12   Language Socialization and Politeness Routines

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Introduction

In communities across the globe, politeness is a foundation of social interaction that can be broadly defined as a set of practices deployed to 'avoid communicative discord or offence, and maintain communicative concord' (Leech 2006: 173). While competent speakers of a language can identify speech and behavior that is normatively polite or impolite, in interaction politeness is often subtle and complex, conveyed through verbal and other semiotic channels that vary across situations and communities. As the appropriate use (or nonuse) of politeness can have an impact on the ways in which people are viewed by others and get along in the social world, politeness is a central aspect of socialization for many children. Politeness has attracted attention across a range of fields, such as linguistics and anthropology, and subfields, such as language acquisition and gender studies. Studies across fields have examined, in particular, the use of certain speech acts (e.g. requests, apologies), indirectness, honorifics, and politeness formulas. Studies have also examined socialization practices, shedding light on the ways in which children learn to convey norms of politeness in their community. While much of the research focuses on English speakers, a growing body of research in various communities contributes to a cross-cultural perspective.

This chapter discusses socialization into politeness with a focus on children in Japan. Japanese is a good case in which to examine the socialization of politeness because politeness is encoded in both linguistic resources such as honorifics and nonlinguistic resources such as the body. Thus, analyzing the ways in which children in Japan are socialized into acting in accordance with local conventions of politeness can help to raise issues regarding socialization practices into politeness in other communities. The chapter first reviews previous research on politeness from a

cross-cultural perspective. It then draws upon linguistic fieldwork in urban Japanese households, neighborhoods, and a preschool to examine socialization into politeness routines.

Previous Research

Over the past few decades, several frameworks of politeness have been proposed (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983). That of Brown and Levinson is among the most widely discussed. Following Goffman (1974 [1955]), Brown and Levinson propose that individuals have 'face' wants, including a desire to be unimpeded in action (negative face want) and a desire to be appreciated by others (positive face want). Politeness is motivated by a desire for the mutual maintenance of face; that is, to satisfy the face wants of others and in turn to have one's own face wants satisfied. According to Brown and Levinson, in managing face wants, speakers use two types of politeness: 'positive politeness' to build solidarity and 'negative politeness' to show restraint. Positive politeness includes asserting common ground and displaying interest, whereas negative politeness includes being indirect and minimizing imposition.

The Brown and Levinson framework has been challenged for its claims of cultural universality in regard to the expression of politeness, particularly in non-Western languages such as Japanese, which has an elaborate system of honorifics (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989). In particular, Matsumoto (1989) asserts that politeness in Japanese is motivated by the need to conform to social hierarchy and maintain group harmony. From this perspective, Japanese speakers use practices of politeness based upon their understandings of social position and broader understandings about the person in society.

Although Japan is described as a negative politeness culture (Brown and Levinson 1987: 245) in which people tend to be indirect and avoid imposing on others, Japanese speakers frequently use both positive and negative politeness practices in everyday communication. For this, they draw upon linguistic resources such as honorifics (e.g. Ide 2005; Okamoto 1999), politeness formulas, pragmatic particles, pitch, and repetition, and embodied resources such as bowing (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987). In particular, prior research has examined routine expressions and other politeness formulas (e.g. Ohashi 2003; Takekuro 2005), which have also been examined in English in relation to 'politeness routines' (Gleason, Perlmann, and Grief 1984) and 'politeness formulas' (Ferguson 1976). Verbal routines in general play an important role in language and cultural acquisition because they provide children with a relatively predictable structure in which to participate in interaction (Peters and Boggs 1986). As conversation analysis shows, a degree of predictability structures all conversation (Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). In particular, minimal sequences of conversation are composed of 'adjacency pairs' – social actions typically produced by separate speakers in succession, such as request–compliance (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Cultural differences exist regarding the preference for more or less formulaic

language within adjacency pairs, resulting in different scales of predictability. For instance, in examining the choices Japanese and American English speakers make in requesting a pen in relation to degree of social distance to an addressee, Hill et al. (1986) found that Japanese speakers were more likely than English speakers to agree on the linguistic expressions used. They posit that Japanese speakers choose expressions based on their *wakimae* ('discernment') of the social situation, particularly the relative social status between speaker and addressee.

While visitors to Japan often notice that people are generally polite, particularly in public settings, this does not mean they are polite all the time. In particular, scholars note the lack of politeness in some situations, such as the absence of verbal apologies to strangers for pushing or bumping on crowded trains (Lebra 1976). This suggests that communicative competence in politeness entails knowing when and how to use or not to use politeness practices across a range of situations.

