forms of an utterance, its prosodic features, and the gestures accompanying it, to gain the attention of their recipients. The use of a greater number of codes of communicative conduct increases the complexity of the organization of the interactive field. This process sometimes results in the adoption of a culturally distinctive format of mutual understanding in everyday conversations (e.g., triangulation achieved by introducing an unborn baby or inanimate object as a figure).

Second, this analysis illuminated how culturally shared morality is transmitted across generations. Clancy (1986, p. 245) noted that "the particular communicative style of a culture arises from shared beliefs about people, what they are like, and how they should relate to one another, and is an important means of perpetuating those beliefs." Along these lines, the view that Japanese culture is based on the value of *omoiyari* has become increasingly popular, and this notion has been widely elaborated in a style of analysis commonly referred to as *nihonjinron* (lit. "Japanology"). However, the relationships between beliefs and behaviors are clearly more complex. This study demonstrated that communicative style can play the opposite role in a causal chain; that is, moral beliefs about people and phenomena can be an interactional consequence of the particular communicative style.

The findings of this study by no means indicate that participants in interactions are subordinate to the structure of interactions. In the examples analyzed in this paper, both children and caregivers actively chose which strategy they used in accordance with the unfolding horizon of their interaction. Similarly, the socialization practices occurring during mundane activities constitute moment-to-moment intersubjective negotiations among participants (Besnier, this issue). In the context of such negotiations, the speaker's agency appears as a relational construct,

which is seen through the relationship between an action and the situation in which the action is embedded. Moreover, the execution of an action prepares the context for the next action. In brief, language both reflects and constitutes context (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992). Communicative competence generates and regenerates culturally shared morality in conversational settings, which are constituted by the frameworks used to facilitate mutual understanding in CCIs.

Appendix A. Supplementary material

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2013.03.012.

