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language socialization analysis of the sociocultural organization of children's literacy practices across socioeconomically and racially diverse US communities. Heath's ethnographic research delineated the sociocultural universes of literacy expectations, values, and practices for children growing up in white (Roadville) and black (Trackton) working class homes and communities in the Piedmont Carolinas and their consequences for children's success in school settings. As Heath notes, the literacy socialization process is a deep, powerful, and complex factor in organizing how Roadville and Trackton children will fare in the classroom. This analysis lays bare Bourdieu's (1985) claim that the habitus of the home perpetuates the power differential in children's attainment of educational and cultural capital.

In addition to literacy variation, a major contribution of language socialization research has been towards understanding the dynamics of language variation at the register and code level (see Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Ochs' (1985, 1988) study in Western Samoa was the first to point out the centrality of examining systematic register variation with regard to children's acquisition of communicative competence. Many linguistic structures in Samoan are variable and context-sensitive, indexing social distance, formality of setting and gender of speaker. Ochs demonstrated that very small children are sensitive to and acquire knowledge of the socially relevant features of particular phonological, grammatical, and lexical forms that mark salient features of social hierarchy and contextual differentiation. These forms include children's alternation between two phonological registers, affect-marked and neutral first person pronouns, presence/ellipsis of ergative case marking, and the production of deictic verbs as contingent upon addressee and speech act being performed.

Indexicality and socialization into code and register choice are critical to understanding processes of language and culture maintenance and change as illustrated in several lines of inquiry in bilingual or multilingual communities undergoing language shift through processes of globalization on indigenous societies. Language socialization research points out that the coexistence of two or more codes within a particular community, whatever the sociohistorical and political circumstances that have given rise to them or brought them into contact, is rarely neutral in relation to children's developing linguistic and sociocultural competence. A dramatic example is Kulick's (1992) study in Gapun, a small, relatively isolated village on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, where the vernacular, Taiap, was spoken along side of the lingua franca Tok Pisin. In spite of parents' desire that their children speak the vernacular, children were only acquiring Tok Pisin. Kulick accounted for these processes of language shift and loss by examining

everyday socialization practices and the ideologies that shaped them, finding that ideological transformations since contact with Europeans and their institutions, most prominently Christianity, have profoundly changed how villagers think about personhood, language, children, and modernity, all of which are central to understanding how and why children are no longer speaking their language. The interface of language socialization and language and culture shift has been analyzed in Caribbean (Garrett, 2005; Paugh, 2001, 2005; Snow, 2004), Native North American (Field, 2001, Meek, 2001), African (Moore, 2004), Asian (Howard, 2004), Pacific Island (Riley, in press), and Slavic (Friedman, 2006) communities, among others. Nonaka (2004) addresses the interface of language socialization and emergence, maintenance, and shift of a spontaneous, indigenous sign language community in Thailand, where a disposition towards multilingualism sustains the sign language as a medium of socialization and communication for both hearing and deaf children and adults of the community, even as the language is being encroached by promotional efforts to get deaf children to acquire the national Thai sign language at residential deaf schools.

A related line of language socialization inquiry focuses on language and culture maintenance and shift within diasporic groups in industrialized nations, such as Puerto Rican (Zentella, 1997), Hasidic Jewish (Fader, 2001, 2006), Mexican (Baquedano-Lopez, 2001), and Chinese (He, 2001, 2004) communities in the USA. These studies offer a language socialization perspective on language choice and religious identity, gender, and ways of delimiting or defusing community boundaries and limits (see Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Analyses illuminate how religious and heritage language institutions, along with familial units, support and amplify sociohistorically rooted language and cultural practices, attempting to draw children into an identification with a community of speakers. These studies examine how teachers and other members of the community attempt to socialize diaspora children into affiliating with not only a community-relevant code repertoire but also moral dispositions and social entitlements implicitly indexed through language socialization practices.

The language socialization paradigm offers a socioculturally informed analysis of life course and historical continuity and transformation. This overview has focused on the socialization into and through language in childhood, yet language socialization transpires whenever there is an asymmetry in knowledge and power and characterizes our human interactions throughout adulthood as we become socialized into novel activities, identities, and objects relevant to work, family, recreation, civic, religious, and other environments in increasingly globalized communities.

