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**Preschool Children's Acquisition of Japanese
Gender-related Sentence-Final Particles:
A Study on Parental Talk to Children
according to Gender***

NAKATA Yoko**

仲田 (1997) では、日本語において、大人が、低年齢の子供に対して話しかける時に、子供の性別に応じて終助詞を使い分けているのが見られた。本研究では、どのような場面で、また、どのような心理状況のもとで、大人が子供に対して、性別によって終助詞を使い分けているのかを、さらに詳細に分析を行う。

研究の枠組みとして、相互作用の社会言語学 (Interactional Sociolinguistics) による会話分析の枠組みを用い、その中でも特に、*frame* と *footing* の概念を用いて分析を行う。また、Giles 他 (1991) による *accommodation theory* の概念を用いて、相手との心理的距離関係によって、どのように終助詞の使用に変化が見られるのかについて論じたい。

データは、2 歳児と 3 歳児の男児と母親の 5 組と、女兒と父親の 4 組、計 9 組の相互作用を参与観察法によってカセットテープレコーダーに録音およびビデオカメラに録画し、これらを忠実に文字化し、また、発話がなされた場面について詳細に記したものを用いた。

本調査のデータ分析の結果から、同一の *frame* 内、つまり性別に関連した活動を行っている場合 (例えば、男児の場合は車遊び、女兒の場合には人形遊び) には、大人は、子供に対して、常に子供の性別に応じた終助詞を使用していないが、同一の *footing* 内では、大人は、子供に対して、その性別に応じた終助詞およびスピーチ・

*日本語における子供の終助詞の性差習得に関わる大人の話しかけについて (仲田陽子)

**言語文化研究科博士後期課程

スタイルを一定して使用していることが見られた。同一の footing とは、親子関係（非対称的關係）ではなく、友人関係（対称的關係）になる場合で、大人は、一貫して、子供の性別に応じた終助詞およびスピーチ・スタイルを使用しているのが見られた。つまり、対称的關係になる場合は、大人が、子供に対して、スピーチ・スタイルを応化（accommodate）させている。日本語でのコミュニケーションは、相手と一体化を示す傾向が強いが、このような大人の低年齢の子供に対する話しかけもその一つとみなされるだろう。

1 Introduction

Sentence-final particles are a marked characteristic of Japanese. In addition to fulfilling such functions as explanation, asking for confirmation, and emphasis, they generally show the gender of the speaker, as do personal pronouns, which are not obligatory. Japanese has a variety of sentence final particles: *no, wa, kana/ kashira, na, zo, ne, yo, ka, da* etc. Some of them are used only by females: *wa* (rising intonation), *kashira*. Others are used only by males: *na, da, zo*. Yet others are used by both men and women: *ka, ne, wa* (falling intonation), *yo* etc. In other words sentence-final particles are used according to the gender of the speaker. However, even with the same speaker, the final particles used vary, not only according to the gender of the speaker, but also according to other factors, such as the gender of the addressee, relationship with the addressee and the subject matter.

The following Table 1 of the sentence-final particles is a conflation and revision of McGloin-Hanaoka (1990) and Sakata (1991).

Table 1 Functions and Gender-related Classification of Final Particles and Expressions

F = Female, M = Male,

F > M indicates that females tend to use more than males.

M > F similarly, males tend to use more than females.

F, M means that both females and males tend to use the final particle.

Final particle	Function	Gender
1 <i>no</i>	1) softens declarative and interrogative toward addressee	F > M
2 <i>wa</i> / rising intonation \ falling intonation	1) asserts a proposition with emotional emphasis 2) declarative toward self (addressee) 1) (standard dialect) is used by older men when they are recalling certain past events with some emotions 2) <i>Kansai</i> dialect	F F > M M F, M
3 <i>kana</i> <i>kashira</i>	1) indicates asking oneself something interrogative toward oneself 〃	F > M F
4 <i>ka</i>	1) question marker <i>desu/masu + ka</i> <i>yoo + ka</i> others	F, M 〃 M
5 <i>na</i>	1) indicates talking to self (addressee) interrogative toward self (addressee) 2) <i>Kansai</i> dialect	M 〃 F, M
6 <i>zo</i>	1) implies strong insistence in stating a proposition to the addressee	M
7 <i>da</i>	1) 〃	M
8 <i>ne</i>	1) request for confirmation noun + <i>ne</i> 2) indicates agreement <i>te + ne</i> 3) interrogative toward addressee <i>da + ne</i>	F > M 〃 F, M
9 <i>yo</i>	1) emphatic subjective assertion noun + <i>yo</i> 2) declarative toward addressee verb + <i>yo</i> <i>nano + yo</i>	F, M F < M F

From Table 1 above, it can be seen that Japanese has many gender-related final particles. Generally, final particles with rising intonation are articulated more frequently by females: for example, “*wa*” with rising intonation.

