Socializing politeness routines: Action, other-orientation, and embodiment in a Japanese preschool

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ABSTRACT

This article explores children's socialization into politeness routines in a preschool in Japan. In particular, it analyzes the verbal and non-verbal strategies that teachers deploy in encouraging children to engage in politeness routines, and examines ways that children initiate and respond to these routines with peers and socialize peers into them. This account is based on a 1-year ethnographic and linguistic study, which draws upon 48 h of audio–visual recordings of 2–5-year-old native and non-native Japanese speaking children in the classroom and on the playground. The findings suggest that politeness routines as embodied social action are an important means through which children learn to use language to display kindness, empathy, and other-oriented behaviors toward others, which are central goals of preschool education in Japan. These findings will be discussed in relation to the socio-cultural organization of the strategies used in this socialization.

1. Introduction

Research over the last two decades on early childhood education in Japan has observed that preschools, which include 'kindergartens' (*yoochien*) and 'daycare centers' (*hoikuen*),[1] are a central context in the transition from home to school life (e.g. Ben-Ari, 1997; Lewis, 1995; Peak, 1991). As Ben-Ari (1997:67) suggests, Japanese preschools have the aim of "inculcating in children a complex set of basic personal skills and attitudes and the ability to cooperate and function in a group." In particular, teachers socialize children to be other-oriented by encouraging them to share limited resources and negotiate activities with peers (Lewis, 1995). Though we know a great deal about Japanese preschools in relation to their organization, goals, and values they instill (e.g. Holloway, 2000; Tobin et al., 1989), we have much less understanding of the *process* of children's socialization into the pragmatic skills that are the foundation of social life. This study addresses this issue by examining 'politeness routines' (Gleason et al., 1984) in a Japanese preschool. While several studies have examined politeness routines in Japanese households (e.g. Clancy, 1986; Kobayashi, 2001; Yokoyama, 1980), preschools (e.g. Peak, 1991), and immersion classrooms (Kanagy, 1999), what is needed is an analysis of the integration of verbal and non-verbal strategies in socializing children into these routines, and a look at how these strategies help shape children's participation in these routines and ability to socialize peers into them.

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[1] Japanese kindergartens are typically 3 years in duration (ages 3–6), and children are divided into classes based on the year they will enter regular school. Daycare centers, in comparison, generally serve children from infancy up to the age of 5 or 6, and children may be divided into broader age categories (e.g. 2–5-year olds as in the preschool under study). For further information, see Tobin et al. (1989:44–49).

2. Politeness

Politeness, and to an extent impoliteness, has received a great deal of attention (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983) across a range of fields including linguistics, psychology, and anthropology. Among various theories, Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework is among the most widely discussed and applied. In this framework, politeness is based upon a notion of 'face'—the public self-image individuals present to others (Goffman, 1967). More specifically, individuals are said to have face wants, including a desire to be appreciated (positive face want) and a desire not to be imposed upon (negative face want). Individuals seek to satisfy the face wants of others and have their own face wants satisfied in return. As any social encounter is potentially face threatening, it is claimed that speakers mitigate interaction through 'positive politeness' to build solidarity and 'negative politeness' to show restraint. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), positive politeness includes asserting common ground, displaying interest, and avoiding disagreement, whereas negative politeness includes being indirect, minimizing imposition, and giving deference. While Brown and Levinson (1987:245) characterize Japan as a 'negative-politeness culture' because speakers tend to minimize imposition, and use indirectness and honorifics, as in other communities across the globe, in Japan both positive and negative politeness is central to everyday interaction to varying degrees. Japanese speakers use politeness in relation to group norms (Matsumoto, 1989) and their 'discernment' (*wakimae*) of the situation such as the relative status between speaker and hearer (Ide, 2006), suggesting that individual assessment of what others want and need is highly based on understandings of social position, and generalized understandings about the person in society. This is not to say that these understandings are particular to Japanese speakers or even members of other Asian societies. It may simply be the case that Brown and Levinson, with a more Western perspective, implicitly focus on an individualistic model of face—thus de-emphasizing, or even ignoring, how Westerners also anchor the individual within the group.

A number of researchers of Japanese have examined fixed politeness formulae (e.g. Takekuro, 2005), which have been examined in English as 'politeness formulas' (Ferguson, 1976), and 'politeness routines' (Gleason et al., 1984) among others. Politeness formulae are used in all communities to varying degrees, as part of a larger repertoire of formulae such as 'conversational routines' (Coulmas, 1981) and 'interpersonal rituals' (Goffman, 1971). As conversational analysis has argued (Sacks et al., 1974), a degree of predictability structures all conversation. In particular, minimal sequences of conversation are composed of 'adjacency pairs'—social actions typically produced by separate actors in succession, such as request–compliance or greeting–greeting (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Cultural differences exist regarding the preferences for more or less formulaic language within adjacency pairs, resulting in different scales of predictability. In the Japanese case, in comparison to most Western communities, speakers more often prefer to use politeness formulas rather than be original (Clancy, 1986). Japanese politeness includes the use of formulaic expressions (e.g. Ide, 1998; Kumatoridani, 1999; Ohashi, 2003, 2008), honorifics (e.g. Fukada and Asato, 2004; Ide, 2005; Okamoto, 1999), and pragmatic particles (e.g. Cook, 1992), as well as repetition and prosodic features such as high pitch for women (Loveday, 1981). While verbal language is often central, in face-to-face interaction such routines are often constructed through embodied action. For instance, in some contexts, when a speaker produces a verbal greeting, the addressee responds by nodding or bowing. Such embodied actions may even be used in place of verbal language (Mizutani and Mizutani, 1987:53).

2.1. Socialization and politeness

Preschool children are socialized into politeness through a process of 'language socialization' (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). According to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986:163), language socialization involves, "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language." That is, as children acquire language (e.g. words, grammar) they also acquire understandings of the social world including how to use language to index socio-culturally meaningful realties such as social action, activity, stance, and identity.

In general, verbal routines are crucial to language acquisition and socialization as they provide novices with a relatively predicable structure to participate in interaction across a range of settings (Peters and Boggs, 1986; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986), such as classrooms (Mehan, 1985). In particular, politeness routines are a central aspect of socialization in many communities across the globe, including the U.S. (e.g. Gleason, 1980; Gleason and Weintraub, 1976; Snow et al., 1990), South Africa (Demuth, 1986), and Caribbean (Tessonneau, 2005). In many communities, caregivers provide modeling and direct instruction in the use of polite words and phrases such as 'Please' and 'Thank you,' which socializes children to etiquette and manners. In some communities, such as Korean families in the U.S., caregivers instruct children to use honorific expressions such as when addressing grandparents to index dimensions of social relationships such as hierarchy (Park, 2006).