Socialization into politeness

Competence in displaying polite demeanors including appreciation, respect, and deference is socialized in Japan and other communities from a young age. In particular, caregivers provide input to children through modeling and instruction. For instance, in North American white middle-class households, parents may address children using politeness formulas, such as 'please' and 'thank you,' and instruct children to say such formulas to family members and others, for example when making a request (e.g. Gleason 1980; Snow et al. 1990). Moreover, when making requests to children, US parents may use mitigation devices such as endearments, impersonal pronouns, passive voice, and inclusive constructions (e.g. 'Let's sit down' = 'You sit down') (Blum-Kulka 1997: 147).

Research within other communities also reveals that caregivers model and instruct children in politeness. For instance, among the Basotho of South Africa, mothers and older siblings prompt children in politeness, which includes, 'thank you's, greetings, respect to elders, and proper terms of address' (Demuth 1986: 62–3). Among the Kwara're in the Solomon Islands, caregivers instruct children to ask and answer questions, make requests, say greetings and leave-takings, and respond when food is offered (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1986: 34). In a Guadeloupian community, children are encouraged to nod and verbally greet adults outside the home (Tessonneau 2005). In a Navajo community, teachers and parents engage children in triadic directive-giving exchanges, which socializes children into the practice of making requests through a third party as a form of indirectness (Field 2001). Finally, in some Asian communities, children are socialized to use honorifics to index respect and hierarchy related to age. For instance, in a Khmer American community, caregivers model greetings and polite requests that children are expected to say to elderly family members, socializing children to politeness in relation to deference and respect (Smith-Hefner 1999: 84–5). Further, in a Korean American community, mothers instruct children to address grandparents with honorific greetings and requests, which socializes them to

display respect and deference to elders (Park 2006). This suggests that children in Asian-language-speaking communities are socialized into politeness and respect as systems relating to social hierarchy and other forms of sociality. This can be compared with politeness among the Basotho of South Africa, which, according to Demuth (1986: 63), 'is not highly stratified,' though 'there is a definite organization toward the respect of elders, and children are taught to indicate this deference verbally.'

In Japan, politeness is central to Japanese caregiver expectations of children's development in the home (Kobayashi 2001: 116) and preschool (Peak 1991: 72–3). Socialization into politeness begins well before children are able to speak. For instance, mothers address infants and toddlers using polite words and honorifics (Nakamura 2002) and use politeness formulas to speak for them (Okamoto 2001). In addition, when making requests to children, mothers often use mitigating devices such as pragmatic particles (Cook 1992), diminutives (e.g. Name [Ken] + –*chan* [Ken-*chan* = Kenny]), and polite words (e.g. X *kudasai* ('Please X')). They also instruct children in politeness formulas within ordinary interaction and role-play activities (Clancy 1986). In preschools, teachers encourage children to use greetings and formulaic responses (Peak 1991). In addition to politeness formulas and honorifics, children in Japan are socialized into indirectness. In particular, in addressing infants (Morikawa, Shand, and Kosawa 1988) and two-year-olds (Clancy 1986), mothers use indirect utterances such as hints, questions, and suggestions more often than direct utterances such as imperatives (Kobayashi 2001). Clancy (1986) also shows that, when a third party addresses a child with an indirect utterance, the mother may translate the indirect utterance (e.g. a refusal such as 'I'm good') into a more direct utterance (e.g. a refusal such as 'She said, "No"'), which may help children understand indirect polite speech. Mothers also socialize children to attend to the needs and desires of others by telling children what third parties may be thinking or feeling even when they have not spoken, as a form of empathy training (Clancy 1986: 233).

A result of Japanese socialization is that children typically acquire basic politeness practices fairly early. In particular, two-year-old children use politeness formulas (Clancy 1985; Yokoyama 1980) and somewhat older children (above two and a half years) use addressee honorifics, particularly in role-play activities to mark social distance (Fukuda 2005; Nakamura 1996). Many aspects of politeness, such as honorific forms including *sonkeigo* ('respect language') and *kenjoogo* ('humble language'), however, are not acquired until much later in life. For instance, Dunn (2009) shows that young adults in the business world undergo training in honorifics to display respect and deference, and in *kusshon kotoba* ('cushion words'), which can be used to preface an inquiry to a customer (e.g. *Shitsuree desu ga* [*onamae wa?*] . . . ('Excuse my rudeness, but [what is your name?]')). Indeed, socialization into politeness in many societies such as Japan seems to be a lifelong process.

