Cleanup time in the Japanese nursery school: Socialization through multimodal directive sequences

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Abstract: This paper investigates teacher-child directive sequences during cleanup time in a Japanese nursery school and analyzes how their sequential organization and distribution contribute to the socialization of children into institutional and cultural norms surrounding tidiness and responsibility. Analyzing a collection of seven video-recorded morning cleanups in a Japanese nursery school, multimodal Conversation Analysis (CA) reveals that 'overt' first position directives (e.g., requests, commands) are relatively rare. Instead, the teacher more frequently employed indirect first-position directives (e.g., noticing, wondering aloud) and third position expansions (e.g., assessing, thanking) that required children to actively attend to the emerging contingencies of the cleaning activity. The analysis combines qualitative and quantitative methods while adhering to the emic requirements of CA methodology. Discussion centers on how directive-response sequences, embedded in routine institutional activities, shape socialization outcomes in Japanese early childhood education and care institutions.

要旨：本稿では、関西地方にある保育園の片付けの時間における保育士-子供間に生じる指示行為を取り上げ、保育士の指示行為の構成と連鎖的な組織を分析し、それらがいかに整理整頓や責任に関わる制度的・文化的規範への子供の社会化に寄与するかを検討する。本分析は、会話分析で必要とされるイーミック（emic）の視点を遵守しつつ、質的分析とそれに基づく量的分析の組み合わせを試みた。朝の片付け活動（７回）の録画データを対象に、マルチモーダル会話分析を用いて分析した結果、第一位置に起きた指示の中で、明示的な指示（例：依頼、命令）は比較的少ないことが明らかになった。一方、間接的な指示（例：気づきを表す表現、独り言）や第三位置に起きる拡張（例：評価、感謝）がより頻繁に使用されており、それらは子供に対して、片付け活動の（進行の）中で生じる状況に能動的に注意を向けることを求めるものであった。考察では、日常的な制度的活動に埋め込まれた指示-応答連鎖が、日本の乳幼児期の教育・保育施設における子どもの社会化のあり方をいかに形成するのかを論じる。

Keywords: language socialization; conversation analysis; directive sequences; early childhood education and care; cleanup; Japan

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Citation: Iseri, J. (2026). Cleanup time in the Japanese nursery school: Socialization through multimodal directives sequences. *Language Development Research, 6*(2), 27-67. http://doi.org/10.34842/ldr2026-1084

Introduction

Playing with and cleaning up toys are ubiquitous activities in early childhood education and care (ECEC) institutions. In most cases, children rely on teachers to demarcate the beginnings and ends of play time, and teachers do so by issuing a *directive* to clean up. Directives – the class of verbal actions aimed at moving another to act (Searle, 1976) – are important resources for teachers, who are tasked with balancing the physical and emotional needs of children on one hand and the structural demands of the school schedule on the other. Conversely, as the addressees of directives, children come to recognize the various linguistic and embodied ways directives are accomplished and the social factors that shape them. These include factors like entitlement (Curl & Drew, 2008), deontic authority (Frick & Palola, 2022), and contingency (Craven & Potter, 2010; Wootton, 1997). In other words, directives play an important role in their *language socialization* process, or the process by which they become competent and valued speakers and social actors through linguistically mediated interaction with others.

Because ECEC institutions are one of the first places where Japanese children have extended interactions with adults outside of their family, understanding how directives socialize young children in ECEC contexts is critical for documenting their lifelong participation in Japanese institutions and society. For preschools, cleanup time is one such activity in which adults provide directives that are consequential for the progression of other everyday activities. Japan's national guidelines for preschool education also specify that cleanup time is important for young children's development of a pro-social disposition, among other benefits (e.g., MEXT, 2017; MHLW, 2017). Cleanup time therefore offers a perspicuous setting for the study of directives and their socializing potential. Accordingly, this paper addresses the following questions:

(i) What resources (linguistic, embodied) and practices does the teacher use in directive sequences during the routine cleanup activities in a Japanese nursery school?
(ii) How do those practices play a role in the socialization of Japanese children to normative beliefs about tidiness and responsibility?

In the next sections, I briefly review the literature on cleaning up and how directives in the context of cleanups play a role in Japanese children's socialization process before introducing the current study.

Directives as a Resource For (Children's) Language Socialization

Directives have now occupied a focus in sociolinguistics for over half a century beginning with their classification within Speech Act Theory (e.g., *exercitives* in Austin,

1962; *directives* in Searle, 1976) and later Politeness Theory (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990). Early work by Ervin-Tripp (1976), among many others, showed that the distribution of directive formats correlates with different social variables, such as the relationship between interlocutors, participation frameworks, and their interactional histories. The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) similarly found that strategies for doing requests (a type of directive) varied according to social variables like power, social distance, and the level of imposition the directive caused, as well as variation between linguacultures. Since then, major developments in areas like Conversation Analysis (CA) and Interactional Linguistics (IL) have given new insight into how interactional constraints affect the design and deployment of directives, such as the type of action directed, the beneficiar(ies) of the directed action, its temporal implementation, and the deontic rights of the interlocutors (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008; Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Frick & Palola, 2022; Kendrick & Drew, 2016; Rossi, 2012, 2018). Amongst adults, Rossi's (2012) study on two common linguistic formats for requesting in Italian revealed distributional differences based on whether the request was bilateral (i.e., part of a project jointly attended to by both the requesting party and the requested party) or unilateral (i.e., part of launching a new project by the requesting party). Wootton (1997) showed that children as young as three can come to recognize the social constraints of requesting, including the projected grantability of the request. Most recently, greater attention has been placed on how directives work in combination with embodied and non-verbal resources (e.g., Cekaite & Burdelski, 2021; Cekaite & Goodwin, 2021; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2014; Siitonen et al., 2021).

Directives, which for children "constitute the basic resource through which transactions take place," (Goodwin & Cekaite, 2014, p. 186) are a prime locus for studying children's language socialization process because children must learn the social and interactional factors governing their use and interpretation. This observation underpins the central claims of *language socialization theory*, which posits that children become competent members in society through interaction with more expert others. These interactions contribute to children's acquisition of both language and social rules that enable their legitimate participation in (and transformation of) society (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). This process entails both socialization *through* language and socialization *to use* language. Socialization *through* language refers to the ways language and interaction shape children's understanding of their social world, such as the role of young children in the community, or their social status vis-à-vis other interlocutors (e.g., Ochs, 1982; Schieffelin, 2005). Socialization *to use* language refers to how children are socialized to produce language in ways that are consistent with community-defined norms and values, such as saying 'please' or 'thank you' upon receiving a gift (e.g., Burdelski, 2010, 2015).

Previous language socialization research on directive sequences involving children has shown that they socialize children into social identities, relationships, roles, and skills (Cekaite, 2010; de León, 2017; Ervin-Tripp et al., 1984; Field, 2001; M. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013, 2014, 2018; Moore, 2013; Ochs, 1982; Schieffelin, 2005). In Japanese families, Clancy's (1986) study of five mother-child dyads documented the range of methods Japanese mothers used in giving directives to their two-year-old children, showing that Japanese mothers most frequently used bare imperative forms (i.e., V-*te* and V-*nasai*) and statements of obligation (i.e., *You must / mustn't do X*). Her study provided evidence of how Japanese children are socialized to attend to others' feelings and desires, or *omoiyari* (empathy). Based on the distribution of directive 'strategies' and a qualitative analysis of their form and contents, Clancy argued that *omoiyari* and conformity were observable as socialization goals of mothers because indirect forms of directives often made reference to the needs and wants of others, delivered in the form of "hints" (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1997). Takada's (2013) study of child-addressed directives with a larger data set found that requests were more frequent than commands[1] and similarly concluded that their deployment in interaction is a resource for the socialization of *omoiyari*. Takada and Endo's (2015) study of object-transfer sequences found that directives to initiate object transfer help to socialize children into pro-moral behaviors like sharing and caring for younger siblings. More recently, Endo's (2023) study of instruction-giving during a Shinto offering ritual showed how different category memberships (e.g., Shinto priest, caregiver) are dynamically negotiated through directive sequences.

In sum, while directives have enjoyed a consistent seat in the research spotlight, they have increasingly been attended to by micro interactional approaches such as CA and IL that more clearly show how directives are constructed, responded to, and used as a socializing resource. However, most of the research on directives privileges the home (especially mother-child dyads) as the context of study. By comparison, Japanese ECEC institutions like preschools and nursery schools remain relatively understudied (cf. Burdelski, 2019).[2] Addressing this gap, this paper focuses on the routine cleanup activities in a Japanese nursery school to better understand children's participation in and socialization to the moral and aesthetic dimensions of cleaning up.

Cleaning Up in Japan(ese)

Tidiness is highly valued in Japanese culture, extending from the highest cultural forms down to the mundane scenes of everyday life. In aesthetic accounts of cultural

[1] Takada (2013) does not specify how 'requests' and 'commands' are defined outside of their linguistic form; examples of requests included "utterances that take the form of the compound verb *V te kureru* (V + TE + give), and examples of commands included "utterances in which the verb takes the form of the imperative -*nasai*). The present study does not adopt a pure form-function definition of directives.
[2] Although ethnographic approaches are in no short supply, cf. Tobin et al., 1991, 2009

practices such as tea ceremony, flower arranging, garden making, and Noh theatre, tidiness is in part what creates the aesthetic of *wabi*, or understated beauty through simplicity (Hirota, 1995). Tidiness (cleanliness, neatness, etc.) refers to the aesthetic dimension of the surface qualities of space, time, and structure (e.g., Leddy, 1995). In anthropological accounts of Japanese culture, a state of tidiness is said to be desirable because it represents the cultural aesthetic ideals of balance and harmony (和 *wa*) that are reflected in the simple yet intentional organization of many cultural spaces and activities, such as Japanese tea houses (Hirota, 1995), stone gardens (Keene, 1969; Miller, 2011), and flower arrangements (Suzuki, 2001).[3] Tidiness and cleanliness are aesthetics also associated with learning to live a proper life *within the group*, codified in the guidelines of major institutions governing ECEC facilities (e.g., MEXT, 2017; MHLW, 2017).[4] For example, the curriculum guidelines for preschool education published by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare's (MHLW) Children and Families Agency notes that cleaning up is a "basic routine of life" which is important and necessary for children "to independently achieve life in preschool" (MHLW, 2017, pp. 68-69). Similar writing can be found in explanations of the technical guidelines published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) for the national standard of preschool curriculum (MEXT, 2017). Hence, there is a strong orientation to the pro-moral and pro-social value tidiness has, both within Japanese educational institutions and beyond them.