In Japan, children are socialized into politeness routines from infancy. In particular, mothers say polite expressions for children who cannot yet speak on their own (Okamoto, 2001) and instruct children in what to say (Clancy, 1986; Kobayashi, 2001; Nakamura, 2006). Caregivers use honorifics in addressing children in various contexts such as role-play activities (Nakamura, 2002) and when quoting the speech of adults outside the home such as teachers and doctors to index social relationships (Cook, 1997). Caregivers also guide children in embodied politeness, such as pressing a hand on a child's head to encourage bowing (Hendry, 1986). In preschools, teachers encourage children to use polite expressions

such as greetings and formulaic responses (Peak, 1991), and guide them to participate in activities through the body (Ben-Ari, 1997).

3. A child daycare center in Japan

The preschool under study is a private, small-size (20–25 children) daycare center (*hoikuen*) near Tokyo. Similar to many preschools in Japan (e.g. Ben-Ari, 1997), the teachers and staff members are female,[2] native speakers of Japanese, and veterans of preschool education.[3] They provide a largely non-academic environment that includes daily activities such as play, arts and crafts, songs, exercise, meal and snack time, storybook reading, and naptime. Occasional activities include celebrating birthdays, gardening, and playing in the portable pool in the summer.

Approximately half the children are from non-Japanese families,[4] who reside in Japan for one or more years due to the parents' study and work at a nearby university. The children are divided into two classes based on age: *hiyoko* 'chicks' (infants to 2 years) and *usagi* 'bunnies' (2–5 years). The analysis draws upon a large corpus (48 h) of audio–visual recordings of children in the bunnies class. In this group, while the number of children changed somewhat over the course of the year for various reasons (e.g. a child entered the center having moved to the area, or returned to her home country), on average there were about 14 children in this group. Among them, six were native speakers, and eight were non-native speakers of Japanese. Among the non-native speakers analyzed in the transcripts to follow, all had been attending the center for 6–18 months. Two cameras and wireless microphones were used to capture children's interactions with teachers and peers inside the center and outside on the playground. These recordings were made once to twice a month for 4–5 h at a time over the course of a year (2006–2007).

4. Politeness routines in the daycare

Similar to many preschools in Japan, in addition to taking care of children's daily needs, the explicit goals of this daycare center are to foster 'kindness' (*yasashisa*) and 'empathy' (*omoiyari*) (e.g. Lewis, 1995), which are two common words associated with politeness (*teineina*) in Japan (Pizziconi, 2007).[5] Tobin et al. (2004) argue that Japanese preschools have an increasingly important role in socializing relationships and empathy because a falling birth rate means that children have less opportunities to interact with other children in the home and neighborhood. The process of working towards the daycare's stated goals may be particularly challenging in a center with children of various ages, proficiencies in Japanese, and native language backgrounds. Though not mentioned on the center's website or by the teachers themselves, politeness routines are central in working towards these goals in that these routines encourage positive, other-oriented behaviors such as greeting others, sharing toys, and apologizing when committing an offense. These routines are explicitly socialized in everyday interaction. A sample of the routines that teachers aim to get children to produce, in relation to social actions and corresponding verbal expressions, is shown in Table 1.[6]

In relation to Table 1, in addition to traditional politeness formulae such as thank-yous, apologies, requests, and offers, I have also chosen to include question–answer pairs that show an attention to an addressee, which is a central aspect of positive politeness in the Brown and Levinson (1987) model. Social actions/expressions that do not fit into the first five categories, such as congratulating a child on a birthday, have been categorized as others. An important feature of these routines is encouraging children to both initiate (first-pair part) and respond (second-pair part). In some cases, an initiation requires a response, whereas in other cases it makes a polite response possible. So, how do teachers socialize children into these routines?

4.1. Bodies, participation, and temporality

In folk theories of teaching and learning in Japan, particularly in relation to the traditional arts (e.g. Noh, tea ceremony), it is believed that the body learns first and then the mind and heart come to understand (Hare, 1996:340). The principle that the body learns first is evident in children's socialization into politeness routines in preschool. As Ben-Ari (1997:1) suggests teachers view children's bodies as "malleable material goods" that can be shaped and molded. Hendry (1986:75–76) observes that Japanese caregivers teach children to "discipline" and "control" their bodies.

In the daycare, teachers socialize children's bodies within various 'participation frameworks' (Goffman, 1981) that include triadic arrangements and the entire class. Towards these ends, teachers use directives, modeling, and somatic means. For instance, in Excerpt 1, while standing in front of the group of children who are seated in their chairs, a teacher (T-1) talks

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[2] All staff members (13 in total) are part-time employees, including a principal, 10 teachers/caregivers, and 2 food preparers.
[3] The teachers have had 5–15 years of experience in preschool settings, and have also raised their own children.
[4] These included families from Egypt, Vietnam, India, Thailand, Bangladesh, and Mongolia.
[5] These goals are stated as follows: 'In an environment in which (children) get along with others, (we) are striving to foster kindness, empathy, and so forth (in children)' (*Nakayoku seikatsu suru kankyoo no naka de, yasashisa ya omoiyari no kimochi o sodateru yoo ni shite imasu*).
[6] Some routines also consist of three parts (e.g. *Irete* 'Let me in [to play]' {REQUEST} → *Doozo* 'Please [get in] {COMPLIANCE} → *Arigato* 'Thank you' {APPRECIATION}).

Table 1
Politeness routines in the daycare center. (Following the slash [/] shows typical variations in the routine). (C1 stands for Child 1, and C2 stands for Child 2).

Social action	Japanese	English equivalent
1. Request-Compliance (or Delay Compliance)	C1: (*Chotto / ato de*) *kashite (ne).* C2: (*Hai*) *doozo / Ii yo / Chotto mattete / Hai.*	C1: 'May (I) borrow it (a bit / later).' C2: '(Okay) here you are' / 'Okay' / 'Wait a bit' / 'Yes'.
	C1: *Choodai.* C2: *Doozo / Ii yo.*	C1: 'May I have it.' C2: 'Here you are' / 'It's good.'
	C1: *Tsukatte ii?* C2: *Ii yo.*	C1: 'Is it alright to use it?' C2: 'It's alright.'
	C1: (*Isshoni*) *nosete.* C2: *Ii yo. / Issho ni asoboo.*	C1: 'Let me ride (with you).' C2: 'It's good.' / 'Let's play together.'
2. Greetings and Leave-takings	C1: *Ohayoo.* C2: *Ohayoo.*	C1: 'Good morning.' C2: 'Good morning.'
	C1: *Baibai / Mata (ashita) ne.* C2: *Baibai / Mata ne.*	C1: 'Bye-bye' / 'See you (tomorrow).' C2: Bye-bye / 'See you'
3. Offer - Acceptance/appreciation (or refusal)	C1: (*Hai*) *doozo* C2: (*Doomo*) *arigatoo (ne).* C1: *Doo itashimashite.*	C1: 'Here you are.' C2: 'Thank you (very much).' C1: 'You're welcome.'
	C1: *Doozo.* C2: *Itadakimasu*	C1: 'Here you are.' C1: 'I partake.'
4. Apology-Acceptance	C1: *Gomen ne / Gomen nasai.* C2: *Daijoobu / Ii yo.*	C1: 'I'm sorry' / 'I'm sorry.' C2: 'It's fine' / 'It's alright'.
5. Question-Answer	C1: *Nani shiteru no?* C2: *Ryoori tsukutteru.*	C1: 'What are you doing?' C2: 'I'm cooking.'
6. Others (e.g. congratulate, convey good luck)	C1: *Omedetoo.* C2: ((looks at birthday cake))	C1: 'Congratulations (on birthday).' C2: ((looks at birthday cake))

