

# ***Chuui* and Resistance: Preliminary Notes on Competent Use of Rules in Interactions between Child Care Workers and Children**

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## **1 Introduction**

The aim of this paper is to report preliminary findings of ongoing research at an afterschool child care centre in Japan<sup>1)</sup>. The purpose of the research is to explore the organization of interactions where child care workers invoke various rules and apply them to children.

In traditional sociology, the notion of rules has been crucial to account for the orderliness of social interaction. Rules have been regarded as the stable linkage between the situation of an actor and his/her action in that situation. According to T. P. Wilson, such a notion of interaction as rule-governed behaviour requires the assumption of "cognitive consensus" (Wilson 1971: 60). Any rule can be formulated as "Do X under the situation Y." To act in accordance with a rule, an actor has to be able to recognize that this particular situation "y" is an example of the class of situations "Y" and this particular behaviour "x" is an example of the class of actions "X." In addition, if social interaction is to be stable, the different actors must recognize situations and actions in virtually the same way.

However, as H. Garfinkel demonstrated in his "breaching experiments", the meaning of an actual situation and the meaning of an action in that situation are constituted temporally in the process of the ongoing interaction. They have "the property of being progressively realized and realizable through the future course" (Garfinkel 1967: 41) of the interaction. Thus an actor has to monitor what happens after his/her own action so as to know what the situation "really was" and what he/she "really did." He/She cannot determine the meaning of his/her action in advance. Given this argument, acting in accordance with a rule cannot be regarded as the simple matter of following such a prescription as "Do X under the situation Y." For not only an actor's own recognition of his/her action but also the other participant's recognition of it is open to reinterpretation.

An alternative notion of the relationship between rules and actions was given by D. H. Zimmerman (Zimmerman 1971). He demonstrated that workers in a bureaucratic organization are constantly interpreting the meanings of official rules in order to do their work in an orderly manner. According to him, workers don't often stick to official rules but instead try to act in accordance with the "intention" of rules. They sometimes have to violate official rules in order to manage difficult situations in an orderly way. He concluded that workers were not choosing between obeying and violating rules but were trying to find out what was the most reasonable use of the rules in each practical situation. This notion of the "competent use" of rules is crucial to this paper.

Following the path opened up by Zimmerman, this paper tries to explore how rules are invoked and used in interactions between child care workers and children in an afterschool child care centre in Osaka, Japan. One of the most common ways in which care workers invoke various rules is performing a type of speech act called "*chuuu*" in Japanese. This paper tries to describe, from the perspective of conversation analysis, (1) how children's responses to this speech act are organized and (2) how the organizational features of the *chuuu*-response sequence are oriented to by children as they try to find the reasonable use of rules invoked by this speech act.

## **2 Background information**

### **2-1 Some ethnographic descriptions of the setting**

Afterschool child care was started in the 1950s in Japan. However, until now, not every local community has public care centres. In Osaka City, most of the afterschool child care centres are managed by the parents of the children. They fund it, hire rooms, hire care workers and have occasional meetings to talk about management. It is at one of these care centres that I completed observations for my research.

Children from the age of 7 to 12 come to this centre from several elementary schools in the area after school. The total number of children changes every year and ranges roughly from 30 to 60. They spend afterschool time there doing homework, playing with each other and playing with care workers. They are given some snacks around 3 o'clock and are taken to a nearby park when the weather is good.

On school holidays, they spend most of the day there. They are taken to swimming pools, museums, theatres, hiking and camping as well as to a nearby park. They are sometimes instructed how to cook, how to play the Japanese drum and how to use a Japanese toy involving a cup with a ball attached, etc.

Three full-time care workers and two part-time care workers were working there at the time of my research. They see their work not only as taking care of the children but also as supporting the formation of friendships between the children, as well as teaching various rules to be respected in collective life. They are especially concerned with and make a lot of effort in facilitating good relationships between elder children and younger children as well as those between children from different schools.

The following arguments are mainly based on transcriptions of video-recordings of interactions between child care workers and children in their everyday routine.

### **2-2 *Chuuu* as a vernacular category of action in Japan**

As I observed the interactions that took place there, I noticed that the most frequent speech acts directed to children from care workers were what is called "*chuuu*" in Japanese. *Chuuu* means a speech act by which a speaker makes an addressee notice that his/her behaviour is out of line and order/direct/suggest them to change their behaviours. It can be translated as "warning", "reminding", "cautioning" or "advising" depending on the context.

A *chuuu* is usually (but not always) understandable with reference to a rule. In order to respond to a *chuuu*, children usually have to take into consideration what rule is invoked by it

here-and-now. They are led to see their own behaviors in terms of the rule. In interactions between child care workers and children, the invoked rules are mainly various moral rules and "residual rules" (Scheff 1966). Exchange of *chuiis* and responses are one of the typical forms of interaction where children are "socialized" with reference to these rules.

