The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning

Joshua Alexander Kidd

Bachelor of Arts

Graduate Diploma in Education

Master of Arts

This thesis is presented as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

Department of Linguistics

Faculty of Human Sciences

Macquarie University

Sydney, Australia

February, 2014

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Classroom Excerpts

In classroom Excerpts 1-35 Japanese speech is recorded in *italics* with the

corresponding English translations identified in single quotation marks. In the case of retrospective interviews, the original Japanese is recorded in *italics* with the English translation directly following in single brackets. Pseudonyms have been used throughout this thesis to afford anonymity to the participants. The private language school where the research was conducted is referred to throughout the thesis as UES (Utsunomiya English School).

In this thesis I have at times opted to use the gendered male pronouns 'he', 'his', 'him' when referring to people instead of 'he/she', 'his/her', or gender-neutral pronouns. This has been done purely to avoid disrupting the flow of the text. Wherever possible, gender-neutral variants or plural pronoun forms have been used. At points when 'he', 'his' or 'him' (and their derivatives) have been used to refer to speakers the reader is to assume that the discussion is equally applicable or as relevant to female speakers.

Abstract

Factors of *face* and *identity* influence the complex and dynamic ways in which individuals present themselves verbally and non-verbally during communicative exchanges. While face research has addressed issues such as the degree to which face is individual or relational, public or private, and situation-specific or context-independent, there has been a lack of attention to the central issue of its relationship to identity (Spencer-Oatey, 2007:639). This thesis explores the construction of student identities as revealed through the pragmatics of face in the context of second language classroom interaction between Japanese students and their non-Japanese English teacher. In exploring such interaction and its implications for identity construction, it draws extensively on the voices of students during retrospective interviews following English learning activities with a native-speaker teacher. Retrospective data is closely linked to the analysis of the classroom interactions themselves. Results of the analyses are then directed at the construction of an innovative language teacher development curriculum.

Classroom recordings together with retrospective interviews with both teacher and students reveal specific points during learning activities when the students' and their teacher's interpretations of classroom communication deviate from the teacher's communicative intentions. Such student feedback allows access to pervasive patterns of language use, attitudes, and behaviour from which an understanding of Japanese students' perceptions of issues of face as impinging on their construct of identity begins to materialise. Analysis of the data, structured around four recurring themes, explores issues of cross-cultural pragmatic divergence from the perspective of the students in

relation to; (a) peer collaboration, (b) characteristics of Japanese identities, (c) use of the mother tongue, and (d) recourse to, and the maintenance of silence. Such analysis of the classroom interaction and student reflection draws on the multi-dimensional construct of face duality proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978) combined with theories of politeness and face proposed by Japanese scholarship. Specifically, it draws on Hill et al.'s (1986) examination of volition and discernment in Japanese politeness, Haugh's (2005) theory of place in relation to Japanese society, consisting of the dual concepts of the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction), Ide's (1989) theory of *wakimae* (discernment) politeness, and Matsumoto's (1988) theory of interdependence.

The results of the analysis of the data indicate how within the classroom context, even an experienced and well-intentioned English language teacher's verbal and non-verbal interaction with students may, unintentionally, interfere with the students' management of face and their enactment of their identities as students. Pedagogically, this thesis underscores the importance of building teachers' and students' mutual capacity to recognise and subsequently negotiate pragmatic meaning beyond the literal interpretation of what is said. In pursuit of such inquiry, the thesis provides an account of some detailed objectives for professional development for non-Japanese English language teachers at school level based in Japan, with the objective of encouraging such teachers to modify existing pedagogic practices so as to better meet students' aspirations and needs.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled *'The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning'* has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: HSHE28AUG2009-D00023 on 16 September 2009.

Joshua Alexander Kidd
Student ID 41027728
February, 2014

Acknowledgments

I am so grateful to the many people who have helped me over the course of this study. Firstly, I would like to thank the teacher and students who volunteered to be participants in my research. Their willingness to share their time and proffer candid insights into the ways in which they present themselves verbally and non-verbally during communicative exchanges provided invaluable data from which I was able to examine interaction within the classroom.

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without my principal supervisor, Professor Christopher Candlin, and my associate supervisor, Doctor Jill Murray. They have both been exceptionally generous with their time and expert guidance. Their knowledge and experience has enabled me to overcome frequent obstacles and complete this thesis. I am particularly indebted to Professor Candlin for his meticulous attention to detail, patience in explaining things, and willingness to go over my work again and again. Professor Candlin's ability to make the confusing comprehensible and relevant to the classroom has motivated and inspired me throughout every stage of the research and the writing of my thesis. On a personal level, I am especially grateful to Professor Candlin for showing great concern for my family and for his insightful guidance and understanding when it was needed most.

I would like to express my gratitude to my family and friends for encouraging my research and taking the time to discuss various elements of my thesis. I am deeply indebted to my beautiful family: My wife, Miho (Miku) and daughters, Iysa and Sarika,

Dedicated to my wife, Miho

and my daughters, Iysa and Sarika.

Thank you for bringing immeasurable

joy to my life.

I love you.

美保
愛咲
咲麗花
人生に限りない幸せをありがとう。
愛してます。

PART 1

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Synopsis

The person who learns a language without learning a culture risks becoming a fluent fool.

(Bennett et al., 2003:237)

Face and *identity* influence the complex and dynamic ways in which individuals present themselves verbally and non-verbally during interaction. Language and issues of identity are closely bound together, as too are language and the management and negotiation of face. Nevertheless, there has been little attention within the research community to how the constructs of identity and face are interrelated and impact on the student within the language classroom. These two powerful conceptual areas, namely identity and face, present an opportunity to explore the communicative negotiation of face within the broader framework of identity. Or, simply speaking, theories of identity may enrich our understanding of face and potentially aid the analysis of face by adding layers of description that have traditionally been overlooked (see Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Joseph, 2013). While face research has addressed issues such as the degree to which face is individual or relational, public or private, and situation-specific or context-independent, Spencer-Oatey (2007:639) points out a lack of attention to the one fundamental point underpinning the debate, namely the issue of identity.

The following thesis explores student identities as revealed through the pragmatics of face as observed during second language (L2) classroom interaction between Japanese students and their non-Japanese English teacher. The study is directed at an examination of classroom discourse as interpreted through the voices of the students during retrospective interviews following their classroom English language learning activities with a native-speaker teacher. Classroom recordings, student retrospective interviews, and teacher interviews reveal specific moments during learning activities when the Japanese students' and their non-Japanese English teacher's interpretations of classroom communication deviate from the speaker's communicative intentions. These points of student/teacher disparity reveal ways in which the meanings attributed to language use by both students and teacher are influenced by socio-cultural and individual affiliations that are not always mutually recognised.

The data offers evidence that the Japanese students responded negatively towards some specific verbal and non-verbal features of the English language classroom. This was particularly so in cases when language use or behaviour viewed by the Japanese students as being standard classroom practices were not recognised, or rejected by the teacher. The insights from students captured through retrospective interviews highlight that while language was employed by both students and teacher so as to confront issues of face and to enable them to enact specific identities, meanings attributed to such language were rooted in socio-cultural and individual affiliations of both students and teachers and were not always mutually recognised. Student feedback provides access to pervasive patterns of language use, attitudes, and behaviour from which a picture of the Japanese students' face, as a construct of identity, begins to materialise. Data analysis,

organised around four recurring themes, explores cross-cultural pragmatic divergence from the perspective of the students in relation to; (a) peer collaboration, (b) characteristics of Japanese identities, (c) use of the mother tongue, and (d) recourse to, and the maintenance of, silence at moments within interaction.

These recurring four themes reveal identities that the students actively seek to align with, resist, or reject within the language classroom. In the analysis of the classroom interaction and student reflections on this interaction, the discussion draws on a critical account of the multi-dimensional construct of face duality as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978) in conjunction with theories of politeness and face proposed by Japanese scholarship. Specifically, the discussion draws on those theories of Japanese politeness as proposed by Hill et al.'s (1986) examination of volition and discernment, Haugh's (2005) theory of place in relation to Japanese society, consisting of the dual concepts of the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction), Ide's (1989) theory of *wakimae* (discernment) politeness, and Matsumoto's (1988) theory of interdependence. Based on the position that face can be understood in terms of universalities and cultural specific notions, this approach has been employed in order to build a platform from which to explore socio-cultural and linguistic factors that influence the Japanese students' management of face and alignment with identities. Throughout the study, the term 'socio-cultural' is used to describe the social and cultural practices, beliefs, traditions, customs and values that contribute to expectations of members and of others within a particular society. Socio-cultural references encompass not only studies directly inspired by socio-cultural theories[1], but draw from studies

---

[1] Russian linguistic psychologist Lev S. Vygotsky's (1896-1934) theories are referred to as

which address social and cultural factors in second/foreign language learning, particularly those examining the constructs of face and identity.

Importantly, the analysis of data sources demonstrates that within the classroom context, even an experienced and well-intentioned teacher's verbal and non-verbal interaction with students can at times interfere with the students' management of face and the enactment of identities. In addressing issues of socio-cultural variance in the negotiation of face and alignment with identities, this research study underscores the importance for language teachers to recognise how misconceptions associated with preconceived cultural stereotypes may result in unintended instances of divergence in speaker communicative intentions and associated meanings by the receiver. In this way, the data illustrates the need for systematic attention to the teaching and learning of pragmatics in second language classrooms as an important element in building, and importantly in assessing intercultural communicative competence (see Scarino, 2009). In this context, intercultural communicative competence refers to the 'ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities, and [the] ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality' (Byram et al., 2002:10). With globalisation a key term in politics, economics, education and other fields, it is not surprising that intercultural language teaching/learning has become a central focus of modern second and foreign language education. This

---

socio-cultural theories of the mind while Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin's (1895-1975) theories are recognised as theories of dialogism (Wertsch, 1991). Both theories provide insight into the importance of dialogue for language and identity development and have been drawn on extensively in second/foreign language learning research.

prominence reflects an increased awareness by educators of the interwovenness of language and culture, and the consequent need to educate language students to engage in intercultural communication within a multicultural world. The move towards intercultural language learning is explained by Scarino (2009) as building on recognition that 'in the context of learning languages, communication is at least potentially intercultural, in that it entails students learning to move between two languages and cultures – the students' own language(s) and culture(s), and the languages and culture(s) they are learning' (p. 68).