In the everyday lives of children, Japanese parents and caregivers also devote much of their time getting their children to clean up and socializing them into an aesthetic that values tidiness. In Japanese preschools, children as young as three are prompted to take off their shoes and outerwear at the entryway and to neatly arrange them in their designated location, a feat which children become able to do autonomously over time (Peak, 1993; Tobin et al., 1991). Leaving shoes haphazardly scattered in the entryway is considered unacceptable and often invites correction, even within the home by Japanese mothers (Lebra, 1976). At the dinner table, eating sloppily or indecorously is cause for shame and humiliation by peers (Takada, 2019, pp. 9-11). Cleaning up is especially important for young children when considering the longer life-trajectories where tidiness is expected. As they begin elementary school, Japanese children become responsible for cleaning their classrooms and other public spaces, such as

[3] Of course, each of these traditions has its own internal logic as to what precisely constitutes 'tidy' and there is much debate amongst the different sects which sort of tidy is the best to maintain, but this only strengthens the argument that tidiness is of great importance in these sorts of practices.

[4] Two different government bodies control the guidelines for the two major types of early childhood education institutions in Japan: *hoikuen* (nursery schools) fall under the jurisdiction of the Children and Families Agency, whereas *yoochien* (preschools) fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Although the governance of nursery schools were transferred to the Children and Family Agency in 2023, the most current guidelines are still those authored in 2017 by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare as of the time of writing of this paper.

the school courtyard or toilets (Furushige, 2019; Nakanishi & King, 1997). Although cleaning in primary and secondary schools has been a practice from even before World War 2, school cleaning has been codified in the MEXT's curriculum for elementary and middle school students from 2008 (Tsuneyoshi et al., 2016). Its stated goals are to instill positive attitudes not only towards improving their surrounding environment, but also to foster bonds with members of their group (e.g., classmates, teachers) through teamwork and responsibility (MEXT, 2008). After graduating college, many companies train new employees to uphold *seiri seiton* (keeping things in their proper place) in their process of becoming not only skillful workers, but also "good citizens who can contribute to society" (Kinoshita & Kikuchi, 2020, p. 118).

Directives are therefore an excellent locus to examine the part played by cleaning up in Japanese children's language socialization, not least because children are not inherently imbued with tidiness as a moral or aesthetic value and rather must be facilitated towards acquiring tidy habits. In their study of American and Swedish homes, Goodwin and Cekaite (2014, 2018) documented how haptic control and bodily formations play a role in reorienting children who are reluctant to clean up their rooms or take showers, with proximity playing a large role in redirecting locomotion at the onset of directives to clean or shower. Fasulo and colleagues' (2007) study of cleaning socialization in American and Roman homes found differences in the degree to which children are constructed as agents in cleaning activities. In some cleaning activities, such as tidying the bed, young Roman children may not be considered valid agents and it is instead a burden parents must deal with on behalf of their children (Fasulo et al., 2007, pp. 17-18). Finally, in the Japanese home, Korenaga and colleagues (2021) studied how a Japanese family negotiated the responsibility for cleaning up and how a cleanup activity was transformed into a collaborative effort between a father and two sons. While studying a limited number of cases, they note that "future studies on diverse settings will allow for investigations into possible ways of *making* [the general rules of tidying up activities] general[izable]" (p. 175). The present study presses their concern by extending the study of cleanup activities into a major ECEC institution – the nursery school.

Data

The data for this study come from a larger corpus of 25 hours of video recordings taken of interactions in one class of four-year-olds of the Vineyard Nursery School (pseudonym, hereafter VNS), a nursery school (*hoikuen*) based in the Kansai region of Japan. A total of seven instances of cleanup (roughly one hour) occurring in the transition between scheduled morning activity blocks comprises the data analyzed here. The teacher in the VNS classroom that the researcher observed is a veteran of five years and has undergone extensive training in specialized programs for the care of

young children. On average, eight children were present in the class during observation periods. All names are pseudonyms.

In their mission statement, VNS states that their goal is to "raise children to be able to live strongly, to problem-solve, and to flexibly adapt to change" (VNS document, my translation). They also state the six values they aim to instill in children: respect, nurturing, trust, flexibility, balance, and sustainability. Hence, cleanup time is one occasion where these socialization goals may be interactionally on display.

Method

The study utilized multimodal CA to examine the verbal and non-verbal (i.e., embodied) practices used by the teacher in the morning cleanup activity. First, talk was transcribed according to Jeffersonian (2004) conventions, with additional lines for translation into idiomatic English and interlinear gloss where relevant. Multimodal (i.e., embodied, non-verbal) action was transcribed using a simplified version of Mondadian transcription (Mondada, 2018) with adaptations from Burch (2014) for the organization of transcription lines (see Appendices A and B). Then, qualitative analysis consisting of line-by-line analysis by the researcher was improved through repeated data sessions regarding focal excerpts with colleagues. Finally, the data were coded to provide descriptive statistics for two aspects of the directive sequences: (i) the distribution of resources for doing directives and (ii) the relative frequency with which they occur.

The present study adapts Floyd and colleagues' (Floyd et al., 2020) model for analyzing the wider body of actions that provision action from another person (i.e., *recruitment*) to more narrowly examine directives (i.e., excluding 'offers'). In this paper, the term *directive* refers to a class of actions which are part of a *directive-response sequence* (M. Goodwin, 1980) consisting of a minimum of two interactional 'moves' (Goffman, 1981) between two participants, pA and pB:

> MOVE A: pA says or does something to pB, or that pB can see or hear;
> MOVE B: pB does some practical action for or with pA that is fitting to what pA has said or done, including:
> - Fulfillment: a practical action performed for or with pA;
> - Rejection: the conveyance of inability or unwillingness to fulfill the directive;
> - Deferral of fulfillment;
> - Initiation of repair (which is often related to fulfillment)
>
> If pB ignores MOVE A, then the pA must pursue compliance for MOVE A to be counted as a directive.

Additionally, pA may expand the sequence through a third move, MOVE C:

MOVE C: pA says or does something that is fitting to MOVE B

Directives as studied here thus include both initial, first position directives and directive pursuits when Move B is not fulfillment. Analyzing directives in their sequential environment as opposed to individual and disconnected utterances is necessary for understanding how and why they are formatted for use in interaction (M. Goodwin, 2006). Hence, even social actions that can and have been studied as stand-alone actions (e.g., thanking, assessing) come to embody different social meanings through their use in directive-response sequences. Accordingly, detailed sequential analysis is necessary for identifying all such actions that can be understood as directives (i.e., are treated by participants as such).

Analysis

The total number of initial directives (i.e., Move As) and expansions (Move Cs) by Teacher are reported in Table 1. Surprisingly, the total number of directives, such as Announcements, Proposals*, Requests*, and Suggestions*, are almost equal to (and are slightly exceeded by) the number of post-expansion moves, such as thanking, assessing, and stance displays.

Table 1. ***Total number of directive and expansion moves***

Move type	Examples of practices	Raw no.
MOVE A	Announce, Notice, Propose*, Request*, Suggest*[5], Pure embodied action	54
MOVE C	Thank, Assess, Display stance, Pure embodied action	55

Assuming a perfect one-to-one match of a Move A to a Move C, this would mean that for each directive issued by the teacher, a follow-up move (e.g., 'Thank you') was issued, and at least one case where a Move A received multiple expansions. It is worth noting that such a high frequency of expansion type moves has not been reported in previous cross-linguistic studies of expressions of gratitude, which were one of the main response types in the Move C category (Floyd et al., 2018). In Floyd and colleagues' (2018) study, the gratitude expressions following fulfillment of requests in mundane interactions across eight languages ranged from 0% (Cha'palaa) to 14.5% (English). Thus, such a high number of Move Cs is especially salient in the data set.

The next sections will discuss Move As and Move Cs and highlight the most frequent resources and the practices they construct in their sequential context.

[5] The technical definitions for these can be found in Couper-Kuhlen (2014)

Move As – Initial Directives

Table 2. ***Resources for initial directives (MOVE As)***

Format	Example	%	Raw no.
Other-directed…			
Declarative	お片付けします。 *(We) will clean up.* [Ex. 1] 大変だ！ハサミも出てるわー。 *Oh my! The scissors are also left out* [Ex. 3; 4]	27.7	15
Imperative	自分のロッカーのお道具箱に入れといて。 *Put it in your own locker in your pencil box.* [Ex. 5]	22.2	12
Prototypical request	さーて、お椅子とかお片付けお願いしまーーす。 *Well then, please put away the chairs and other things* [Ex. 6]	7.41	4
Benefactive	これ、大きくしてくれる？ *Will you make (the hole) bigger **for me**?*	7.41	4
Conditional	お道具箱に入れといたら？ *Why don't you put it in your pencil box?*	1.85	1
Deictic	あっ、こっちこっち（(指差しながら)） *Oh, over here, over here ((while pointing))*	1.85	1
Interrogative	これは入りませんか？((捨てるフルをする)) *You don't need this? ((threatening to throw away))*	1.85	1
Lexical	うた、紙。 *Uta, the paper (on the ground).*	1.85	1
Self-directed…			
Interrogative	さーて誰がかっこよく片付けてるか**な**– *I wonder who is coolly cleaning up-* [Ex. 7]	7.41	4
Volitional	キャップを片付けようーーと。 *(I guess I'll) clean up the caps.*	7.41	4
Desiderative	あっ和ちゃん、それ危ないから置いとい**てほしい**なー。 *Oh, Kazu, that'd dangerous, so (I guess) I want you to leave it alone.*	1.85	1
Embodied action	Pointing, pushing, applauding, etc. unaccompanied by verbal conduct	11.2	6
	TOTAL	99.9	54

Table 2 shows the distribution of formats for first directives (Move As).[6] Formal definitions of each category can be found in Appendix C.