The following are examples of the utterance *chuii* in Japanese.

"Don't run in the room."

"You shouldn't be noisy when other children are doing homework."

"You are supposed to sit still, aren't you?"

"You are disturbing other children."

"It is not the time to chat among yourselves now."

"Hey, you left the water running."

"Take care not to cut your finger."

### **3 Preliminary considerations of *chuii* as a type of speech act**

#### **3-1 *Chuii* stands somewhere between "focused-" and "unfocused-interaction"**

The first property of *chuii* as a type of speech act is that it usually lacks previous utterances in its sequential context. At least in the child care centre where I completed my observations, *chuii* is rarely addressed to children who have been talking with care workers. Instead it is usually addressed to children who were not in the state of "focused interaction" (Goffman 1963) with care workers.

There is at least one type of speech act that shares this property, namely the summons. However, there is an important difference between these two classes. According to E. A. Schegloff, a summons is the first pair part of a summons-answer (SA) sequence, which has the property of nonterminality. In other words, "a completed SA sequence cannot properly stand as the final exchange of a conversation. It is a specific feature of SA sequences that they are preambles, preliminaries, or prefaces to some other conversational or bodily activity" (Schegloff 1968: 359). Thus the summons is a speech act used to initiate a conversation.

In contrast, *chuii* is not regularly used to initiate a conversation. As we will see later, the most appropriate response to a *chuii* is not to respond verbally but simply to change one's behaviour. Sometimes a *chuii* does initiate talk and the care worker and children negotiate its meaning. However, it means the original *chuii* was unsuccessful.

*Chuii* is a type of speech act not properly locatable in conversation. Nonetheless, it is an utterance addressed to a particular addressee. It is different from those classes of utterances not addressed to anyone (e.g. talking to oneself in a public situation). It is a speech act which is usually addressed to a hearer who has not been talking with the speaker and who is not expected to initiate talk with the speaker. In short, it stands somewhere between "focused-" and "unfocused-interaction".

#### **3-2 *Chuii* is usually done by characterizing the behavior of the addressee**

The second property of *chuii* is that it is done by characterizing the behavior of the addressee. Explicitly or implicitly, it contains a depiction of the addressee's behavior. The addressee is first

depicted in some way and second presented with the depiction of him/herself. See the following excerpt<sup>2)</sup>.

### **Excerpt (1)**

((Naoki is a boy in his 1st year at primary school. He stood up and started walking before completely swallowing his snacks.))

Care worker K : Naoki you shouldn't stand up with your mouth full.

In excerpt (1), Naoki's present behaviour is depicted as "standing up with his mouth full." Naoki is not only the addressee of K's utterance but also the "figure" (Goffman 1981:147) depicted in it.

A. Pomeranz (Pomeranz 1980) described one class of utterances that share this property: "fishing device." The following is an example.

"I saw you drive by last night." (Pomeranz 1980: 188)

In conversation, this kind of utterance is regularly used to "fish" for some information from the addressee. The speaker can do this by showing his/her own "limited access" to the situation about which information is sought. The expected response to "fishing" is to replace the limited depiction of the situation with a more authoritative one (e.g. "Yeah, I went to see a film with my children last night"). Pomeranz also showed that if this attempt was not successful, the speaker might ask the question in a more direct manner as a second step.

In contrast, *chuui* is not used to fish for information from the addressee. It was sometimes observed that children tried to replace the care worker's depiction with their own. However, these attempts were usually rejected by the care workers as seen in the following excerpt.

### **Excerpt (2)**

((Shinsaku is a boy in his 1st year at primary school. He is jumping up and down in front of the researcher's video camera. ))

01 Care worker M : You shouldn't bang on the floor.

02 (1.0) ((M walks toward Shinsaku.))

03 Care worker M : Shi::nsaku (0.3) stop it.=

04 Shinsaku : = I'm not banging on the floor.

05 Care worker M : It is a kind of banging.

In short, the addressee of a *chuui* is supposed to accept the depicted version of his/her own behaviour by the other person.

Because of these two properties, children who are addressed with a *chuui* may face a common interactional problem even if the rules invoked by the speech act vary from occasion to occasion. It is the interactional problem and children's solutions to it that I will focus on in analyzing the competent use of rules by children.

#### 4 Showing and claiming understanding of *chuui*

Before getting to the point mentioned above, I will briefly consider the two contrastive types of responses to a *chuui* by children. The first type of response is simply changing one's behaviour without saying a word. Though many types of speech acts have to be responded to verbally, a *chuui* doesn't need a verbal response. The following excerpt illustrates this point.

