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Triadic directives in Navajo language socialization

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ABSTRACT

This article argues that certain aspects of language use may be more resistant to change than is language code. In communities undergoing language shift, researchers have noted ways in which indigenous patterns of interaction may be retained after the language used has shifted to English. It is argued that aspects of a speech community's interaction that are most tacit are also the most resistant to change, and are maintained through mundane routines and forms of everyday interaction. Such contexts for language use typically are the focus in studies of language socialization, which bring the theoretical perspectives of both practice theory and Bakhtinian dialogicality to bear on the question of how interactional and linguistic routines are maintained and transmitted across generations. Analysis here focuses on one particular interactional routine: the giving of directives involving a triadic participation structure, between caregivers and children in a Navajo community. (Language shift, language socialization, directives, Navajo, Native American)*

Many linguists have noted that sociolinguistic change (meaning change in language use or attitudes) may precede change in language code (Sapir 1949, Hymes 1966, Labov 1972). For example, change in linguistic code is often the result of conflict that arises when a speech community's social norms change, and when certain aspects of language code become cognitively and interactionally salient to speakers (Silverstein 1981, 1985, Hill & Mannheim 1992). I will argue that this sequencing for change among the dimensions of communicative practice is not the only one possible, in that certain aspects of language use may be more conservative, or more resistant to change, than is language code. For example, in communities undergoing language shift (especially shift as a result of social change in cataclysmic proportions, as in many Native American communities), researchers have noted ways in which indigenous patterns of interaction or communicative practice are retained even after the language being used has shifted to English (Philips 1976, Erickson & Mohatt 1982, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Kwachka 1985, 1992, Kwachka & Basham 1990). All these studies have been concerned with aspects of interaction within Native American speech communities that are largely

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outside awareness, or typically not accessible to conscious reflection. Erickson & Mohatt 1982 discuss participation structure in an Odawa classroom; Scollon & Scollon 1981 consider norms for turn-taking and pausing in a Chipewyan community, and Kwachka 1985 and Kwachka & Basham 1990 focus on Native Alaskan rhetorical style. In her study of norms for participation structure on the Warm Springs Reservation, Philips 1976 calls her subject matter "invisible culture," just as Hall 1959 called his study of proxemics "the hidden dimension." Giddens 1984 suggests that the cultural salience of interactional norms within a culture is a relative phenomenon, or that it may be described as a continuum that runs from tacit knowledge at one end to discursive knowledge at the other. Aspects that are "outside awareness" obviously fall on the tacit side of the continuum. A central thesis of this article is that it is exactly those aspects of a speech community's interaction that are tacitly taken for granted that are also the most basic, pervasive, and resistant to change. Furthermore, they are maintained through the most mundane routines and forms of everyday communicative practice – which also happen to be the preferred context for research on language socialization.

The study of language socialization brings the theoretical perspectives of both practice theory and the Bakhtinian notion of dialogicality to bear on the question of how aspects of the structure of communicative practice are maintained and transmitted across generations. By STRUCTURE is meant "patterns of practice or cultural schemas" (Ortner 1989), or "knowledge of how things are done" (Giddens 1979) in social interaction. Such cultural patterns, schemas, or indigenous knowledge about the nature of social interaction may be seen in examples of routine interaction that have social meaning for their interactants (Sapir 1994). My analysis focuses on one particular interactional routine: the giving of directives involving a triadic participation structure, between caregivers and children in a Navajo community. Directives of this type have been noted by ethnographers of child socialization practices in other cultures as well (Schieffelin 1990) – they are certainly not unique to Navajo culture. However, I will attempt to describe how such triadic directives help to constitute the social roles expected of Navajo children, as well as the way in which these directives fit into an overall configurational pattern for Navajo interaction.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Language socialization has been defined as the process of socialization TO language and its use THROUGH language and its use (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). This definition implies an important theoretical point about research into language socialization: its focus on the dialogical nature of the process. Not only do speakers continue to acquire and develop an understanding of language and its use over the course of their lifetime, but a speech community's communicative practice is also affected by the sum of its linguistic activities. The study of language socialization is the study of more than the mere acquisition of grammar and of social