Declaratives

In contrast to findings from Clancy's (1986) and Takada's (2013) studies, declaratively formatted utterances made up a much larger percentage of directives than imperatives in the present data set (n = 15). Declaratives encompassed two major kinds of social actions in the directive sequences during clean up: announcements and *noticings* (Pillet-Shore, 2021). The opening of the cleanup activity was especially routine in structure and use of declaratively formatted directives. In transitioning from play time to cleaning time, Teacher utilized two routine directive practices: providing a declaratively formatted announcement that cleanup time will begin and playing the *Cleanup Song* on the piano. Excerpt 1, which took place near the end of the play period, represents the common organization of these openings. It begins with Teacher (TEA) giving the first warning to children that cleanup was to soon begin.

Excerpt 1. ***Announcing the start of cleanup time [7.29 Cam1vid3 7:27]***

((TEA sits at the Legos table with children while other children are playing))

kaz: +gz@TEA
tea: +gz@clock, hold up 8 fingers
1 TEA: +#HA+CHI NI NATTARA +#OKATADUKE NE::, HACHI NI::
When (the long hand) becomes '8', (we will) tidy up, okay? At '8'.
#fig1a #fig1b

Fig 1a



Fig 1b



2 ((4 min 36 seconds elapse; children continue play))

[6] This tabulation include directives that were not sequence-initial, such as those that emerged as a part of a repair sequence, of which there were four. All others were sequence-initial directives.

```
   ss: >>playing
  tea: +begin to stand up from table
3 TEA: +#(2.8)
        #fig2

  tea: +push in chair
4 TEA: +(0.8)

  tea: +walk towards piano
5 TEA: +#(2.0)
        #fig3

  tea:      +open piano lid    +turn on piano
  tea: +gz@piano
6 UTA: +(W)A+TASHI MO SA:: (.) +YATSU (M)O... ((to YUI in the secret base))
       Me to, my...

  tea:                                +play chord
  tea:                  +gz@piano-+gz@Ss playing in secret base
  tea:     +gz up twd Ss in secret base
7 TEA: SA::+::TE HACHI +NI NARIMA+#SH:: +TA:::,
        well.then  8     DAT  become-HON-PST
       Well then, (the long hand has) become '8',
                                  #fig4

  aka: +bend to pick up ball
8 TEA: +OKATADUKE SHIMA::SU=
        tidy.up     do-HON
       (We) will tidy up.
```

Fig 2

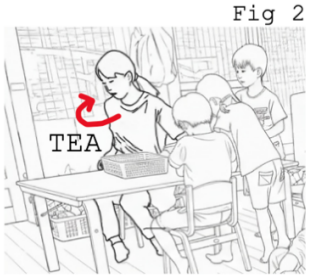


Fig 3



Fig 4



Near the end of play time, Teacher makes a class-wide announcement that cleanup will begin when the long hand of the clock reaches '8' (i.e., XX:40), gazing at the clock and holding up 8 fingers (line 1, fig 1b). This *activity contract* (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011) was only visibly attended to by one child, Kazu (KAZ), who gazes at Teacher and shifts his gaze to the clock during its production. Several minutes elapse while children continue playing and Teacher periodically monitors the clock (line 2, not shown). After a few minutes, Teacher stands, walks to the piano, opens its lid, and turns it on in preparation to play the Cleanup Song (lines 3-5). After readying the piano, Teacher issues an announcement (lines 7-8). Its formulation contains two Turn-constructional Units (TCUs)[7], each of which deserve attention.

First comes a time reference (*Well then, the long hand has become '8'*). As shown in (1), the TCU is *format-tied* (M. Goodwin, 1990) and calls back to the initially issued contract.

[7] TCUs are the units that compose a single interactional turn, which is defined as "the smallest interactionally relevant complete linguistic unit, in a given context, that is constructed with syntactic and prosodic resources within their semantic, pragmatic, activity-type-specific, and sequential conversational context" (Selting 2000, p. 477)

(1)

1 TEA: ***When** (the long hand) **becomes eight**, it's (time to) **clean up**, alright? **At eight**.*
HACHI NI NATTARA **OKATADUKE** NE::, **HACHI NI**::
eight DAT become-POT tidy.up IP eight DAT

…

6 TEA: *Well then, (the long hand) **has become eight**,*
SA::::TE **HACHI NI NAR**IMASH::TA:::,
well.then eight DAT become-HON-PST

7 *(We) **will tidy up**.*
OKATADUKE SHIMA::SU
tidy.up do-HON

This formulation holds children accountable to the contract they previously established by recycling (or *cannibalizing*, to use Schegloff's term) the condition that marks cleaning up: the position of the clock hand. The on-stage and public nature of the announcement is also evident from its style in the honorific form (cf. Cook, 1996). The initial word of the first TCU *sate* 'well then' (line 6) is also typically reserved for formal registers of speech or writing and marks a transition in discourse topic (Koda, 1995) and its function here appears to overlap with functions of *well*-prefaced TCUs in English (Heritage, 2018). Although highly salient in terms of register, Teacher's exaggerated prosody frames it as non-serious. The final mora of the predicate (tense marker *ta*) is preceded by a lengthening of the inflexed core verb (*narimas* 'become-HON') and produced in time with a C-major chord played on the piano. In this case, the timing of the piano and its concurrence with the verbal production of the account strongly projects the next stage of the opening of cleanup time: the playing of the Cleanup Song.

The second TCU contains the announcement proper (line 8, *[We] will tidy up*). Its declarative formatting, also in the honorific form, is similar in format to openings in other forms of institutional talk such as business meetings (Boden, 1994; Nielsen, 2013). Teacher, like the chair of a business meeting, possesses the deontic authority to control the flow of the institutional schedule. Unlike parent-child cleanups, however, Teacher's deontic authority is never overtly contested by children (cf. Korenaga et al., 2021). A further dimension is the fact that the subject is not present in the announcement's formulation. Being a pro-drop language, Japanese grammatical subjects are optionally elided in surface syntax. The agent of cleaning up is thus left to children to be tacitly interpreted as 'we,' by virtue of Teacher's subsequent actions (i.e., proceeding to help children clean up), their knowledge of the routines of the nursery school classroom, and their joint interactional histories with Teacher.

The announcement to begin cleanup is followed in all but one instance by the playing of the Cleanup Song on the piano by Teacher. This musical routine is shown in Excerpt 2, which begins immediately following Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 2. ***Playing the Cleanup Song [7.29 Cam1vid4 2:54]***

```
rik:                          +fix block slide tower
wah:  +place ball on slide--+throw ball down slide
aka:  +get yellow ball-->
tea:  +sweep gaze twd block area, gz@Ss-->
```

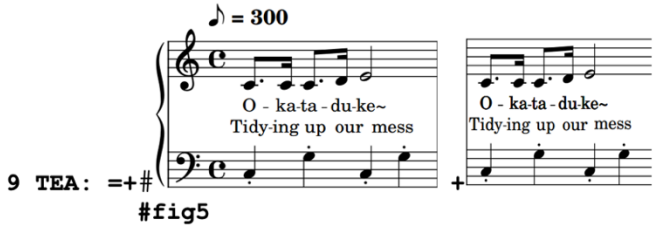
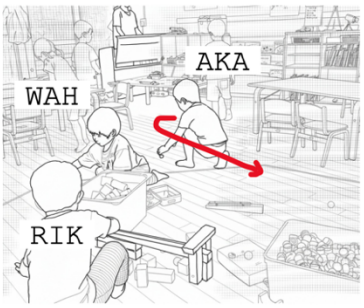


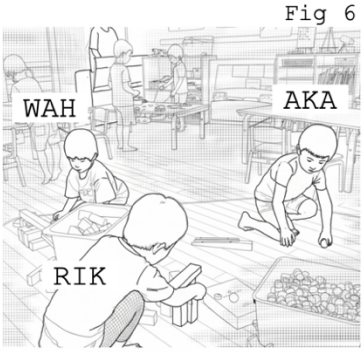
Fig 5




```
tea:                    +gz@piano---+gz@Ss
wah:                     +place ball, ball rolls away
aka:                     +gz@RIKU, then at balls
aka: +get green ball, collect other balls
```
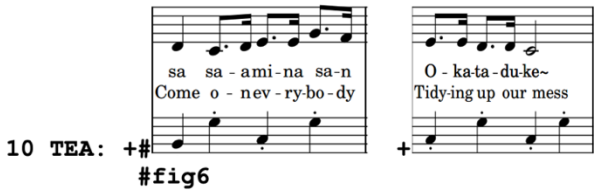


Fig 6



Throughout the data, this coupling of 'announcement + Cleanup Song' is instantly recognizable by children through their various forms of uptake. In Excerpt 2, Akashi (AKA) displays his understanding of this recurrent practice to be a directive by beginning to clean up even prior to the onset of the music (i.e., through gazing at a target item to be cleaned up). As the song begins, Akashi moves to grab balls on the floor (lines 9-10, figures 5-6).