One tenet of the language socialization paradigm is that the social, emotional, and intellectual trajectories of children and other novices are complexly structured by webs of social and economic institutions, public and domestic systems of control, practices, identities, settings, beliefs, meanings, and other forces (Heath, 1983). The inverse is also the case, in that immature members are agentive in the shaping of their development and have the capacity to resist and transform facets of the social order into which they are socialized (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004). That is, language socialization is inherently bidirectional, despite the obvious asymmetries in power and knowledge, and therein lies the seeds of intergenerational, historical continuity, and change within social groups (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, and Sterponi, 2001). The active role of the child/novice in generating social order is compatible with social theories that promote members' reflexivity, agency, and contingency in the constitution of everyday social life (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Garfinkel, 1967; Giddens, 1979, 1984). These approaches favor the study of social actions as at once structured and structuring in time and space, bound by historically durable social orders of power and symbolic systems yet creative, variable, responsive to situational exigencies and capable of producing novel consequences. Even in the maintenance of social regularities, "the familiar is created and recreated through human agency itself" (Giddens, 1979, p. 128).

No principle is more fundamental to linguistic anthropology than the notion that a language is more than a formal code, more than a medium of communication; and more than a repository of meanings. Language is a powerful semiotic tool for evoking social and moral sentiments, collective and personal identities tied to place and situation, and bodies of knowledge and belief (Duranti, 1997, 2003, 2004; Hymes, 1964; Sapir, 1921). When children acquire the languages of their speech communities, the languages come packaged with these evocations. And not just languages: particular dialects, registers, styles, genres, conversational moves and sequences, grammatical and lexical forms, as well as written, spoken, and other communicative modes are saturated with sociocultural contextual significance.

This relation between linguistic structures and sociocultural information is indexical, in the sense that the use of certain structures points to and constitutes certain social contexts and certain cultural frameworks for thinking and feeling (Gumperz, 1982; Hanks, 1999; Ochs, 1990; Peirce, 1955; Silverstein, 1996). A key enterprise of linguistic anthropology is analysis of the indexical relations critical to interpretations of social scenes and events. What transpires in the course of language socialization is that normally developing children become increasingly

adept at constituting and interpreting sociocultural contexts from linguistic cues. In some cases, caregivers and other mature members may make the indexical meanings explicit, as when, for example, a child uses a linguistic form inappropriately and others provide the appropriate form (Fader, 2001; He, 2001, 2004; Howard, 2004; Michaels, 1981; Paugh, 2001; Scollon, 1982) or when someone recounts a narrative centering around a social violation of language expectations (Baquedano-Lopez, 1998, 2001; Goodwin, 1990; Miller, Fung, and Mintz, 1996). In other cases, children may be prompted to perform linguistic acts that attempt to establish particular sociocultural contexts (Demuth, 1986; Moore, 2004; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1986). For example, Kaluli caregivers prompt small children to use a loud voice, distinct intonation, and particular morphemes that define the speech act performed (calling out) and to refer to names, kinship terms, and place names where a shared past experience transpired to establish a special closeness with an addressee (Schieffelin, 2003). Even when the children are prompted, most language socialization of the relation of semiotic forms to context takes place implicitly; children and other novices infer and appropriate indexical meanings through repeated participation in language-mediated practices and events that establish routine associations between certain forms and certain settings, relationships, practices, emotions, and thought-worlds. Speaking of the indexical relation of place names to the establishment of social ties, Schieffelin (ibid., p. 163) concludes "In other words, these mundane socializing activities mattered because they were critical to children's acquisition of cultural practices and knowledge, namely, building productive sociality in a society where obligation, reciprocity and access were already inscribed onto the space of place."

Literacy has been a key object of study and contention in anthropology ever since Lévy-Bruhl and Clare (1923) associated "primitive mentality" with "prelinguistic" societies and Goody and Watt (1962) proposed that the historical adoption of literacy in societies led to significant social structural and psychological transformations. Subsequently, linguistic anthropological and language socialization studies established that rather than a monolithic practice, literacy comprises a range of activities, each entailing a set of concomitant intellectual and social skills, which are organized by and constitutive of situations and communities (Ahearn, 2001; Besnier, 1995; Collins, 1995; 1996; Fader, 2001; Heath, 1982, 1983, 1988; Schieffelin and Gilmore, 1986; Scollon and Scollon, 1981). The most influential study of literacy practices is Heath's (1983) *Ways with Words*, a ground-breaking

a language socialization typology in which communities and/or settings within communities are categorized as predominantly orienting young children to adapt to social situations (situation-centered) or predominantly orienting social situations to adapt to young children (child-centered). In this typology, baby talk register is part of a larger set of child-centered sociocultural dispositions in communities. Alternatively, the Samoan and Kaluli dispreference for simplifying and clarifying in communicating with young children is consonant with local ideologies regarding the limits of knowledge, the paths to knowledge, and the social positioning of children. Kaluli and Samoan caregivers' reluctance to clarify children's unintelligible utterances with an "expansion," for example, was linked to a prevailing reluctance for a person to explicitly assert or guess another person's unexpressed or unclear thoughts or feelings (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). In addition, Samoan caregivers' disinclination to simplify for young children was consistent with their belief that higher status persons do not accommodate down and that displays of attention and respect to older persons is key to children's social development (Ochs, 1988).