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norms and expectations concerning its use; it is the study of a dialogical process in which children, as participants in actual speech events, contribute to the ongoing process of constituting socio-cultural norms for interaction, as they simultaneously internalize these social constructs at various levels and from various perspectives (Irvine 1992). Not only are children taking part in joint negotiation of social activity; they are also internalizing knowledge of social roles and relationships within a dialogical framework. Discourse in real-life contexts is dialogic not only in that it is always addressed to an actual audience, but also in the sense that it is a social construct itself, with a social history that can never be entirely separated from the current moment of speaking (Bakhtin 1986).[1] In Bakhtin's words:

> The unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of ASSIMILATION – more or less creative – of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances … is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness,' varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (1986:89)

Communicative practice has been defined as a system of subjective dispositions, including cognitive and motivational schemes, which are generally implicit, or unconscious; these include schemes of perception, bodily posture, and ways of speaking, as well as more objective structures (or systems) such as language (Bourdieu 1977). These objective and subjective systems work together to reproduce HABITUS of both thought and behavior. Bourdieu makes a critical distinction between habitus, a system of practice that functions unconsciously, and the more conscious sphere of discourse, which, he states, is more vulnerable to distortion (what Boas 1911 called "secondary explanation") as "partial and often fictitious explicit statements" (Bourdieu 1977:17). Habitus is a historical product which reproduces itself through practice, as it "perpetuates itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles" (p. 82).

As Ochs 1988 points out, practice theory and dialogicality as theoretical perspectives share several points. Both perspectives place the locus of knowledge or structure in BOTH the individual as well as in society; this means that society permeates the individual. Contingent on the first point (e.g., the locus of structure), structure has a social history. Both Bakhtinian dialogicality and practice theory emphasize the importance of recognizing the diachronic dimension as well as the synchronic dimension of structure, or social systems. Finally, both theoretical perspectives perceive the role of LEARNER in models of language socialization as actively involved in the joint negotiation of activity and meaning

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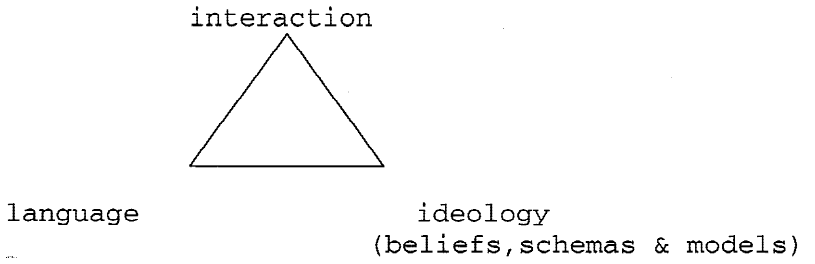


FIGURE 1: Three dimensions of communicative practice.

(as opposed to unidirectional behaviorist models, which perceive the learner as a passive recipient of knowledge).[2]

A similar analytical perspective on social reality is taken by many cognitive anthropologists (Keesing 1974, 1987, D'Andrade & Strauss 1992, D'Andrade 1995, Shore 1996) who characterize folk models of reality as shared, cognitive entities which are to a large degree unconscious. Shore suggests that a useful way of thinking about culture is as a "very large and heterogeneous collection of models or schemas" which vary in form, from material culture to less palpable forms such as "conventional styles of movement, speech, or social interaction" (1996:44). This view simultaneously locates culture in both public, shared "pools of common-sense knowledge" (Keesing 1987) and in people's minds in the form of various versions of public, shared knowledge.