After this opening routine, Teacher typically walked around the room and helped children tidy up. Teacher assisted in picking up blocks, tidying craft bins, and moving furniture to the edges of the room. In general, however, Teacher tended to work on parts of cleanup that pose danger or difficulty to children, such as folding away tables to be put away or accessing the crafts material stored overhead. Conversely, children were held primarily responsible for cleaning the toys they took out, and, when their own cleaning was finished, for the cleaning of other items in the room, regardless of their role in taking it out. In this way, responsibility for toys was socialized as residing within the *group*, rather than the *individual*.

Declaratively formatted directives were one of the ways Teacher emphasized the group's responsibility for cleaning. Beside announcements, declaratively formatted directives appeared in instances where children were aimlessly walking around without cleaning despite items being left out, resembling what Rossi (2018) calls *factual*

declaratives. These declaratives describe a state of affairs which is implicitly problematic or troublesome in the context of the ongoing activity (cleaning up) and to the teacher's project (getting children to participate in the cleanup). Unlike Rossi's collection, however, these declaratives were frequently featured in multi-party, highly publicized noticings in which recipiency was designedly opaque, such as in Excerpt 3. In Excerpt 3, Teacher notices that a pair of scissors has been left out on the drawing table, despite nearby children who had been at the drawing table aimlessly walking about rather than cleaning up.

Excerpt 3. ***Noticing the scissors are out [8.5 Cam1vid3 6:09]***

```
   eik: +walk around drawing table
   tea: +turn around, gaze at table
 1      +(2.6)
```

```
   eik:              +gz@TEA              +gz@scissors
   tea:        +gz@scissors-----+gz twd UTA, pivot away from drawing table
   uta: >>reorganize ribbon in crafts cubby
 2 TEA: TAIHEN +#DA! +HASAMI MO +#DETERU +WA:=
        terrible COP scissors also out IP
        Oh my! The scissors are also out.
```

#fig7a **#fig7b**

Fig 7a

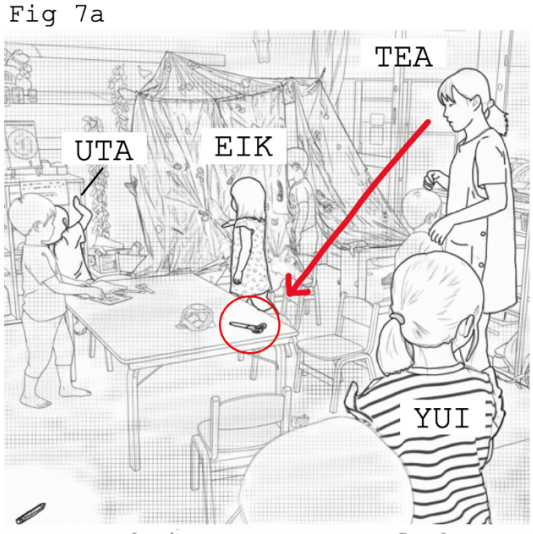
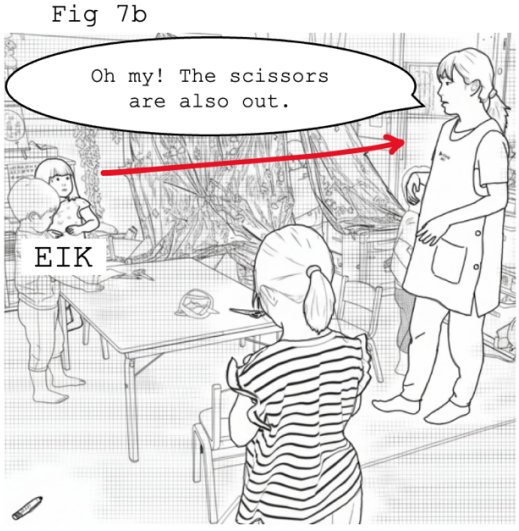


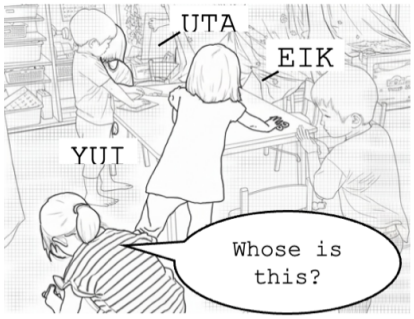
Fig 7b




```
   wah: +carry chair to corner of the room
   tea: +walk towards lego table
 3 TEA: +=WA:, WAHITO KUN CHIKARAMOCHI ARIGATOOGOZAIMASU.
         wow  NAME   SFX  strong       thank.you-HON-COP
        Wow, Wahito, so strong, thank you.
```

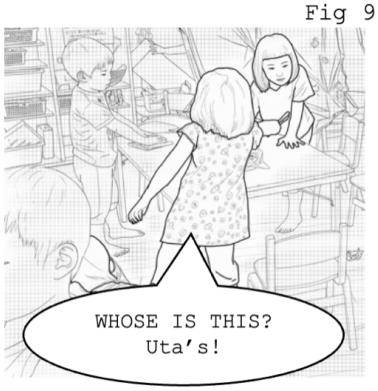
```
  eik:         +grab scissors
  uta: +stand up, walk to drawing table
  eik: +gz@scissors
  yui: +gz@ground, squat down
4 YUI: +dare? +#kore...
        who    this
       Whose is this?
                #fig8
```

Fig 8




```
  uta:              +lean to grab scissors
  eik:              +lean to pass scissors
  eik:       +read label on the scissors
  eik: +pick up scissors
5 EIK: +koRE +DARE?=+U:::+#TA.
        this  who    NAME
       WHOSE IS THIS? Uta's!
                              #fig9
```

Fig 9




```
  uta: +receive scissors from EIK
  eik: +pass scissors to UTA
6 UTA: +arigatoo
       thank.you
       Thank you.
```

After having placed an item on the children's personal cubbies lining the classroom wall, Teacher turns and notices a pair of scissors left on the desk (line 1). This is especially salient because scissors can pose a serious threat to unwary young children. Teacher then produces a highly upgraded noticing, prefacing it with an alert (*Oh my!*) and framing the scissors as yet another item left out (line 2, *also*). Teacher nevertheless does not direct any individual child to put away the scissors, and immediately pivots to walk away from it and toward another area to be cleaned, praising a separate child on her way (line 3). Eiko (EIK), who had been at the drawing table earlier but was then ambling around the perimeter of the table, attends to Teacher's noticing through her gaze (line 2), then goes on to procure the scissors (line 5) and return them to their rightful owner (lines 5-6).

Teacher's choice in using a noticing in this context is noteworthy. Given the danger of loose scissors and her proximity to it at the moment, Teacher could have just as easily identified the owner of the scissors herself and returned it to the cubby of the owner, or hail the individual child whose name appears on its label to put away what she has taken out, as is commonly the case in American preschools (e.g., Tobin et al., 1991, pp. 132-133). However, by choosing to notice in an accountable way which may furnish the interactive grounds for later sanctions, Teacher actively encourages *children* – any child in earshot and unoccupied, including the potentially forthcoming owner – to participate in tidying up the space. Rather than insisting on any individual child's

compliance, the Teacher's reliance on noticings can be seen as a socialization strategy that builds children's sense of responsibility for their items and the management of its cleanliness.

It should be noted that these noticings are not defined by the cognitive states of participants (cf. Schmidt, 1995). Even in instances like Excerpt 4, where Kazu is actively playing with a bottle cap, Teacher uses declaratively formatted noticing as a means of requesting the cap be put away in its respective bin. Although Kazu had been playing with the bottle cap, Teacher addresses Kazu through gaze and 'notices' that the cap is still on the ground (line 1). Kazu initially bends down to pick up the cap, but ultimately knocks it away again, potentially in an effort to prolong his play time with it.

Excerpt 4. ***Noticing a stray bottle cap [7.29 Cam1vid4 4:21]***

```
   kaz:  >>play with bottlecap, sliding it across the floor
   tea:  >>gz@KAZ
1 TEA:   #MADA  KYAPPU OCHI+TERU WA ((to KAZU))
         still cap    fall-PROG IP
         The cap is still on the ground.
         #fig10

   kaz:  +retrieve cap, then knock it away
2        +(2.4)
```

fig 10



Hence, while these noticings can be directed at a singular recipient, they remain thoroughly designed as public through volume and pitch, which is part of why they are hearable to the children as requests to clean up these objects. These "hints" are indeed not transparently directives and thus can be more easily ignored, such as by Kazu in the case of Excerpt 4 (line 2) (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1976, pp. 42-45).

Imperatives

After declaratives, imperatives make up the second most frequent initial directive format (n = 12). Most imperatively formatted directives took a single child as an addressee (n = 8) and named a single action not part of the usual routine of cleaning up. Excerpt 5 is one example where Teacher responded to Yui's (YUI) attempt to place her ribbon craft on top of the class-shared crafts cubby rather than her own.