While previous research provides critical insight into the socialization of politeness in various communities, our understanding of the process of acquisition is still quite limited. In particular, in relation to children in Japan, much of what we

do know is based on dyadic mother–child verbal interaction in the home. What is needed is an analysis of various settings, activities, and participants, and a look at how caregiver verbal and nonverbal strategies shape children's participation in practices of politeness. More information is also needed on how learners of Japanese as a second language learn how to be polite (Kanagy 1999) in Japan. The following sections attempt to address these issues through an analysis of children's socialization into politeness routines, drawing upon audiovisual recordings made during two projects in Japan. The first was conducted from 2004 to 2005 in seven Japanese households and neighborhoods in the cities of Kyoto, Kobe, and Osaka (132 hours) (Burdelski 2006) and the second was conducted from 2006 to 2007 in a Japanese preschool near Tokyo in which approximately half the children are non-native speakers of Japanese (48 hours).

Politeness Routines: Linguistic and Embodied Practice

As do caregivers in some other communities, such as in Northern Thailand (Howard 2009, this volume), Japanese caregivers encourage children's embodied performance of politeness before children are able to speak. In particular, they provide modeling, verbal instruction, and tactile guidance. For instance, caregivers model how to bow the head during greetings and expressions of appreciation, and to put the hands together when saying appreciative mealtime expressions such as *Itadakimasu* ('I partake') and *Gochisoosamadeshita* ('Thank you for the meal'). They also give verbal instruction on how to use the body, for example Mom ((at end of meal, putting palms of hands together)): *Otete awasete* ('Put your hands together') → Male child (1;11): ((puts hands together)). Finally, they also provide tactile guidance, such as pressing a hand on a child's back to get him or her to bow (Hendry 1986: 75–6). Socializing the body may co-occur with instruction on what to do or say, which also begins before children are expected to say the expressions. For instance, in Example 12.1, a mother and focal child (Haru) (on the left of the frame grab) are in a sandbox where a father and his son have come up to them. When the boy tries to take one of Haru's sand toys (a small pail), Haru's mother encourages her to offer it to him.

Example 12.1:   Family neighborhood park[1]

Haru (2;1), Haru's mom, boy (1;11), and boy's dad.

1	Mom-H:	*Kashite agete.*
		'Lend it (to him).'
2	Haru:	((handing toy to boy))
3	Mom-H:	*Doo [zo tte.]*
		'Say, "Here you are." '

Figure 12.1   A girl (left) hands a sand toy to a boy (right).

4 →   Dad-B: [*Ariga*]*to tte* ( ).
                  'Say, "Thank you" ( ).'
5   Dad-B: [((pressing hand on boy's back))]
6   Boy: [((bows while reaching for sand toy))]
7   Mom: *Doo::zo*.
                  'Here you are.'

In Example 12.1, Haru's mother directs her to lend the toy to the boy (line 1) and tells her to say *doozo*, a common politeness formula meaning 'Here you are' (or 'Go ahead,' 'Please X') (line 3). In response, the father tells his son, 'Say "Thank you"' (line 4) while pressing his hand on the boy's back to encourage him to bow (line 5). Although neither child repeats the expressions, they nevertheless participate in the routine – in this case an offer–appreciation exchange – through embodied means.

Three socialization strategies

As suggested above, children's early participation in politeness routines in Japan is guided by various caregiver strategies. This section discusses three that are central in the home, neighborhood, and preschool: (1) speaking for a child, (2) directives and prompting, and (3) reported speech. Several of these appeared in Example 12.1: directive (line 1), prompting (lines 3 and 4), and speaking for a child (line 7). While these strategies will be examined separately below, one or more may be used across a sequence.

Daiben ('speaking for another')   In Japan, *daiben* ('speaking for another') occurs in a range of contexts and is an important aspect of interaction with preverbal children (e.g. Okamoto 2001).

Japanese caregivers, and on occasion older siblings, speak for children in dyadic and multiparty frameworks. Example 12.2 illustrates dyadic *daiben* from the preschool. Here a child (Sinh, from India, who has been in Japan for less than six months) has just finished eating lunch.

Example 12.2: Preschool lunch table

Sinh (male, India, 2;5) and the teacher.

1   Teacher: ((wipes Sinh's mouth with washcloth))
2   Sinh: ((stands up out of chair))
3 →   Teacher: *Hai gochisoosamadeshi<u>ta</u>.*= ((bowing head))
                  'Okay, "Thank you for the meal." '
4   Sinh: =*ta:.* ((bows head))
                  'ta:'
5   Teacher: *Hai, orikoosan desu.*
                  'Yes, (you)'re a good child.'