Japanese children acquire all these complicated gender-related final particles as early in childhood as about three years old (Nakata: 1996). Their acquisition owes largely to their parents and caretakers. Nakata (1997) shows that when fathers and mothers speak to young children, they use final particles according, not to their own gender, but to the gender of the children. It indicates that interaction with caretakers is very important in the course of children's language acquisition. How do adults choose such final particles according to contexts?

The goal of this study is to clarify in detail how adults use sentence-final particles according to the gender of the children in natural contexts.

2 The Framework of the Study

By using the framework of Interactional Sociolinguistics, the study will attempt to illuminate how caretakers adjust their use of gender-related final particles to the gender of children according to various contexts.

Context does not *a priori* exist without relations of discourse. It does not exist statically. It also does not constrain discourse unilaterally. Context is dynamic and is created in the process of interaction. Interactional Sociolinguistics provides a way to identify how such dynamics of interaction change according to context.

Interactional Sociolinguistics has diverse disciplinary origins based in anthropology, sociology, and linguistics, and shares the concerns of all three fields with culture, society, and language. The contribution to this discipline made by the linguistic anthropologist John Gumperz provides an understanding of how people may share grammatical knowledge of a language, yet differently contextualize what is said. Another contribution, made by the

sociologist Erving Goffman, provides a description of how language is situated in particular circumstances of social life, and how it reflects, and adds, meaning and structure in those circumstances. The ideas of both these scholars have been applied extensively within linguistics, e.g. by Deborah Schiffrin (1987) and Deborah Tannen (1989) (Schiffrin: 1994). Of many concepts in Interactional Sociolinguistics, footing and frame are used in this study. The notion of footing refers to the alignment participants take toward themselves and others in the situation. The notion of frame refers to what is going on. That is, people always have to do an interpretative task in order to comprehend any utterance in interaction: for example, is this joking? or are they arguing seriously?

Additionally, the concept of accommodation theory by Giles et al. (1991) will be exploited in the study. According to Giles et al. speakers converge, that is, make their speech similar to the style of their addressee, or diverge, that is, make their speech different from the style of their addressee. In some situations speech maintenance occurs: speakers make no change in their speech style. Such accommodation is motivated by the attitudes speakers hold towards their audience. "Convergence" is defined as a strategy whereby people adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features including speech rate, utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on. On the other hand, "divergence" (disaccommodation) refers to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others. In this study shifts in speech style according to context will be considered from the perspective of accommodation.

3 The Data for the Study

The data for this study are nine approximately 90-minute transcripts of naturally occurring videotape-recorded interactions of two- to three-year-old children and their fathers and mothers. They were collected through participant observation in nine family settings in the *Kansai* area. The children are

five boys and four girls. This study examines the interaction which took place between boys and mothers, and girls and fathers: different-sex conversation.

Table 2 Age of Children¹⁾

(years; months): for example, (2;1) means two years and one month

B = Boy, G = Girl, EB = Elder Brother, ES = Elder Sister, YB =

Younger Brother, YS = Younger Sister, O = Only child

Boy	Age	Sibling (s)	Girl	Age	Sibling (s)
B1:	2;0	ES (5)	G1:	2;2	ES (6) ES (3;10), YE (0;5)
B2:	2;2	O	G2:	2;6	O
B3:	2;7	EB (9) ES (8) YS (0;8)	G3:	3;4	YB (0;1)
B4:	3;0	O	G4 ²⁾ :	3;7	YB (2;7)
B5:	3;4	EB (5)			

The data are transcribed from tape and videotape. The transcription conventions used are as follows.