##### Excerpt (3)

((Children are waiting to be instructed how to cook. Mari (2nd year) and Takashi (1st year) are leaning on the table.))

01 Care worker N : Mari are you supposed to lean on the table ?

02 Mari : ((sat up without looking at N.))

03 Care worker N : Takashi stop slacking off.

Mari says nothing in response to N's *chuui* but simply changes her posture. This is regarded by N not as an absence of response but as an appropriate response. In shifting her attention to another child, Takashi, N shows that her interaction with Mari has been completed successfully. The response to a *chuui* can be appropriate without saying a word or even having eye contact but simply showing understanding by changing one's behaviour.

In contrast, verbal responses to a *chuui* are recurrently used by children as devices to resist it. We have already seen in excerpt (2) that one way to resist a *chuui* verbally is to give a counter-depiction of one's behaviour. However, apparently opposite kinds of utterances are also available to resist it. See the following two excerpts.

##### Excerpt (4)

((Children are having snacks. Naoki (1st year) has already finished eating and is chatting loudly in his seat.))

01 Care worker N : Hey Naoki unless you talk more quietly, other children will be distracted

02 from their eating.

03 (0.4)

04 Naoki : Yes I understand. (.) president. ((in a loud voice, in jest.))

Naoki responds verbally to N's *chuui* claiming that he understood it. However, this does not mean he has obeyed the *chuui*. On the contrary, Naoki here tries to further distract other children by using the next sequential position to the *chuui* as an opportunity to make a jest.

##### Excerpt (5)

((Children are having snacks. Asuka (2nd year) has already finished eating her snacks. She starts reading a newspaper for children sitting in front of Hanae (2nd year), who is still eating. Care worker N tells Asuka not to read it because Hanae would be distracted from her eating. Asuka stops reading, puts it away and after a while, starts lying on the floor with her feet

touching N's legs.))

01 Care worker N : Sit up.

02 (0.7)

03 Asuka : I've sat up. ((still lying on the floor.))

04 (0.2)

05 Care worker N : No, you haven't.

Asuka makes a false claim that she has obeyed the *chuui*. However, it is not the point here that her claim is false. The point is that the care worker N is led to initiate a discussion with Asuka in order to pursue an appropriate response. After this excerpt, N starts explaining that lying on the floor is one thing and sitting up is another. Asuka requires further explanation. The talk between them proceeds for some minutes while Asuka continues lying on the floor. The initiation of this discussion means that the original *chuui* was unsuccessful. This case illustrates that a verbal response to a *chuui* can be a way of resisting the *chuui* precisely because it can initiate further talk<sup>3)</sup>.

In the two excerpts above, care worker N seems to be invoking such moral rules as (A): "Don't distract other children from their eating" and (B): "Sit at the proper place when other children are still eating", respectively. These two rules can be regarded as derived from a general rule (C): "Behave yourself when other children are still eating." Taking these three rules into consideration, Naoki's and Asuka's response to N's *chuui* can be seen not only as examples of resistance but also as examples of the competent use of rules by children.

Both Naoki and Asuka are waiting for the other children to finish eating their snacks. They have to kill time. To cope with this situation, Naoki seems to have chosen to chat loudly sitting at the proper place. In this sense, Naoki's response to N's *chuui* as well as his behaviour can be described as organized with reference to the rule (B). In contrast, Asuka seems to have chosen to lie on the floor and have physical contact with N while keeping away from Hanae who is still eating. In this sense, Asuka's response to N's *chuui* as well as her behaviour can be described as organized with reference to the rule (A). Their responses can be described as the reasonable use of the general rule (C) in their practical situation.

## **5 Negotiating the relevance of *chuui***

### **5-1 A complex pattern of *chuui*-response sequence**

We saw above that, on the one hand, the typical appropriate response to a *chuui* is simply changing one's behaviour and, on the other, various types of verbal responses to a *chuui* can be used as devices to resist it. However, obeying and resisting a *chuui* is not as incompatible with each other as suggested above. I have recurrently observed more complex patterns of interaction where children partly obey and partly resist a *chuui* with a series of verbal and nonverbal responses. It is this type of complex pattern of interaction that I want to focus on in this section. See the following excerpt.

### Excerpt (6)

((Shinsaku (1st year) was the first child to come to the centre today. He came in, went to his locker and put away his school bag. After that, he pulled out from his small bag left on the floor a bottle of tea he had brought from home. Just when he was having a sip of tea from it, someone was heard to open the entrance door. Care worker M was doing her deskwork near where Shinsaku was standing.))