to them about sharing the toys that Santa Claus had brought to the center the previous day. In line 1, the teacher shifts 'footing' (Goffman, 1981) by enacting a child who refuses to share.

Excerpt 1: Teacher-1, Child-1 (off camera), Child-2 (male, Indonesia, 4;3), Child-3 (female, Mongolia, 5;3)

1	T-1:	*Dakara [da: ((high pitch)) DA::: atashi kashite agenai!*
		'So, "No no, I'm not lending it (to you)!"'
2	T-1:	[((turning away from children while clutching a toy))
3		(0.3) ((turns back to face towards children))
4	T-1:	*Sooiu koto yuccha [ikenai.]*
		'It won't do to say that kind of thing.'
5	C-1:	[*da::me:]::.*
		'It's no good.'
6	T-1:	*So- soo iu toki ni wa::*
		'Wh- When that happens'
7		(0.2)
8	T-1:	*Ne otomodachi ga ka:::shi<u>te</u>: tte yuttara*
		'Right, if a friend says, "May (I) borrow it",'
9	T-1:	*Ja: chotto dake doo::zo: tte.* ((pretends to hand toy over))
		'(You) say, "Just a little, please have it".'
10		(0.8)
11	T-1:	*Kashite agen da yo ne:.* ((to Child-2))
		'(You) lend it, right.'

12	C-2:	((nods head))
13	T-1:	*Ne::*. ((to Child-3))
		'Right.'
14	C-3:	°*Un.*° ((nodding head))
		'°Mm.°'

After enacting a child who refuses to share, the teacher issues a negative directive in relation to this (line 4). In a latter turn, the teacher again shifts footing, this time by quoting a child who asks to borrow a toy (line 8), and then instructs the children how to respond to such a request (line 9). While instructing the children how to respond, the teacher models what to do by pretending to hand over the toy (see Fig. 1). In these ways, the teacher uses verbal and non-verbal resources to enact both the first and second-pair parts of the routine. She then issues a positive directive, and solicits individual children to align with it (lines 11 and 13), using the pragmatic particle *ne* 'right', which invites "affiliation" (Tanaka, 2000). While children display alignment to the teacher's talk at various points (lines 5, 12, and 14), they are not expected to perform the routine immediately, but rather to recognize a similar situation in which to perform it in the future.

In socializing children's bodies, teachers also use somatic means such as touch. For example, in Excerpt 2 as a teacher is talking to a child (Lan), another child (Hina) comes up to them and exchanges a stuffed animal with the one the teacher is holding in her lap. The teacher ceases the opportunity to engage the children in a politeness routine.

Excerpt 2: Teacher-1, Hina (female, Japan, 2;11), Lan (female, Vietnam, 2;11)

1	T-1:	*A kashite kureru no*? ((high pitch, surprise intonation))
		'Ah (you) will lend it (to Lan)?'
2	Hina:	((gazing towards teacher, slightly nods)) (0.3)
3	T-1:	*Yasashii desu, Hinachan* ((while rubbing Hina on the head))
		'(You) are kind, Hina.'
4	T-1:	*Yokatta ne, Lan.*
		'It's good right, Lan.'
5	T-1:	*Arigato iioo ka::::*. ((putting arms around both girls))
		'Shall (we) say, "Thank you"?'
6	Lan:	(0.8) ((looking down))
7	T-1:	*Ne::::*. ((briefly looks towards Hina))
		'Right.'
8	Lan:	((looking down, 0.2))
9	T-1:	*Arigato wa*?
		'What about, "Thank you"?'
10	Lan:	((looking down, 0.6))
11	T-1:	°*Arigato wa*?°
		'°What about, "Thank you"?°'
12	Lan:	*Atto::*. ((gazing towards Hina))
		'Thank you.'
13	Hina:	((turns and walks away))

Fig. 1. Teacher uses a directive (*Kashite age n da yo ne* 'You lend it, right') and models to the children how to comply with a request for a toy.

Fig. 2. Teacher puts arms around two girls as she tells one of them (Lan, on the teacher's left) to say *Arigatoo* 'Thank you' to the other (Hina, on the teacher's right).

In response to Hina's bringing over a stuffed animal, the teacher confirms that she is lending the toy to Lan (line 1) and then praises Hina for this action (line 3). By addressing Hina in these ways, the teacher re-frames the participation framework to position Hina as having initiated a non-verbal offer to Lan (though it is not clear that this was Hina's intent). As the teacher turns towards Lan, she makes a positive assessment saying 'It's good right, Lan' (line 4), which conveys to Lan that she is the recipient of Hina's offer, and then instructs Lan to respond to Hina with an expression of appreciation (line 5). While saying this, the teacher puts her arms around both children (see Fig. 2), which creates a face-to-face 'corporeal alignment' (Ochs et al., 2005:554) that encourages them to align their bodies towards each other in the politeness routine. When Lan does not repeat the expression, the teacher continues to instruct her to express appreciation (lines 9 and 11) until she does (line 12).[7]

As these examples suggest, teachers use strategies including verbal directives, modeling, and somatic means to encourage children to engage in politeness routines in verbal and embodied ways. Moreover, they do this within participation frameworks that include the whole class and triadic arrangements, and temporal framings that include the here-and-now and an imagined future.

4.2. Verbal strategies

The previous section touched upon some of the verbal strategies that teachers deploy in socializing children into politeness routines. This section focuses on two of these strategies that are central: (1) prompting, and (2) reported speech.