After wiping Sinh's mouth, while bowing her head the teacher says, *Gochisoodamadeshi<u>ta</u>* ('Thanks for the meal') (line 3), ending with emphatic stress on the last syllable (*ta*). Here, the teacher not only speaks for the child but also more generally performs a politeness routine through talk and embodied action. Sinh participates in the routine by repeating part of the expression – the final syllable (*ta*) (line 4) – while bowing his head. This response suggests that children attend not only to verbal aspects of these routines – such as the ends of words (cf. Slobin 1973) – but also to the crucial nonverbal aspects. The teacher acknowledges this participation by praising Sinh as a 'good child' (line 5).

Similarly to a strategy observed among Tzotzil (de León 1998, this volume), Kaluli (Schieffelin 1979), and Wolof caregivers (Rabain-Jamin 1998), Japanese caregivers also use *daiben* within multiparty frameworks to speak for a child who has not actually spoken *to a third party*. In the Japanese case, triadic *daiben* is often used to convey polite social actions such as offers and apologies. For instance, in Example 12.3, from the preschool, two children (Galina and Nalini, both non-native speakers of Japanese) have bumped heads while taking off their shoes. When Galina begins to cry, a teacher comes over to them.

Example 12.3: Preschool entrance

Teacher, Galina (female, Ukraine, 3;10), and Nalini (female, Bangladesh, 3;3).

1   Galina: *Butsuka*[*cchatta:.*] ((crying, gazes at teacher and points
                     towards Nalini))
                  '(She) bumped into (me).'
2   Teacher: [*Butsukacchatta*] *no?*
                  '(She) bumped into (you)?'
3   Galina: *Itai* [(*no ko*[*re*]).
                  'It hurts (this).'
4   Teacher: [*A.*
                  'Ah.'
5   Nalini: [*Ko*]*re.* ((puts arms out))
                  'This.'

6	Teacher:	*Un.*
		'Mm.'
7	Nalini:	*Koo yatte.* ((puts arms out))
		'Like this.'
8	Teacher:	*A: soo yatte butsukacchatta no ka*?
		'Ah that's how (you) bumped?'
9	Nalini:	*Un.* ((nods three times))
		'Mm.'
10 →	Teacher:	*Gomen ne.* ((to Galina, bows head slightly))
		'(I) am sorry.'
11	Teacher:	((goes to put away children's shoes))

When the children convey what happened through verbalization and gesture (lines 1–9), the teacher apologizes to the crying child (Galina) (line 10). This apology is also embodied, as the teacher slightly bows her head. Triadic *daiben* often does double duty in that it functions as speaking for both the child and caregiver. This dual function is related to the notion *ittaikan* ('feeling of oneness') (Lebra 1976: 361), the strong bond between caregiver and child that frames thinking, feeling, and speaking as one. Moreover, here, by apologizing, the caregiver also takes on (partial) responsibility for the situation that allowed the accident to occur (i.e. the teacher was attending to something else at the time). While *daiben* is predominantly used with children under two years and non-native speakers, as children gain more competence, caregivers gradually use more directives, prompting, and reported speech, as discussed in the following sections.

Directives and prompting   A second strategy in socializing politeness routines is directives and prompting. Caregivers use directives on what to do (and not do), which take various forms, such as an imperative, suggestion, or hint (Clancy 1986; Ervin-Tripp 1976). A central type of directive is prompting, involving instruction in what to say and how to speak (or what not to say and how not to speak). Prompting is an explicit strategy in, '*socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language*' (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986: 163, italics in original). Previous research in various communities reveals that prompting pervades caregiver–child interaction, has many functions, and can be organized in different ways, and thus is a central strategy in socializing children into politeness routines (e.g. Becker 1994; Demuth 1986) and language more generally (e.g. Demuth 1986; Moore, this volume; Schieffelin 1990).

Japanese prompting typically involves a caregiver, and occasionally an older sibling or peer, directing a child to speak. Similarly to the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1990), in these data, caregiver prompting predominantly occurs in triadic arrangements (98 percent in families; 99 percent in the preschool) in which a child is directed to say an utterance to one or more third parties (rather than back to the caregiver). Thus, prompting primarily functions in encouraging other-orientation and in establishing social relationships beyond the caregiver–

Table 12.1 Prompting of Social Actions (Number of Tokens and Percentage)

Social Actions	Families	Preschool
1. Offer–appreciation	326 (30.8 percent)	50 (10.4 percent)
2. Request–compliance	319 (30.2 percent)	216 (45.0 percent)
3. Greeting and leave-taking	296 (28.0 percent)	125 (26.0 percent)
4. Apology–acknowledgment	63 (6.0 percent)	23 (4.8 percent)
5. Question–answer	24 (2.4 percent)	16 (4.0 percent)
6. Other (e.g. congratulate, pray)	29 (2.7 percent)	48 (10 percent)
Total	**1058 (100 percent)**	**480 (100 percent)**

child dyad. However, when the prompter is a sibling or peer, prompting frequently occurs in dyadic frameworks in which a child is directed to say an utterance back to the child prompter (e.g. 'Say sorry [to me]'). The types of social actions prompted in the families and preschool are shown in Table 12.1.