Paradoxically, these observations about baby talk register at once support a rigorous biological capacity for children's acquisition of phonology and grammar, flourishing independent of extensive grammatical simplification and clarification in the communicative environment, and an equally rigorous requirement for children's sociocultural attunement to language-mediated acts, activities, genres, stances, meanings, roles, relationships, and ideologies through the process of language socialization. That Kaluli and Samoan infants become competent speakers without being constantly addressed with simplified input indicates that such input is neither universal nor necessary for acquisition of linguistic structures. Indeed, the situation-centric orientation observed in the development of Kaluli and Samoan young children may serve as an alternative form of input that selectively attunes children's attention to linguistic and sociocultural structures and practices. In situation-centered communication, higher comprehension demands are imposed on developing children in that the language they hear is not simplified, but infants and young children are usually positioned as overhearers rather than addressees; their attentional skills are highly scaffolded from birth; and when positioned as speakers, they are often prompted. In child-centered communication involving a simplified register, comparatively low comprehension demands on children are coupled with relatively high demands on their communicative involvement as addressees; and when positioned as speakers, their utterances are often rendered intelligible through the efforts of generous, accommodating interlocutors or are prompted.

Arguing for a language socialization-enriched approach to language acquisition, Ochs and Schieffelin (1995) proposed *a culturally organized means-ends model of grammatical development*. This model suggests that communities differ in the communicative goals they establish in relation to small children and once these goals are established, they consistently organize the linguistic environment of the developing child. For example, in communities where caregivers routinely set the goal of communicating with infants and very young children as full addressees expected to comprehend and respond, they consistently use extensively simplified speech and other accommodations. Alternatively, in communities where caregivers generally wait until children are more mature to communicate intentions, they immerse infants and very young children as overhearers in a linguistic environment of nonsimplified conversations among others.

Recently, Ochs, Solomon, and Sterponi (2005) questioned the efficacy of using Euro-American baby talk and other default sociocultural practices to communicate with children diagnosed with neurodevelopmental disorders such as autism. Certain features of Euro-American child-directed communication—slowed pace, exaggerated intonation, heightened affect, face-to-face interactional alignment, and an insistence on speech as the medium of communication for the child—may be ill attuned to, for example, the needs of autistic children. Severely impacted children are distracted and lose attention in the course of slowed down communication. They easily become overloaded by sensory stimuli such as facial expressions, exaggerated pitch contours, excessive praises, endearments, and other affect displays. And speaking is exceedingly difficult for many of these children. Alternatively, the children appear more communicative, social, and at ease when exposed to a radically different form of language socialization practice, introduced by an educator from Bangalore (Iverson, 2006). In this practice, the caregiver uses rapid, rhythmic speech, frequent prompts, and moderate affect displays, and the autistic child points to a grid of letters or numbers to respond to the caregiver, who sits alongside the child (rather than face-to-face). The lesson here is rather than facilitating the human potential for language, Euro-American baby talk may impede this outcome, with parents, teachers, and clinicians witlessly caught in the inertia of a communicative habitus.

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

While one face of language socialization research orients towards language acquisition, the other orients towards linguistic anthropology.

Study of the Acquisition of Communicative Competence (Slobin, 1967). This endeavor drew from and was strengthened by Gumperz's (1968) notion of the "speech community" as a unit of analysis and Hymes' formulation of "communicative competence" (1972a), which encompasses the realm of sociocultural knowledge necessary for members of a speech community to use language in socially appropriate ways. Integral to communicative competence is members' ability to participate in "speech events," that is, socially recognized activities that occur in specified situational settings, involving participants performing one or more socially relevant acts using communicative resources in conventionally expected ways to achieve certain outcomes (Duranti, 1985; Hymes, 1972a, b). In linguistic anthropology, the enterprise called Ethnography of Communication (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964, 1972) inspired field investigations of a speech community's repertoire of communicative forms and functions as they complexly interface in communicative events in relation to "facets of the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community" (Hymes, 1974, p. 4).