4.2.1. Prompting
A central strategy in socializing children into politeness routines is prompting children what to say (or not to say) (e.g. Rabain-Jamin, 1998; Schieffelin, 1990). Prompting is a type of directive (e.g. Ervin-Tripp, 1976). In many communities, prompting is an important strategy in socializing children into politeness (e.g. Becker, 1994; Demuth, 1986). Similar to observations among the Kaluli (e.g. Schieffelin, 1990), the daycare teachers predominantly prompted children to say expressions to a third party (476 tokens or 99.2%), rather than back to the teacher (4 tokens, or 0.8%).

There were 480 tokens of prompting for politeness (an average of 10 tokens/h). Earlier prompting was categorized into six types of social action pairs (Table 1). Following this categorization, as shown in Table 2, the most frequent pair is request–compliance (including request–delay compliance, such as *Mattete ne* 'Wait a bit, okay'). Within this pair, teachers most often prompted children to say requests using the word *Kashite* 'May (I) borrow it,' such as *Chotto kashite* 'May (I) borrow it a bit,' *Atode kashite* 'May (I) borrow it after (you're done),' and *Kashite ne* 'May (I) borrow it, okay.' In these requests, the adverbials *Chotto* 'a bit' and *Atode* 'after,' and the pragmatic particle *ne* 'okay' help mitigate the request.

Teachers used two types of prompting: (1) leading question and performative, and (2) elicited imitation. In the first type, 'leading question' (Ochs, 1986) (e.g. 'What do you say'), and 'performative' (Austin, 1962) (e.g. 'You have to apologize'), the child is expected to come up with the expression on his or her own (Becker, 1994). Whereas in the second type, 'elicited imitation' (Hood and Schieffelin, 1978) (e.g. '"Thank you," say'[8]), the child is expected to repeat the expression that has been provided by the teacher. The teachers predominantly used elicited imitation (464 out of 480 tokens, or 97%), and often repeated it over one or more turns until a child produced the expected expression. An illustration is Excerpt 3, in which a

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[7] It can be noted that, similar to other offer-appreciation sequences in these data, the teacher does not instruct a follow-up response to 'Thank you,' namely, 'You're welcome' (*doo itashimashite*), suggesting that the offer-appreciation is the basic two-part routine.

[8] In Japanese, the directive to repeat typically follows the expression to be repeated (e.g. X, say). In the transcripts, the English translation represents canonical English word order.

Table 2
Prompted social actions and expressions by teachers and number of tokens. (Expressions with less than 3 tokens are included in 'other' within each social action.)

Social Action	Tokens	Percent
1. Requests-compliance (or request-delay compliance)	**(216)**	**45.0%**
(a) *(Chotto / Atode) kashite (ne)* 'May I borrow it (a bit / later) (okay).'	(73)	15.2%
(b) *Irete* 'Let me enter (your game).'	(21)	4.3%
(c) *(Hai) doozo* 'Here you are / Please use it / Go ahead.'	(20)	4.2%
(d) *Ii yo* 'It alright' / 'Go ahead.'	(15)	3.1%
(e) *Choodai* 'May I have it?'	(11)	2.3%
(f) *Mattete (ne)* 'Wait, (okay)'	(11)	2.3%
(g) *Nosete / notte* 'Let me ride' / 'You ride'	(8)	1.7%
(h) *Hai* 'Here you are / Go ahead'	(5)	1.0%
(i) *Asoboo* 'Let's play.'	(4)	0.8%
(j) Other (e.g. *Misete* 'Show it to me', *Kawatte* 'Change with me.'	(48)	10.0%
2. Greeting and Leave-taking:	**(125)**	**25.9%**
(a) *Baibai* 'Bye-bye'	(63)	13.1%
(b) *Ohayo(gozaimasu)* 'Good morning'	(17)	3.5%
(c) *Itterasshai* 'You'll go and come back'	(13)	2.7%
(d) *Ittekimasu* 'I'll go and come back'	(8)	1.7%
(e) *Mata ne* 'See you later'	(3)	0.6%
(f) *Gambatte (ne)* 'Good luck'	(3)	0.6%
(g) Other *(e.g. ojama shimasu* 'Ill be rude by coming in,' *tadaima* 'I'm back,' *Okaeri* 'Welcome back')	(16)	3.3%
3. Offer-Appreciation:	**(50)**	**10.6%**
(a) *Arigato (ne)* 'Thanks'	(36)	7.5%
(b) *Itadakimasu* 'I partake (in this food/drink')'	(5)	1.0%
(c) *(Hai) doozo* 'Here you are/Please have some X'	(4)	0.8%
(d) Other: (e.g. *Ocha ikaga?* How about some tea?, *Gochisoosama[deshita]* 'It was a feast')	(6)	1.2%
4. Apology-acknowledgment	**(23)**	**4.8%**
(a) *Gomen (ne) / Gomennasai* 'I'm sorry.'	(20)	4.2%
(b) *Ii yo* 'It's alright,' 'I'm fine'	(3)	0.6%
5. Questions (e.g. *Doko iku no?* 'Where are you going?', *Nani shiteru no?* 'What are you doing?', *Dooshita no?* 'What happened?')	**(19)**	**4.0%**
6. Other *(*e.g. *Omedetoo* 'Congratulations,' *Gambatte* 'Good luck')	**(48)**	**10.0%**
TOTAL	**480**	**100%**

teacher prompts an apology. Just prior to this excerpt, a girl (Mao) had pushed another girl (Hina) to the classroom floor. As the excerpt begins, Hina addresses the teacher who has come over to intervene.

Excerpt 3: Teacher-3, Mao (female, Japan, 2;7), Hina (female, Japan, 3;3)

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1        Hina:   .hhh Onaka o:shi:ta:::[: ((while crying))
                     '.hhh (She) pushed on (my) stomach.'
2        T-3:                          [Onaka oshita.
                                        '(She) pushed on (your) stomach.'
3        Hina:   A a a [h h h.                 ]

4   →    T-3:           [Gomen ne da yo ne.] ((to Mao))
                         'It's "(I) am sorry, okay", right.'
5        Mao:    ((gazing towards Hina))
6        Hina:   A:::[.:.:.:.:.:.:. ((crying loudly))
                     'Wah.'
7   →    T-3:           [Hinachan ni gomen[nasai tte.] ((to Mao))
                         'Say, "(I) am sorry" to Hina.'
8        Hina:                     [.hhhh a  ].:.[.:.:.:.:.:.:   ].:.:.:.:.:.:.:.
                                    '.hhhh Wah.'
9        Mao:                            [Gomen nasai. ] ((to Hina))
                                          '(I) am sorry.'
10       Hina:   ((continues crying))
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The daycare teachers' preference for elicited imitation (97%) is linked to broader practices of teaching and learning. In many communities, 'guided repetition' (Moore, 2004) involves modeling by an expert and imitation by a novice, followed by practice and performance by the novice. In Japan, such teaching and learning has been historically emphasized, and is integral to a range of instructional settings (e.g. Rohlen and LeTendre, 1996). For instance, in the traditional arts, an expert provides a 'form' (*kata*) (e.g. embodied movement using an instrument) that the novice is expected to observe, imitate, and practice. In comparison, in elicited imitation a caregiver provides a linguistic (and often embodied) model and then instructs the child to repeat it. Similar to other contexts of learning, mastery of politeness routines is achieved through observation, imitation, and practice.