- 1                    ((the sound of the door opened.))
- 2                    ((Shinsaku starts walking with his bottle in his hand.))
- 3 Care worker M : Hello: ( (to the person who is not yet visible from where M is.))
- 4            (3.4) ((Shinsaku walks around tables toward the entrance. M clears her desk and looks up.))
- 5 Care worker M : Shi::nsaku Shinsaku.
- 6            (.)
- 7 Care worker M : You shouldn't wander around. ( (Shinsaku stops, looks toward M and brings his bottle up to his mouth.))
- 8            (0.4) ((Shinsaku has a sip of tea. M points her hand toward Shinsaku.))
- 9 Care worker M : Oh when drinking (.)you shouldn't (wander). ( (Shinsaku is having a sip of tea.))
- 10            (0.9) ((Shinsaku brings his bottle down and away from his mouth.))
- 11 Care worker M : Put it back.= ( (Shinsaku turns his head around toward the entrance. His movement overlaps with Line 12 and the beginning of Line 13.))
- 12            (.)
- 13 Care worker M : there first. ( (M's arm moves in the direction of the locker.))
- 14            (0.7) ((Shinsaku stands there looking in the direction of the entrance.))
- 15 Shinsaku : M::mm. ( (says something with his mouth full, turns his head up with his chin upward all the while moving his head in M's direction.))
- 16            (0.4) ((Shinsaku starts walking back slowly.))
- 17 Shinsaku : M::mm. ( (moving his chin up and down while walking back slowly.))
- 18            (0.3) ((Shinsaku walks further back slowly.))
- 19 Shinsaku : M::m [ m. ( (moving his chin up and down while walking back slowly.))
- 20 Care worker M : [ Takashi?
- 21 Shinsaku : ( (makes a deep, clear nod while gazing at M.))
- 22            (0.3) ((Shinsaku walks back slowly.))
- 23 Care worker M : OK.
- 24            (1.2) ((Shinsaku keeps walking back faster around the tables toward his locker.))
- 25 Care worker M : Don't wander around.
- 26            (0.2) ((Shinsaku tilts his head left and right as he passes by in front of M towards his locker. His movement overlaps with Line 25 and 27.))
- 27 Care worker M : Go and put it back. ( (her arm still extended, she moves her hand up and down twice as if punctuating her command.))
- 28            (0.3) ((Shinsaku arrives at his locker.))
- 29 Care worker M : ° Put it back.° ( (M looks at the two other care workers talking in the same

- room and finally puts down her hand.))
- 30 (1.0) ((M looks back at Shinsaku again. Shinsaku is out of sight of the camera. ))
- 31 Care worker M : Are you going to change your uniform? ((Shinsaku stands up with his small bag in his hand.))
- 32 Shinsaku : No.

Care worker M is making a *chuui* that can be glossed as "Don't wander around when you are drinking something" (Line 7, 9). Shinsaku is not using verbal devices to resist M's *chuui* but rather seems to be obeying it (Line 7, 10). However, Shinsaku is not simply obeying the *chuui* but also appears to be "inserting" a different activity before going back to his locker. He says "m::mm" three times with his mouth full (Line 15, 17, 19). These "m::mm"s are said with almost the same intonation as that used when pronouncing the name of another child "Takashi", who subsequently turns out to be the second child. Care worker M seems to rely on this intonational feature when she interprets that Shinsaku is saying the name of the second child as a news item (Line 20). After M shows her reception of the news (Line 23), Shinsaku speeds up walking back to his locker (Line 24). In the following, I will analyze this excerpt with a special focus on Shinsaku's "m::mm"s.

## 5-2 Insertion sequence?

First let me cast doubt on the word "inserting" as I used above. One example of "inserting" another activity into the ongoing interaction is seen from line 19 to line 23 above.

- |             |                       |                                 |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 19 Shinsaku | : M:: m [ m           | : News announcement             |
| 20 M        | : [ Takashi?          | : Understanding check           |
| 21 Shinsaku | : ((deep, clear nod)) | : Confirmation of understanding |
| 23 M        | : OK.                 | : News reception                |

Upon hearing Shinsaku saying "m::mm", M says "Takashi?" using a rising intonation as a device to check her understanding. After her understanding is confirmed by Shinsaku with his nod, M claims her reception of the news saying "OK." Here an utterance pair [ understanding check confirmation of understanding ] is inserted into another utterance pair [ news announcement news reception ]. It is an example of what Schegloff called "insertion sequence" (Schegloff 1972: 78). In an insertion sequence, the second pair is initiated as a preliminary step to respond to the first part of the first pair. That is why the first part of the second pair is properly responded to before the first part of the first pair is responded to. This is the precise meaning of "inserting" in such a sequence.

So, what are we to make of this whole sequence? Is there another insertion sequence operating here that could be illustrated in the following way?