Transcription Conventions

. : falling intonation, sentence-final intonation

? : question

/ : rising intonation

\ : falling intonation

, : phrase-final intonation (more to come)

|| : latched speech

Wow (bold type): loud voice

This is strictly confidential (fine type): low voice

¹⁾ Of the children observed, B5 has been to a nearby private kindergarten for three months. G2 has been to a nearby private nursery school since her age of nine months. G3 has been to a nearby private kindergarten for three months.

²⁾ In the case of G4, the data recorded by videotape were not obtained; we examined only tape-recorded data.

hahaha, fff: laugh

::: : prolonged syllables

G: girl

B: boy

M: mother

F: father

○○○: personal name

(C) : chanting

F → G: F talks to G

(): Unintelligible utterance

(()): Contextual information

A [B]: A is *Kansai* dialect. B is standard dialect.

C < D >: C is baby talk. D is adult talk.

{ } : literal Japanese, omitted in English translation

(cf. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974)

Punctuation symbols refer to intonation changes rather than grammatical structures. In each piece of data, the transcription is romanized. An English translation follows every transcription.

4 Data Analyses

In most settings of interaction in these data, children are playing with toys together with adults. The data show that adults frequently use final particles according to the gender of children when they and the children are playing with toys. Now let us consider in detail parents' speech to children.

4.1 Mothers' Speech to Male Children

Data 1 Participants: B2 (2;2) and M2

B2 and his mother, M2 are playing with a toy car.

- 1 M2: ○○○○ (B2's name), ○○○○, kuma noseteagete.
- 2 B2: ().
- 3 M2: Kuma noseteagete. Kuma noseteagete kudasa:i.
- 4 B2: Dame!
- 5 M2: Noseteagete kudasa:i.
- 6 B2: ().
- 7 M2→ B2: Doa akete kudasa:i.
- 8 B2: Ha:i.
- 9 M2: Notte kudasai. ((→ a teddy bear))
- 10 B2: Hai. ((B2 takes the teddy bear and places it in the car.))
- 11 M2: Doa shimete kudasa:i.
- 12 B2: (). ((B2 closes the door)) ((He is absorbed in handling the steering wheel of the car.))
- 13 M2: O, aita. Kuma ochiru. ((M2's voice is like a boy's.))
- 14 B2: Ochiruyona:. ((He drops the teddy bear from the car intentionally.))
- 15 M2: A, kawaiouyana ((This intonation is Kansai dialect.))
Nakashitana. ((This intonation is standard dialect.))
- < omission >
- 16 M2: ○○○○ (B2's name), dousuru? Kuma itaiyo:tte itterude. Kuma, tasukete:tte itterude, ○○○○. Na. Kuma tasukete:tte jutade. ^{Moo}
kuma asondekurehen [asondekurenai]. ((M2 says sadly.))
- 17 B2: Asonde.
- 18 M2: ||Oka:san no (✓). ((M2 hugs the teddy bear.))
- 19 B2: Kore boku no:.
- 20 M2: Jya torini oide. ((M2 hides the teddy bear behind her back.))
- 21 B2: Boku no:
- 22 M2: Iya, Oka:san non [no].
- 23 B2: Boku no:.

- 1 M2: ○○○○, ○○○○, pick up the teddy bear and put it in your car.

- 2 B2: ().
- 3 M2: Pick up the teddy bear. Please pick it up.
- 4 B2: No!
- 5 M2: {Please} pick it up.
- 6 B2: ().
- 7 M2→ B2: {Please} open the door.
- 8 B2: Ye::s.
- 9 M2: O.K. {please} get into the car. ((→ the teddy bear))
- 10 B2: Yes. ((B2 puts the teddy bear in the car.))
- 11 M2: Now {please} close the door.
- 12 B2: (). ((B2 closes the door)) ((He is absorbed in handling the steering wheel of the car.))
- 13 M2: Wow, ouch! The teddy bear is about to fall down. ((M2's voice is like a boy's.))
- 14 B2: The bear is about to fall down, isn't it? ((B2 drops the teddy bear from the car intentionally.))
- 15 M2: Oh, {it's} a poor teddy bear! {isn't it?} You made it cry, didn't you?
- < omission >
- 16 M2: ○○○○ (B2's name), What will you do? The teddy bear says, "Ouch!" and "Help me!" OK? The bear said, "Help me!". It's not going to play with you any more. ((M2 says sadly.))
- 17 B2: Please play with me.
- 18 M2: ||The teddy bear is mine. ((M2 hugs the teddy bear.))
- 19 B2: It's mi::ne!
- 20 M2: Well then, come and get it. ((M2 hides the teddy bear behind her back.))
- 21 B2: It's mi::ne.
- 22 M2: No, It's mi::ne
- 23 B2: It's mi::ne!