Tacit knowledge related to communicative practice includes expectations about participant roles and relationships (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986, Irvine 1992), participation structure (Philips 1972, Irvine 1992), conventional sequences or routines for interaction (Hymes 1962, Peters & Boggs 1986, Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), as well as beliefs regarding speaking and language (Hymes 1962, Kulick 1992). All these forms of knowledge contribute to the (largely unconscious) ideology of a speech community which informs its language use. A community's linguistic ideology is part of the habitus (Bourdieu 1985) or "routine modes of perception, action, and evaluation" (Hanks 1996:238), which, like the TYPIFICATIONS of phenomenology, guide actors in social practice. The relationship among language, ideology, and practice may be conceived of as a triangular one, as in Figure 1 (adapted from Hanks 1996:230).

As Hanks 1996 states, these three dimensions of communicative practice must function together, influencing and mediating one another.[3] That a speech community's linguistic and ideological systems interpenetrate one another is a given; what I argue here, however, is that the two systems are also separate. Although they work together within the larger system of speaking as communicative practice, they are two separate semiotic subsystems. For this reason, the code – the

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purely linguistic system that is used in a speech community – may shift while ideological aspects of speaking lag behind, or vice versa.

Some of the signs that people use to understand and represent such tacit knowledge as cultural models for interaction may be lexical – for example, in kinship or address terms, or words that represent relationships or institutions, like *family*, *love*, or *respect*; other signs, however, may be indexical, or not encoded in language. Indexical signs depend on context for their meaning. They are communicated through non-surface-segmentable channels such as intonation, nonverbal cues, variation, and/or juxtaposition in sequencing or framing of referential information, as well as through choice of code (Bauman 1975, Ochs 1992, Gumperz 1992, Field 1997). Gumperz calls such indexical signs "contextualization cues" (1992), meaning "one of a cluster of indexical signs produced in the act of speaking that . . . invoke a frame of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterance" (1996:379). As Gumperz states: "Unlike words, that can be discussed out of context, the meanings of contextualization cues are implicit and cannot be talked about directly. Their signaling value depends on participants' tacit awareness of their meaningfulness" (1976:283). Examples of such nongrammatical yet meaningful aspects of speaking, which often differ cross-culturally, include nonverbal signals such as gesture, proximity, body orientation, and eye gaze (Hall 1959, Goodwin 1981, Kendon 1990); paralinguistic cues such as pitch, intonation, voice quality, volume, and tempo (Gumperz 1992, Ochs 1992); sequencing strategies such as those involved in conversational turn-taking, repair, greetings, closings, and leave-takings (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977); and norms for the organization of participation within a speech event, or "participation structure" (Philips 1972, Erickson & Mohatt 1982), for the interpretation of speech acts such as questions, directives, or requests (Grice 1975, Lakoff 1972, Ochs 1984, Rushforth & Chisholm 1991, Field 1998a), and for silence in interaction (Basso 1970, Tannen & Saville-Troike 1985, Field 1998a). All these aspects of speaking function along with language to communicate information about participants' state of mind in any communicative encounter; they work at a tacit, unconscious level in interaction, so that members of a speech community are often unaware that they even have norms and expectations for aspects of language use, or that systematic differences exist in other cultures' interactional norms as well.

COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICE IN A NAVAJO COMMUNITY

Scholars concerned with Athabaskan culture have repeatedly noted the importance of individual autonomy and self-determinacy for Athabaskan people.[4] This general cultural value also has consequences for language use and is reflected in various aspects of Athabaskan interaction, such as the positive value placed on silence (Basso 1970, Christian and Gardener 1977, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Saville-Troike 1985), avoidance of direct eye gaze (Hall 1959, Saville-Troike

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1989, Chisholm 1996), use of low volume and slow tempo in speaking (Basso 1979, Chisholm 1996), avoidance of direct questioning (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Liebe-Harkort 1983), and indirection in the use of directives (Lamphere 1977, Basso 1979, Rushforth & Chisholm 1991, Field 1998b). Scholars of Navajo culture (Leighton & Kluckhohn 1948, Werner & Begishi 1968, Lamphere 1977, Chisholm 1996) have also discussed how the general value on autonomy is related to local concepts of authority, respect, and responsibility. For example, in his discussion of Navajo child socialization, Chisholm 1996 describes how the most important concept that children are expected to learn is that of respect, or *k'é*, meaning an understanding of one's kinship relations and how one should comport oneself in relation to other persons (Begishi et al. n.d.:8). As Chisholm explains: "The most crucial manifestation of respect is honoring others' individual autonomy by demonstrating behavior that is 'restrained,' 'controlled,' and 'nonintrusive,' in short, 'respectful'" (1996:178).