Preschool children, perhaps not surprisingly, do not always observe and repeat their teachers' prompts. They may display resistance by remaining silent, hesitating, or directly refusing, e.g. Teacher: *Irete tte* 'Say "Let me in (to play)"' → Child: *Y:a: da yo* 'No.' Such responses typically lead to a teacher repeating a prompt one or more times until the child produces the expected expression. On some occasions a teacher speaks for a child, whereas on other occasions a teacher gives up and moves on to something else. Teacher responses depend on a variety of factors such as the teacher's understanding of the child's level of competence and ability to repeat, or the child's observed mood in the moment. A detailed examination of children's responses is beyond the scope of this paper.

4.2.2. Reported speech: repetition and "glossing"

A second strategy discussed here in relation to socializing children into politeness routines is reported speech. Japanese teachers use reported speech within triadic interaction to (1) repeat and (2) "gloss" an immediately prior utterance and/or non-verbal action of one child to another child. In these data, there were 138 tokens of such reported speech, which mainly occurred within request–compliance and offer–appreciation pairs (85 tokens and 31 tokens, respectively).

First, teachers used reported speech to repeat a prior expression of one child to another child. The most frequent expression was the request *Kashite* 'May (I) borrow it' (8 tokens). (Others included the request *Choodai* 'May I have it' [3 tokens], the compliance *Ii yo* 'Go ahead' [4 tokens], and the delay compliance *Mattete ne* 'Wait, okay' [4 tokens]). An example of *Kashite* is Excerpt 4. When an older boy (Kazu) sees a younger boy (Sinh) taking a toy train off the track that Kazu had been playing with, Kazu rushes over and grabs it out of Sinh's hands. In response, Sinh cries out, *Dame* 'No', while pointing towards Kazu and gazing towards the teacher who is on the other side of the room. In line 1, Kazu addresses the teacher who has come over to intervene.[9,10]

Excerpt 4: Teacher-2, Kazu (male, Japan, 5;0), Sinh (male, India, 2;6)

1	Kazu:	*Kore hosh:i*[*i::::*. ((to teacher, while holding toy he took away from Sinh))
		'(I) want this.'
2	T-2:	[*Hoshii n dattara .h Shin ni chant*[*o kiite kara.*
		'If (you) want it, then properly ask Sinh (before taking it).'
3	T-2	[((taking toy from Kazu and giving it back to Sinh))
4	Kazu:	[*Shin kashite.*
		'Sinh, may (I) borrow it.'
5	Sinh:	[((looking down, putting two train cars together))
6	T-2:	[*Hora ko- kore koko ni mottekuru kara okashikunaru n da yo::::.*
		'Look, since (you) (=Kazu) connected it (=the track) here it (=train) goes off track::::.'
7	Kazu:	((to Sinh)) [*Shin ka:shi:te::::.*
		'Sinh, may (I) borrow it.'
8	Sinh:	[((looking down, holding train pieces))
9 →	T-2:	*Kashite da tte.* ((gazing towards Sinh))
		'(He) says, "May (I) borrow it".'
10	Sinh:	((holding train with both hands in lap)) (0.2)
11	T-2:	*i-* ((turns towards Sinh))
12		((begins pointing towards train in Sinh's hands))
13	Sinh:	*Ha:i doo::zo*: ((setting train down in front of Kazu))
		'Yes, here you are.'
14	Kazu:	*A:riga:to::::.*
		'Thank you.'

Here, when the teacher prompts Kazu (using a performative verb 'ask') to make a request to Sinh (line 2), Kazu makes the request to Sinh (lines 4 and 7) but Sinh does not respond. In response, the teacher reports Kazu's speech to Sinh as repetition ('[He] says, "May (I) borrow it"' in line 9). In a pattern observed by Stivers (2001) among caregivers in the U.S., the teacher

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[9] In line 6, this utterance can be heard as providing a reason to Kazu why Sinh might have taken the train off the track (because it had been already coming off the track due to a problem with Kazu's track connection).

[10] In relation to line 9, while previous research has discussed differences between direct and indirect reported speech in Japanese (e.g. Coulmas, 1985; Hirose, 1995), I will not flesh out these differences here. Rather, for sake of clarity all reported speech is shown with quotations as direct reported speech.

here responds to a "problem" in the on-going interaction, namely, the absence of a response from the addressed child. The teacher's use of reported speech as repetition encourages the child to come up with the next relevant response on his own.

In contrast to elicited imitation (section 4.2.1), which is a relatively "direct" directive, reported speech as repetition is an "indirect" directive because it does not explicitly convey to the child what to do or say next. Rather it may indicate that something (a next action) is missing, which may "prompt" the child to produce a response. As indirectness is a crucial aspect of Japanese communicative style (Okabe, 1987), and caregiver speech to young children (Clancy, 1986), reported speech as repetition socializes children both to particular routines and to overarching patterns of Japanese communication. Here, when the child responds by complying with the request (line 13), he displays an understanding of indirectness.

Second, teachers use reported speech to "gloss" children's (minimal) utterances and/or non-verbal actions. Here, a gloss refers to an expression based upon an interpretation or a guess of another's meaning or intention (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995; Scollon, 1982). In these data, there were two types of reported speech as glossing. In one, a teacher supplies a polite expression based on a child's minimal verbalization and/or non-verbal action. In another, a teacher reformulates a child's "impolite" (e.g. abrupt, unmitigated, direct) expression into a polite expression (not necessarily formulaic). Among the most frequent words that teachers used for such reported speech were, *Doozo* 'Go ahead/Please do X/Please have some X' (8 tokens), *Iranai* 'I don't need it' (6 tokens) and *Ii yo* 'Go ahead' (3 tokens). The first type of gloss using the word *doozo* is illustrated in Excerpt 5. At the beginning of this excerpt, a girl (Lan), who is riding on a koala-shaped piece of playground equipment, calls out a nearby boy's name (Siti) while tapping her hand on the empty seat behind her.