In Data 1, B2 is driving a red toy convertible from one corner to the other corner in the room. On the way, the mother, M2, asks him to pick up a teddy bear. He does so and puts it in the car. However, since the car is small, the teddy bear is about to fall out of the car. When the bear is about to fall, M2 says, "O, aita. Kuma ochiru" (Wow, ouch! The bear is about to fall out, isn't it?) at Utterance 13, in a little boy's voice. B2 retorts, at Utterance 14, "Ochiruyona" (The bear is about to fall out), using a male-related final particle, "yona", replies to drop it intentionally. Then, to this, at Utterance 15 the mother replies emotionally, "kawaisouyana." (it's a poor teddy bear, isn't it?) in *Kansai* dialect³⁾, and then "Nakashitana" (You made it cry, didn't you?) in standard dialect, using a male-related final particle, "na". At Utterance 16, the mother gives the teddy bear male gender in saying "itaiyo" (Ouch!) by using a final particle which men tend to use more than women, "yo" as if a little boy were talking. Although the entire frame in the interaction is the same: that of playing with a car, which is a boy-oriented activity, M2's speech style often shifts from the mother's speech style to the boy's and vice versa. It shows that the change of footing leads to the shift of speech style: from parent-child relation (asymmetrical relation) to child-child relation (symmetrical relation) and vice versa.

Let us consider another example of interaction: between a mother and two boys.

Data 2 Participants: M5, B5 (3;4), and EB5 (5)

M5, B5 and EB5 begin playing with toy blocks. Now the boys open a new box of toy blocks which their parents bought for them.

1 M5 → EB5: Oni:chan, hasami kashiteagete. ((EB5 gave B5 a pair of scissors and B5 cuts a package of new toy blocks.))

2 B5: () ya.

3 M: Naniga haittetan, ○○-chan (B5's name) ? A, ringo. ○○-chan no

³⁾ I judge the final particle "-yana" to be *Kansai* dialect from the intonation.

sukina ringo. (C)

4 B5: Un.

5 M5: Sore, ana ga chi:sai karane, gyutto irenaitone. Chikara iruyo.
Gyutto, motto yatte. ((She is looking at B5 putting two blocks together.))

→6 M5: ○○-chan (B5's name), ○○-chan, yoku minaito. Hora, awasete.
○○-chan, chigauyo. Ookina ana dayo. Ne. Ana to ana no aida ni
irerunyo. ○○-chan, muzukashii: kedo. Hora, ana to ana no aida
ni irerun yo.

7 B5: Kokomo?

8 M5: Nn. Massugu shinaito. Iketa [Dekita]? Iketa?

9 B5: ().

10 M5: Ouchi no mado. ((M5 is looking at B5's building toy blocks.))

11 M5: Iketa. Jyouzuni iketa [dekita]. Iketa.

12 B5: Konkon. ((B5 imitates sound of knocking on a door.)) Daredesu-
ka? Are?

13 M5: || Konkon. ((M5 also imitates sound of knocking on a door.))
Hahaha ((M5 is laughing.))

14 B5: Chauwa (＼) [Chigau]. Oningyou. ((B5 says by himself.))

15 M5: Dareno ouchi desuka? Dareno ouchi desuka?

16 B5: Ringo no ouchi.

→17 M5: Ringo no ouchi? Sokka:, ringo no ouochi, ina, ringo-san < ringo >
no ouchi. Ringo-san no ouchika. Ina. Ringo-san sunderunda.

18 EB5: Koko nannde tsuburetennen.

19 M5: Mou ikko, arunjyanai? Sagashitegoran. Onajiyouna doa no waku
ga arukara. Chanto irereruyouni [irereruyouni] natterun
jyanai? Kore, mite. ((M5 points at a manual of the toy blocks.))
N. Hora, chanto mite.