Learning to show respect means being responsible for oneself and one's duties (such as taking care of younger siblings) and showing respect for others by meeting this responsibility. The notion of authority is also related to the concepts of autonomy and self-determinacy, particularly among children as a PEER GROUP, who are expected to be responsible for themselves. Authority in Navajo culture is generally diffused, or diverted away from the individual to some more general group (Leighton & Kluckhohn 1948, Ladd 1957, Werner & Begishi 1968, Lamphere 1977). Importantly, as Ladd states, this other group is "not some fictitious person or group, [but] the people whom one knows and must associate with daily" (1957:245). Several scholars have noted the relative strength of Native American peer groups, especially in school classrooms (Werner & Begishi 1968, Philips 1972, Dumont 1972, John 1972). This awareness of one's peers as a source of authority is something that Navajo children are socialized into from an early age.

My analysis focuses on how a particular type of interactional routine involving a triadic participation structure for directive-giving works to socialize children in this way. Through the routine of triadic directive-giving, children are socialized into culturally appropriate roles and relations which embody the traditional values of self-determinacy, autonomy, and respect, all of which are captured in the Navajo concept of *k'é*. This interactional routine reflects a traditional pattern of language use which is also employed by adults in certain social relationships (Aberle 1961, Rushforth 1981, Field 1998a), as a strategy for indirection, where politeness is called for. For example, as Aberle 1961 notes in his study of Navajo kinship, a pair of family members who maintain a traditional *yáhásin* (respectful) relationship with each other often appeal to triadic participation structure in the making of requests (a type of directive). Traditionally, a *yáhásin* relationship is maintained in two situations: between adult siblings of the opposite sex, and between men related through marriage. According to Aberle, mothers and sisters are often appealed to as intermediaries in the making of requests between brothers-in-law, or between husband and father-in-law. Within these rela-

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tionships, the women intermediaries are generally more intimate with both the source and the target (being the daughter or sister of one man and wife of the other man) than the two men are with each other. The giving of a directive indexes solidarity and an intimate relationship in Athabaskan cultures (Lamphere 1977, Basso 1979, Rushforth 1981, Rushforth & Chisholm 1996, Field 1998a); strangers, or people observing *yáhásin* relations, do not exchange directives or requests. The use of triadic directives from adults to children encourages children to see themselves as family, as sisters and brothers, and socializes them into a relationship of solidarity. The examples in the next section are all drawn from a single Navajo community in New Mexico (names have been changed).

TRIADIC DIRECTIVE-GIVING AS AN INTERACTIONAL ROUTINE

Triadic directives involve three participant roles: an adult source, a child (or group of children) as intermediary addressee, and a third child (or group of children) as the recipient or target of the directive. They also involve a directive on the part of the adult source, which is relayed to the target via the intermediary addressee. The recipient/target of the directive is generally present and within hearing of the original directive issued by the adult source. Thus, the adult could just as easily have issued a dyadic directive to the target child without involving an intermediary.

Presented here are two different types of triadic directives: (i) directives that are adult-initiated and involve a single child as intermediary, and (ii) directives initiated by the intermediary child (involving "tattling"). Type (i) may further be divided into two subtypes: directives to assist another child, which typically involve verbs like 'go get, help, check on X'. The second subtype of adult-initiated directive involves reported speech, or a metadirective from the adult source for the intermediary to repeat, thus creating two linked speech acts – for example, 'tell X "be nice to me"'.[5]

Ex. (1) below illustrates a triadic directive in which an adult addresses a child, giving her a directive to assist a third child (the target) to do something. This example was recorded by a mother at home with her children. The mother is washing dishes and repeatedly issues directives (in lines 1, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, and 18) to her two-year-old son, Ronald, to pick up his toys and put them back in their box, in both English and Navajo, but to no avail. She then issues a triadic directive to his older sister (Noreen, age 5), to help him to perform the task (line 21):[6]

(1)

01	M:	pick up all those toys!
02	N:	. . . (3) hurry up!
03		. . . (6)
04	M:	now=, hurry up, pick up all those toys.
05		. . . (5)
06		son!
07	R:	what?