Excerpt 5. ***Put it in your pencil box [8.5 Cam1vid3 5:31.4]***

```
   tea: +stand still, lighthouse gaze
1       +(2.3)

   tea:        +gz@YUI-->7
   yui:     +gz@TEA +stand up
2  YUI: sen+se+e,  +#kore (ato de yaroo).
        Teacher, I will finish this afterwards.
                    #fig11

   yui: +gz down at table
   tea: +nod
3  TEA: +un.
        Okay.

   yui: +gz@crafts cubby
   yui: +begin walking toward crafts cubby-->5
4       +(1.0)

5  TEA: erai ne.
        So disciplined.

   yui:                +gz@TEA
   yui:           +hover ribbon craft above crafts cubby
   yui: >---------+stand near crafts cubby
6  YUI: koko ni  +oite+#(o)ku.
        here DAT  put-AUX
        I will place it here.
                        #fig12

   yui:                                          +gz@personal cubbies
   yui:                                 +turn towards personal cubbies
   yui:                      +withdraw ribbon craft
   tea:                    +shake head twice
7  TEA: jibun no rokka +no+::- #odoo+gubako ni +iretoite
        yourself GEN locker GEN  pencil.box DAT put-AUX-TE
        Put it in your own locker in your pencil box.
                                  #fig13

   tea: +gz following YUI
   yui: +walk to personal cubbies
8       +(2.2)

   tea:  +pivot twd personal cubbies, gz@YUI
9  TEA: o+doo#gubako iretoite yo.
        pencil.box  put-AUX-TE IP
        Put it in your pencil box.
```

fig 11

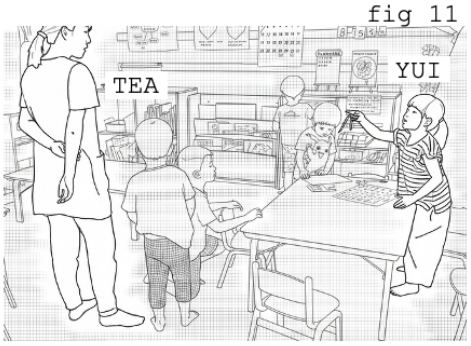
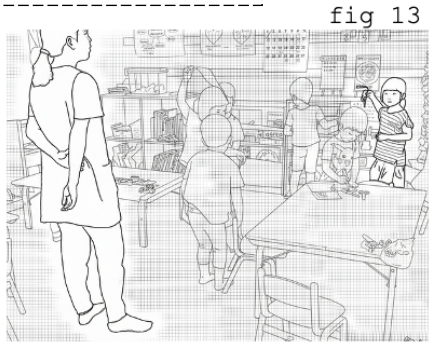


fig 12



fig 13



As Teacher is monitoring the cleanup progress through her lighthouse gaze (line 1), Yui solicits Teacher's attention and informs her she will 'wrap up' her ongoing ribbon

project (line 2). This is met with Teacher's minimal acknowledgment (line 3) and, after a short gap, praise (line 5). Yui then problematizes where to store her craft, asking through declarative format to rest it on top of the crafts cubby (line 6). The inclusion of the auxiliary verb *-oku* indicates Yui intends to return to the craft later (Kondo, 2014). Teacher, however, does not ratify this and instead directs Yui to place her craft in her pencil box located in her personal cubby (line 7). After walking off camera, Yui haphazardly places it in her own cubby and Teacher issues a repair initiation, reidentifying the exact location where Yui should place her craft through a modified repeat (*Put it in your pencil box*, line 9).

The finding that imperatives appear in these types of directives, which are directed at individual children and involve a local project distinct from the larger activity, mirrors findings in adult-adult interaction regarding the "cline of visible commitment" (Rossi, 2012; Zinken & Deppermann, 2017). In other words, the imperative form indexes Teacher's sensitivity to Yui's commitment to a distinct line of action (placing the craft on the crafts cubby) and the very different line projected by her directive (placing it in the pencil box). Imperatives in the data set commonly happen in these interactional organizations, including repair-implicative corrections to children's cleaning behavior and pursuits of compliance.

Prototypical Request Format

Although the third most frequent initial directive format was tied between several categories, including other-directed utterances formatted as prototypical requests and benefactive constructions, and self-directed utterances formatted in interrogative and volitional forms, only prototypical request forms and self-directed interrogatives are discussed here owing to their prominence (request forms) or absence (self-directed interrogatives) in prior research. Prototypical request forms appear to be deployed as class-wide broadcasts in instances where child participation in cleaning up is limited. As an 'on record' strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987), their use more strongly projects a response aligning with the request or an account for non-fulfillment.

As a category, prototypical request formats were utterances that take a request-verb, such as '(I) *request*', as its predicate. *Onegaishimasu* was the most common request verb in the data, which is composed of the verb *negau* 'to request' conjugated in the humble honorific form (*o* + V + *shimasu*). Excerpt 6 is an example of the most common use of request formats, which is a class-wide broadcast requesting children to clean up the chairs. In Excerpt 6, most of the larger toys (i.e., wood blocks, art supplies) have been tided away, leaving only the chairs to be stacked and a few Lego blocks to be returned to their proper bins. Children, however, who normally manage these tasks, are preoccupied with a spontaneous jumping contest.

Excerpt 6. ***Please, the chairs too [8.20 Cam1vid1 27:56]***

```
1 TEA: ((grab two chairs, carry to corner of the room))

2 YUI: dekiru yo=
       I can (jump like that).
3 TEA: =SA::::TE  OISU       TOKA     OKATADUKE=
        well.then HON-chairs etcetera clean.up

  yui:                      +hop on one leg
4 TEA: =ONEGAISHI[MA:::::::+SU ]
        request-HON
       Well then, please clean up the chairs and other things.
5 YUI:            [NE: NE:, +KO ]NNA   N(O) DEKIRU? ((to EIKO))
                    IP  IP   this.kind PRN   can.do
       Hey, hey, can you do this kind (of jump)?

6      ((Akashi tidies the Lego bins; all children but Akashi continue jumping))
```

As Teacher moves chairs into the corner of the room in preparation for lunch (line 1), Teacher requests that children assist in taking care of the chairs 'and other things' (*toka*, etcetera) using the prototypical request verb *onegaishimasu* (request-HON) (line 3). However, in this case, no child except Akashi displays uptake to Teacher's request. As the case in point, Yui overlappingly asks other children about whether they could jump on one foot (line 5) without orienting to Teacher's request, and only Akashi continues tidying up Lego blocks. The broadcast is also prefaced with the *sate* 'Well then' seen in Excerpt 1. Hence, the prototypical request form may be a way to 'relaunch' premature closure of the cleaning activity.

Self-Directed Interrogative

Self-directed interrogatives, while not especially frequent, were extremely potent as a means of securing children's compliance with cleaning up. Self-directed interrogatives typically feature Teacher 'voicing' her inner thoughts as she monitors children's cleanup progress, positioning children as *unaddressed ratified overhearers* (Goffman, 1981). Excerpts 7 and 8 are two abbreviated examples from a larger sequence (shown in expanded form as Excerpt 12). In Excerpt 7, Teacher broadcasts the question 'I wonder who is the cleanup master' with no visible addressee. Excerpt 8, issued later within the same cleanup, similarly questions 'who is coolly cleaning up.'

Excerpt 7. ***Who is a master cleaner? [7.22 Playtime-8 2:54]***

```
1 TEA:  sa::TE   OKATADUKE MEEJIN WA +DARE YARO +NA:::::::
        well.then cleanup  master TOP who  MOD   IP
        Well, I wonder who is the cleanup master
```

Excerpt 8. ***Who is coolly cleaning up? [7.22 Playtime-8 3:19]***

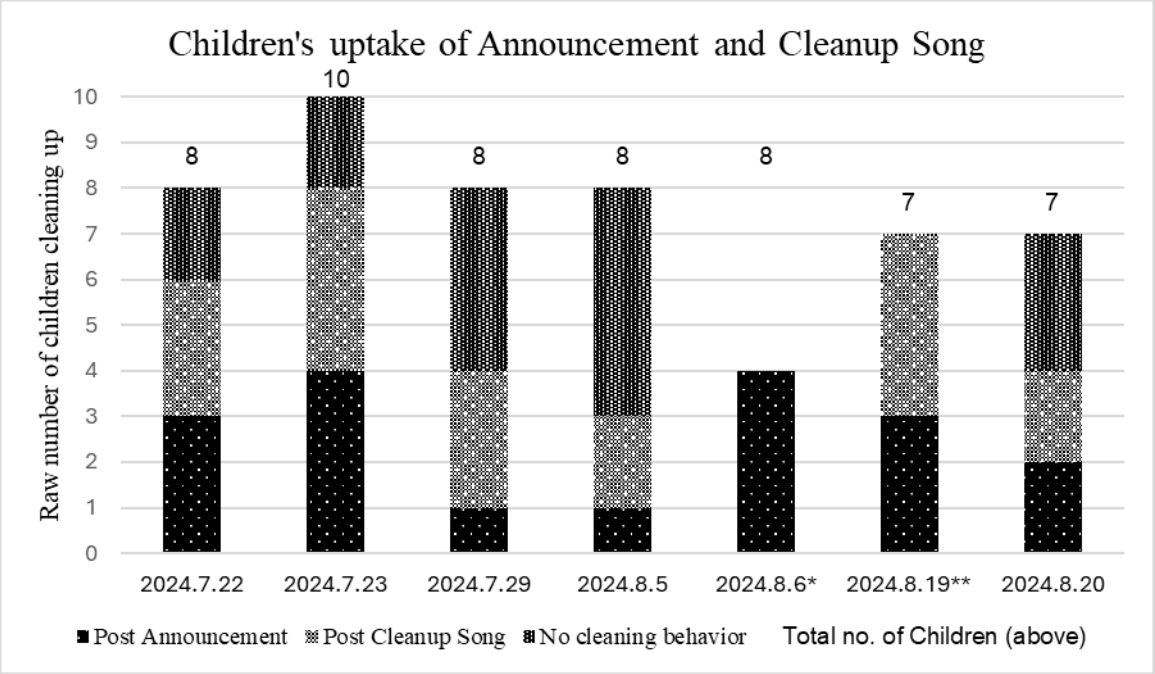
```
1 TEA: +sa::te, +dare ga kakkoyoku ka+taduketeru  +ka- +OH,
       well.then who NOM cool-ADV     cleanup-PROG   Q    oh
       Well then, who is coolly cleaning up...OH!
```

As will be shown later, these 'wonder alouds' are frequently paired with expansions such as positive assessments of cleaning children, and these pairings ultimately motivate children to begin cleaning up.