1 M5→EB5: Brother, give him the scissors. ((EB5 gives B5 a pair of
scissors and B5 cuts a package of new toy blocks))

2 B5: This is ().

- 3 M5: What is in, ○○-chan (B5's name)? Wow, an apple. That is your favorite, an apple. (C)
- 4 B5: Uh-huh.
- 5 M5: Since the hole of the blocks is very small, you have to press it hard. It needs your strength. Press it harder. ((She is looking at B5.))
- 6 M5: ○○-chan (B5's name), ○○-chan, look at it carefully. There! Put these blocks together. ○○-chan, that's wrong. Bigger hole, isn't it? Put it in between one hole and another one. ○○-chan, it's a difficult task but look, put it in between them.
- 7 B5: Here is too?
- 8 M5: Uh-huh. Put it straight in. Did you do it? You did it?
- 9 B5: ()
- 10 M5: That is a window of a house. ((M5 is looking at B5 building with toy blocks.))
- 11 M5: You did it. You did it well. You did.
- 12 B5: Knock-knock. Who is it? What?
- 13 M5: || Knock-knock. Hahaha.
- 14 B5: That is different. A doll.
- 15 M5: Whose is the house? Whose is the house?
- 16 B5: The apples' house.
- 17 M5: The apples' house? So:: The apples' house. Good. The apples' house. That is the apples' house, isn't it? Great. The apples live there, don't they?
- 18 EB5: Why is this broken?
- 19 M5: There is another part, isn't there? Try to look for it and you can find the part of the frame of the same door. You'll be able to be put it in, won't you? Look at this. ((M5 points at a manual of the toy blocks)) Look, look at this carefully.

In Data 2, while M5 has a symmetrical relationship with B5, she has an asymmetrical relation with EB5. It can be found that at Utterances 1 and 19,

M5 talks to EB5 in the speech style of an adult. On the contrary, at Utterances 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 17, in which M5 talks to B5, the mother's talk has characteristics of baby talk. Her whole speech has exaggerated rising- and falling-intonation. She accommodates her voice to that of boys of tender years. Furthermore, her talk has repetition. Her utterances are of course systematically simple, compared to her talking to the elder brother, EB5. She also uses special words for young children. For example, at Utterance 17, she uses "ringo-san"⁴⁾ (apples, personifying as if "Mr. and Mrs. Apple and family"). At Utterance 17, she uses male-related final particles, "ka" and "da" to say, "Sokka:,Ringo-san no ouchika. ...Ringo-san sunderuda." ("So. ...That is the apples' house, isn't it? ...Apples live there, don't they? ")

Table 3 below shows the kinds of final particles in boys' and their mothers' speech in the interaction which are observed in this data. Let us consider the correlation between boys' and mothers' speech.

Table 3 Kinds of Final Particles in Boys' and Mothers' Speech in Interaction
SFP = Sentence-Final Particles

[illegible]

As Table 3 shows, these boys' mothers tend to use male-related final particles, "*ka*", "*na*", "*da*" and "*zo*", in interaction with boys, which they do not use when talking to women or adult men. It can be found from the data that the mothers accommodate their speech style to boys' at a young age according to the change of footing: when the footing is a symmetrical relationship, these mothers use male-related final particles.

Of the children observed, B1 cannot yet use many final particles. One reason for this may be that he always plays with his elder sister and her girl friends⁵⁾. However, he will eventually acquire gender-related final particles with age, as have other children observed here. Except for B1, the boys have already acquired gender-related final particles.

In the next sub-section, 4.2, interaction between fathers and their daughters will be considered.

4.2 Fathers' Speech to Female Children

In the data of this study, when fathers are just talking with their daughters in the middle of some activity, they tend to use more female-related final particles and expressions. On the contrary, when the two are playing dynamically with their fathers, girls tend to use male-related final particles such as *dayo*, *da*. Now let us observe Data 3.

Data 3 Participants: G2 (2;6) and her parents.

A father, F2, is repairing a toy supermarket with Scotch tape. Af-

⁴⁾ The Japanese honorific suffix, "*-san*" is often used in personalizing inanimate objects when parents talk to young children: a kind of baby talk. In *Kansai* dialect, the suffix "*-san*" is also sometimes used by adults, but only in informal settings: for example, "*oimo-san*" (sweet potato) and "*okayu-san*" (rice porridge). Such usage of the suffix does not mean that it is being used as an honorific. It may be that by adding "*-san*" one tries to close the psychological distance between speaker and addressee and shows closeness to the addressee. It may also be that in the case of the "*-san*" of baby talk is also used by parents to close the psychological distance from their children.