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08	M:	pick up all [those toys].
09	N:	[look, that's daddy's].
10		(few mins. later)
11	M:	ni– Ronald, pick up all those toys, now=.
12	R:	oh.
13	M:	hurry up, pick all those toys.
14	R:	no.
15	M:	*box bii' naanijáá*h.
16		'put them back in the box.'
17	R:	huh?
18	M:	*box bii' naanijáá*h.
19	R:	no.
20		. . . (3)
21 →	M:	Noreen, help your brother to put those toys back
22		in the box.

The mother in ex. (1) is not simply asking Noreen, the intermediary, to perform the task of picking up the toys; she is asking her to help Ronald do this; that is, she is calling on Noreen for help with managing Ronald, who is not being cooperative. This is an example of the first subtype of adult-initiated triadic directive.

In using triadic directives, adults simultaneously accomplish two interactional goals: they get the indirect target to perform some action, and they also prompt the intermediary peer or sibling to take responsibility for their peer or younger sibling.[7] Thus, the triadic participation structure of these directives diverts authority onto a child peer (often an older sibling), providing him or her with a culturally appropriate social role to step into, and reinforcing traditional expectations concerning relations between peers and self-determinacy among children as a peer group – for example, that they are expected to be responsible for each other. This is a way of showing and constituting the cultural value of *k'é*.

(2) ((On the playground, Mara falls down, skins her knee, and begins crying. The teacher is standing right next to her with another child, Kenny))

01→	T:	Kenny, help her. Help her up.
02		((Kenny goes over to Mara and gives her
03		a hand up. She is still crying))
04→	T:	Tell her 'be tough.'
05→	K:	Be tough.
		((Mara stops crying))

In ex. (2), Mara, (age 3, who is also the teacher's daughter), falls down and hurts herself only a few feet away from her mother, who is standing with another child, Kenny (as well as the researcher). Rather than go to her daughter, the teacher gives triadic directives to an intermediary child (Kenny, age 3) to help Mara, and to tell her *be tough* (e.g., not to cry). This example is particularly illuminating because it shows the extent of situations in which triadic directives are used in this community. The adult source (a Navajo woman from the community) was not otherwise occupied, yet she still chose to send a child intermediary rather than go herself to the child in distress, while she watched attentively.[8] Even more illustrative is the obvious efficacy of triadic directives in this exam-

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ple: the child target accepts her mother's response and stops crying almost immediately.

Because the target child is within hearing distance of the source of the directive (the adult), she knows that the actual source of authority for the directive lies with the adult; in many cases, the intermediary child may not even need to say anything to the target, but may simply go to him or her and stand there, perhaps pointing at the adult source. This is especially likely to happen if the target is the same age as the intermediary or older, in which case the intermediary may hesitate to assume an authoritative role toward the indirect target. This is exemplified in the following example from a preschool classroom:

(3) ((Two teachers and the rest of the group are sitting about six feet away, waiting to begin a lesson, while one child, TB, is hanging up clothes in the play area's "closet." T2 sends KB as an intermediary))

01	T1:	*tsii=lgo*! (to TB, 5 yrs, hanging up clothes)
		'hurry=!'
02	T2:	*Kinyaa'ánii* brother, go get *Tóbaazhní'ázhí* brother.[9]
03		Tell him to shake a leg.
04		((KB, 2.5 yrs, goes to TB and stands there, rubbing his head, wordlessly. TB continues hanging up clothes. KB takes hanger and starts helping him. Approx. 30 seconds later, T2 comes over and retrieves them both wordlessly.))