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Vitae

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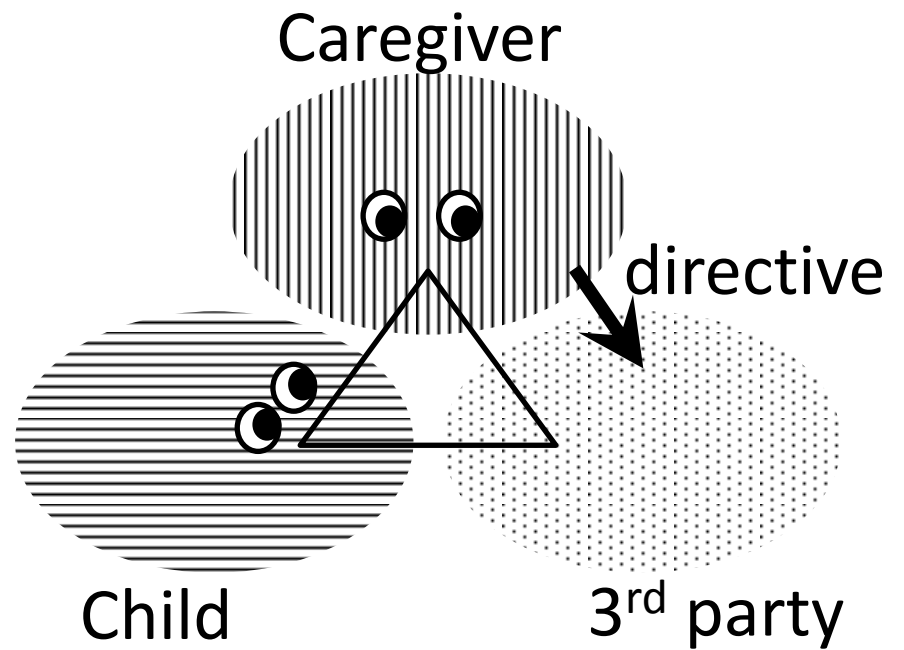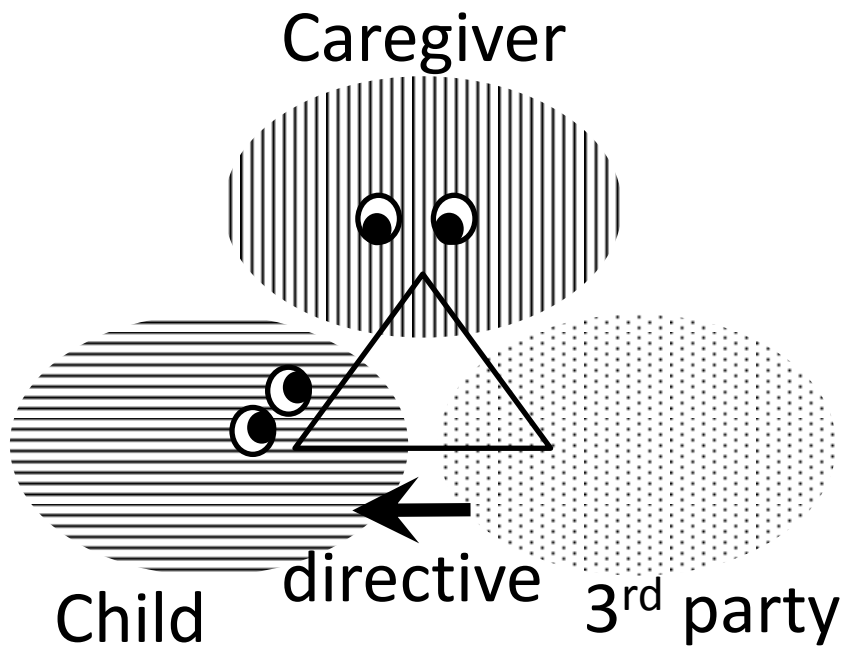
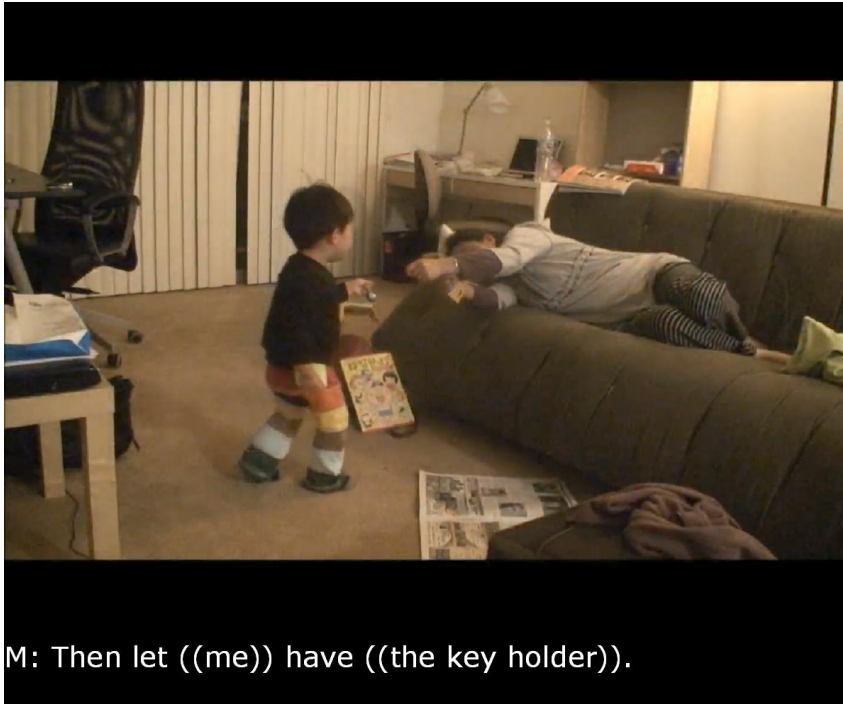**Figure 1 The structures of triangulation**

Still image of Video clips

Video 1 : Modifying the intensity of directives (Example (8))

Video 2 : Modifying the footing (Example (9))

M: Then let ((me)) have ((the key holder)).

Video 3 : Changing frame by child (Example (18))

Caption of Figure

Figure 1   The structures of triangulation: left = lines 17, 22 and 24 of example (9), lines 16 and 17 of example (10), and example (11); right = example (7)