Recognising that people from different cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds often communicate on a daily basis, this study emphasises that failure to recognise the potential for variance in the production and interpretation of language within the language classroom can quickly lead to misunderstandings. For the language teacher, attention to pragmatic forms may work to reinforce the proposition that instruction supporting the acquisition of the lexico-grammar of a language alone is unlikely to prepare the language student to engage in, or interpret the use and meanings of pragmatic features of the target language (see Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; LoCastro, 2012; Ross & Kasper, 2013). Furthermore, it supports the argument that language education can play a key role in encouraging tolerance and understanding between people from different cultural backgrounds through promoting both self-awareness and awareness of others. Pedagogically, the thesis supports the argument that such information has value for teacher professional development and underscores the importance of building teachers' and students' mutual capacity to recognise and subsequently negotiate meaning beyond the literal interpretation of what is said. As the

5

study will show, and especially in cross-cultural classroom contexts, such capacity building requires teacher and student awareness of how pragmatics is intertwined with socio-cultural beliefs, values and contextual information associated with linguistic practices and behaviour. As Ishihara and Cohen (2010:5) point out, 'Inevitably, learners will relate the pragmatic ability they have in their first language (L1), the language other than their first one which is currently their dominant one, or perhaps some other language (if they are multilinguals) to the pragmatics of the target language community.' From such a position we may discern that the sociolinguistic factors that impact on L1 use will inform and guide our assumptions regarding perceived L2 pragmatic conventions. This study aims to contribute to the discussion by highlighting that what students may consider as standard and conventionally acceptable language use and behaviour within the classroom context can differ according to social, cultural, and individual frames of reference.

The findings from the study are discussed by means of the examination of interaction patterns and behaviours employed by the Japanese students and their non-Japanese teacher. It is through the students' personal reflections on these processes that we seek to develop a particular and perhaps fresh perspective into our actions as teachers, and how students may be interpreting such actions. As Ishihara and Cohen (2010:22) argue, 'teachers can also be empowered by becoming better able to make sense of their beliefs and practice, and better able to make decisions about whether or how to change their practice when necessary.' In pursuit of such inquiry, the present thesis aims to shed light on the students' views in relation to these issues and to explore the nature of more culturally sensitive classroom teaching strategies that may acknowledge and offer a

means of responding to pragmatic divergence.

While small in scale, it is hoped that similar classroom-based research studies, which focus on the students' views, can generate fresh insights into understanding the Japanese students' perspective as revealed through the negotiation of face, and alignment with identities. In the tradition of qualitative research, it is acknowledged that while the following interpretation of classroom discourse is built on the accumulated work of those experts cited throughout the thesis, it does not claim to be the only possible explanation. As Gee (1999:113) notes, 'All analyses are open to further discussion and dispute, and their status can go up or down with time as work goes on in the field.' Moreover, the following examination presents but a slice of the total picture located at a specific point in time, as the number of students and duration of examination were limited. The following study assumes a positive trajectory in the sense that it aims to directly contribute to classroom teaching practices, and thereby hopes to serve as a contributing piece to the larger puzzle that is language teaching and learning.

1.2 Organisation of the Thesis

Part 1 of this thesis contains four chapters (Chapters 1 through 4), which address the origins of this thesis, the field of pragmatics, and the central constructs of *face* and *identity*. This chapter (Chapter 1) provides a discussion of the main aims and outline of key fields and concepts that inform the study. The chapter sets out the central research questions, and describes the research context and the students. This is followed by a

brief summary of the research findings and an overview of the pedagogical implications of the study.

The broader context of the study is described in Chapter 2. The chapter begins with an overview of the history of Japanese contact with the English language. This is followed by a summary of the introduction of English at the elementary school level in Japan and a description of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET). The chapter concludes with a three-part overview of the concept of *culture*, which identifies how the term culture is used throughout the thesis, the relationship between language and culture, and culture in regard to cultural stereotyping. Chapter 3 provides an overview of pragmatics and sets the scene from which a review of cross-cultural pragmatics is offered. This is followed by a discussion of pragmatic failure and issues regarding student resistance to a native-speaker model of pragmatic forms. We conclude with a look at the role of pragmatic competence within intercultural communicative competence, which is followed by a discussion of whether pragmatics can, and should be taught within the L2 classroom.

Chapter 4 outlines the specific theoretical basis for the study by means of a critical examination of the key concepts of *politeness, face* and *identity*. First, an overview of the central construct of face is constructed through attention to Goffman's (1955) theory of social interaction and Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory, often referred to as the 'face-saving theory' of linguistic politeness. This is followed by a review of literature both for and against Brown and Levinson's notion of face and their theory of universal politeness but which concentrates on Japanese scholarship and the Japanese language.

The chapter concludes with an overview of identity and discussion of the interrelationship between identity and face.

Part 2 of the thesis outlines the research methodology, data analysis, and analysis of results. Chapter 5 focuses on the methods and approaches applied in answering the research questions. The chapter begins with an overview of the research methodology followed by a description of the phases involved in the process of data collection and the piloting process. This includes an explanation of the three main phases in data collection: (1) collection of classroom interactional data; (2) stimulated recall sessions carried out with the Japanese students; (3) semi-structured interviews carried out with the non-Japanese language teacher. This is followed by an overview of stimulated recall methodology and a description of the data analysis procedure employed. Finally, the chapter overviews the theoretical framework and raises a number of ethical considerations that were taken into account.

Part 3 of the thesis consists of five chapters (Chapters 6 through 10), which address the results of this thesis through a discussion of key themes revealed through the data sources. Chapter 6 begins with an overview of the findings and outlines four central themes which guide the discussion of results; (a) peer collaboration, (b) characteristics of Japanese identities, (c) use of the mother tongue, and (d) recourse to, and the maintenance of, silence at moments within interaction. Each of the ensuing four chapters (Chapters 7 through 10) is dedicated to the exploration of these four themes. In order to investigate these themes in relation to real classroom communication, a selection of classroom excerpts is discussed through direct reference to the students'

retrospective comments, teacher interview data, and relevant literature. Specifically, the discussion of data focuses on moments during the English language activities when divergence in the students' feedback indicated differing teacher and student interpretations of classroom language use and/or behaviour considered appropriate within the socio-cultural context of the classroom. These moments of divergence are examined with attention to the management of face and negotiation of identities within the English language classroom in Japan. Each of the four chapters concludes with an overview of the pedagogical implications for the language teacher. A detailed discussion of the conclusions and implications for language teachers follows in Part 4 of the thesis.

Chapter 7 focuses on student peer support as viewed through student collaboration. The chapter begins by briefly stating how *collaboration* is defined, and then follows with an analysis of student collaboration from the perspective of the teacher as revealed through the teacher's interview comments and classroom intervention strategies engaged by the teacher. Student collaboration is then discussed through attention to the students' classroom participation and retrospective interview comments. Student reflections outline three primary objectives of collaboration which are discussed in turn; to compare and confirm lesson content, to solicit answers, and to manage fear of failure.

In Chapter 8, the theme of students identifying with what they appear to view as being factors associated with their Japanese identities are examined through the data sources and discussed in reference to the discourse of *nihonjinron* theories/discussion about the Japanese. The chapter begins with an overview of *nihonjinron* which surveys theories of

the uniqueness of Japan, the Japanese people and the Japanese language. Japanese identities and *nihonjinron* are then discussed in relation to three themes; student involvement in the correction of classmates' errors, teacher error correction practices, and teacher positive feedback following error correction. Analysis focuses on the students' views of Japanese identities in reference to specific moments during the English classroom activities, which were cited by the students as conflicting with Japanese classroom norms.

Chapter 9 addresses diverging student and teacher interpretations of the use of the mother tongue, Japanese, within the L2 classroom from the perspectives of both the students and the teacher. The chapter begins with an overview of the teacher's use of Japanese during English learning activities through examining teacher questionnaire feedback. This is followed by an overview of the ways in which the teacher typically employed Japanese during learning activities; in particular code-switching. An outline of student attitudes towards the L1 Japanese as used by the teacher is followed by the analysis of the following three themes; (a) teacher use of Japanese as an expression of belief that students have been unable to understand instruction provided in English, (b) illocutionary force of the teacher's Japanese, and (c) comprehension difficulties resulting from points during which the teacher's erroneous and/or ambiguous use of Japanese interfered with student comprehension. The chapter then discusses the students' reaction to the teacher's ability to control the flow of information through dictating the language to be used during activities. This incorporates a discussion of student views regarding the teacher's ability to decide whether to withhold or offer L1 support. Finally, there is a brief discussion of the implications of teacher L1 use that is

followed in greater detail in Chapter 11.

In Chapter 10, the Japanese students' use of silence throughout classroom English learning activities is examined. To begin with, the chapter provides an overview of silence, a working definition, and discussion of silence in communication. This is followed by an analysis of silence and the role silence plays in the Japanese language and in Japanese communication. A description of the teacher's interpretation of silence as revealed through classroom excerpts and teacher interview comments then follows. The chapter continues with a review of silence from the students' perspective, which concentrates on four areas; (a) silence and fear of failure, (b) silence and L2 limitations, (c) *aizuchi* (backchannels), and (d) the processing time allowed by the teacher prior to directly calling on students to respond to questions during English activities.

Part 4 of the thesis, Chapter 11, focuses on the pedagogical implications of the data findings from each of the chapters in Part 3. Chapter 11 provides an overview of the four central themes followed by a discussion of linguistic structural knowledge and pragmatic competence. The chapter then turns to a discussion of culturally sensitive teaching strategies and draws attention to a number of potential implications in regard to pragmatic forms within the classroom. The chapter then outlines a teacher professional development model designed around the five phases of*: Awareness, Knowledge*, *Critique, Action* and *Evaluation* followed by a sample professional development seminar (see Auerbach and Wallerstein, 1987; Candlin et al., 1995; S. Candlin, 1997; O'Grady, 2011). An example of such a model seminar, focusing on classroom silence and Japanese *aizuchi* (backchannels), is then presented. Finally, the chapter considers

the implications of the thesis for L2 teachers and concludes with personal reflections. It is necessary to bear in mind that as the findings are interwoven there is a degree of overlap. This interconnectedness is a reflection of the connection between the themes in addition to the constructs of face and identity.