In this example, KB sees that TB is doing something helpful, rather than negatively sanctioned, and decides to help TB accomplish the job rather than telling him to stop, thus effectively striking a compromise between the teacher's directive to *go get him* and respecting TB's autonomy.

Another use of triadic directives differs somewhat in sequential organization from the first three examples in that it is preceded by an initiating utterance on the part of the child intermediary. In English, there is a metalinguistic label for this type of speech event: "tattling." In tattling examples, the sequencing of the speech event is distinctive, as is the allocation of what Levinson 1988 calls the "commitment," or motive behind the form of the utterance (i.e., its intention or illocutionary force). The INTENTION behind the utterance belongs to the child who begins the speech event, although the FORM comes from the adult. The following examples illustrate how triadic directives are used in response to tattling:

(4) ((Teacher is addressing the group, which is sitting in a circle around her, when she is interrupted by a loud wail from M))

01	M:	owww! ((T stops and looks at M))
02		. . . (1) teacher, he's pulling my hair.
03→	T:	say "be nice to me."
04	M:	be nice to me! ((to guilty party))
05→	T:	say "give me respect."
06	M:	give me respect!
07→	T:	and say, "care about me!"
08	M:	care about me.
09	T:	*yaa*.
		affect particle

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Notice that in ex. (4), the teacher never directly addresses the target of the directive. Rather, triadic directives are used to encourage the intermediary, who in this case is the offended party, to see herself as a source of authority. The reported speech that the teacher provides to her gives her the verbal means to express this stance. She becomes more than simply an intermediary, taking on some real responsibility for the words provided by the teacher. In the words of Bakhtin, the words become truly dialogical, as the child speaker fills them with her own intention.

Alternatively, the intention behind the quoted directive may be explicitly attributed by the intermediary to its adult source, as in ex. (5):

(5) ((Katy comes up to Mara after tattling to the teacher, who is also Mara's mother, that Mara hit her with a drumstick.))

01	K:	Mara! Don't hit me with the drumstick.
02		Give me respect!
03		Give me respect!
04		(M looks at her, nonplused)
05		Your mom– teacher said that.

In ex. (5), the child speaker repeatedly states the directives as if she is the sole source of form and intention, but she eventually adds an evidential phrase attributing the directive to its adult source. Exx. (4) and (5) of triadic directives involving tattling and reported speech illustrate especially well the NEGOTIATED nature of social interaction, as children learn to adopt social roles for themselves and with each other, sometimes in a confident and assertive manner, and at other times feeling somewhat hesitant. Through voicing the language that triadic directives provide for them, Navajo children learn to be assertive if necessary, and to take responsibility for themselves and for each other in a culturally appropriate manner.

CONCLUSION

Triadic directives illustrate well the role of dialogicality in language socialization, since children not only appropriate socially expected forms of speech from caregivers but also use them to their own ends, in real contexts, each unique and socially negotiated. As Ochs & Schieffelin state, language socialization is the process of becoming a competent member of society through acquiring knowledge not only of language but also of its "functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations" (1984:277).

Triadic directives function as alternatives to the more common form of dyadic directives. Although dyadic directives also occurred in the Navajo classroom where the above examples were recorded, triadic directives may accomplish socioculturally valued goals in a way that dyadic directives do not. The interactional routine of triadic-directive-giving encourages Navajo children to be responsible for themselves and their peer group, socializing them into perceiving themselves

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and their peers as a source of authority. This interactional routine both reflects and embodies the Navajo concept of *k'é*, meaning 'an understanding of one's relationship with as well as one's responsibilities toward others'; thus, it functions to constitute social relations between interactants in a culturally appropriate way. It exists in and is transmitted through ubiquitous repetitions in everyday interaction between Navajo caregivers and their children, at a fairly low level of consciousness. It is taken for granted in Navajo society – a seemingly natural aspect of language socialization. It is also a small part of a larger picture concerning the cultural arrangement (Ochs 1999) of interaction between veteran and neophyte interlocutors in Navajo culture, an arrangement in which children are expected to display respect for others through demonstrating their own self-determinacy.