Excerpt 5: Teacher-2, Lan (female, Vietnam, 3;0), Siti (male, Egypt, 2;1)

1		Lan:	*Shitii::::.* ((tapping hand on empty seat behind her))
			'Siti.'
2		Siti:	[((gazes towards Lan, then back towards teacher))
3	→	T-2:	[*Shitii doozo da tte.* ((picking up Siti))
			'(She) says, "Siti, please (get on)".'
4		T-2:	*Ma:::::::.* ((carrying Siti over to playground equipment))
			'Well.'
5		T-2:	*.hhhh Arigato ne:::.* ((setting Siti down on seat))
			'Thank you, okay.'
6		Siti:	((riding on koala with Lan))

When Siti turns and gazes towards Lan but does not make a move towards her (line 2), the teacher repeats his name and then says the polite expression *doozo* 'Please X/Go ahead' using reported speech '(She) says "Siti, please (get on)"' (line 3). This reported speech conveys different actions to Lan and Siti. First, for Lan, it implicitly indicates how to make a polite verbal offer (or invitation). Second, for Siti, it makes the connection explicit between Lan's verbal utterance and embodied action as a polite offer (invitation) to ride. Moreover, while reporting Lan's speech, the teacher picks up and carries Siti over to the koala and sets him down on the seat, which also implicitly conveys to Siti an obligation to respond to an offer. At the same time, the teacher also expresses appreciation 'Thank you, okay' to Lan (line 5), which ends with the particle *ne* ('okay'), a particle that invites the addressee's affiliation. This appreciation functions as the teacher both speaking for the child (Siti) (who is a recipient of the offer/invitation) and herself (who is responsible for the child). While caregivers in many communities gloss children's minimal vocalizations and non-verbal actions (e.g. León, 1998; Rabain-Jamin, 1998), this excerpt suggests that Japanese daycare teachers may gloss children's verbal and non-verbal language as polite expressions.

The second type of gloss, in which a teacher reformulates a child's "impolite" (e.g. abrupt, unmitigated, direct) expression into a polite expression (not necessarily formulaic), is illustrated in Excerpt 6. Here, a teacher is helping a boy (Zuberi) change into his pajamas before naptime when another boy (Siti) comes up to them and begins folding Zuberi's shirt as if to do it for him. In line 1, Zuberi responds to Siti's action with an outcry, indicting he does not want his assistance.

Excerpt 6: Teacher-2, Zuberi (male, Egypt, 2;7), Siti (male, Egypt, 2;1),

1		Zuberi:	*DA:ME::::*[:. ((points to shirt that Siti is folding))
			'No good!'
2		Siti:	((stops folding))
3	→	T-2:	[*Un, boku ga yaru kara ne tte.* ((to Siti)
			'Mm, (he) says, "I'll do it myself so, okay".'
4		T-2	[((while gazing towards Siti, takes shirt))
5		Siti:	((stands up, takes a step backwards))
6		Zuberi:	*Dame:.*
			'No.'
7		T-2:	*Hai kore Zuberi no desu.* ((laying shirt out flat on floor))
			'Yes, this is Zuberi's (=yours).'

When Zuberi cries out 'No' to Siti in a loud voice, the teacher reports Zuberi's speech by saying, 'Mm, (he) says, "I'll do it on my own so, okay," which implicitly aligns with the child's right to refuse.[11] This reported speech reformulates Zuberi's unmitigated refusal into a mitigated one. In particular, in the reported speech 'inset' (i.e. speech being reported) (Maynard, 1996), the teacher uses both the particle *ne* (okay), which invites affiliation, and the masculine first-person pronoun *boku* (I), which is relevant to building social cohesion among boys (Nakamura, 2001). This inset is also indirect and, in contrast to other polite expressions observed so far, is less formulaic. In particular, the clausal linker *kara* 'So' towards the end of the inset is not followed by a resultant clause, which leaves unstated a directive such as, "Don't fold the shirt." While Clancy (1986) has pointed out that mothers juxtapose direct and indirect utterances with the same communicative intent conveying to children how to interpret indirectness, this excerpt suggests that teachers may use reported speech to reformulate a child's impolite utterance into a polite utterance conveying a preference for ways of speaking, and also creating a context in which children are implicitly encouraged to be kind to others.

5. Children's politeness routines with peers

The previous section examined the strategies that daycare teachers deploy in encouraging children to engage in politeness routines with peers and discussed ways that children respond. As the peer group is a central context of socialization whereby children socialize each other into ways of speaking and acting (Grief, 1977; Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2007), this section examines children's politeness routines in more detail by analyzing ways children engage in these routines with peers and explicitly socialize peers into them.

5.1. Social action and affiliation

Many of these children engaged in politeness routines with peers to varying degrees. The social actions include greeting, leave-taking, offer/invitation, appreciation, request, compliance, and apology. Among the most frequent social actions were offer/invitation (*Doozo* 'Here you are/Please do X'), appreciation (*Arigato* 'Thank you'), and request (e.g. *Kashite* 'May [I] borrow it'). In particular, for most non-native-speaking children, the polite expression they initially produced was *doozo* when handing over objects or inviting peers to play. For instance, one 3-year-old boy used this expression only a month after entering the center. An example of *doozo* among a small group of native and non-native-speaking children is Excerpt 7. Here, two children (Femi and Lan) are sitting on the classroom floor picking up toy blocks and putting them into a storage box. The teacher is nearby. While the children had been putting the blocks in the box without talking, an older boy (Kazu) comes over and says the polite expression, *hai doozo* 'Yes, here you are' while putting a toy block into the box (line 1).

Excerpt 7: Teacher-3, Kazu (male, Japan, 5;1), Femi (male, Egypt, 2;8), Lan (female, Vietnam, 3;8)

1 →	Kazu:	*Hai doozo*. ((puts toy block in box))
		'Yes, here you are.'
2		(0.4)
3	T-3:	*Arigatoo*.
		'Thank you.'
4		(0.8)
5 →	Femi:	*Hai doozo*. ((puts toy block into box))
		'Here you are.'
6		(0.2)
7 →	Lan:	°*Arigatoo*.°
		'Thank you.'
8 →	Kazu:	*Hai doozo*. ((puts toy block in box, then stands up))
		'Here you are.'
9 →	Lan:	°*Arigatoo*.°
		'Thank you.'

In response to the older boy Kazu, the teacher says, 'Thank you' (line 3), which displays an acknowledgment and appreciation for his action, and provides a model to the younger children what to say in this context. Immediately following this, the two younger children (Femi and Lan) repeat the routine while putting the blocks in the box (lines 5 and 7), and then two of these children (this time, the older boy Kazu and Lan) again repeat the routine (lines 8 and 9). While teacher guided

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[11] As ethnographic background, after changing into their pajamas, children typically fold their own clothes and then put them into a small basket that is stored in a cubbyhole. While teachers assist children who cannot do so by themselves, children are not typically encouraged to help other children with this task, and may even at times be discouraged from doing so.