1.3 Aims of Thesis

This thesis aims to explore Japanese students' alignment with and resistance to identities through examining the interactional negotiation of face as revealed in classroom-based cross-cultural communication during L2 English learning activities. Given that in most communicative situations speakers mean more than they say in a strictly semantic sense, this thesis seeks to identify the communicative intent and meaning assigned to verbal and nonverbal language observed during L2 classroom interaction. Students' personal reflections on their participation during English activities provide the framework from which the study examines the ways in which pragmatic differences in discourse strategies and behaviour employed by the Japanese students and their non-Japanese language teacher are managed through facework. In this way, the students' subjective interpretation of their own language discourse and behaviour guide the collection and analysis of data.

While small in scale, this thesis observes two classes of 12 Japanese L2 students' of English as they manage face and align with identities through drawing on the field of pragmatics and the analysis of classroom discourse. Examining the work of Japanese scholarship discussed in the following literature review, the thesis endeavours to open a

discussion of cultural pragmatics through insights gained from the participants' reflections. Specifically, the field of pragmatics provides insight into how differing teacher and student assumptions and expectations regarding classroom standards and roles can impose identities and unintentionally interfere with the management and negotiation of face. The themes and associated language practices observed during L2 activities are viewed as socially and culturally informed by the situational context and cultural practices associated with the contexts in which they occur. As face threats represent the primary categories explored, the excerpts discussed reside on the negative pole; however, this is somewhat to be expected, as student awareness of face is more likely to surface when the individual feels under threat. In other words, when the interactive management of face proceeds smoothly and without problems it is likely that interlocutors will not register the need to respond defensively. This thesis acknowledges that while there are specific patterns of behaviour and language uses that emerge during the examination, all students exhibit unique interpretations of classroom discourse, which underscore the diversity of students beyond cultural generalisations.

A qualitative research framework is employed to identify and analyze patterns of language use and behaviour evidenced in recurring themes with attention to social, historical, and cultural factors which potentially influence the communicative practices students' engage to manage face as they construct and enact identities (see Davis, 1995; Erickson, 1986; Lazaraton, 2003). In order to address the notions of face and identity, this thesis employs three primary data sets; (a) interactional data from L2 learning activities involving young Japanese students of English, (b) the narratives from Japanese students collected through retrospective interviews, and (c) semi-structured

14

interviews conducted with the English teacher. In pursuit of understanding classroom interaction as intended and interpreted by the students, the study focuses on presenting a large selection of naturally occurring short classroom excerpts examined in conjunction with retrospective feedback provided by the students. Analytic themes drawn from linguistic and applied linguistic research (see Roberts & Sarangi, 2005) link student feedback to focal themes that illustrate how the Japanese students manage face and align with, resist, or reject identities.

Face, as proposed by Goffman (1967[1955]), presents a theory for the interpretation of social exchanges based on the notion that face can offer insights into how people present themselves in social situations, wherein facework refers to 'the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face' (p. 12). Facework, as observed during classroom recordings, is examined with the objective being to gain insight into pragmatic features of the students' and teacher's verbal and non-verbal use of language and how these features potentially impact on effective classroom communication. Throughout the thesis, identity, commonly referred to as the plural identities, addresses the ways in which language students understand their relationship to the social world, how this relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the student understands possibilities for the future (see Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of face and identity.).

Spencer-Oatey's discussion of the insights theories of identity can contribute to the analysis of face (2007:639) argues that 'linguists will benefit from taking a multidisciplinary approach, and that by drawing on theory and research in other

disciplines, especially in social psychology, they will gain a clearer and deeper understanding of face.' In order to frame the students' classroom engagement, the ensuing analysis of classroom discourse is discussed with attention to Japanese culture, Japanese educational practices, the Japanese language, and the unique perspectives that the individual students bring to the learning environment. In addition, Spencer-Oatey (2007:648) proposes that face, like identity, is interactional and cognitive in nature in the sense that 'there are cognitive underpinnings that influence (but do not determine) how face unfolds in interaction.' Aligning with this position, the following analysis maintains that the participants' views of their classroom interaction are critical to building an understanding of the underpinnings that influence their interactional choices. For this reason, informed by the students' evaluative judgments of both verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies, the analysis of data draws attention to interpretations of not only classroom roles, but also variation in the ritual order of classroom practices as viewed by the teacher and students (Haugh, 2005, 2009).

Student views, as revealed through retrospective interview sessions following English activities, uncover recurring gaps between the students' communicative intentions and the meaning assigned to language use and behaviour by the language teacher. Similarly, the teacher's interview comments draw attention to recurring gaps between the teacher's communicative intentions and the meaning assigned to his language use and behaviour by the students. Focusing on these gaps, the study explores; (a) contradictions between the teacher's communicative intentions as expressed through his language use and behaviour and the interpretation as conceived by the students, and (b) contradictions between the students' communicative intentions expressed through language use and

16

behaviour and the interpretation as conceived by the teacher. The students' personal reflections on their interaction generate insight into a number of identities important to the students and perhaps fresh perspective into how the L2 classroom is viewed from the students' perspective.

Data analysis, organised around four recurring themes, explores cross-cultural pragmatic divergence from the perspective of the students in relation to; (a) peer collaboration, (b) characteristics of Japanese identities, (c) use of the mother tongue, and (d) recourse to, and the maintenance of, silence. Tracing these themes through facework, the investigation examines face as revealed in the communicative strategies engaged by Japanese students in order to; (a) claim positive social value, (b) uphold, or potentially challenge the interlocutor's face, and (c) maintain what students interpret as being classroom norms. Drawing on the results of this thesis, we aim to outline detailed objectives for professional development for English language teachers based in Japan. Teachers are encouraged to develop awareness of potential misunderstandings in regard to the verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies employed by students and teachers within the classroom. It is hoped that awareness, followed by knowledge building activities and critique can provide a basis from which teachers can be encouraged to adopt, modify, or where deemed appropriate, discontinue specific teaching practices in order to better meet students' needs (see Auerbach & Wallerstein, 1987; Candlin et al., 1995; S. Candlin, 1997; O'Grady, 2011).

1.4 Key Concepts - Face, Identity, Acts of Identity

A central focus of this thesis is the participating Japanese students' alignment with, and the enactment of identities, as evidenced through the interactional negotiation of face revealed during L2 English learning activities. Two key functions of language as stated by Gee (1999:1) are, 'to support the performance of social activities and social identities and to support human affiliation within cultures, social groups, and institutions.' These functions are interrelated in the sense that cultures, social groups, and institutions both shape, and are shaped by social activities and identities. The study assumes that within the social institution of the classroom, the students and their teacher will generally be motivated by the desire to maintain what they recognise to be situationally appropriate linguistic and behavioural politeness standards. At the same time, the study recognises that the listener's interpretation of meaning is not always consistent with the communicative intent of the speaker. Moreover, this gap is likely to be widened if participants do not have knowledge of respective languages, cultures, or social backgrounds. The process of maintaining or protecting face is described by Janney and Arndt (1992) as a basic human want, which transcends 'cultural, ethnic, social, sexual, economic, geographic and historical boundaries' (pp. 27-28). For this reason, the construct of face is central to understanding communicative intent evidenced in the following discussion of student retrospective data and transcribed classroom excerpts throughout this thesis.

In essence, Goffman's (1967[1955]) construct of face argues that the public self-image one claims is subject to the appraisal of the interlocutor who may choose to uphold or reject these claims. Brown and Levinson ([1978]1987), building on Goffman's definition of face, outlined an all-embracing model of face and politeness that reasons

motivation and linguistic devices are remarkably similar across languages and culture. These researchers' dual concept of positive and negative face argues that during interaction an individual will seek positive recognition as a contributing member of the social world, while at the same time striving to preserve his independence of the social world (see section 4.3). Taking issue with the theory of universal politeness, some Japanese scholarship, headed largely by Matsumoto (1988, 1989, 1993) and Ide (1989), has been prominent in its critique of Brown and Levinson's notion of face and theory of linguistic politeness. In particular, Japanese scholarship has argued against a universal theory of face and politeness on the premise that it does not accurately account for the interdependence of the Japanese people as observed in Japanese culture, Japanese values or the Japanese language (see section 4.4). Recognising that the discussion of face and politeness has become somewhat polarised, the ensuing analysis of data seeks to understand the participants' communicative intentions during L2 activities as revealed through the students' own retrospective insights, and to link this to relevant literature.

The Japanese students' identity alignment, as revealed through facework, is examined in relation to 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and the position that 'acts of identity' within the classroom are more than attempts to align with specific identities as they involve student attempts to reject, resist and modify imposed identities (Ellwood, 2008). Consequently, the analysis explores ways in which language is both intentionally and unintentionally employed by the students to protect the speaker's public self-image, protect or challenge the public self-image of the addressee, and preserve socio-cultural norms deemed by the students as appropriate within the

19

Japanese L2 classroom context. Ellwood (2008) argues that the language classroom is a 'forum for identity construction' where the individual may be forced to assume specific identities (p. 553). As such, the classroom imposes restrictions on the student, for as Ellwood states, 'society makes available identity categories with which individuals, in a drive to "be", seek to align or disalign' (p. 539). From such a position we discern that teacher/student assumptions as to classroom roles and rank, influenced by social, cultural and individual interpretations of appropriate language use and behaviour, may at times give rise to identities that are derived from unfamiliar or even contested positioning.

As such, the students' negotiation of face within the second language learning classroom represents a significant challenge as one works to carve out his own place while at the same time ascertaining when to align with or to reject imposed identities which may not always present as being appropriate to the context or assumed roles. Drawing attention to the challenges facing interlocutors who may not share social or cultural backgrounds, Matsumoto (1988) argues that recognition and maintenance of one's relative position within a specific social situation requires familiarity with socio-cultural patterns employed in order to effectively produce polite behaviour (p. 422). The complexity of communication across social and cultural divides is noted by Gee (1999) who explains that misinterpretation of meaning can result when our own cultures, identities and fears interfere with our assessment of what the interlocutor has either said or written (xii). Moreover, the communication and interpretation of meaning is shaped by factors that may be so engrained that they are neither known nor evident to the speaker when communicating information, or the listener when assigning meaning.