- |                |                                |                       |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 11-13 M        | : Put it back(.)there first.   | : <i>Chuui</i>        |
| 15-19 Shinsaku | : M::mm(0.4)m::mm(0.3)m::m [ m | : News announcement   |
| 20 M           | : [ Takashi?                   | : Understanding check |



- 21 Shinsaku : ((deep,clear nod)) : Confirmation  
 23 M : O K. : News reception  
 24 Shinsaku : ((keeps walking back faster)) : Obeying *chuui*

There is one reason why we should hesitate before arriving at this conclusion. Though Shinsaku's "m::mm"s seem to be inserted into the *chuui*-response sequence, it doesn't seem to be necessary as a preliminary step to obey M's *chuui*, in the way M's understanding check is to receive Shinsaku's news announcement. In this instance a *chuui* was given, but a news announcement is a type of speech act which would still have been possible even if a *chuui* had not been given.

### 5-3 A general problem imposed by a *chuui* upon children and how they find solutions

How can we describe this sequence? What are the interactants doing in it?

First, we have to remember the first property of *chuui* discussed above. Children are not in a previous state of talk with a care worker when they are addressed with a *chuui* but are engaged in their own activity. From children's perspective, their ongoing activity may be interfered with by a *chuui*. They face the problem: "how can I respond to this *chuui* without giving up my ongoing activity?" or "how can I manage my ongoing activity compatible with the rule invoked by the *chuui*?"

#### Solution 1: Allocation of participation

Excerpt (6) illustrates how Shinsaku embarks on solving this problem. He reacts to M's *chuui* by allocating his participation between two different activities. He is engaged in showing that he is paying attention to the *chuui* while remaining engaged in his own activity. See what Shinsaku is doing after each of M's utterances.

M: You shouldn't wander around. Shinsaku stops, looks toward M and brings his bottle up to his mouth.

Upon hearing M's utterance "you shouldn't wander around", Shinsaku shows that he understood it by stopping and looking toward M. However, at the same time, he starts bringing his bottle up to his mouth. It is this second activity that is picked up by M in her next utterance.

M : Oh, when drinking (.) you shouldn't (wander).  
 Shinsaku brings his bottle down and away from his mouth.

M : Put it back. Shinsaku turns his head around toward the entrance.

Upon hearing M's utterance "oh, when drinking (.) you shouldn't (wander)", Shinsaku shows again that he understood it by bringing his bottle down and away from his mouth. However, no sooner than M is completing her next utterance, Shinsaku starts turning his head around toward

the entrance. Again this second activity is picked up by M in her next utterance.

M: there first.

Shinsaku stands there looking in the direction of the entrance, says "m::mm" with his mouth full, turns his head up with his chin upward all the while moving his head in M's direction and starts walking back slowly.

By adding "there first" to her previous utterance, M directs Shinsaku to put back his bottle before looking in the direction of the entrance. After looking there for a short time, Shinsaku turns around toward M saying "m:mm" and starts walking back slowly. Once again, he shows his understanding by starting walking back while doing another activity of saying "m::mm".

The sequential position where "m::mm" is said can be described as follows. Though M turns out to have been directing Shinsaku to put back his bottle first, it was not clear at the time of her first utterance "you shouldn't wander around". M has pursued Shinsaku's appropriate response by clarifying her *chuui* step by step, until finally she makes a straightforward direction "put it back" and direction as to the first priority "there first". Given this sequential position, Shinsaku's "m::mm" can be described as another way to continue solving the problem imposed by M's *chuui* upon him.

#### Solution 2: Displaying alternative depiction

We need to remember the second property of *chuui* discussed above. Children are depicted in a certain way when they are given a *chuui*. In the excerpt above, Shinsaku is depicted as "wandering around." This may not be the same depiction as the one Shinsaku would make himself. One way in which he can object against the depiction is to make a counter-depiction. But as we saw above (cf. excerpt (2)), this is not a good solution.

What Shinsaku is doing by "m::mm" seems to be a better solution. He turns his head up with his chin upward all the while moving his head in M's direction when he says "m::mm". By this body movement, he is "displaying" that he is relaying what he saw in the direction of the entrance. He is not claiming a counter-depiction but displaying it. There are two reasons why this is better.

First, by displaying a counter-depiction, Shinsaku doesn't have to put off his engagement in his ongoing activity in order to object against M's depiction. It is not clear whether Shinsaku planned from the outset to report to M who the second child was. However, by announcing it as a news item now, he can display that he started walking in order to see who the second child was and that he is reporting it to M as a natural continuation of this activity. He is behaving as if he has planned this trajectory of his activity.

Second, Shinsaku's "m::mm" can be heard as a possible invitation to "co-participate" in his ongoing activity because, until this point, M has not been participating in it. So "m::mm" makes M's response to invitation relevant in the next position. Shinsaku can thus reverse the initiative of the interaction. He is no more responding to M's *chuui* but inviting M into his own activity.