In addition to the social actions listed as 1 through 5 in Table 12.1, question–answer pairs are also included in which there is an attention to the addressee's needs or concerns (e.g. *Daijoobu*? ('Are you okay?') in response to a crying child), which is a central aspect of positive politeness in the Brown and Levinson model. These data reveal similarities in the frequency of the types of social actions prompted across the home/neighborhood (family) and preschool. A notable difference is the frequency of offer–appreciation pairs, which occur nearly three times as often in the family (30.8 percent) as in the preschool (10.4 percent). Among families there is a preference to prompt children to offer their toys to playmates (non-family members) who want to use them (as in Example 12.1), whereas in the preschool, when a child wants to play with a toy that another child is playing with, there is a preference to prompt the child who wants it to make a request for it.

Caregivers around the world use various types of prompting. In these data, there are four types: (1) empty slot (Peters and Boggs 1986: 82), (2) performative (Austin 1962), (3) leading question (Ochs 1986: 6), and (4) elicited imitation (Hood and Schieffelin 1978). These are illustrated in Example 12.4, Example 12.5, Example 12.6, and Example 12.7, from family interactions. First, an empty slot entails providing part of an expression for the child to produce the rest. For instance, in Example 12.4, Naoki is about to start eating.

Example 12.4:   Family dining table

Mom and Naoki (male, 1;11).

1 →   Mom: *Ita:::da:ki*:?
              'I par-?'
2   Naoki: *m:::ma::su*. ((puts hands together))
              '-ta:::ke::.'

When his mother says *Ita:::da:ki?* (line 1), the first part of the appreciative mealtime expression *Itadakimasu* ('I partake') followed by rising intonation, Naoki responds by saying the last part of the expression, *–masu* (line 2), an addressee honorific marker.

Second, a leading question employs a question word such as 'what' (e.g. 'What do you say?'), or a conditional phrase such as, 'If (I/someone) says X,' as in Example 12.5. Here, a father and son (Takahiro) are playing with toy blocks.

Example 12.5:   Family living room

Takahiro (male, 2;5) and Dad.

1	Dad:	*Hai* (0.9) *doozo.* ((holds out block))
		'Yes (0.9), here you are.'
2	Takahiro:	((reaches for block, but Dad does not let go))
3 →	Dad:	*Doozo tte yuttara?*
		'If (I/someone) says, "Here you are" (what do you say)?'
4		(0.7)
5	Takahiro:	*Arigatoo.* ((receives block))
		'Thank you.'
6	Dad:	*Hai.*
		'Yes.'

As he hands one of the blocks to Takahiro saying the polite expression *doozo* ('Here you are') and Takahiro reaches out to take it, the father pauses and, while refusing to let go, prompts him using a leading question (line 3). In response, Takahiro says the expected expression, 'Thank you.'

Third, a performative utilizes a verb of speaking such as 'apologize,' 'greet,' or 'ask.' In Example 12.6, when a child (Takahiro) bangs his spoon on the side of his bowl like a drum and his mother scolds him by saying *Ogyoogi warui* ('It's bad manner'), his father responds by prompting the child to apologize.

Example 12.6:   Family dining table

Dad, Mom, and Takahiro (male, 2;4).

1 →	Dad:	*Chanto ayamari*[*nasai.*] ((stern voice))
		'Properly apologize.'
2 →	Mom:	[°*Ayamari*]*nasai.*°
		'°Apologize.°'
3		(0.4)
4	Takahiro:	°*Gomennasai.*°
		'°I'm sorry.°'

Here, after the father and mother prompt Takahiro to apologize for his 'bad manner,' Takahiro responds by saying the expected expression, 'I'm sorry.'

Fourth, in elicited imitation, a speaker provides a model utterance followed by a directive to repeat it. Similarly to the use of *ɛlema* ('say') among Kaluli caregivers (Schieffelin 1990), in Japanese (a subject-object-verb language) the directive follows the expression to be repeated (e.g. ' "Thank you," say'). In Example 12.7, a mother (Mom-M) and child (Masa) are being visited by a mother (Mom-B) and son (boy). The excerpt begins after the boy has lent Masa one of his toys.

Example 12.7:   Family living room

Masa's mom, Masa (male, 2;1), boy (3;0), and boy's mom.