1.5 Key Areas: Pragmatics, Positioning Theory, Discourse Analysis and Voice

In order to understand the students' communicative intent, the thesis draws on classroom-based research underpinned by the fields of *cross-cultural pragmatics* (CCP) and *interlanguage pragmatics* (ILP). A key subfield of pragmatics, CCP denotes research in the field of pragmatics which explores the similarities and differences observed in pragmatic phenomena across two or more languages and/or cultures (Archer et al., 2012; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Spencer-Oatey, 2000). With the basis of the main constructs and the methods developed in CCP, ILP centres on the examination of different groups during interaction (Kasper, 2000; Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Kasper & Rose, 1999; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Roever, 2005; Ross & Kasper, 2013; Taguchi, 2012). In this sense, both CCP and ILP explore the ways in which interactants express and assign meaning in order to effectively communicate an intended message, and the decisions they make regarding areas such as content, appropriateness, word choice, structures, context, and the possible effect on the listener.

The classroom, as Ellwood (2008) states, 'provides a highly differentiated context with its own specific constellation of rules and roles and where the expected performances of participants are interlinked in relatively codified ways' (p. 539). It is these constellations which the researcher cites as manifesting aspects of both cultural differences and cultural alignment. Specifically, Ellwood notes the positioning of the students in relation to the teacher and the 'cluster of identities around the role category

"student"' (p. 539). *Positioning theory* is described by Linehan and McCarthy (2000:441) as 'an analytic tool that can be used flexibly to describe the shifting multiple relations in a community of practice.' In this way, positioning theory describes the way in which individuals metaphorically locate themselves within discursive action in everyday conversations. Barnes (2004) explains that 'How people are positioned in any situation depends both on the context and community values and on the personal characteristics of all the individuals concerned, their personal history, their preferences and their capabilities' (p. 3). For this reason, positioning theory holds that during interaction each person positions himself while simultaneously positioning the other person based on assumptions regarding rights and duties. Importantly, the meaning attached to verbal or non-verbal behaviour needs to be jointly negotiated given that interlocutors may position themselves and others in distinctly different ways. This is explained by Harré (1997) as follows:

> The meanings of a person's actions are the acts they are used to perform. But those acts come into being only in so far as they are taken as such by conversational partners. … I don't and indeed can't decide what my actions mean. Only you and I can do that. The investigation of the devices by which some people can manage to get you to give my meaning to what both of us say and do is the study of power.
>
> (Harré, 1997:182)

Position is regarded as flexible and dynamic, and accordingly, positions can be assumed, abandoned or maintained in relation to the context. When interacting within the classroom environment the teacher and students have obligations and roles to perform.

While they have a degree of agency in determining their positioning during interaction, 'this agency is interlaced with the expectations and history of the community, the sense of 'oughtness'' (Linehan & McCarthy, 2000:442). In regard to the current study, it is important to note that the asymmetrical nature of power relations that exist between teacher and students, coupled with classroom conventions and boundaries, raise questions as to the extent to which the student is free to harness a range of pragmatic and sociolinguistic abilities. In other words, there are assumptions of appropriateness regarding rights and duties one assigns to oneself and interlocutor however within the classroom environment observed within the study, the balance of power clearly lies with the teacher. As positionings are associated with socially and culturally constructed relations, within the language classroom the teacher and students may position themselves and each other in distinctly different ways. In order to maintain relative position the students and teacher behave in accordance with socio-cultural patterns, which reveal expectations in-group, and individual subjectivity that may go unnoticed. These positionings are thought to be of interest to the flowing discussion as they influence the management of face and identities claimed by the students.

In order to examine classroom interaction, the following discussion of classroom exchanges draws on the diverse field of *discourse analysis* (DA) as a way of understanding the social interactions that take place within the classroom. The analysis of discourse views linguistic forms as the tools by which social functions are achieved. Discourses are defined by Merry (1990) as follows:

    Discourses are aspects of culture, interconnected vocabularies and systems of

meaning located in a social world. A discourse is not individual and idiosyncratic but part of a shared cultural world. Discourses are rooted in particular institutions and embody their culture. Actors operate within a structure of available discourses. However within that structure there is space for creativity and actors define and frame their problems within one or another discourse.

(Merry, 1990:110)

This dynamic interplay between discourse in structuring areas of knowledge, and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them, is explained by Candlin (1997) as follows:

'Discourse' … refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However … we may go on to discuss the constructive and dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. In this sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation.

(Candlin, 1997:ix)

This description underscores that discourse is fundamentally a social practice, and the analysis of discourse examines how language, meaning and society interrelate.

24

Moreover, Candlin's (1997) definition illustrates that discourse provides a means by which to understand how language reflects social practices, while at the same time language is being shaped by social practices. According to Jaworski and Coupland (1999), it is this interplay between language and the social functions it serves which is the key factor in explaining why the notion of discourse is 'an inescapably important concept for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as for understanding language itself' (p. 2). In reference to the question 'What is discourse analysis?' Jones (2012:2) responds that, 'discourse analysis is not just the study of language. It is a way of looking at language that focuses on how people use it in real life to do things such as joke and argue and persuade and flirt, and to show that they are certain kinds of people or belong to certain groups'. The focus is on language in communication and message construction between interlocutors. As Roberts and Sarangi (2005:632) note, 'speakers bring to an interaction ideologies, values and beliefs about how people are categorised and these feed into the ways in which participants are treated and decisions are made, without necessarily being explicitly displayed in the interaction.' Discourse analysis aims to describe, interpret and explain these patterns of language use and the conditions, in particular participants, situations, purposes, outcomes, with which these are associated (Trappes-Lomax, 2004:133). As DA explores concepts of 'language in use, language above or beyond the sentence, language as meaning in interaction, and language in situational and cultural context' (Trappes-Lomax, 2004:133), the areas of research are diverse, inclusive and increasingly interdisciplinary (see Gee & Handford, 2011). For this reason DA not only focuses on who says what to whom, but also how it is said and in what context. Moreover, beyond language in use, DA connects language to 'social, political and

cultural formations …language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society' (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999:3).

Discourse analysis is explained by Sarangi and Candlin (2003:117) as engaged with bringing three distinct methodological perspectives together; in particular 'the requirement to describe discourse phenomena, the need to incorporate participants' interpretations and perspectives on such phenomena, and to locate such descriptions and such interpretations within a particular institutional order seen historically and social structurally.' Importantly, Sarangi and Candlin (2003:116) stress that DA 'is not reducible to analysis of language: it systematically examines non-verbal, extra-linguistic behaviour in the ethnographic tradition.' Consequently, discourse is viewed as embedded within specific socio-cultural contexts and impacted by any number of factors salient to the context. Gee (1999) refers to this as being 'situated' or in other words, grounded in the specific contexts and practices of use associated with socio-cultural groups (p. 54). It is the interpretation of the context and related factors such as relationships and roles that help the analyst build meaning and thereby more deeply understand the communicative intent behind discourse as intended by the speaker or writer, and as understood by the listener or reader.

In order to incorporate students' interpretations of their own discourse, the study relies on the *voices* of the students, that being the range of observable student language use in the classroom and during interviews, in order to construct an account of how the students both use and interpret verbal and non-verbal communication during English

language learning activities. As Bakhtin (1981, 1986) argues, discourses as social voices, circulate across time and space, some of which become internalised in an individual's consciousness. Furthermore, a wealth of social voices or viewpoints exists for the reason that different discourses are accessible to an individual to appropriate, to internalise and to speak through. Classrooms, as intertextual sites where discourses from outside and from other times and places 'meet and clash' (Bakhtin, 1981) may experience tensions due to the different social voices that interactants appropriate. The voice of the student and the complexity of interpreting utterances are well captured in the following quote by Bakhtin:

> The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue.
>
> (Bakhtin, 1981:276)

The following analysis of data strives to frame the students' feedback within the social and historical context of the classroom while reflecting on relevant cultural and individual factors that influence classroom behaviour and linguistic decisions. This thesis aims to contribute to the broader concept of identity through building a picture of the Japanese students' language use and behaviour as revealed through the management of face and identity alignment during classroom interaction. For this reason, the qualitative research tradition provides a framework from which to explore

student/teacher interaction and to address the practical implications of these findings in relation to teacher professional development.

1.6 Research Questions

The public nature of face, as observed during the Japanese students' discursive negotiation and renegotiation of face, serves as the window through which discursive orientations and behaviour are examined from the students' perspective. Through observing how the students claim face, the thesis explores a number of identities and the process by which they are constructed and enacted during interactional exchanges. Identities salient in a particular exchange are contextually specified and negotiated by the participants involved in that exchange. A central question in the following thesis is: What kind of data is needed for research into face and identity? To elaborate, how do we build an adequate and accurate picture of face when it is linked to not only social and cultural contexts, but also shaped by personal agency which impacts the ways in which language is employed and interpreted? This issue is raised in Spencer-Oatey's (2007) theories of identity and the analysis of face, which asks:

> If face is something that people claim for themselves, and if face-threat or face enhancement occurs when there is a mismatch between as attribute claimed (or denied, in the case of negatively evaluated traits) and an attribute perceived as being ascribed by others, then to what extent is discourse data sufficient for research purposes? To what extent is it necessary to obtain people's evaluative reactions?

In reference to retrospective feedback of such evaluative reactions, Spencer-Oatey (2007) argues that post-event data provides a practical tool for gaining valuable insights as they 'help identify people's face sensitivities and evaluative reactions, and they can provide insights into the cognitive underpinnings of their reactions' (p. 654). The difficulties facing second language students as they negotiate identities is raised by Haugh (2007:658) who suggests that the 'discursive dispute between the interconnected layers that constitute identities in the interactional achievement of '(im)politeness' and 'face' in communication are the cause of at least some of the dilemmas facing second language learners.' Within the context of the following study the Japanese students' negotiation of face and alignment with identities is examined through the analysis of L2 classroom discourse and by means of drawing on the students' reflections on this discourse as revealed during retrospective interview sessions. In light of the above considerations, the following research questions were constructed for the purposes of the present study:

Research Questions

- *What does classroom student/teacher interaction, and student reflections on that interaction as evidenced through the pragmatics of face, reveal about potential cross-cultural misunderstanding between the Japanese students' communicative intentions as observed in verbal and non-verbal communication strategies, and the interpretations of such expressions as conceived by the teacher?*

29

- *What does classroom student/teacher interaction, and student reflections on that interaction as evidenced through the pragmatics of face, reveal about potential teacher misunderstanding of the identities Japanese students seek to align with, resist or reject during L2 learning activities?*

- *What themes, framed by the Japanese students' retrospective feedback when viewing recordings of their participation during L2 learning activities, emerge as being patterns of shared student language, behaviour, and attitudes during the management of face and enactment of identities?*

- *How can student/teacher misunderstanding of the verbal and non-verbal communication strategies employed by Japanese students be pedagogically addressed in a school-based teacher professional development program?*

The methodology and procedures that were employed in conducting this study and seeking answers to these questions will be described in the following chapter. It should be noted that due to the limited number of previous classroom-based inquiries examining face and identity with regard to children's negotiation of face, it was not possible to predict, a priori, the direction of the responses to the research questions detailed above[2]. Hence, hypotheses for each of the above research questions were not

---

[2] Gerholm's 2011 examination explored children's verbal and nonverbal reactions to face-threatening situations. Gerholm's data consisted of video recordings of five sibling groups together with parents within the children's homes. Among other things, Gerholm suggested that 'the experience of emotions in interaction is the starting point for the child's awareness of face' (p.

considered appropriate and, as such, are not provided.