Initial Directive Uptake and Pursuing Compliance

Overall, the children in the data regularly complied with directives from Teacher, and while some instances involved child reluctance (e.g., complaining, ignoring), blatant rejection was never witnessed. In some cases, such as Excerpts 2 (Clean Up Song) and 6 (Please, the chairs too), children may nevertheless fail to comply *promptly*. Chart 1 shows the number of children who display overt cleaning behaviors (i.e., putting away toys, packing away writing utensils, closing and organizing books, dismantling Lego constructions, locomotion and gaze towards incipiently cleaned items, etc.) after the opening of cleaning time. In all but one instance, around two to four children do not show any uptake to the initial directive to begin cleanup at the opening of cleanup time.

Chart 1. ***Initial cleanup announcement uptake***



*Teacher did not play the Cleanup Song on 8.6

**All children displayed cleaning behavior by the end of the Cleanup Song on 8.19

However, as documented in previous ethnographies of Japanese preschools, children's lack of immediate uptake to a teacher's directives is not heavily sanctioned by teachers, at least amongst four-year-olds in preschool (e.g., Tobin et al., 1991; 2009). Additionally, by the end of cleanup time, each child in the classroom participated in cleaning up, even if in some minimal manner.

A lack of sanctions for non-compliant children, however, does not mean that Teacher did not pursue compliance. When faced with a lack of uptake to directives to begin cleaning from children, Teacher typically moved from more indirect to more direct formatting of her directives, such as in Excerpt 9.

Excerpt 9 (cont. from Ex. 4). ***Embodiment as upgrading [7.29 Cam1vid4 4:21]***

```
   kaz:  >>play with bottlecap, sliding it across the floor
   tea:  >>gz@KAZ
 1 TEA:  #MADA  KYAPPU OCHI+TERU WA ((to KAZU))
         still cap    fall-PROG IP
         The cap is still on the ground.
         #fig10
```

fig 10

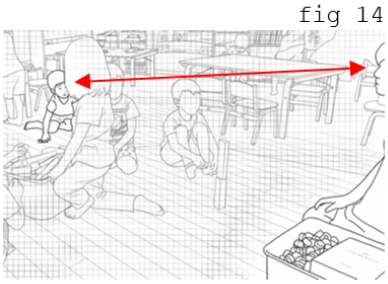



```
   kaz:  +retrieve cap, then knock it away
 2       +(2.4)
```

```
 3 TEA:  OH, CHOODAI, [KAZU CHAN::]
         oh   give     name-SFX
         Oh, please give (the cap to me).
 4 RAI:                [sensee,    ]
         Teacher,

   tea:            +RHIF@bin
   kaz:  +gz@TEA---+gz@cap, continue playing->>
 5       +#(1.3)   +(1.5)
          #fig14
```

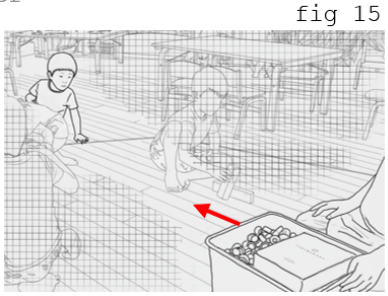
fig 14



```
 6       ((3.6 seconds; KAZU continues to play with the cap while TEA gazes))

   Tea:  +push fwd cap bin twd KAZ-+scoot bin even closer
   tea:  >>gz@KAZ
   kaz:  >>gz@cap          +gz@TEA
 7 TEA:  +>Kazu chan<, kya+ppu choo+(#dai).
          name-SFX     cap     give
         Kazu, the cap please.
                                  #fig15
```

fig 15



```
 8 KAZ:  ((hold out cap with RH, fig 16))

 9 TEA:  ((point at KAZU, fig 17a))

10 TEA:  ((point at cap bin, fig 17b))

11 KAZ:  ((crawl towards cap bin, pick up another stray bottlecap, fig 18))
```

fig 16



fig 17a



fig 17b



fig 18



12 TEA: **ah:: tsuide ni arigato,**
Ah, thank you (for picking up the other cap) on your way.

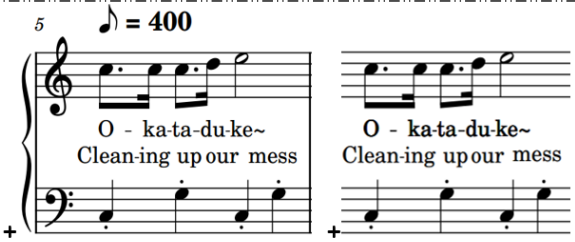
Excerpt 9 continues from Excerpt 4, where Kazu is playing with a bottle cap requested by Teacher to be put away through a declaratively formatted noticing (line 1). Kazu continues playing with the cap and does not show recipiency to Teacher's initial request (line 2). However, Teacher then upgrades her directive to an 'on record' strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987) through the use of a prototypical request verb *choodai* 'please (give)' and naming Kazu as the addressee (line 3). Despite gazing at Teacher, who produces a pointing gesture at the bin (line 5), Kazu continues to play with the cap by sliding it across the floor (line 6). After 3.6 seconds with no response from Kazu, Teacher reissues the request, this time forwarding Kazu's name as the addressed recipient (line 7) and simultaneously pushes the cap bin towards Kazu. After finally establishing and sustaining mutual gaze with Kazu, Kazu offers the cap to Teacher with an outstretched arm, bottle cap resting on his flat open palm (line 8, fig 16). Teacher, however, rejects the proffering, instead pointing at him (line 9, fig 17a) and then at the cap bin once more (line 10, fig 17b). Only then does Kazu begin to crawl towards the bin, picking up a stray bottlecap on his way (line 11, fig 18). The sequence comes to a close as Teacher thanks him for his additional work (line 12).

This case highlights how embodiment is used to upgrade the severity of the directive, as well as to show the boundaries of responsibility in cleaning up. Despite Kazu's delay, he eventually proffers Teacher the cap. Teacher, however, uses embodied gestures such as pointing and scooting the cap bin toward Kazu to demonstrate that simply proffering it is insufficient; Kazu must see through putting away the cap because playing with a toy means being responsible for its return to its proper place.

In one case, music was also used to pursue stronger uptake with the cleaning activity. As shown in Excerpts 1 and 2, Teacher routinely opens clean up time through the use of an announcement and playing the Cleanup Song on the piano. However, the song is typically played only once through. In Excerpt 10, continued from Excerpt 2, the Cleanup Song is repeated with permutations which were then ascribed by children as a functional upgrade of the announcement that cleanup time was to begin.

Excerpt 10 (cont. from Ex. 2). Musical permutation as pragmatic upgrade [7.29 Cam1vid4 3:00]

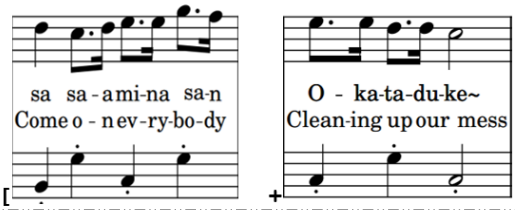
yui: +sprint from secret base toward blocks
kaz: +run from lego table to block area->6
rik: +drop white ball, move to pick up
wah: +quickly stand, chase ball



1 TEA: + +

Repeat of the *Cleanup Song* (+1 octave, +tempo)
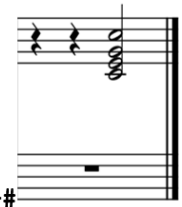
aka: +gz@RIKU



2 TEA: [+]

3 AKA: [+OKATADUKE NO UTA +KAKATTERU YO] ((to RIKU))
clean.up GEN song play-PROG IP
The cleanup song is playing, y'know.

yui: +throw cap into cap bin
tea: +gz@piano



4 TEA: +#
#fig19

fig 19



5 tea: ((turn off piano))

aoi: +pick up yellow ball, place in ball tin
tea: +gz@block area

6 TEA: +SUGOI, +UTA CHAN HAYAI NE, OKATADUKE::::
wow name-SFX fast IP cleanup
Wow, Uta is so fast at cleaning up!

tea: +shut piano cover, begin walking away from piano
7 +(.)

rik: +throw ball down slide
rik: +place ball in slide

8 TEA: +YUI CHAN +MO SUGOI::
mame-SFX also amazing
Yui is amazing too.

Through the musical modulation (i.e., transposing the phrase one octave up and increasing the tempo from roughly 300 to 400 beats per minute), Teacher effectively upgrades the strength of the directive to begin cleaning up through music. This ascription is reflected in children's sudden and rapid change in activity: Kazu, who had been playing with Legos, begins to move towards the block area (line 1). Yui, who had been playing in another corner of the room, sprints towards the block area (lines 1-3) to toss a bottle cap back into the cap bin (line 4). Akashi, who had been playing alongside Riku (RIK) with the blocks and who had begun to clean up, reprimands his playmate who continues to play with blocks despite the quickened music's incipient final bars (line 3). After Teacher finishes the final chord and turns off the piano (lines 4-5), she quickly offers praise for children who had begun cleaning up (lines 6, 8).

Move Cs – Expansion Moves

One of the primary findings of the quantitative analysis was that expansion moves were more frequent than initial directives. This is surprising because expansion moves are not mandatory for directive-response sequences to be 'complete.' In other words, they are not structurally required.

The observed expansion practices of the teacher were primarily one of three well-documented social actions: assessment (Pomerantz, 1981); stance displays (Ochs, 1990); and thanking (Zinken et al., 2020). Assessment and stance displays share much overlap in the CA literature – here, assessment is taken to mean any utterance that displays an evaluative stance towards an object, person, or behavior (Küttner, 2023), whereas stance displays are limited to utterances that reveal a speaker's affective or epistemic stance. Table 4 shows the distribution of these expansion practices.