In short, "m:: mm" is different from the first part of the second pair in an insertion sequence in

that it is a possible continuation of the activity which was going on before the *chui* was initiated. In this sense, it is undermining the *chui* rather than preparing to respond to it.

#### Solution 3: Volunteering the closing of an activity

There is another thing that "m::mm" seems to be doing. It is understood by M as a news announcement and Shinsaku is confirming M's understanding. Now, a news announcement is a type of action that can function as the "goal" of the activity of "going and finding out something". As an example of news announcement, "m::mm" can now become the goal of Shinsaku's walking toward the entrance.

In this sense, it can be a way of "initiating the closing" of his own activity. If Shinsaku volunteers an initiation of closing and M joins in the closing sequence, then it is not M but Shinsaku who decides to bring his activity to completion. In addition, if Shinsaku brings his activity to completion himself, he has been engaged in his own activity from the beginning to the end. He started walking toward the entrance to find out who the second child was, found it was Takashi, told it to M as a news item, and then started walking back after accomplishing his goal. That's all. There is no room for a *chui*-response sequence here.

In sum, Shinsaku can both retrospectively and prospectively reshape the trajectory of this interaction by "m::mm"s with the effect of canceling the relevance of responding to M's *chui*.

#### Solution 4: Requiring effortful participation

What is most striking and puzzling about excerpt (6) is that Shinsaku is not only announcing the name of the second child but also doing it with his mouth full (or he might be pretending so). Did he simply have no time to swallow? Or is it possible that his "having a full mouth" had an important meaning here ?

In one of his published lectures, H. Sacks points out that an utterance like "I can't hear you" by a suicidal person at the beginning of a telephone conversation with a professional at a suicide prevention centre, can be regarded as a methodical way to make the professional's participation in the conversation effortful (Sacks 1992, vol.2: 389). Now, if Shinsaku is interested in making M's participation in the interaction with him effortful, his full mouth is a good resource for this purpose. By saying something with his mouth full, Shinsaku can initiate a situation wherein M is required to pay more attention to his utterance.

In fact, it is relevant for Shinsaku to require from M an effortful participation. Until this point, Shinsaku has been allocating his participation between two activities. In contrast, M has not been allocating her participation. She has kept looking at Shinsaku with her hand pointing first to Shinsaku and next to his locker. She has displayed with her body that she is fully engaged in the activity of giving a *chui* to Shinsaku. When Shinsaku tries to invite her into his own activity, he has to do it against her full engagement in giving a *chui*.

We can observe in M's response to "m::mm" that Shinsaku's having his mouth full was effective. M cannot understand "m::mm" at once and keeps looking at Shinsaku without saying a word while he repeats it twice. M is led to allocate her participation between decoding "m::mm" and continuing her *chui*. It seems that "m::mm" is not a simple physiological phenomenon but an example of a methodical way for a speaker to make the hearer's participation effortful.

In sum, Shinsaku's apparently puzzling and childish utterance "m::mm" can be understood as doing a number of things relevant to a child addressed with a *chuui*. Together with the allocation of participation, four procedures were shown to be used by Shinsaku to solve the interactional problem. Each of these procedures was observed in other examples of interaction where children were addressed with a *chuui*. They can be regarded as the methodical procedures available for children to solve the common interactional problem when they are given a *chuui*.

Let me close this analysis by briefly considering how this interaction is brought to completion. If we look at only the final part of the entire interaction (Line 27-31), what is happening is almost the same as what we saw in excerpt (3). See the following description.

**Excerpt (3)**

- 01 N : Mari are you supposed to lean on the table ? : *chuui*
- 02 Mari : ((sat up without looking at N.)) : obeying behaviour
- 03 N : Takashi stop slacking off. : shifting attention

**Excerpt (6): Line 27-29**

- 27 M : Go and put it back. : *chuui*
- 28 Shinsaku : ((arrives at his locker.)) : obeying behaviour
- 29 M : ((M looks at the two other care workers and puts down her hand.)) : shifting attention

**Excerpt (6): Line 29-31**

- 29 M : ° Put it back.° : *chuui*
- 30 Shinsaku : ((Shinsaku is out of sight of camera.))
- 31 Shinsaku : ((Shinsaku stands up with his small bag in his hand.)) : obeying behaviour
- 31 M : Are you going to change your uniform? : shifting attention

In each slot next to the *chuui*, Shinsaku is performing a behaviour subsequently regarded as an appropriate response to it. When M tells him "go and put it back" (Line 27), it can be heard as "go and put *the bottle* back ." Shinsaku gets to where his small bag is left on the floor in front of his locker (Line 28). M puts down her hand and shifts her gaze away from Shinsaku (Line 29). When M tells him "put it back" again (Line 29), it can be heard as "put *the small bag* in your locker." Shinsaku stands up with it in his hand (Line 31). M asks a new question (Line 31).