1 →	Mom-M:	*Doozo shite kurehatta, arigato tte iwanna.*
		'He gave it to you, (so) you have to say, "Thank you." '
2	Masa:	*Ariga<u>to</u>.*
		'Thank you.'
3	Mom-M:	*Hai.*
		'Yes.'
4 →	Mom-B:	*Hai, iie doo ita*[*shimashite tte.*]
		'Yes, say, "You're welcome." '
5	Boy:	[*Iie, doo*]*itashimashite.* ((bows))
		'You're welcome.'

Here Masa's mother prompts Masa to say 'Thank you' to the boy (line 1). When Masa repeats the expression, the boy's mother (Mom-B) prompts her son to say 'You're welcome' (line 4), which he immediately repeats in partial overlap while bowing (line 5).

Caregivers in various other communities also use the above types of prompting, for example elicited imitation among Tzotzil caregivers (de León 1998) and leading questions (e.g. 'What's the magic word?') in US households (Gleason, Perlmann, and Grief 1984). In examining socialization in US households, Becker (1994) categorizes two types of prompt: direct and indirect. Direct prompts, such as elicited imitation (Example 12.7), provide the child with an expression and a directive to repeat it, whereas indirect prompts, such as leading questions (Example 12.5) and performatives (Example 12.6), are open-ended, requiring the child to come up with the expression on his or her own. Prompting is not the same in every community, as the types of prompt used, their frequency, and their contexts are linked to local theories of language learning that help constitute a unique cultural profile.

In these data, elicited imitation is by far the most frequent type of prompting (96 percent in families and 97 percent in preschool). Although the frequency of caregiver prompting decreases with the child's age, caregivers also predominantly use elicited imitation when prompting older siblings (four to nine years) (98 percent). That is, Japanese caregivers prefer elicited imitation to other types of prompting, even with children who would likely come up with the expected expression on their own if given an indirect prompt such as, 'What do you say?'

The preference for elicited imitation across early childhood in Japan is rooted within practices of teaching and learning across the lifespan. For instance, apprenticeship in the traditional arts (e.g. Noh drama, tea ceremony) often relies on modeling and imitation of a *kata* ('form') (Rohlen and LeTendre 1996; Singleton 1998). In the arts, is it believed that the body learns first and then the 'heart' and 'spirit' come to understand (Hare 1996: 340). Further, in relation to child rearing, Japanese developmental psychologists assert that modeling and imitation constitute a crucial aspect of learning (Kojima 1986: 42). Anthropologists have observed that Japanese caregivers engage in 'ceaseless, patient demonstration for children to imitate' (Hendry 1986: 101). Similarly to caregivers in other communities, such as Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1990), Japanese caregivers not only use themselves as models but also guide children to observe and imitate others, particularly older siblings and peers. In particular, caregivers may praise the (polite) language use and behavior of older children to younger children, conveying the notion, 'be like that model child' (Lebra 1976: 152). Elicited imitation may prepare children for learning across the lifespan. That is, elicited imitation socializes children to attend to and imitate form (in this case, linguistic and embodied form), which is a highly valued learning strategy across a range of contexts in Japan.

The contexts of prompting are also socioculturally variable (Ochs 1986). In Japan, while prompting frequently occurs in play and at meal times, it also occurs in public settings such as stores and libraries. For instance, parents may prompt children in what to say before arriving at a service counter; for example, Mom ((while handing books to child in the hallway that leads up to the library counter)): *Oneesan doozo tte* ('Say to the older sister [=library clerk], "Here you are"'). Research in other communities also reveals that caregivers prompt children in what to say before coming into interaction with a third party, such as during trick-or-treating in the United States (Gleason and Weintraub 1976) or when delivering a message to someone in another household in Samoa (Ochs 1988). In Japan, prompting can encourage children to present a polite public persona.

As observed in other communities, such as the Basotho (Demuth 1986), Japanese caregivers also use prompting as correction. In the Japanese case, a caregiver may respond to a child's 'impolite' language towards another person or an animal; for example, Child: *Poi* ((throwing food towards a stray cat to feed it)) → Dad: *Poi janakute, doozo tte* ('It's not *poi*, say, "Here you are"'). Here, the father corrects the child's use of *poi* (an onomatopoetic sound of throwing away) and replaces it with *doozo*, a politeness formula for offering.

Also, similarly to a pattern observed in communities such as the Navajo (Field 2001), Japanese caregivers on occasion use prompting to speak *through* a child to a third party. For example, while visiting the home of a child's paternal grandparents, his mother prompted him (2;5) to ask his grandmother to relocate her activity (reading the newspaper) from the kitchen to the living room, where the child would shortly be playing, by saying, *Baaba mukoo de mite kudasai tte* ('Say "Granny please look at it [the newspaper] over there"'). The function of this prompt may be aimed less at getting the child to repeat the utterance (which he did not do)

and more at being indirect in order to mitigate a face-threatening act – in this case, a request from the child's mother to her mother-in-law.