Table 3. ***Expansion practices, Move Cs***

Compliance pursuits			
Move C	Example	%	Raw no.
Assessment	わー和人くん力持ち *Wow, Wahito, so strong* [Ex. 11] 英子ちゃんかっこいい！ *Eiko, so cool!* [Ex. 12]	50.9	28
Thanking	ありがとうございました。 *Thank you very much* [Ex. 9, 11, 13]	30.9	17
Stance display	先生うれしいーー！ *Teacher is so happy!* [Ex.13]	10.9	6
Pure embodied action	Applause	1.81	1
Other		5.45	3
	TOTAL	99.9	55

Assessments took the form of positive evaluations of children's behavior, or in other words, praise. Excerpt 11, which appeared in Excerpt 3, is one such example where Wahito's (WAH) lifting of the chair is contingently praised by Teacher as she moves to clean up the next area.

Excerpt 11 (from Ex. 3). ***Noticing the scissors are out [8.5 Cam1vid3 6:14]***

```
  wah: +carry chair to corner of the room
  tea: +walk towards lego table
3 TEA: +=WA:, WAHITO KUN CHIKARAMOCHI ARIGATOOGOZAIMASU.
        wow  NAME   SFX  strong       thank.you-HON-COP
       Wow, Wahito, so strong, thank you.
```

Importantly, the focally assessed object in the cleanup activity is children's compliance with Teacher's directives. In cases where children display cleaning behavior, Teacher does a very public positive assessment. Conversely, negative assessments for non-compliance, including delayed compliance, were never witnessed during cleaning time. As noted previously, assessments were often prefaced by Teacher's self-directed interrogatives or 'wonder aloud' utterances. Excerpt 12, which is the continuation of Excerpts 7 and 8, shows how an assessment prompts nearby children to quicken their pace of cleaning up the wooden blocks.

Excerpt 12 (cont. from Ex. 7). ***Who is coolly cleaning up [7.22 Playtime-8 3:20]***

```
  yui:                                          +gz@TEA
  eik:                          +put blocks in bin
  tea:          +gz@RAI         +gz@EIK
  jam: +walk twd block area                     +gz@TEA
1 TEA: +sa::te, +dare ga kakkoyoku ka+taduketeru  +ka- +OH,
       well.then who NOM cool-ADV     cleanup-PROG   Q    oh

  tea:              +gz@RAI, walk towards lego table with RAI
  wah:        +move towards blcoks
  yui:        +begin quickly picking up blocks
  aka:    +begin picking up blocks
  yui:    +gz@EIK
  jam: +gz twd blocks area
  eik: +gz@TEA
2 TEA: +ei+KO +CHAN +KAKKO+II!
        NAME  SFX  cool
       Well then, who is coolly cleaning up...OH! Eiko, so cool!

  ren: +gz@blocks
  tea: +walk to lego table, assist RAI in disassembling legos
  eik: +quicken pace of returning blocks to bin
3 YUI: +MM:::!
```

In Excerpt 12, Teacher patrols the classroom and scans the room for cleaning children. Upon spotting Eiko mid-turn, Teacher cuts off her syntactically complete sentence and issues a change-of-state token *OH* (Heritage, 1984) (line 1). She continues to produce a name (*Eiko-chan* Eiko-SFX) and assesses her behavior as 'cool' (*kakkoii*).[8] In turn, nearby children Jamie (JAM), Yui, Akashi, and Wahito, who were slowly cleaning blocks or simply standing by, hasten their pace or begin moving towards the block area. Yui, who gazes at Eiko as Teacher's assessment is incipient, cannot contain herself as she hustles to pick blocks faster than Eiko (*MM:::!,* line 3).

Teacher's public assessments are a regular way for Teacher to invite, but not demand, that other children participate in cleaning up, thereby allowing them to also have the chance to be praised. Excerpt 13 provides stronger evidence that this practice is cemented in the Teacher's repertoire of strategies for soliciting compliance. Excerpt 13 follows from Excerpt 6, where all but one child – Akashi – are hopping around and challenging each other to jump in different ways.

Excerpt 13 (cont. from Ex. 6). ***Assessing and thanking to pursue directive uptake [8.20 27:56]***

```
1 TEA: ((grab two chairs, carry to corner of the room))

2 YUI: dekiru yo=
       I can (jump like that).
3 TEA: =SA::::TE  OISU       TOKA     OKATADUKE=
        well.then HON-chairs etcetera clean.up

  yui:                      +hop on one leg
4 TEA: =ONEGAISHI[MA:::::::+SU ]
        request-HON
       Well then, please clean up the chairs and other things.
5 YUI:            [NE: NE:, +KO ]NNA   N(O) DEKIRU? ((to EIKO))
                    IP  IP   this.kind PRN   can.do
       Hey, hey, can you do this kind (of jump)?

6      ((Akashi tidies the Lego bins; all children but Akashi continue jumping))

  wah:                                          +gz@lego table, walklego table
  eik:                                         +gz@TEA     +turn and gaze@lego table, wlk
  sho:                                         +run to lego table, pick up stray legos
  uta:                                         +gz@chair, run to chair and pick up
  aka:                   +walk to lego cubby, begin putting away lego trays
  tea:       +BH together, laced fingers
  aka: >>hold lego bins, turning towards lego cubby
  tea: >>gz@AKA
7 TEA: ↑#WA:: +AKASHI KUN +GANBATTE +KURE+#TERU, ↑↑ARI+GATOO:::::::↑↑
       Wow, Akashi is doing (his) best, thank you!
        #fig20                              #fig21
```

[8] Previous studies have found that Japanese assessments are gendered (Burdelski, 2010). In this data, no salient gender bias in assessments was found. No instances of the highly frequent and typically gendered adjective *kawaii* 'cute' were used towards cleaning children in the data.

```
   eik:              +pick up stray legos
   uta: +carry chair to corner
 8 TEA: +↑SENSEE URE+SHII::::↑
        I am so happy!

 9      (1.5)

   wah: +pull out chair, prepare to carry
10 TEA: +SASUGA AKASHI KUN::
        As expected of Akashi.

11      (0.5)

   wah:      +gz@TEA-+gz@chair
   uta: +walk back to get second chair
12 TEA: +AH, +WAHITO +KUN MO ARIGATOO::
        Ah, Wahito too, thank you!

13      (0.3)

14 TEA: AH, UTA CHAN MO ARIGATOO::::
        Ah, Uta too, thank you!

15 TEA: ((applaud))
```

Fig 20

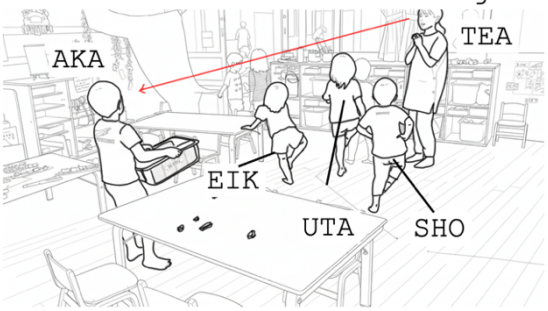


Fig 21



As Teacher finishes placing her chairs in the corner, she notices that Akashi is the only child who has continued to clean up (lines 6-7). Accordingly, Teacher suddenly increases her pitch and exaggeratedly assesses Akashi, emphasizing the assessment through her clasped hands, extreme stress, and high pitch (line 7). Throughout her assessment, several children stop jumping and begin to clean; Sho begins to pick up stray Legos, and Eiko and Wahito begin walking to the Lego table to attend to any Legos that may have been left behind. Teacher finishes her initial assessment of Akashi with a stance display (*I am happy*, line 8) and another assessment (*As expected of Akashi*, line 10). Teacher also thanks children who began to clean in response to her lengthy and upgraded assessment such as Wahito (line 12) and Uta (UTA) (line 14) as they continue to put away chairs, which was part of her original directive. Thus, Teacher's chain of assessments and thanking of one cleaning child has the domino effect of spurring playing children to finish up the cleaning activity. This demonstrates how Teacher granularly monitored children's compliance with the directive to clean and, conversely, how children actively attended to what behavior counted as positively assessable *at that interactional juncture* and reoriented themselves to align with the relevant cleaning project.

Discussion

Directives as a Resource for Socialization

The analysis of the types of directives and their distribution in directive-response sequences during the routine cleanup activities in a Japanese nursery school revealed that the teacher's initial directive actions (i.e., Move As) made up less than half of the total number of directives that the teacher used in getting children to comply with cleaning up. Other than the initial announcement, these included actions such as noticing, Requesting*,* Proposing*,* Suggesting*,* and pure gestural movements (e.g., pointing). The analysis found that declaratively formatted utterances, and in particular *factual declaratives* (Rossi, 2018) were the most common linguistic format for initial directives which required children to closely attend to their interactional import in relation to the ongoing cleanup activity.

However, often a few children showed no immediate uptake to the openings of clean up time (i.e., cleaning behavior, gaze towards the teacher, etc.). This in turn led to extended sequences where the teacher would engage in a variety of actions to pursue children's compliance with cleaning up and transitioning to the next activity. Accordingly, the teacher more frequently employed third position moves (i.e., Move Cs) where the teacher judged children as having ignored or being significantly delayed in attending to some sequentially prior directive. These included actions such as thanking (e.g., Excerpts 11, 13), assessing (e.g., Excerpts 7, 8, 11), or using stance displays (e.g., Excerpt 13) to highlight children displaying compliant behavior (i.e., tidying away toys, putting away chairs). By positively assessing and thanking the few children who had begun to clean, the teacher provisioned the attention of other, non-cleaning children to attend to what is seen and appraised as valued and desirable behavior. In other words, non-cleaning children were indirectly invited, but not commanded, to reflect on their behavior and realign with the activity of cleaning up.