In this sense, M's repeated *chuui* in this final stage can be seen as an attempt on M's part to "recover" the relevance of the *chuui*-response sequence and to "locate" Shinsaku's consecutive behaviour within this sequence. Just like Shinsaku tried to reshape the trajectory of the interaction, M also tried to reshape it and to bring the entire interaction to completion as a *chuui*-response sequence.

**6 Conclusion**

A *chuui* is a typical action by which a rule is invoked in interactions between child care workers and children in Japan. To understand how the invoked rule is used in the interaction, we have to take into consideration the common interactional problem this speech act imposes upon children.

A *chuui* is a speech act that is usually addressed to children who have not been talking with a care worker. Behaviours of children are depicted in a certain way when they are addressed with a *chuui*. Because of these general properties, children face the common interactional problem: "how can I respond to this *chuui* without giving up my ongoing activity?"

When a rule is invoked by this speech act, the competent use of the rule is organized as the solutions to this interactional problem. Children may try to find what is the reasonable use of the rule in order to continue their own activities. They are inspired by a *chuui* to search for the meaning of their own activities with reference to the rule.

What is important in this process is the type of activities children are engaged in when they are addressed with a *chuui*. In excerpt (4), Naoki was engaged in an activity of "chatting aloud at the proper place". His response to the *chuui* was organized as a further step to pursue this activity. In excerpt (5), Asuka was engaged in an activity of "lying on the floor away from other children". Her response to the *chuui* was also organized as a further step to pursue this activity. In excerpt (6), Shinsaku was engaged in an activity of "walking toward the entrance with his bottle in his hand". In responding to a series of *chuuuis*, Shinsaku was reshaping the trajectory of the interaction moment by moment as if he has been pursuing his own activity from the beginning to the end.

These responses can be described as examples of the competent use of rules invoked by the *chuui*. The interactions that take place are concrete examples of interaction where children are "socialized" by care workers. In such "socialization" processes, children are not simply given prescriptions to be obeyed. Rather they are given occasions to search for the meaning of their ongoing activity with reference to the invoked rule as well as the meaning of the rule for all practical purposes.

## Notes

- 1) An earlier version of this paper was delivered at a seminar at the Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University, July 2003. I would like to thank those who attended for their comments. Thanks also to Anna Filipi and Ruth Pritchard for their helpful comments to the earlier version.
- 2) Transcriptions presented in this paper are translations from the original in Japanese, which are presented in the Appendix. Because of lexical and syntactic differences between English and Japanese, it was difficult to translate most of the lengthened syllables, stressed syllables, glottal stops and mid-utterance micro-pauses in the original transcriptions. So they are omitted in the translations.
- 3) Children may sometimes use a behaviour out of line as a device to solicit a care worker's personal concern, especially when they have nothing else to do. In such a case, a *chuui* provides a good opportunity for children to initiate a personal interaction with the care worker. Excerpt (5) is an example of this in that Asuka is not only lying on the floor but also touching N with her feet.

### Transcript symbols

(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micro-pause
[	the point where overlapping talk starts
=	"latched" utterances and body movements
::	lengthened syllable
-	glottal stop self-editing marker
?/.	rising/ falling intonation respectively
	abrupt rising of pitch
°°	a passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk
(word)	transcriber's unsure hearings
(( ))	transcriber's descriptions of events

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### Appendix: The original transcriptions in Japanese

#### 抜粋(1)

((ナオキ(1年生)が口の中のおやつを飲み込む前に席を立て歩き出す。))  
K: ナオキ: : 口ん中にな: : モノ入れてとっ-立ったらあかん。

#### 抜粋(2)

((シンサク(1年生)は調査者のビデオカメラの前で上下に飛び跳ねている。))

- 01 指導員 M : ドンドンしたらあかんよ : .  
 02 (1.0)((Mがシンサクのところに歩いてくる。))  
 03 指導員 M : シ : :ンサク(0.3)もやめとき : . =  
 04 シンサク : =してないで : ドンドン .  
 05 指導員 M : それはドンドンうちに入る .

#### 抜粋(3)

((料理を習うまえに子供たちは準備ができるのを待っている。マリ(2年生)とタカシ(1年生)は上体をべたっとテーブルに乗せている。))

- 01 指導員 N : マリちゃん机の上に乗るのかな : .  
 02 マリ : ((Nの方を見ずに上体を起こす))  
 03 指導員 N : タカシだら : っとすんのやめよ : .