1.7 Research Site

This research was carried out at a private language school situated approximately 130km north of Tokyo in Utsunomiya city[3]. Utsunomiya, a medium sized city with developing industrial influence, is the capital city of Tochigi Prefecture and has an estimated population of just over 500,000. Utsunomiya is surrounded by the picturesque mountain ranges of Nikko and Nasu in the northwest, with the Kanto Plain in the southeast. With stretches of flat arable land relatively scarce in mountainous Japan, the Kanto Plain serves as a central rice and vegetable producing area. A notable shift in direction followed the end of World War II when the then Prime Minister of Japan, Ikeda Hayato, established an 'Income Doubling Plan' which focused on moving away from agriculture towards the creation of an industrial prefecture. Large corporations were invited to relocate resulting in what is now recognised as the largest industrial zone in Japan (Ohzeki et al., 2012). Utsunomiya is now home to a number of large multinational companies including Canon, Japan Tobacco, Sony, and Honda Design Center. Close proximity to rural areas and the presence of cutting edge technology evident in the ballooning industrial zone gives Utsunomiya the distinctive feel of a rural

---

3108).

[3] Utsunomiya was a castle town in the 11th century. Over the years, Utsunomiya has faced its share of adversity having been burned down and rebuilt twice. Utsunomiya was first burned down at the time of the Boshin battle of the Utsunomiya Castle in 1868, and later during the air raids of World War II.

city with what can be described as a modern and progressive outlook.

The classroom observation was conducted at Utsunomiya English School (UES). UES has approximately 400 private Japanese students participating in a diverse array of English language programs. In addition, there are over 800 students who participate in classes at public facilitates including schools and universities. Classes are offered to students ranging from kindergarten age through to adults. The school provides English training programs for Japanese English teachers, workshops for *eikaiwa* language teachers and provides translation and interpreting services. The school serves as a testing site for the *STEP EIKEN* (Jitsuyo Eigo Ginou Kentei) and *JUNIOR STEP* (Jido Eiken) held nationally three times a year. *STEP EIKEN*, promoted by the Japanese Society for Testing English Proficiency as a test of practical English proficiency, is Japan's most widely administered and recognised English language assessment with a reported 2.5 million candidates sitting the examinations annually[4].

1.8 Participants

Two classes of 12 Japanese school students aged from 11 to 12 attending English

---

[4] The Eiken or Eigo Kentei, is produced by Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyokai (Eikyo) or Step: the Society for Testing English Proficiency. Although a privately run examination, STEP EIKEN is supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) and regarded by many Japanese employers to be a valid indication of English language ability (see MacGregor, 1997; Benson, 1991). EIKEN is a suite of seven tests referred to as 'grades' administered in two stages for grades 1 through 3. The first stage is a written test with successful candidates invited to attend second stage interviews. EIKEN is scored on a pass/fail basis.

conversation classes at UES participated in the study. The students, a homogeneous group in terms of cultural and linguistic background, participate in classes that meet weekly for one-hour English lessons. Both English lessons, classified by the school as beginner level classes, were taught by the same native-speaker of English (NS). The primary objectives of the English language program listed in the course guidelines are as follows:

- To foster interest in English.
- To foster cultural awareness through developing English communication skills.
- To provide an introduction to the four English skills of speaking, reading, writing and listening.
- To provide communication opportunities with native speaker teachers.

The teacher instructing the class, Mr. Hamsworth, is a 35 year-old native-English-speaking New Zealand male who has resided in Japan for over ten years with his Japanese wife and daughter. Mr. Hamsworth, educated in New Zealand, is a freelance teacher who works for UES and a number of other private *eikaiwa* institutes and government schools. In addition to teacher training in New Zealand, Mr. Hamsworth has completed a number of English language teacher training courses both independently, and as part of his employment requirements. Mr. Hamsworth indicated that while he has not undertaken a formal Japanese proficiency examination, he believes his level of Japanese is upper-intermediate (approximately level 2N of Japanese

proficiency test)[5].

1.9 Overview of Findings

The construct of face, as revealed through L2 classroom discourse strategies, offers insights into how the Japanese students relate to the social world of the second language classroom in accordance with social, cultural and individual frameworks of appropriateness. The analysis of classroom discourse and student reflections on this discourse examines how identity can be interpreted through attention to insights gained from the negotiation of face and the interrelationship between face and identity in the context of teaching and learning in an L2 classroom. In particular, data revealed that conflicting teacher and student assumptions concerning what constitute appropriate classroom roles and discourse strategies, in turn gave rise to an identification of key identities among the students. Further, students sought to align to a performance they regarded as being conventional to the Japanese classroom, while at the same time struggling to align with the need to present positive performance as defined by the teacher. At other times, students resisted certain identities they saw as being imposed by the teacher.

---

[5] The Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (日本語能力試験 *Nihongo Nōryoku Shiken*) is a standardised criterion-referenced examination designed to evaluate Japanese language proficiency for non-native speakers. The test consists of five levels: N1, N2, N3, N4, and N5, with N1 being the highest level and N5 the lowest. A summary of linguistic competence required for each level states that 'The N2 level is the ability to understand Japanese used in everyday situations, and in a variety of circumstances to a certain degree.'

In addition, the data findings underpinning this thesis illustrate patterns associated with differing student/teacher interpretations of what constitutes appropriate language use and behaviour within the context of the L2 classroom where the study took place. Through exploring these discrepancies in pragmatic communicative intentions, the study illustrates; (a) ways in which a lack of teacher awareness of or attention to pragmatic features of language use can unintentionally silence or alienate students, and (b) suggests that teacher failure to permit or recognise particular identities sought by students, even when unintentional, can create misunderstanding and build resentment. In this way, the data findings provide evidence that the classroom, as a dynamic context in which students seek to construct identities for themselves and others, carries specific expectations and a regulatory frame of responsibility that is influenced not only by socio-cultural factors, but also by an individual's freedom to make choices.

Student feedback highlights ways in which socio-culturally informed expectations and responsibilities reflected cultural values and social practices governing verbal and non-verbal behaviours within the context of the classroom. Specifically, points of miscommunication observed during interaction illustrated explicit cases of when the intended meaning behind language use and behaviour was framed by cultural, social and individual orientations that were not necessarily shared by the teacher and students. While it is perhaps self-evident to note that pragmatic miscommunication did not occur throughout the entirety of the L2 activities, it was not surprising also to note that the students' retrospective feedback focused largely on moments of miscommunication during which they felt their communicative intentions were misunderstood or they were

unfairly being negatively evaluated by the teacher. As retrospective feedback demonstrated that these points were of importance to the students, the analysis of the qualitative data focuses on the following four themes which revealed pervasive patterns of shared student language, behaviour, and attitudes:

- Peer collaboration - spontaneous collaboration between the Japanese students during learning activities.

- Characteristics of Japanese identities - students' resistance to classroom practices that they felt to be inconsistent with what they considered to be familiar Japanese classroom behaviour or language use.

- Use of the L1 (Japanese) - students' reaction, both positive and/or negative, to the teacher's use of Japanese during learning activities.

- Recourse to, and maintenance of, silence - students' reflections on periods of extended silence and/or the teacher's intervention during these silent periods at moments within classroom interaction.

The examination of data illustrates that unbeknownst to the teacher, these recurring focal themes associated with pragmatic miscommunication were sources of ongoing frustration for the students. Moreover, these themes are shown to have interfered with the management of face and identities claimed, in that miscommunication resulting from differing pragmatic expectations within the classroom impacted on the students' participation and negatively influenced attitudes towards the teacher and, to some extent, the learning of English. Furthermore, data highlighted that the teacher and students maintained significantly different interpretations of what was occurring in the classroom.

36

For example, following English activities the teacher positively reflected; *'Everyone had a really good time'*, *'the kids really like to talk to me'* and *'we can joke arou*nd.' In contrast, student feedback following the same English activities paints a very different picture as illustrated by student Akari's blunt assessment*'tada jyugyo hyaku watte hoshii'* (I just want the class to finish quickly) and *'kono sensei hontoni kirai'* (I really hate this teacher.).

1.10 Overview of Pedagogical Implications

The findings are analyzed with the intention of addressing potential pedagogical implications for professional development for non-Japanese English language teachers based in Japan. In addition, guided by student insights, a number of recommendations are made for non-Japanese teachers working with Japanese elementary school students. The research findings illustrate the potential difficulties in negotiating face and claiming and enacting identities when students and teachers do not share the same cultural background, knowledge, beliefs, experiences, language or worldview. Specifically, the data findings suggest a number of ways in which the Japanese students employed culturally, socially and individually informed communicative strategies and behaviour in order to demonstrate individual worth, and to maintain what they interpreted as constituting classroom appropriateness. Unintentional deviation from what the students and teacher associated with classroom norms, such as points during which the teacher's verbal or non-verbal behaviour differed from what the students' assumed to be Japanese classroom practices, highlights the importance of acknowledging the potential for pragmatic divergence in the performance of illocutionary acts and behaviour.

For the teacher, a key theme to emerge from the analysis of data is the need for L2 teachers to recognise the pragmatic underpinnings of the views and beliefs they may hold concerning their professional practices. Ishihara (2010), citing a gap between what is known about pragmatics in language use and how this information is conveyed to the student, refers to the teacher as 'the main agent in creating this bridge' (p. 21). Citing the pivotal role played by the teacher, Ishihara cautions that the teaching of pragmatics is impacted by teachers' backgrounds, knowledge, experiences and beliefs and therefore recommends monitoring, reasoning of teaching practices, and reflection. In order to serve as an effective 'bridge', the following study argues that the teacher requires knowledge of the linguistic properties of the L1 and L2 and how these potentially relate to cultural factors that support the negotiation of face and alignment with identities.