The interactional routine of triadic directive-giving also involves a particular speech act (or sequence of acts) – directive-giving – which may also be characterized as a type of indexical sign that has a particular social meaning (Sapir 1994) to members of the Navajo speech community. This meaning is interpreted in terms of a larger configurational pattern (Sapir 1994) or cultural arrangement (Ochs 1999) for Navajo adult–child interaction. Although triadic directives undoubtedly occur in other cultures and speech communities too, their meaning in those other contexts will differ depending on their place in those cultural systems for interaction. It may be argued that triadic directives as a type of sign within the Navajo speech community are an integral part of the larger cultural pattern for interaction, such that they persist and are continually employed in everyday forms of interaction, as an important social tool in the sociolinguistic repertoire of Navajo speakers, despite the fact that the code being used along with them is currently shifting (Holm & Holm 1995, House 1998, Field 1998a).

NOTES

* I would like to thank the teachers, parents, and children involved in the Family and Child Education program on the Cañoncito Navajo reservation for their help and cooperation in the collection of the data for this article. I would also like to thank UCLA's American Indian Studies Center for supporting me during its writing.

[1] Bakhtin emphasizes the dialogical nature of discourse (in contrast to Saussure's (1959:14) or Chomsky's (1985:83; cited in Hanks 1996) statements about the nature of the utterance as an individual creative act.

[2] Importantly, a model of language socialization informed by practice theory differs from earlier sociological models of socialization, such as that of Parsons 1951, in that individuals are not CONTROLLED by internalized norms, values, or "reciprocal sets of expectations, rights, or obligations" (Parsons's definition of role), but rather are an active part of the continuous process of reproduction of cultural structure.

[3] The term "dimension" is perhaps somewhat confusing here, but this is the term Hanks uses, and I am borrowing his theory here. The point labeled "interaction" differs the most from the other two points. It is the point at which the other two points come together, in social practice.

[4] Athabaskan is the larger language family to which Navajo belongs. The Navajo language is spoken in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado; Athabaskan extends from the American Southwest up through Canada and Alaska.

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[5] For further discussion of these various types of triadic directives, as well as a description of directives of a third type of participation structure (involving multiple children in the intermediary role), see Field 1998b.

[6] The transcription system used is adapted from Du Bois et al. 1992; the only change is that more than one intonation unit may appear on a line, separated by appropriate punctuation. Below is a key to the symbols:

Truncation	–
Overlap	[ ]
Final intonation	.
Continuing intonation	,
Appeal	?
Accent	^
Lengthening	=
Long pause	. . . ( )
Medium pause	. . .
Short pause	. .
Inhalation	(H)
Exhalation	(Hx)
Glottal stop	%
Laughter	@
Laugh quality	⟨@ @⟩
Quotation quality	⟨Q Q⟩
Researcher's Comment	(( ))
Uncertain Hearing	⟨X X⟩
Indecipherable syllable	X

[7] Children's peer groups in Navajo society are not strictly age-graded but often consist of the children who live together in an extended household, generally siblings and cousins. Except in the case of families living in towns or clusters of government housing, households are typically separated from one another by quite a distance.

[8] All the examples except ex. (4) involve Navajo adult sources. In ex. (4), the adult is a Hawaiian woman who had been working with preschool children in the Navajo community for over 10 years. Working as an aide in the Navajo preschool classroom from which these data are drawn, I myself quickly adopted the technique of using triadic directives, as I noted that children in the classroom tended to heed each other more than they did me.

[9] *Kinyaa'ánii* and *Tóbaazhní'ázhí* are these boys' clan names (this is the spelling used at Dine College; Cañoncito pronunciation of these clan names is a little different from that represented here). Teachers in this preschool classroom commonly referred to the children by their clan names in order to help them learn them, as well as to see themselves as brothers and sisters.

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