⁵⁾ According to Nakata (1996), when a young child has a same-sex sibling, s/he can easily acquire gender-related final particles. On the other hand, when a young child has only a different-sex sibling, s/he can not easily acquire gender-related final particles.

ter he repairs it, he and his daughter, G2, are playing with the toy together.

- 1 G2: ○○-chan noyo.
- 2 F2: ○ ○ -chan nodayone. Kore, toridashiteageyou. (→ G2) A
kowaretekitana (\\), miseyasana-gokko. ((F2 talks to himself.))
- 3 G2: A:: kore shite.
- 4 F2→ G2: Choto mattene.
- 5 M → G2: Papa ga naoshite kureru.
- 6 F2→ G2: Chotto machinasai.
- 7 M → G2: Materu?
- 8 G2: Kore, miseya-san < mise > ?
- 9 F2: Miseya-san < mise > , (→ G2) umaku naoranai. Komattana.
- 10 G2: Koremo, koremo, ne:, minna ne:.
- 11 F2: E::to, Dokkoisho. ((F2 sits down.))
< omission > The father has finished repairing the toy supermarket.
Then he and his daughter have begun to play with the toy.
- 12 G2: Pitto shite. Pitto shitekara.
- 13 F2: Hai, pitto shitekara.
- 14 G2: Pitto, pitto shitekara. ((G2 slides an item through a bar code
sensor.))
- 15 F2: Hai, Pitto shitane. Hai.
- 16 G2: Ouchi doko deshuka < desuka > ::?
- 17 F2: Ouchi doko deshuka < desuka > ::? ((F2 imitates G2's voice.))
- 18 G2: Kocchi deshu < desu > .
- 19 F2: Hai, kaimonokago ni ireyoune.
- 20 G2: Kaimonokago. Kaimonokago. ((G2 puts the items she bought in
the basket.))
- 21 F2: Hai, pippitte shimashita.
< omission >
- 22 G2: Kore,
- 23 F2: Hai, pi shitane. Hai.

< omission >

→24 F2: Hai, okaimono yoku dekimashita.

25 G2: Ouchi ni ikima::su. Bai bai. Ittekima::su. ((G2 goes towards a toy house made by her father.))

1 G2: This is mine.

→2 F2: Ya. That is yours. I will take it out for you. (→ G2) Oh, the toy has got broken already. ((F2 talks to himself.))

3 G2: Oh, fix this.

→4 F2: Wait a minute.

5 M: Papa's going to fix it for you.

→6 F2: Wait!

7 M: Can you wait?

8 G2: Is this a store?

→9 F2: A store. I can't repair it. Gee, what can I do?

10 G2: This, too. It, too. Everything.

11 F2: Well, ((F2 sits down.))

12 G2: Put this through the {bar code} sensor.

13 F2: Uh-huh. First put it through.

14 G2: Put it through. Put it through. ((G2 slides an item through a bar code sensor.))

→15 F2: Fine. You put it through the bar code sensor, didn't you? Here.

16 G2: Where can the house be?

→17 F2: Now where can the house be? ((F2 imitates G2's voice.))

18 G2: Here is the house.

→19 F2: Here. Put these in a shopping basket.

20 G2: A shopping basket. A shopping basket. ((G2 puts the items she bought in the basket.))

21 F2: Fine. You put them through the sensor.

< omission >

22 G2: Here. Look at this.

→23 F2: Ya. You passed it through.

< omission >

→24 F2: You did your shopping well.

25 G2: I'm going home. Bye-bye. ((G2 goes towards a toy house made by her father.))

At Utterances 1 to 11 and after Utterance 24 the footing in this interaction is relationship of father and daughter: asymmetrical relation (parent-child relation). At Utterances 1 to 11, the father tries hard to repair the toy. However, he cannot easily repair it. As he gets more and more absorbed in it, there is greater psychological distance between him and his daughter. When F2 responds to G2's remarks and requests, he uses a female-related final particle, "*ne*" at Utterances 4. In contrast, at Utterance 2 "*kowaretekitana*" (the toy is already broken) and Utterance 9 "*Komattana*" (Gee, what can I do?) by using the male-related final particle "*na*", he expresses his feelings. At Utterance 6 "*Machinasai*" (Wait!), and Utterance 24 "*yoku dekimashita*" (You did your shopping well), he provides acknowledgement from a father's viewpoint.