To this end, the findings imply that teacher competence in engaging socio-cultural features of the L1 and L2 are likely to increase the effectiveness with which meanings are transferred and exchanged while positively impacting on teacher/student rapport. In addition, awareness of potential points of variance between the L1 and L2 can assist the teacher in avoiding and, when necessary, dealing with cross-cultural miscommunication in a methodical and meaningful manner. In the case of L2 instruction, identifying and creating awareness of socio-cultural features, followed by meaningful opportunities for rehearsing pragmatic skills alongside other linguistic aspects, may assist in bridging the gap between pragmatic knowledge and how it is communicated to language students. For this reason, we outline a model for teacher professional development and classroom practice which focuses on initially building teacher awareness through

consciousness-raising tasks, and finally, the implementation of modifications to teaching practices and behaviours that can potentially benefit the students. The model, a data-driven program, is based on the premise that before teachers can be expected to change their beliefs, they need to first be made aware of them (Crandall, 2000), as beliefs, often held unconsciously, play an important role in the approach to teaching. This model, following a pedagogic and exploratory cycle of teaching and learning phases (see Auerbach & Wallerstein, 1987; Candlin et al., 1995; S. Candlin, 1997; O'Grady, 2011) is employed in the context of professional communication development tasks built around the five phases of: *Awareness, Knowledge Building, Critique, Action* and *Evaluation*

Chapter 2: English Education in Japan

Overview

In chapter 1, an overview of the research context was introduced. In order to understand the context of the English language classroom and the students' views of their participation during English activities, Chapter 2 begins by outlining the history of English language education in Japan. This is followed by a discussion of the introduction of English to Japanese elementary schools and a description of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. The chapter then moves on to a three part critical overview of the concept of culture which identifies how the term *culture* is used throughout the thesis, the relationship it draws between language and culture, and how culture is defined in regard to cultural stereotyping.

2.1 History of English in Japan

The first recorded contact between Japan and the English language was in 1600 when Englishman, William Adams, was swept ashore on the southern island of Kyushu (Ike, 1995). Initially regarded with suspicion, Adams was taken to meet Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa Feudal Government. Adams, known in Japanese as Anjin Miura (the pilot of Miura) built Japan's first Western-style ships and was to become a key advisor to Ieyasu, playing a key role in the establishment of trading factories (Hughes, 1999). However, after the death of Ieyasu in 1616, a change in the foreign policy saw the trading offices suspended which consequently prompted the English to leave Japan (Reesor, 2002). Weary of foreigners and the spread of European imperialism, from 1638 Japan adopted an isolationist policy and contact with foreigners was limited to Dejima Island off Nagasaki (Hagerman, 2009:49). It was not until the arrival of the American mission to Japan under the charge of Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 that Japan was again proclaimed open for trade and isolationist policy ended (Hagerman, 2009). The isolation period *'sakoku'* was officially over and English language education was initiated in 1854 following the signing of the Kanagawa Treaty (Hosoki, 2011). McKenzie (2010) notes that what followed was a change in the linguistic landscape of Japan which saw Japanese scholars move from the study of Dutch to the study of English and the cultures and social practices of the west (McKenzie, 2010:7).

The study of English and interest in western cultures was further fuelled by the ensuing

Meiji (1868 to 1911) period of modernisation during which western ideas, culture and goods were welcomed into Japan (McKenzie, 2010). It was in 1871 that English was adopted as an integral part of the national language curriculum and universities initiated an entrance exam system that tested English grammar and translation skills. At this time, there was a need for translation of English technical documents viewed as necessary to advance development (Koike & Tanaka, 1995). The rising status of English was evidenced in Arinori Mori's 1872 proposal that the Japanese language be abolished and replaced with English as the official language of Japan for reasons of international trade.

> The spoken language of Japan being inadequate to the growing necessities of the people of the Empire, and too poor to be made, by a phonetic alphabet, sufficiently useful as a written language, the idea prevails among us that, if we would keep pace with the age, we must adopt a copious and expanding European language. The necessity for this arises mainly out of the fact that Japan is a commercial nation; and also that, if we do not adopt a language like that of English, which is quite predominant in Asia, as well as elsewhere in the commercial world, the progress of Japanese civilization is evidently impossible. Indeed a new language is demanded by the whole Empire.
>
> (Mori, cited in Tukahara, 2002:8)

In addition to the perception that the Japanese language was of limited value at the international level, Mori's proposal was motivated by the conviction that spoken Japanese was of lower status than European languages, the Japanese writing system of *kanji, hiragana* and *katakana* was too complex, and that written Japanese was

essentially a tarnished remnant of Chinese cultural imperialism (Hagerman, 2009). It should be noted that Mori, the first ambassador to the United States and later promoted to the position of Minister of Education in 1885, also proposed amendments to the English language such as removing irregular verbs and standardising the spelling system. Mori's proposal, based on an appeal to commercial progress, was ultimately rejected by the Ministry of Education in 1873. This was followed by a period during the 1880s which saw the pendulum shift and a backlash evoked against Japan's interest with English and all things western (Ike, 1995). In regard to education policy, anti-Western and anti-English sentiments continued into the twentieth century with calls to alter English from compulsory to an elective subject status (Ike, 1995).

It was against this backdrop that in 1922, a lecturer from the University of London, Harold E. Palmer, was invited by the Ministry of Education to Japan in order to serve as a linguistic adviser tasked with identifying ways to improve English teaching. The following year, Palmer established the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) in Tokyo (see Smith, 1998, 2004). His research criticised the grammar-translation methods used in secondary schools, and over a period of ten years, focused on advocating and introducing an oral-aural method to teaching English. Palmer made the following four recommendations:

- More emphasis on oral comprehension and speaking rather than reading and writing.
- Teaching materials based on students' interests.
- Class sizes of less than thirty.

● An ideal number of six English class hours per week.

<div align="right">(Koike & Tanaka, 1995:17)</div>

Palmer's methods and techniques proved to be successful in trial runs at select schools, and were to gain acceptance within junior high schools as English proficiency levels improved (Hagerman, 2009:51). In 1924 the first conference for English Language Teaching was held. While the IRET played an influential and enduring role in promoting English teaching and pedagogical research in Japan (Smith, 1998), the increased understanding of, and interest in, English teaching methodology, was hampered by mounting pressure calling for the abolition of English language education (Imura, 2003). As a result, the Ministry of Education, having initiated research and acquired specialist advice in order to reform language policy, failed to follow up on Palmer's recommendations or disseminate his suggestions throughout Japan (Hagerman, 2009). Anti-English sentiment fuelled by factors such as reaction to new United States immigration laws which prohibited Japanese immigration, led to political and social antipathy towards the United States (Imura, 2003). This negativity was evidenced in critical attitudes towards English, which for many Japanese people, was viewed as an extension of the United States power and that of the greater world outside Japan.

The Japanese military took over the government in 1932, and in the lead-up to Japan's involvement in World War II, the pendulum had swung fully to nationalism as English was viewed as being the enemy's language (Imura, 2003). The Ministry of Education reduced middle school study of English to four hours per week for boys, and dropped it completely for girls (Koika & Tanaka, 1995:17). Subsequently, Palmer returned to the

U.K. in 1936, as did a large number of foreign scholars employed at Japanese universities who were dismissed subsequent to the advent of the Pacific War in 1941 (Imura, 2003).

Following the end of the war in 1945, Japan remained under occupation of the United States for seven years during which time there was a shift in social attitudes as most Japanese embraced reform and rejected extreme nationalism (Hagerman, 2009). Japan's new constitution came into effect in May 1947 and marked the introduction of a new educational structure based on the American system: six years at primary school followed by three years at junior high school. This compulsory nine years of education was to be followed by three non-compulsory years at senior high school, and either two or four years at college or university (Hosoki, 2011). A focus on reform saw English language teaching reinstated as a compulsory subject in secondary schools. Education reforms initiated by the United States recommended that traditional Japanese teaching methods which emphasised memorisation and 'a vertical system of duties and loyalties,' be changed to foster independent thinking, the development of personality and democratic citizenship (Shimahara, 1979:64).

Besides school-based learning, the end of World War II saw what Butler (2007a:131) describes as an 'English boom' given that 'Japanese administrators and civilians now needed to acquire a practical command of English in order to communicate with US occupation forces.' As the Japanese economy grew, Japanese business leaders called for an improvement in the level of practical English in the Japanese workforce in order to facilitate graduates' ability to conduct international business. Imura (2003) notes that

events such as the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, together with the large number of Japanese travelling abroad, influenced Japanese motivation to learn English and educators to try new approaches to teaching. Interest in English learning intensified and 1963 saw the Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP) introduce the first nationwide English examination to test nationwide practical English proficiency of the four language skills - reading, writing, speaking, and listening. The modern age of English language learning in Japan has been closely associated with interest in *kokusaika* (internationalisation) which, in what echoes the Meiji era in terms of a desire to avoid isolation, 'affirms the urgent need for Japan to emerge from cultural isolation and assimilate a set of Western values' (McConnell, 1996:447). Consequently, English language policy continues to be closely associated with the economy and promoted as a means of stimulating growth in both government and private sectors. The view that English provides a potential means of addressing social and economic concerns by preparing Japanese children for the future is expressed in the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology position that 'English and other foreign languages are an important means to greatly expand opportunities for our children who will live in the global society, and an important element of improving Japan's international competitiveness' (2011:2).

In regard to English language learning in the private sector, private language schools fall into two major groups: *juku* (cram schools) and *eikaiwa* (English conversation schools) (McKenzie, 2010:13). *Juku*, typically attended by junior high school and high school students in the evening and on weekends, are staffed by Japanese teachers who focus primarily on preparing students for the notoriously competitive *juken* entrance examinations in all subject areas (Neustupny & Tanaka, 2004:14). *Eikaiwa,* English

conversation schools, are attended by students ranging from the very young through to the elderly and are typically staffed by native speakers of English. The purposes for which students attend *eikaiwa* are as diverse as the students themselves, yet Kobayashi (2000:24) suggests that a key factor appears to be the assumption that English equates to *kokusaika* (internationalisation) and therefore you 'need to study English to become internationalized.' Consequently, while Japan's relation with English has been characterised by extremes, the political and economic advantages of English continue to shape public sentiment and government language acquisition policy. (On the history of English teaching in Japan, see: Hagerman, 2009; Ike, 1995; Imura, 2003; Koike & Tanaka, 1995.).