#### 抜粋(4)

((子どもたちはおやつを食べている。ナオキ(1年生)はすでに食べ終わり、さきほどから大声でしゃべっている。))

- 01 指導員 N : ちょっと(.)ナオキ(.)もうちょっとな(.)ちっさい声でしゃべってくれんと  
 02 な : (.)ほかの食べてる子気が散るよ .  
 03 (0.4)  
 04 ナオキ : はい分かりました . (.)部長 . ((おどけた調子で大きな声で))

#### 抜粋(5)

((子どもたちはおやつを食べている。アスカ(2年生)はすでに食べ終わり、まだ食べているハナエ(2年生)の前の席で子ども新聞を読み始めた。指導員Nは、ハナエの気が散るからといってアスカにそこで読むのをやめるように言う。アスカは新聞を読むのをやめて棚に戻し、しばらくしてから、立っているNの脚に自分の足の裏をつける形で床に仰向けに寝そべる。))

- 01 指導員 N : 座りなさい .  
 02 (0.7)  
 03 アスカ : 座った . ((寝たままで))  
 04 (0.2)  
 05 指導員 N : そりゃ寝てんねん .

#### 抜粋(6)

((今日はシンサク(1年生)が最初に学童保育にやってきた。シンサクは部屋に入ってくると、ロッカーのところに行ってランドセルをしまい、床の上に置いた手提げからお茶の入ったペットボトルを取り出す。ちょうどシンサクがお茶を飲もうとしたときに、玄関のドアが開く音がする。指導員Mはそのときシンサクの近くの机に向かってデスクワークをしている。))

- 01 ((玄関のドアを開ける音がする。))  
 02 ((シンサク、ペットボトルを手に歩き始める。))  
 03 指導員 M : おかえり : . ((まだ姿の見えない相手に))

- 04 (3.4)((シンサク、テーブルを迂回して玄関の方へ歩いていく。Mはテーブルの上のものを片づけたあと、シンサクの方へ顔を向ける。))
- 05 指導員M：シ：ンサクシンサク .
- 06 (.)
- 07 指導員M：ウロウロせんでいい . ((シンサク、立ち止まり、Mの方に向き直る。そのまま連続した動作で、ペットボトルを口に運ぶ。))
- 08 (0.4)((シンサク、お茶を飲む。Mが腕ごと人差し指をシンサクの方にまっすぐ突き出す。))
- 09 指導員M：あ飲みながらうっ-(.)(うら)ったらいや . ((シンサク、お茶を飲んでいる。))
- 10 (0.9)((シンサク、飲んでいるペットボトルの角度を戻し、口から離す。))
- 11 指導員M：それ直し . = ((シンサク、この発話が終わるか終わらないかのうちに、玄関の方に顔をくるっと向ける。この動作は12行目と13行目の始めに重なっている。))
- 12 (.)
- 13 指導員M：さきこっち . ((つきだした腕をロッカーの方へ約90度向け直しながら。))
- 14 (0.7)((シンサク、玄関を見ている。))
- 15 シンサク：ん：んん . ((最初の「ん：」の音を発しながらあごをしゃくるようにして顔をこちらにぐると向ける。顔を支点として玄関の方からMの方に見えない何かをゆっくり投げるような動作。))
- 16 (0.4)((シンサク、ゆっくり戻り始める。))
- 17 シンサク：ん：んん . ((ゆっくり歩きながらあごをまっすぐしゃくって。))
- 18 (0.3)((さらに歩く。))
- 19 シンサク：ん：ん [ ん . ((ゆっくり歩きながらあごをまっすぐしゃくって。))
- 20 指導員M：[タカシ？
- 21 シンサク：((Mの方を見て強くうなづく))
- 22 (0.3)((さらに歩いてくる。))
- 23 指導員M：はい .
- 24 (1.2)((シンサク、歩を早めてテーブルを回りロッカーの方に歩いてくる。))
- 25 指導員M：ウロウロせんと .
- 26 (0.2)((シンサク、頭を左右に振りながらMの前を通り過ぎ、ロッカーの方へ歩いていく。この動作は、25行目と27行目に重なっている。))
- 27 指導員M：直して ほい . ((突き出していた手を上下にリズムカルに動かしながら。))
- 28 (0.3)((シンサク、ロッカーの前に来る。))
- 29 指導員M：°直してきいそれ . ° ((この発話の最後の方でやっとMはシンサクから視線を逸らし、Hたちの方をチラと見、腕を下に下ろす。))
- 30 (1.0)((ふたたび、ロッカーの前のシンサクに視線を戻す。シンサクはこのときビデオ画面からはずれている))
- 31 指導員M：着替えは：？ ((シンサク、手提げを持って立ち上がっている。))
- 32 シンサク：なし .