On the other hand, at Utterances 12 to 23, the footing is that of a peer relationship: symmetrical relation (friend relation). The father shifts his speech styles (speech rate, intonation, and final particles) to be like his daughter's. For instance, at Utterances 15 and 21, he uses the female-related final particle "*ne*" to talk to his daughter. In addition, at Utterance 17, he imitates G3's speech style to say "*Ouchi doko deshuka?*" (Where is the house?) in baby talk.

The following Data 4 shows a father, F3 and his daughter, G3 (3;4) drawing pictures in color-pencil together.

Data 4 Participants: G3 (3;4) and F3

G3 has been drawing a picture of a girl. Now she is painting the girl's clothes in color-pencil.

1 G3: Mata, suka-to katte moraotto.

- 2 F3: Aa, sakki wanpi-su, kaoutoshite kawanakattane. (/)
 3 G3: fun.
 4 F3: Are, nani iro dattakke, ○○-chan (G3's name) ?
 5 G3: Pinku.
 6 F3: Soudane, fff, yoku oboeterune (／) . Mata kondo kaouyo. ○○
 -chan (G3's name) ha, naniiro sukinano?
 7 G3: Kiirō to pinku.
 →8 F3: So: (/). Kiro (/) to Pinku (/) nano. (/)
 < omission > ((Now G3 is painting a house.))
 →9 F3: A, ima, ○○-chan (G3's name) no ouchini, kae, kaetterunoka. (＼)
 10 G3: Un. ((G is absorbed in drawing pictures. G's voice is low.))
 11 F3: ○○-chan (G3's name), ouchi kaerouto shiteruno?
 12 G3: Un
 13 F3: Hitori de kaerouto shiteruno?
 14 G3: Un
 →15 F3: A, kokowa doushitano?
 →16 G3: Kocchide matteruno.
 17 F3: Nn? Kocchide matteruno?
 18 G3: Papa mo mama mo.
 19 F3: Jya, papa to mama to ○○○○-kun (G's younger brother's name)
 wo ouchini kakanakya. Dokoni kakouka?
 →20 G3: Chibiccha::i < Chisai > .
 →21 F3: || Chibiccha, chibiccha::ku kakuno?
 22 G3: Nn.

- 1 G3: I will ask you to buy a skirt for me next time.
 →2 F3: Uh-huh. A short time ago, I was about to buy a dress for you.
 But I didn't buy it.
 3 G3: Uh-huh.
 4 F3: What color was that dress?
 5 G3: Pink.
 6 F3: That's right. fff You remember that well, don't you? Let's buy it

next time. What color do you like?

7 G3: Yellow and pink.

→8 F3: So. Yellow and pink.

< omission > ((Now G3 is painting a house.))

→9 F3: Now, are you about to go, go back to ○○-chan's {your} house.

10 G3: Uh-huh. ((G is absorbed in drawing pictures. G's voice is low.))

11 F3: ○○-chan, are you going to go home?

12 G3: Uh-huh.

13 F3: ○○-chan, are you going to go home by yourself?

14 G3: Uh-huh.

→15 F3: Here, what did you draw?

→16 G3: Waiting for me here.

17 F3: What? Waiting for you here?

18 G3: Both papa and mama are waiting for me.

19 F3: Well, you have to draw papa, mama and ○○○○-kun (G3's younger brother's name), don't you? Where will you draw them?

→20 G3: Sma:ll.

→21 F3: || Sma:ll. You will draw them small, won't you?

22 G3: Uh-huh.

At Utterance 1, G is drawing a girl. She remarks about a dress that they could not buy a short time ago. In reply, at Utterance 2, F3 recalls, "Aa, sakki wanpi-su, kaoutoshite kawanakattane. (/) " (A short time ago, I was about to buy a dress for you. But I didn't buy it). The intonation of his voice is rising as a girl's would. At Utterance 8, F3 also imitates G3's voice in rising intonation, "So: (/). Kiro (/) to Pinku (/) nano (/)." (So. Yellow and pink.).