2.2 English in Japanese Elementary Schools

In March 2006, the Central Council for Education, an advisory council for the minister of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter referred to as MEXT), proposed the inclusion of English for fifth and sixth grade students at all Japanese public elementary schools (Butler, 2004, 2007a). These guidelines for elementary schools became effective in the 2011 academic year with compulsory 'foreign language activities' scheduled for a total of 35 lessons per year. This equates to approximately one forty-five minute period per week to be taught primarily by the Japanese homeroom teacher. Homeroom teachers are, on occasion, aided during lessons by Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), and where available, 'local experts' from the community encouraged to volunteer their time and English skills (Butler, 2004, 2007a). The goal of English at the elementary school level as

described in the MEXT, 2008 guidelines is:

> To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures though various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages.
>
> (MEXT, 2008:1)

As these activities are not considered an 'academic subject', English is not evaluated nor are any clear standards articulated by MEXT such as vocabulary or grammatical structures to be taught. The implementation of English activities at the elementary school level followed 'a decade of intense debate and deliberation' fuelled by discourse over *kokusaika* (internationalisation) and the view that English education should focus on practical communicative skills (Butler, 2007a:132). Examining the motivation behind policy reform and the inclusion of English at the elementary school level, Butler (2007a) notes that discussion of English at the elementary school level has been a response to pressure from business and political sectors which have 'repeatedly called for changes to Japan's English Education in order to be competitive in both business and politics globally' (p. 138). Under pressure to reform, the changes to Japan's English education policy are the result of a series of actions taken over the past two decades. Firstly, in 1992, the Ministry of Education (MOE, the predecessor of MEXT) examined ways of introducing English activities at the elementary school level and assigned two public schools in Osaka to serve as pilot schools. Over the subsequent four years, MOE proceeded with the implementation of English through cautiously and methodically

assigning one pilot school for each prefectural government totaling 47 altogether throughout Japan (Fennelly, 2007).

In 1996, an advisory council for MOE proposed that individual schools be allowed to conduct foreign language conversation activities of their own choosing during the 'integrated general study period'. This was to be a three class per week instructional period which was originally intended to promote individualised and flexible curriculum as part of the *yutori kyoiku* (relaxed education) policy implemented in order to reduce the hours and the content of the curriculum at the elementary school level. *Yutori kyoiku*, or education free of pressure, was initiated by MEXT in the 1980s in response to concerns that students had strong basic academic skills but lacked creativity and independence. At this time, there was also national concern regarding issues such as school bullying, violence, absenteeism, and the stress placed on students expected to perform in a curriculum tailored toward entrance examinations (Butler, 2007a:133).

From 2002, the number of elementary schools teaching English increased following the implementation of the 1996 'integrated studies' program carried out with students from the third to sixth grades. MEXT guidelines outlined four potential areas which could be taken up as part of integrated studies as international understanding, information and technology, environmental studies, and social welfare/health (Butler, 2007a:134). If schools elected to pursue international understanding they were able to integrate English activities of their own choosing to be taught by Japanese homeroom teachers. It was under this umbrella of international understanding that English activities were first introduced. As English activities spread throughout Japanese elementary schools, it

became evident that English classes varied in content and quality from school to school even within the same junior high school catchment area (Butler, 2004, 2007a). A repercussion of this variance in English classes at the elementary school level was that students were entering junior high schools and commencing the compulsory study of English having had varying degrees of contact with English, content knowledge and English proficiency. Among other matters, this was viewed as resulting in an unfair advantage to those students with greater exposure to English within the school system, while also representing a problem for teachers tasked with implementing level appropriate English activities for students who were of different English proficiency levels (Fennelly, 2007). The perceived gap between those students with and without exposure to English activities triggered attention to the need for greater consistency in student access to English content, and control in the amount of time each student participated in English activities.

It was under these circumstances that in 2002 the need for economic and educational reform gained priority within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and a call for practical English communication abilities gained momentum (Okuno, 2007). In 2002, MEXT released a report entitled *Developing a Strategic Plan to Cultivate 'Japanese with English Abilities'* followed on March 31, 2003 by an *Action Plan* viewed as a blueprint by which to implement the 2002 *Strategic Plan*. While the opinions of experts were sought through bodies such as the 'Round-table Committee for the Improvement of English Teaching Methods,' and the 'Round-table Committee on English Education Reform', Okuno (2007:137) points out that a total of 20 people met only 5 times for a total of 8 hours to discuss the Strategic Plan. Furthermore, Okuno notes that there were

no English teachers included among the panel of experts responsible for determining new language policies, and theorises that 'the Strategic Plan was announced not only for the educational benefits but also for the economic and political survival for the ruling party of the Japanese government and economic circles' (p. 137).

Raising further concerns, Butler and Iino (2005) question the motivations and objectives of the Action Plan stating that 'It is once again an outside force (namely, globalisation) that has focused attention and resources in Japan on the presumed need for its citizens to obtain a practical communicative command of English' (p. 33). The belief that business circles and economic policy have exerted too much influence over English education policy is also expressed by Okuno (2007:155) who argues that the Action Plan imposes English education on Japanese students. Okuno, critical of what he views as the economic rationale behind the Action Plan, highlights Japan's close ties with both China and Korea as reasons why alternative foreign languages should be made available to Japanese students within the education system. This argument has been embraced by Japanese linguist Otsu, who has actively criticised mandatory English education at public elementary schools, and was the driving force behind a 2006 petition submitted to MEXT appealing for English policy to be reversed (see Matsuoka, 2010). Concern regarding the dominance of English is raised by Kubota (1998:305) who argues the need to investigate possibilities for developing equality in communication among people with different cultural and linguistic heritage. The researcher's point being that education policy has overemphasised English at the cost of other languages and cultures, and therefore, does not foster multilingualism.

The view that official English education policy is controlled by commercial motivations is a recurring theme in the history of English language policy and practice in Japan. In addition to concern as to the true motivations for elementary school English reform, the mandatory inclusion of English at the elementary school level has generated heated debate reflected in positions ranging from strong support to outright rejection (Ohtani, 2010). This debate draws attention to ongoing ideological tensions in Japan's language policies (both foreign language and Japanese language) which Gottlieb (1994) describes as having always 'been driven by imperatives ranging from modernization to imperialism to democratization to conservationism' (p. 1195). Reesor (2002) argues that central to the debate is the desire to both acquire and share knowledge through English, which is weighed against concern that English language education will equate to an unwanted and fundamentally corrupting foreign influence. The pro-English versus anti-English attitudes are described by Kobayashi (2011:1) as rivalry between a *Japanese identity* and *global identity.* Kobayashi explains that it is this rivalry in Japan which has 'contributed not only to the increasing call for English education and multiculturalism but also to a unified identity as we-Japanese' (p. 1). The point being that pressure to develop a global identity through increased English proficiency has ironically evoked a resurgence of nationalism as Japan strives to protect its Japanese identity. The issues at hand are summed up by Kobayashi (2011) who argues:

Since Japan's economy achieved global recognition and the nation, for the first time in its history, embarked upon a discussion of its growing role in the international community, English has been at the centre of controversy, whether it would function as a tool to further 'globalise' Japan and Japanese citizens or pose a

51

threat to the 'centuries-old' 'unique' Japanese culture and identity which has, so they say, long unified the homogenous Japanese.

(Kobayashi, 2011:11)

The ideological conflict implied here suggests that there is a desire to assimilate with the world outside Japan, while at the same time a desire to maintain a distinct Japanese identity. This emotionally charged debate is fuelled in part by the fact that English is still regarded with a degree of suspicion, and is at times presented as being a potential threat to the development of young students' national identity during the formative years (Matsuoka, 2010). Matsuoka (2010) argues that most opposition comes from professionals, namely English teachers, and from professors in the social sciences, especially linguistics. Matsuoka (2010:4) notes that criticism of English argues that teaching English to elementary pupils is not only meaningless, but that it can be harmful, if not properly carried out. As way of evidence, Matsuoka notes that critics have highlighted the shortage of English proficient homeroom teachers, falling academic standards in regards to Japanese, and potentially detrimental effects of cutting lesson time committed to other subject areas.

According to Tsuido et al. (2012), a point of friction lies in the fact that while the majority of Japanese school teachers are not trained to teach English, MEXT (2008) has stated that all ALTs and other personnel such as volunteers should be fully under the supervision of Japanese homeroom teachers when implementing foreign language activities at elementary schools (p. 50). While debate continues, education reform at the elementary school level in Japan illustrates that there exists a strong demand for

reforming English education which is closely associated with what is seen as the increasing importance of English competency in order for Japanese to effectively communicate in a rapidly globalising world (Butler, 2005; MEXT, 2011). Attention within the Japanese government to the need to promote English proficiency in response to rapid globalisation is illustrated in the following position outlined by MEXT:

> Globalization advances at a rapid pace in politics, economics, and other fields, and we live in the age of increasing borderless flow of things, people and money. Nowadays, command of English is required in many fields, in contrast to the past when it was only needed in large companies and some industries; it is also pointed out that the level of English-language skills has a great impact on one's future including employment and career advancement.

> (MEXT, 2011:2)

In addition to economic considerations, the devastating 2011 East Japan earthquake and tsunami are cited by MEXT as influencing recognition within Japan that students need to develop English proficiency in order to coexist with different cultures and partake in international cooperation. According to the 2011 Commission on the Development of Foreign Language Proficiency:

> After the Great East Japan Earthquake, Japan received much support from abroad, and every Japanese felt connected with the world as a member of the global community; at the same time, we rediscovered the need for dissemination of information overseas and the importance of the English language as a tool to

achieve this goal.

The current official English agenda highlights the underlying political, social and economic concerns facing Japan as the government endeavours to adequately prepare Japanese youth for a globalised world in which effective communication is seen as being fundamental to Japanese economic future.