Fig. 3. Hina (left) bows her head towards Kana (right) while saying *Arigatoo ne* 'Thank you, okay'.

repetition was argued to be central to children's socialization into politeness routines (as noted in section 4.2.1), here the children spontaneously repeat the routine without being overtly encouraged by the teacher. Though mediated by the teacher and an older native-speaking boy (Kazu) to a great deal, the younger non-native-speaking children's repetition of the routine is strong evidence of social learning. As repetition has been noted to be an important part of children's pragmatic language development (Keenan, 1977), this excerpt suggests that repetition is an important resource in children's engagement in politeness routines with peers in the preschool. Notably, here when the children repeat the expression *doozo* 'Here you are' they are not handing over the blocks to anyone in particular, but putting them in a box for the benefit of all the children so that they can play with them again, which indexes politeness routines as an orientation towards the group.

In engaging in politeness routines, children also use verbal resources such as the pragmatic particle *ne* and non-verbal resources such as bowing. For instance, in Excerpt 8, two Japanese girls (Hina and Kana) are about to do a puzzle together at a table in the classroom. Just prior to this excerpt, a teacher had asked one of them (Kana) whether she is able to finish the puzzle, which had been left unfinished by another child who has left the area. When Kana asserts that she can, Hina, who is Kana's best friend, asserts she can do it too, and then sits down at the same table, as shown in line 1.

Excerpt 8: Hina (female, Japan, 2;11), Kana (female, Japan, 3;0)

1		Hina:	*Hinachan mo dekiru yo.* ((pulls out chair to sit down))
			'Hina (=I) can do it too.'
2		Kana:	((sits down on chair at table)) (2.9)
3		Hina:	*Hinachan kantan da.*
			'It's easy for Hina (=me).'
4	→	Kana:	*Arigato ne.* ((starting to do puzzle))
			'Thank you, okay.'
5			(0.2)
6		Hina:	*Arigato ne.*
			'Thank you, okay.'
7			(1.0)
8	→	Hina:	*Doo itashimashite.* ((bowing head))
			'You're welcome.'
9			((Girls do puzzle together))

In this excerpt, Kana responds to Hina with an expression of appreciation (line 4), which ends with the pragmatic particle *ne* 'okay, right', a particle that invites the addressee's affiliation (Tanaka, 2000). Similar to the ways teachers used *ne* in polite expressions, children often use *ne* when saying 'Thank you *ne*' (as above), 'I'm sorry *ne*' (*Gomen ne*), and 'May I borrow it *ne*' (*Kashite ne*). Children may use *ne* in polite expressions even before they use it with other types of expressions or on its own. Here, in response to Kana, Hina repeats the expression using the particle *ne* (line 6), and then follows it with the appropriate second-pair part while bowing her head (line 8, see Fig. 3). In these ways, the children spontaneously complete a politeness routine using talk and embodied actions. From a development perspective, while the ability to say politeness expressions such as *Arigatoo* 'Thank you' and *Doo itashimashite* 'You're welcome' typically emerges by the age of three (Clancy, 1985), the

present excerpt suggests that children are able to coordinate these politeness expressions and embodied actions in engaging in social action with peers.

5.1.1. Enacting social roles in activities

Children also engage in politeness routines using language, space, and objects to create a 'frame' (Goffman, 1971) for enacting social roles (e.g. doctor, teacher, caregiver) within activities. Speaking in such a role is what Sawyer (1996) calls 'direct voicing.' Within role-play, children may use addressee honorifics and other linguistic resources to index dimensions of the social context such as social roles and activity (Fukuda, 2005; Nakamura, 1996).

Here, several of the children, particularly native-speaking children, used addressee honorific marker *masu*, polite words such as *kudasai* (attached to the conjunctive form of verbs) 'please do X', and other linguistic resources to mitigate requests and display attention to the addressee. For instance, in Excerpt 9 two girls (Hina and Kana) are seated at a table with a plastic tea set, birthday cake, and other toy food. Hina is playing the host, and Kana is playing the guest who is celebrating a birthday. The excerpt begins after Kana leans in towards the food and drink on the table before Hina is ready.

Excerpt 9: Hina (female, Japanese, 3;3), Kana (female, Japanese, 3;4)

1	→	Hina:	*Chotto matte kudasai.*
			'Please wait a bit.'
2		Kana:	*Nodo kawaita.*
			'(I) am thirsty.'
3			(0.4)
4	→	Hina:	*Nodo kawaita desho*? ((picks up ladle off floor))
			'(You) are thirsty right?'
5		Kana:	((gazing towards Hina))
6		Hina:	*Kore.* ((reaching towards play tea kettle))
			This.
7	→	Hina:	*Ocha (ireru) kara chotto matte kudasai.* ((stands up and reaches towards kettle))
			'Since (I'll make) tea, please wait a bit.'
8		Kana:	((puts end of plastic spoon to her mouth))
9		Hina:	((touches various things on table and then sits back down)) (5.3)
10	→	Hina:	*Itada*[*kimasu.*] ((bows head))
			'I partake.'
11		Kana:	[*Ne Kana no*] *happii basudei tuu yuu wa*?
			'Hey, what about Kana's (=my) Happy Birthday to You?
12			((girls sing Happy Birthday song, then eat and drink))

In response to Kana's (the guests) movement that indicates she is ready to start "eating" and "drinking," Hina (the host) produces a set-phrase request (directive), *Chotto matte kudasai* 'Please wait a bit' (lines 1 and 7). Here the adverbial *chotto* 'a bit' (Matsumoto, 2001) and the polite word *kudasai* 'please' mitigate the request. When Kana responds by asserting she is thirsty, Hina repeats Kana's assertion followed by the tag particle *desho* ('[You] are thirsty, right?'), which shows an orientation to the addressee's needs. When Hina gives the go ahead to start eating and drinking by saying the set phrase, *Itadakimasu* 'I partake' (using honorific *masu* form) while bowing her head (line 10), however, Kana stops her from proceeding until they have sung the song Happy Birthday to You, which she implies is 'for Kana (=for me),' (line 11). By implying 'for Kana' here, Kana shows an adherence to the script that the girls have created in the activity, whereby they play themselves rather than alterative roles. In these ways, the children use multiple linguistic resources including polite words and expressions and pragmatic particles to engage in politeness in relation to a make-believe activity or event.