While children in Japan are prompted to speak to family members, peers, other adults and children, and animals, they are also on occasion prompted to say some of the same politeness formulas to inanimate objects, including toys and religious and natural objects. The social actions include greeting, offering, and apologizing; for example, Boy ((had taken a stone out of his mouth and thrown it on the side-walk)) → Mom: *Ishi ni gomen nasai tte dekiru*? ('Can you say "I'm sorry" to the stone?'). Here, the mother prompts the child to apologize to a stone in response to his having done something socially inappropriate (and even dangerous).

In addition to variation across societies, the subtleties of prompting vary within a society, including in institutions, activities, and families. For instance, in relation to the families observed, some two-year-old children are prompted more frequently than other children (in some cases two to three times as often). This may be due to the greater weight that some families place on children's acquisition of politeness routines. There are also shades of difference in the types of strategy used. For instance, while all families frequently use elicited imitation, only some use empty slots and leading questions. The subtleties of prompting, and the strategies for socializing politeness in general, may also be affected by a variety of factors such as the age and gender of the child. In these data, while age is significant, as mentioned above, gender is not, as boys and girls are prompted with similar frequency to say polite expressions by their families and at the preschool.

Reported speech   A third strategy in socializing children into politeness routines is reported speech. Soviet scholars pointed out that reported speech or quotation (e.g. he said X) is a double-voiced utterance, in which a speaker transmits another's speech and simultaneously takes a stance towards it (e.g. Vološinov 1971). Previous studies have examined the role of reported speech in socialization (e.g. Ely, Gleason, and McCabe 1996; Rabain-Jamin 1998).

Japanese caregivers use reported speech in relation to politeness routines in two central ways: (1) to repeat or reformulate what a third party has just said and (2) to 'voice' what a third party has just enacted, mainly through nonverbal means. Example 12.8, from the preschool, contains an example of (1): when an older boy (Kazu) sees a younger boy (Sinh) taking a toy train car off its track that the older boy had been playing with, he grabs it out of the younger boy's hands. In response, the younger boy cries out *Dame* ('No') while pointing towards the toy in the older boy's hands and gazing towards the teacher. The teacher comes over to intervene.

Example 12.8:   Preschool classroom

Teacher, Kazu (male, Japan, 5;0), and Sinh (male, India, 2;6).

1   Kazu: *Kore hosh:i*[*i::::.* ((to teacher))
                  '(I) want this (=train car).'
2   Teacher: [*Hoshiin dattara .h Shin ni chant*[*o kiite kara.*
                           'If (you) want it, then properly ask Sinh.'

3   Teacher: ((takes toy from Kazu and gives it back to Sinh))
4   Kazu: [*Shin kashite.*
                                                  'Sinh, lend it.'
5   Sinh: ((playing with train))
6   Teacher: *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: [*Shin ka:shi:te::::.*
                    'Sinh, lend it.'
8   Sinh: [((looking down))
9 →   Teacher: *Kashite da tte.* ((gazing towards Sinh))
                    '(He) says, "Lend it."'
10   (0.2)
11   Teacher: *i-* ((turns towards Sinh))
12   Teacher: ((points 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.'

After taking the train from Kazu, the teacher prompts him to ask Sinh if he may borrow it (line 2). Kazu responds by making two requests to Sinh (lines 4 and 7), who does not respond. Following the second request, the teacher repeats it as reported speech to Sinh (line 9). A similar kind of reported speech has been observed in Japanese mother–child interaction. In particular, Clancy (1986: 220–1) shows that, when an adult addresses a child with a request and the child does not respond, the mother repeats the request as reported speech. Also, similarly to a pattern observed among caregivers in the United States (Stivers 2001), here the teacher verbally intervenes in a child's interaction in order to deal with a 'problem' in the unfolding interaction, namely the absence of a response from the addressed child. Reported speech following a child's nonresponse may get the child to orient to making the next response without telling him or her what to do. In this way, similarly to leading questions and performatives, as discussed earlier, reported speech is a type of prompt that requires the child to come up with a response on his or her own. Here, while relevant responses to the teacher's reported speech include refusing, delaying, or granting the request, the child (Sinh) immediately complies with the embedded request using the polite expression *doozo* ('Here you are') (line 13). While *doozo* is used here as a compliance, in many other cases it is used as an offer (as in Example 12.5, line 1). In either case, children learn to use the expression *doozo* for object transfer.