The distribution of the types and forms of directives observed may be indicative of what Clancy (1986) has called the *indirect communicative style* of Japanese. Importantly, studying directives in ECEC institutions provides stronger evidence for Clancy's claim because issues of linguistic politeness more strongly permeate ECEC institutions than home life (Cook, 1997; Cook & Shibamoto-Smith, 2018). ECEC institutions such as preschool are where Japanese children must first learn to cooperate with others outside of their family and therefore outside of their comfortable 'bubble of dependency' (*amae,* cf. Doi, 1975). As opposed to the home, where cleaning and tidying up after children are often the responsibility of the primary caregiver (i.e., Mom), preschool is one such place where children begin to more frequently encounter directives, and where insubordination does not present itself as a solution (e.g., Korenaga et al., 2021). Thus, ECEC institutions may more strongly work to socialize

children into attentiveness to others (*omoiyari* training) by keeping them accountable for attending to the interactional purpose of Teacher's various directive formulations. While previous research on directive-response sequences has emphasized the frequency of imperatively formatted directives in adult-child interaction, the findings here show that imperatives in institutional interaction may be more significantly related to interactional contingencies, such as negotiating how to tidy away a craft (Excerpt 5), rather than as a main mode of issuing directives (cf. Rossi, 2012; Wootton, 1997).

From the teacher's perspective, expansions such as praising and thanking cleaning children, rather than coercing non-compliant children through directly requesting or commanding, offered opportunities for non-cleaning children to be attentive to their peers' behavior, thus indirectly socializing them into how cleaning up is a positive and valued behavior in the group. The relatively low frequency of stance displays in comparison to assessments or thanking amongst post-expansions may also indicate that cleaning is socialized as an activity that is not just for the benefit of the teacher, who is happy to receive help cleaning up, but as a good thing to do *on its own merits* (i.e., as a pro-moral activity).

Socialization To and Through Cleaning Up

Unlike in previous research focusing on cleanups in the home (e.g., Fasulo et al., 2007; Korenaga et al., 2021), cleaning up in nursery school has been shown to function as a scaffold for young children to understand and appreciate their role in the group and their membership in the classroom (Lebra, 1976; Peak, 1993). In the nursery school, the directive to clean up is only satisfied by a state of cleanliness or tidiness ratified by the teacher. Thus, in concurrence with Korenaga and colleagues' (2021) findings, what cleanliness (or tidiness) looks like, and the constitutive actions that produce it, are thus implicitly socialized through the directive issuer's (i.e., the teacher's) final evaluation, and whether the next activity can (or will) begin hinges squarely on those issues. However, unlike Korenaga and colleagues' findings, issues of whether the directive giver has the deontic authority to give the directive to clean up are never visible in the present data and not reported in similar contexts (e.g., Tobin et al., 1991). Hence, there is some evidence that directive-response sequences in the home may represent different socialization trajectories than those in ECEC institutions.

Another issue of consequence is whose responsibility it is to clean. In cleanup announcements, elements that accountably hold children to begin cleaning up are present (i.e., the activity contract in Excerpt 1, the routinization of the cleanup song in Excerpts 2 and 10). Others, however, are notably missing: who will do most of the cleaning up, who will clean up what, and by when cleanup must finish are underspec-

ified in the announcement's design. Most of the time, these issues do not seem to present problems for the participants and are tacitly understood from the children's membership knowledge of the routines of the nursery school classroom. At the same time, these details were shown to be locally managed in each and every local project in the cleanup activity. For example, in Excerpt 9, Kazu attempts to negotiate the distribution of work by proffering the bottle cap as requested but not placing it in the cap bin himself. In this case, Teacher rejects Kazu's partial compliance, retroactively signaling that Teacher's assistance only goes so far and that putting it away is ultimately Kazu's responsibility. In Excerpt 10, Riku's reluctance to begin cleaning in the first place is shown to be an accountable (mis)behavior, revealed by Akashi's scolding of him and his eventual compliance.

On the other hand, children were consistently observed to work collaboratively, putting away toys, stacking chairs, and tidying away crafts *together* to achieve a clean classroom, regardless of who had initially brought out or last played with a given toy. When items were left out, no individual or group of children were held specifically culpable by the teacher for their misplacement. In Excerpt 3, Eiko and Yui both work to find the owners of particular items (a craft and a pair of scissors) despite not having touched them during play time. Several excerpts feature the stacking of chairs left out by other children who failed to put them away before moving away from the table (i.e., Excerpts 6, 13). Cleaning up thus became a locus for children's socialization into the boundaries of responsibility. In contrast to Western views of cleaning up as the responsibility of individuals (e.g., Tobin et al., 1991, pp. 132-133), responsibility for cleaning is socialized to lie within the group, including the teacher, who actively participated in putting away toys and rearranging furniture. These minute interactional negotiations are examples of how the teacher implicitly socialized children into responsible behavior. Conversely, children worked to explore and push the boundaries of what they are accountable for through their (dis)alignment with the teacher's directives to clean up.

Conclusion

In this article, based on moment-by-moment analyses of the cleanup activities in a Japanese nursery school, Floyd and colleagues' (2020) anatomical model of recruitments was applied to quantify and categorize the embodied practices and resources used by the teacher in directive-response sequences. Through quantification, the analysis showed that the teacher's use of third position expansion moves such as assessing, thanking, and displaying stance were more frequent than first position directives in the project of getting children to clean up. Additionally, among the first position directives issued, a majority of them were indirect and worked to build children's knowledge of the desired and valued behavior in the interactional context. Actions

such as publicly noticing untidied objects or doing 'wonder alouds' that describe positive cleaning behavior successfully drew non-compliant children's attention and facilitated their subsequent engagement in cleaning behavior. Finally, qualitative analysis revealed how these directive formats and practices were implemented in the sequential unfolding of directive-response sequences, ultimately highlighting how children monitor and react to the emerging contingencies of the cleanup activity. The analysis further showed how directives are a potent tool for children's socialization into culturally ratified systems of aesthetics and morality – in this case tidiness and responsibility, respectively. Future research will have to address how these early trajectories of socialization, both to and through the directives of caregivers, continue as Japanese children begin to enter other ECEC institutions such as primary school and extracurricular clubs.

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Data, Code and Materials Availability Statement

The tabulated and coded data can be accessed in an OSF repository https://osf.io/ngz7m.

Ethics Statement

Data collection and project design ethics were approved by the University of Osaka's Research Ethics Committee (Ref: *Kenron B-8*) July 8th, 2024. All participants gave informed written consent before taking part in the study.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible thanks to the financial support from the Japan Society Promotion of Science (https://www.jsps.go.jp/) and academic support from the University of Osaka. Appreciation is also due to my advisor Matthew Burdelski, to the group working on directive-response sequences at the Australian National University, and to the editor and two anonymous reviewers, all of whose thorough comments were helpful in revising the paper. A final word of thanks is owed to the staff and teachers at Vineyard Nursery School for warmly welcoming me into their school for a summer. Any mistakes that remain are my own.

Appendix A – Transcription Conventions

Adopting a system developed by Rue Burch (e.g., Burch, 2014), transcription consists of 4 separate lines, ordered vertically and aligned temporally through the use of markers. From top to bottom, they are: descriptions of embodied action, talk transcribed in Romanized English, an interlinear gloss, and a translation into idiomatic English. Embodied actions are organized temporally in a radial fashion relative to the talk line, where embodied actions that occur earlier in the turn appear closest to the talk line and those that occur later appear farther from it. Additional abbreviations and transcription conventions are located in the legend key below.

word	Talk	,	Continuing intonation
WORD	Louder talk	?	Rising intonation
°word°	Quieter talk	!	Exclamatory intonation
wo::rd	Lengthened prosody	.	Declining intonation
>word<	Faster talk	(0.5)	Silence in tenths of seconds
<word>	Slower talk	=	Latching marker
↑word	Pitched up	+	Alignment marker for embodied action
↓word	Pitched down	#	Alignment marker for figures

wor-	Cutoff talk	>>	Action continued from excerpt prior
word	Emphatic prosody	->>	Action continues beyond excerpt
wo[rd] [wo]rd	Overlapped talk	->#	Action continues until specified line number

Appendix B – Gloss Conventions

AUX	Auxiliary verb	MOD	Epistemic modal
ADV	Adverbial suffix	NOM	Nominative case
BENF	Benefactive construction	PRN	Pronoun
COP	Copula	PROG	Progressive tense
DAT	Dative case	PST	Past tense
GEN	Genitive case	Q	Question particle
HON	Honorific	SFX	Suffix
IP	Interactive particle	TE	Linker

Appendix C – Categories for Quantitative Analysis

Because a TCUs grammatical composition and its interactional import are distinct from each other, each category of the quantitative tabulation is based purely on the grammatical composition of each TCU identified as a directive. Each category is operationalized below.

1. Declaratives are TCUs which express a proposition.
2. Imperatives are TCUs in which the verb take one of two imperative forms: the gerundive V*te* or the frozen imperative V*nasai* (V+do-HON). Other imperative forms were not observed in the data.
3. Prototypical request forms are TCUs in which the main predicate contain one of two verbs in their honorific conjugation, either as the primary or auxiliary verb of the clause: (N / V*te*) *onegaishimasu* (request-HON) and honorific (V*te*) *kudasai* (give). This includes other honorific varients of (V*te*) *kudasai* that appear as lexical substitutes rather than as conjugations (e.g., *choodai (suru), itadaku*)
4. Benefactive forms are TCUs in which the verb is connected with one of three auxiliary verbs that express a benefactive stance: (V*te) morau* (receive), (V*te*) *ageru* (give), or (V*te*) *kureru* (receive).
5. Conditionals are TCUs in which the verb is conjugated with the conditional particle t*ara(ba)*. Only *tara* was observed in the data.
6. Deictics are TCUs in which only a deictic term is produced, such as *kore / koko / kocchi / koo* (this / here / over here / like this), *sore / soko / socchi / soo* (that / there / over there), and *are / asoko / acchi* (that over there / over there).
7. Lexicals are TCUs containing only a lexical noun phrase without a predicate.

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