5.2. Prompting peers

Children on occasion encourage peers to participate in politeness routines by prompting them with what to say. There were a total of 14 tokens of such prompting, which included apologies (6 tokens), requests (3 tokens), greetings (3 tokens), and appreciation (2 tokens). An example of prompting a request is Excerpt 10. Just prior to the excerpt, two children (Hina and Kana) had been riding in a rocking boat that had been banging against the classroom wall. After the teacher had the children get out of the boat and moved it away from the wall, (before Hina could get back in the boat) another child came over and sat in the seat that had been occupied by Hina. In reaction to this, Hina began crying while speaking and pointing towards the occupied seat. In contrast to many other instances, here the teacher does not come over to intervene (even though she seems to be well aware of Hina's crying). Hina's response continues.

Excerpt 10: Hina (female, Japan, 3;1), Mao (female, Japan 2;6)

1   Hina: *Hinachan tonari ni norita::::::i.* ((crying, points to boat))
                          'Hina (=I) want to ride next (to him)::::::.'

2   Mao: (1.5) ((comes over and leans towards Hina's face))

3 →   Mao: *NOSETE TTE IWANAKUCHA!*
                          '(You) have to say (to him), "Let me ride"!'

4   Hina: ((continues crying))

In response to Hina's crying and verbalizations, Mao comes over to Hina and, while leaning in towards her, prompts her what to say (in line 3). This prompt is done with a bald directive and in a loud voice and demanding tone, which shows a frustration with Hina's crying. By prompting Hina, Mao displays an understanding that certain expressions can be used to achieve one's wants and desires (as opposed to crying). While Hina also likely possesses this understanding, here she is overwhelmed with emotion at the taking of her seat, which is compounded by the teacher's silent refusal to intervene. As Mao is about 6 months younger than Hina, and in the words of the daycare center principal is distinguished from Hina by 'different years in school,' her ability to use prompting is an index of maturity for her age, and moreover evidence of social learning. This excerpt suggests that when teachers take a hands-off approach by not intervening in peer interaction, children may begin to directly instruct peers what to say, though they may do so in a highly unmitigated way. For some children, the ability to prompt others emerges before the age of three.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis has shown ways that teachers play an important role in socializing children to politeness in a Japanese preschool. Teachers spend a great deal of time, effort, and patience in socializing politeness routines. While on some occasions they encourage the whole class to participate in politeness routines, more frequently teachers encourage two or more children to engage in these routines in the here-and-now. In everyday interaction, situations arise that occasion teacher intervention in peer interaction in which they respond and guide children what to say and do. These situations include "conflict" such as when a child takes a toy away from another child or pushes another child to the ground, and moral "goodness" such as when a child spontaneously lends a toy to another child. In contrast to what has been observed in some other Japanese preschools (e.g. Tobin et al., 1989), these daycare teachers frequently intervened in peer interaction. In particular, by prompting children what to say and reporting their speech, teachers encouraged children to recognize situations in which to use polite expressions on their own. While children not only begin to use these expressions on their own when addressing teachers and peers, a possibly unintended by-product of preschool socialization is that children also begin to use prompting on their own among peers to remind and encourage their peers what to say. Certainly this says a great deal about their cultural learning.

While many of the strategies that the Japanese teachers deploy in socializing politeness routines have also been observed in other communities, there are at least three notable features of these strategies. One is a relatively high frequency of prompting for politeness (average of 10 tokens/h), which has also been observed in Japanese family homes (approximately 8 tokens/h, see Burdelski, 2006). A second feature, in relation to the first, is a preference for elicited imitation prompting, particularly in triadic and on occasion larger frameworks. These features suggest that prompting is a key strategy for socializing children to attend to others needs and wants and be other-oriented. A third feature is the use of reported speech in "glossing" children's non-verbal actions and impolite speech. By glossing children's non-verbal actions, teachers encourage children to "read" others' embodied actions in relation to politeness routines. Moreover, by glossing children's impolite speech, teachers attempt to erase language that is undesirable and replace it with preferred ways of speaking. While none of these features are exclusive to Japanese speaking communities or Japanese preschools, taken together than comprise a unique cultural profile for socializing children into politeness routines. These are highly related to the central goals of preschool education in Japan, which are to foster children who display kindness and empathy. This analysis has shed light on the process of this socialization through a linguistic and ethnographic approach.

The findings show that children are not passive recipients of this socialization, but active participants who respond in various ways to teachers' attempts to engage them in politeness routines, and use multiple resources including verbal language, repetition, pragmatic particles and the body to engage in these routines with peers and instruct peers in them. In the multiparty context of the preschool, children likely learn politeness routines not only through direct participation, but also through indirect participation whereby they may observe and overhear their teachers and peers engaging in these routines and then repeat them later. In particular, children's use of prompting among peers suggests that they are keen observers who recognize breaches in social norms and appropriate the strategies of caregivers.

A theoretical implication of this study is that socialization into politeness routines is a key context through which children acquire language and, as Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) suggest, simultaneously acquire understandings on how to use language to index culturally meaningful realities such as social action, activity, stance, and identity. These children used polite expressions to index social actions such as requests and offers, which further index activities and events (as in Excerpt 9). Moreover, children used polite expressions to index stance such as kindness, which further index identities such as being a member of a group (as in Excerpt 7). This implication is not just relevant to understanding high politeness cultures such as Japan, but also for gaining a broader picture of socialization into politeness in general. A practical implication is that learning

politeness entails prolonged and repeated interactions with others in which persons engage in contextualized and consequential social actions and are provided with some forms of direct (and indirect) instruction.

Socialization into politeness routines in the Japanese preschool lays the groundwork for the acquisition of a range of politeness practices such as using honorifics to display social action, stance, and identity across the lifespan. While we know a great deal about politeness in various communities, we are just beginning to understand the process of its acquisition from a cross-cultural perspective. Further research could examine the array of strategies for socializing politeness that constitute the cultural profile of each community, and explore how children use politeness and socializing strategies in interaction with other children.

Acknowledgments

Appendix A

Transcription conventions: all names are pseudonyms.

[]	Brackets indicate overlapping talk.
wo:rd	Colon marks vowel lengthening (each colon equals approx. 0.1 s).
°word°	Circles show reduced or low volume of word within.
wo-	A hyphen indicates a cut-off.
((bows))	Non-verbal actions or other transcriber comments are provided within double parentheses.
.h	Period followed by the letter h marks an in-breath sound.
(1.0)	Number in parenthesis shows verbal silence, measured in seconds and tenths of a second.
(.)	Period in parenthesis indicates a verbal silence of less than 0.2 s.
.	Period indicates falling intonation contour.
,	Comma indicates continuing intonation contour.
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation contour.
(word)	Word in parenthesis indicates transcriber uncertain of hearing.
()	Empty parenthesis indicates transcriber able to detect sounds and/or see lip movement, but unable to hear the sounds well enough to transcribe them.

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M. Burdelski / Journal of Pragmatics 42 (2010) 1606–1621

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