At Utterances 9 to 22, G is absorbed in drawing an imaginary house in which her parents and brother live. Her father also shares her imagination of the house in the picture. With footing shifts from asymmetrical relation to symmetrical relation and vice versa, F3 shifts his speech style (intonation and final particles): he accommodates his speech style to G3's or disaccommodates his to hers. At Utterance 9, F3 uses male-related final particle "ka" in

expressing his thoughts about the house from his viewpoint. At Utterance 11, he is pretending to go into her imaginary house in the picture. G3 talks in a low voice since she is absorbed in drawing at Utterances 2, 4, 6, and 8. F3 changes his tone of voice to be like his daughter's. For instance, looking in her pictures, he accommodates his tone to his daughter's to ask her at Utterances 6 and 13.

It is observed in the data that when they share a common experience with children, adults tend to accommodate their speech styles to children's according to the gender of the children.

Now let us consider the use of final particles in interaction between girls and their fathers in Table 4.

Table 4 Kinds of Final Particles in Girls' and Fathers' Speech in Interaction
SFP = Sentence Final Particle

SFP	G1	F1	G2	F2	G3	F3	G4	F4
<i>no</i>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>wa1) /</i>			○		○	○	○	○
<i>2) \</i>				○			○	○
<i>kana</i>			○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>kashira</i>					○	○		
<i>ka</i>		○	○	○		○	○	○
<i>na1) na</i>		○		○			○	○
<i>2) na:</i>	○	○	○				○	○
<i>zo</i>								
<i>da</i>			○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>ne</i>			○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>yo</i>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Interestingly, in interaction between the girls and their fathers, they use with each other almost the same kinds of final particles, except that F2 uses "*wa* (**)" and F3 uses "*ka*" as a male speaker would. G2 uses the final parti-

cle of *Kansai* dialect, “*na*”, in spite of the fact that her father, F2 does not use it. This may be because she goes to the local nursery school (Either he is not from the *Kansai* area or he considers this particle unladylike). As in the case of interaction between boys and mothers, it is also found in interaction between girls and fathers that the fathers accommodate their speech style to girls’ according to change of footing.

5 Conclusion

This study has discussed how adults use sentence-final particles according to the gender of the children in natural social settings, by adopting the notions of frame, footing and accommodation. Nakata (1997) indicates that adults tend to use gender-related final particles in cases where the activities are gender-related; in such cases adults phrase their remarks from children’s viewpoint. In the study, when an activity (frame) is gender-related (e.g. playing with toy cars for boys, playing with a dolls’ house for girls), adults do not necessarily always converge their speech style with children’s. On the contrary, at the same time that footing in the activities shifts from parent-child relation (asymmetrical relation) to friend relation (symmetrical relation), they tend to consistently accommodate their speech style according to the gender of the children. For instance, as Data 1 shows, although the frame is the same throughout playing with a toy car, a boys’ activity, the mother does not always use final particles to talk to her son according to the gender of the boy. However, the mother uses gender-related final particles and speech styles with her son when her footing with her son is friend-to-friend, not parent-child. Besides, in addition to playing with children, when adults also give their children warnings and advice, it is observed in this data that they tend to use final particles according to the gender of the children. It can be considered that they alter their footing of symmetrical relation and accommodate to the children’s speech style so as to appeal to the children’s heart.

As Table 3 and 4 also show, in interaction between adults and children, the adults use almost the same final particles which the children use. This is because adults try to approach closely their young children. Such frequently accommodating to children's speech style is regarded as an expression of affection on the adult's part.

In this data, there are observed many cases of adults' accommodating their speech style to their children's. In addition, the Japanese language has many words that children use at a tender age, that is baby talk, compared to other languages. We have seen that fathers and mothers often try to depart from their roles as adults and adopt the same standpoint as their children. In Western countries, when rearing children, parents tend to foster a mutually independent, you-and-I relationship from early childhood. It may be that the relationships observed here reflect particular interpersonal relations in Japanese society⁶⁾. In other words, Japanese adult-child speech accommodation might also be regarded as part and parcel of the particular Japanese strategy of achieving solidarity with others. Further careful consideration is necessary to clarify this point, and it will be necessary to supplement and analyze the data for various contexts.

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⁶⁾ According to Doi (1971), Japanese tend to identify themselves with others: this is the basis for the concept of "amae". He also says that Japanese regard the identification of self and other as embodied in the adult-child relationship, as desirable.

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