From the late 1960s through the 1970s, the cross-cultural study of children's developing communicative competence began to take empirical shape. Ethnographies of communication modeled on the 1967 field manual presented children's communicative development as organized by linguistic, social, and cultural processes (cf. Blount, 1969; Kernan, 1969; Stross, 1969). In addition, children's socioculturally organized ways of becoming literate inside and outside the classroom as well as an interest in the social shaping of classroom communication became a topic of interest (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972; Heath, 1978). And paralleling linguists' and psychologists' interest in the pragmatic underpinnings of grammar, the study of children's discourse competence (Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan, 1977) as well as the field of "developmental pragmatics" (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1979) became focal areas of study. Developmental pragmatics broadly addresses the interactional and discursive context of and precursors to children's acquisition of syntactic and semantic structures along with the development of children's discursive and conversational competence.

In 1975–1977, Schieffelin conducted a longitudinal study of children's language acquisition among the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin, 1985). In 1978–1979, Ochs conducted a longitudinal study of Samoan children's language acquisition (Ochs, 1985). Informed by both psycholinguistic and linguistic anthropological approaches and issues in children's language development, each researcher assumed responsibility for (1) systematically collecting and analyzing a corpus of young children's spontaneous utterances

recorded at periodic intervals and (2) documenting the sociocultural ecology of children, including prevailing and historically rooted beliefs, ideologies, bodies of knowledge, sentiments, institutions, conditions of social order, and practices that organize the lifeworlds of growing children within and across social settings.

Reuniting at the completion of their fieldwork, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) proposed that the process of acquiring language is embedded in and constitutive of the process of becoming socialized to be a competent member of a social group and that socialization practices and ideologies impact language acquisition in concert with neurodevelopmental influences. The first proposition echoes Hymes' notion that linguistic competence is a component of communicative competence. The second proposition—that local socialization paradigms (together with biological capacities) organize language acquisition—poses a stronger claim. The argument presents linguistic and sociocultural development as intersecting processes and the language-acquirer as a child born into a lifeworld saturated with social and cultural forces, predilections, symbols, ideologies, and practices that structure language production and comprehension over developmental time.

These ideas coalesced in the generation of a research field called *language socialization* (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984, 1995; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, b), which encompasses socialization *through* language and socialization *into* language. The term draws from Sapir's classic 1933 article on "Language" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, in which he states, "Language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists" (Mandelbaum, 1949, p. 15). A primary goal of language socialization research is to analyze children's verbal interactions with others not only as a corpus of utterances to be examined for linguistic regularities but also, vitally, as socially and culturally grounded enactments of preferred and expected sentiments, aesthetics, moralities, ideas, orientations to attend to and engage people and objects, activities, roles, and paths to knowledge and maturity as broadly conceived and evaluated by families and other institutions within a community (Heath, 1983).

The spark that fueled the launching of language socialization research was Ochs and Schieffelin's observation that the widespread linguistic simplification and clarification associated with baby talk register did not characterize how Samoan and Kaluli caregivers communicated with young children (Ochs, 1982; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). Caregivers in both of these communities scaffolded infants' and young children's language and social development by constantly orienting them to pay attention to people, positioning them as observers and overhearers of recurrent social activities, and prompting them to repeat utterances to those in their environment. Ochs and Schieffelin proposed

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Research in the area of language socialization initially considered the relation between language acquisition and socialization, which had been separated by disciplinary boundaries, psychology on the one hand and anthropology and sociology, on the other. Developmental psycholinguistic research focused (and continues to focus) upon phonological and grammatical competence of young children as individuals who are neurologically and psychologically endowed with the capacity to become linguistically competent speakers of a language along a developmental progression (Bloom, 1970; Brown et al., 1968; Slobin, 1969). Language acquisition research since the late 1960s has debated the source of linguistic competence as located either in innate structures, as the product of verbal input from the child's environment, or some combination of both (Chomsky, 1965; Pinker, 1994; Snow, 1972, 1995). Socialization research posed a set of complementary but independently pursued questions, primarily revolving around the necessity for children to acquire the culturally requisite skills for participating in society, including appropriate ways of acting, feeling, and thinking. In foundational anthropological studies of childhood and adolescence cross-culturally (e.g., LeVine et al., 1994; Mead, 1928; Whiting, Whiting, and Longabaugh, 1975) as well as in pre-1960s sociological theorizations of continuities and discontinuities in social order across generations, verbal resources generally were not investigated as a critical component of socialization processes (Mead, 1934; Parsons, 1951). As a result, the sociocultural nexus of children's communicative development remained largely an uncharted academic territory, and the disciplines that addressed the paths of different types of knowledge acquisition—psycholinguistic and sociocultural—remained isolated from each other.

The first systematic initiative to bridge these academic divisions took place at the University of California Berkeley Language Behavior Research Laboratory, where a team of psychologists, linguists, and anthropologists formulated a comparative research agenda for studying language acquisition, set forth in *A Field Manual for Cross-cultural*