In addition to repetition, caregivers also use reported speech to 'voice' or put into words an immediately prior or ongoing social action of another child who

Figure 12.2   A girl (left) holds out a sand toy towards a boy (right).

has performed a social action with little or no verbalization. For instance, in Example 12.9, at a playground, a boy (Masa) and his mother (on the right in Figure 12.2) are with a female playmate and her mother (on the left). At the beginning of the excerpt, the girl is holding out a plastic toy cup towards Masa while making minimal verbalizations.

Example 12.9:   Family neighborhood park

Masa (male, 2;5), Masa's mom (Mom-M), girl (1;11), girl's mom.

1	Girl:	*n* (0.8) *n* ((holds out plastic toy towards Masa))
2 →	Mom-M:	*A* (0.5) *doozo tte yuttekureteharu Masa.*
		'Ah (0.5) (She)'s saying, "Here you are," Masa.'
3	Masa:	((walks towards girl, 0.2))
4 →	Mom-M:	*Doozo tte.*
		'(She) says, "Here you are." '
5	Girl:	((hands toy to Masa))
6	Masa:	((taking toy))
7	Mom-M:	*Arig (h)at (h)o h h .hh.*
		'Th (h)ank y (h)ou h h .hh.'

When Masa does not respond to the girl, Masa's mother responds by voicing the girl as making a polite offer: *doozo* ('Here you are') (lines 2 and 4). While saying this, the mother also attempts to draw Masa's attention towards the girl with a hand gesture (as in Figure 12.2). Masa responds by going towards the girl and accepting the toy. In addition to voicing young children, caregivers also voice pets as speaking politely; for example, Dog ((whimpers while looking at child's snack)) → Dad: *Gohan choodai tte yutteru* ('[The dog] says, "May I have some."') These examples suggest that Japanese caregivers use reported speech to 'ventriloquize' (Tannen 2010) a third party's (e.g. children, pets) minimal verbalizations and nonverbal actions. Notably, rather than describing a third party's actions (e.g.

'She's trying to give it to you'), in Example 12.9 the mother uses reported speech to provide a socioculturally appropriate 'gloss' (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Scollon 1982) of these actions as *doing politeness*. In concert with other strategies examined here, reported speech is an important means through which children learn to interpret their social world in terms of politeness.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a review of research on politeness and how it is social-ized in various communities, and has examined Japanese caregivers' and pre-school teachers' socialization of children to speak and act politely. While politeness routines are a key aspect of interaction and socialization in many communities, they are highly amplified in Japanese interaction and socialization, involving a range of settings, activities, and participants. Moreover, politeness routines and their socialization are multimodal, involving talk and embodied actions. In any community, politeness routines socialize deeper cultural values. In the Japanese case, these values may include respect and responsibility. For instance, through (implicit) instruction to make offers (Example 12.1) and grant requests (Example 12.8), children may learn to respect others' negative face wants, or 'freedom of action' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65). Attending to others' wants and needs is a central aspect of 'empathy' (*omoiyari*), which is socialized in Japan from a young age (Clancy 1986). Further, through instruction to apologize (Example 12.6), chil-dren may learn to take responsibility for their actions; moreover, when a caregiver apologizes on behalf of a child (Example 12.3), children may also learn that responsibility can be 'diffused' or distributed among members of a social group (Hill and Irvine 1993: 3). These findings suggest that, in Japan, deeper cultural values associated with politeness are linked to both the individual and the group, particularly in the pursuit of achieving interpersonal harmony.

Through participation in social interaction, children immersed in Japanese-speaking communities gradually 'emerge' (de León 1998, this volume) as partici-pants in politeness routines. Most children rapidly acquire the ability to engage in basic politeness routines within ordinary interaction and role-plays, such as giving and receiving toys and expressing appreciation. While many of the fre-quent politeness routines are learned in early childhood, as children grow they will engage in interaction using the same and new formulas, including expres-sions using honorifics and indirectness, within a wide range of settings and activi-ties. They will also learn to calibrate their use of politeness routines in relation to a range of contextual variables such as the difference in status between themselves and the addressee. In a society such as Japan in which hierarchy is an important organizing feature of social relationships, early socialization into politeness rou-tines lays the groundwork for the acquisition of a range of politeness practices across the lifespan. This process involves acquiring not only these practices but also the strategies for socializing others into them, contributing to reproduction within and across the generations.

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NOTES

1   Transcription conventions: [, overlapping talk; :, lengthening (0.1 seconds each); -, cut-off sound; ° °, reduced volume; <u>word</u>, emphatic stress; (( )), nonverbal action; =, sound latching; (1.0), silence, measured in second and tenths of a second; (.), silence of less than 0.2 seconds; period indicates falling intonation; comma indicates continuing intonation; ?, rising intonation; ( ), transcriber uncertain about hearing of word within.

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