2.3 JET Programme

Against the backdrop of *kokusaika* (internationalisation), the JET Programme was established in 1987 by local authorities in cooperation with governmental ministries and the council of local authorities for international relations (Ohtani, 2010). JET offers three positions: 1) ALT, engaged in language instruction and employed by local boards of education or public junior and senior high schools; 2) Coordinator for International Relations (CIR), engaged in internationalisation activities and employed by offices of local authorities or related organisations; and 3) Sports Exchange Advisor (SEA), engaged in promoting international exchange activities through certain designated sports. Participants in the JET Programme are typically recruited from foreign universities and contracted for a one-year period, with the option to extend up to three years if mutually agreed upon. Those recruited have the opportunity to serve in local government offices, however the vast majority are dispatched to public elementary, junior high and/or senior high schools (Ohtani, 2010). According to the JET Programme's official website, as of July 2011, there were 4330 participants in the

programme from 39 countries, with over 90% of those being ALTs teaching English. The objectives of the JET Programme as outlined on the government website states:

> The purpose of this programme is to enhance mutual understanding between our country and other countries, and to contribute to the promotion of internationalization in our country through promoting international exchange as well as strengthening foreign language education in our country.

<div align="right">(MEXT, 2003: note 5)</div>

Despite the fact that ALTs are valued as integral to MEXT's educational reform and are seen as playing a pivotal role in introducing foreign cultures and English language instruction to Japanese classrooms (Fujita-Round & Maher, 2008), there have been concerns regarding the qualifications of ALTs and minimal training provided while working within Japanese schools (Ohtani, 2010). In addition, professional friction within the classroom is noted by Ohtani (2010) who points out that Japanese teachers are prone to question the competence and commitment of ALTs who are not required to have tertiary backgrounds in education. In regard to classroom practices and ability to integrate into Japanese schools, Kushima and Nishihori (2006:229) argue that many Japanese teachers expect a higher quality of teaching from ALTs than is often achieved, and would like ALTs to display a greater awareness of Japanese school management systems and the daily routine of Japanese students. At the same time, the researchers report that Japanese teachers regard it as 'a great burden' to have to explain such topics as the school management system to their ALT. According to Ohtani (2010), dissatisfaction is not one-sided as it is not uncommon for ALTs to report feeling isolated

or excluded from lesson planning due to factors including a sense of ambiguity regarding roles, and poor communication with Japanese teachers. In Ohtani's words:

> Teachers are simply unwilling to talk to ALTs because they cannot fully communicate in English; nor ALTs, in Japanese. Consequently, it takes a lot of time and energy to exchange ideas and information, and this is the reason that planning a lesson is such a ball and chain for Japanese teachers'.
>
> (Ohtani, 2010:42).

While the JET Programme appears to represent Japan's deep commitment to the improvement of English language education, the success in terms of raising student English proficiency is far from clear. Researchers have suggested that JET is a political rather than an educational initiative (Rivers, 2011a), and that success, if judged by the large number of participating teachers, effectively masks the reality of the questionable effectiveness of JET in advancing English competency within Japanese schools (Butler, 2007b; McConnell, 2000; Okuno, 2010). The official purpose of the JET Programme as stated by MEXT is to promote international exchange and language education between Japan and other nations. Challenging this claim, Rivers (2011a:378) argues that the JET Programme is essentially a product of political and economic factors implemented to improve the Japan - United States economic imbalance in the 1980's. Rivers notes that the JET Programme was viewed to be 'an ideal humanistic solution focusing on grassroots internationalization between the two countries' with Japan able to demonstrate to the world that its people were not economic predators, and the United States benefiting from the opportunity to maintain and advance 'native-English

linguistic and cultural norms with a non-native context' (p. 378).

In addition, a frequently heard criticism of the JET Programme over the years has been the policy of hiring young, inexperienced participants without teacher training based on the assumption that a native speaker of English will inherently be capable of teaching English and achieving positive learning outcomes for students (Butler, 2007b; Okuno, 2007). In regard to the eligibility criteria for participants, Ohtani (2010:39) points out that the JET Programme requires only a bachelor's degree in any field, and requires neither a degree in education, nor a degree in English, nor a formal course of study at a university or college. As teaching qualifications are treated as optional, the majority of ALTs lack sufficient educational experience or content knowledge (Kushima & Nishihori, 2006) and find little support in a system that provides limited professional training opportunities once a recruit is allocated a teaching position (Ohtani, 2010). Highlighting problems in ALT training, Ohtani (2010) notes that there is no systematic training and the only preparation for new ALTs is a single post-arrival orientation, one mid-year training seminar, and one conference for returning JET teachers. Moreover, it is at the mid-year training, after ALT teachers have been dispatched to schools, that lesson-related training is provided (p. 40).

Beyond systemic problems in recruitment and training, Kobayashi (2011) cites the JET Programme as consolidating cultural boundaries through emphasising 'ideal whiteness' and placing native teachers 'with no background knowledge of Japanese culture or language' in the school classroom. Challenging the notion that the 'native speaker' is the ideal language teacher, Butler (2007b) points out that it is far from clear what

constitutes a 'native speaker' in the first place (p. 8). Moreover, Butler notes that there is no pedagogical evidence to validate the notion that native speakers are superior language teachers. Highlighting this lack of pedagogical evidence, Astor (2000) maintains that differences among native and nonnative language teachers exist not in their nativeness, but in their knowledge of pedagogy, methodology, and psycho-/applied linguistics. Nevertheless, despite the lack of ambiguity in defining a 'native speaker' and the lack of pedagogic evidence validating the argument that native speakers are ideal language teachers, the native model has 'remained firmly entrenched in language teaching and SLA research' (Cook, 1999:188).

Drawing attention to the assumption that a native-English speaker is a model of correctness, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:15) assert that 'speakers of official languages or standard varieties may be regarded as having greater moral and intellectual worth than speakers of unofficial languages or non-standard varieties.' In addition, Kobayashi argues that the maximum three year contract essentially guarantees an uninterrupted supply of 'ideal whiteness' and the likelihood that cultural disparities will remain a focal point of the relationship students build with their non-Japanese teachers (p. 9). Commenting on the standing afforded the native-speaker within Japan, Rivers (2011a:378) argues that 'native-English speaker models have traditionally been held aloft as prestigious targets for non-native English speakers to aspire to and replicate.' One of the repercussions cited by the researcher being 'a division between the elite (the native-speakers), and the non-elite (the non-native speakers).' The assumption that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker is implied by the fact that JET policies have favoured 'inner circle' speech for notions of correctness:

A native speaker of English provides a valuable opportunity for students to learn living English and to familiarize themselves with foreign languages and cultures…In this way the use of a native speaker of English has great meaning…Therefore, for the enhancement of the teaching system, the effective use of native speakers of English…will be promoted.

(MEXT, 2003: point 2.2)

Expanding upon the inner circle, Kachru's (1985, 1992) model of the worldwide spread of English describes three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. These circles represent 'the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages' (Kachru, 1992:356). The Inner Circle English, said to be 'norm providing', is dominated by the mother-tongue varieties of English. The Outer Circle English, considered 'norm-developing', consists of non-native settings where English is one of two or more official languages and used in a variety of functions. Most of the countries included in the Outer Circle are former colonies of the UK or the US. The Expanding Circle refers to countries where English does not assume a historical or governmental role, but is taught as a foreign language for international communication and is regarded as 'norm dependent'. In Kachru's 'Concentric Circles', Japan lies in the 'Expanding Circle' meaning that English exists as an international language, is a 'performance variety', and is 'norm dependent'. The implication being that it gets its model from metropolitan varieties of English used in 'Inner Circle' countries.

While the JET Programme continues to focus on recruiting participants from the inner circle, from 2000 recruits from Singapore, Jamaica and the Philippines became eligible for English teaching positions (Gottlieb, 2005:72). Butler (2007b:29) points out that data on JET recruitment numbers illustrates that the Japanese government continues to exhibit a preference towards Inner Circle varieties of English. Nonetheless, arguably the widening of parameters to include outer circle English marks what a welcomed shift towards facilitating student exposure to social and geographical diversity. Assuming that the spread of globalisation will increase the opportunities for students in Japan to use English with both other non-native English speakers and native English-speakers, Butler (2007a) emphasises the importance for Japanese to 'be familiar with varieties of English and to develop sufficient skills to communicate with speakers of EIL (English as an international language)' (p. 144). To this end, it is hoped that non-native English speaking teachers may serve as role models for English learning and raise awareness of international communication (Butler, 2007a). Even so, Rivers (2011a:378) argues that the native-English speaker is still very much the 'preferred linguistic other', an argument the researcher notes can be supported by a simple glance through the many teacher employment sites which advertise specifically for native-speaker English teachers.

2.4 Use and Definition of the Concept of *Culture* throughout Thesis

A central theme of this thesis is culture and the ways in which the students' Japanese culture is interconnected with their use of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies as observed during English learning activities. In this way, this thesis explores

the Japanese students' alignment with, and resistance to identities through examining the interactional negotiation of face as revealed through the Japanese language and culture. The term culture, as a fundamental theme in the discussion of pragmatics, appears often in the following discussion of politeness theory, face and identity. While the centrality of the term culture is undeniable, the diversity of definitions cited in literature highlights that it remains far from clear how culture can most accurately be defined. This sense of prevailing ambiguity is borne out in the words of Scollon and Scollon (2001:128) who suggest that 'the word culture brings up more problems than it solves.' Watts (2003) goes even further by stating that the lack of clarity renders culture a 'vacuous notion', which effectively helps and hinders discussion about, and consideration of politeness (p. 101). As way of explanation, Watts illustrates that within politeness literature the classifications of culture range across national groupings, languages, gender, social classes, subcultures such as interest groups, and so on. While potentially divisive, the diversity observed in contemporary literature is testament to the fact that culture is nonetheless recognised by the research community as representing a key factor in language teaching and learning. Moreover, difficulty in reaching agreement regarding a definition underscores that culture is not a static entity, but rather dynamic and multidimensional. In this sense culture is constantly constructed and reconstructed through human interaction and communication.

Earlier models have tended to consider culture through the examination of surface level features or what Hinkel (2001) refers to as that part of culture that is 'visible' and easily discussed. Hinkel argues that this can include the folklore, literature, arts, architecture, styles of dress, cuisine, customs, festivals, traditions, and the history of a particular

'people'. This 'visible' framework is evident in the tendency to equate cultures with the far too expansive category of nations, and overlooks 'invisible' aspects of culture Hinkel describes as including socio-cultural norms, worldviews, beliefs, assumptions, and value systems. It is these 'invisible' aspects of culture which are much more difficult to access given that people may not even be aware they exist. This is well illustrated in Weaver's (1993) cultural iceberg which shows that a large proportion of our own culturally shaped knowledge is invisible and therefore not consciously applied in our everyday interactions.
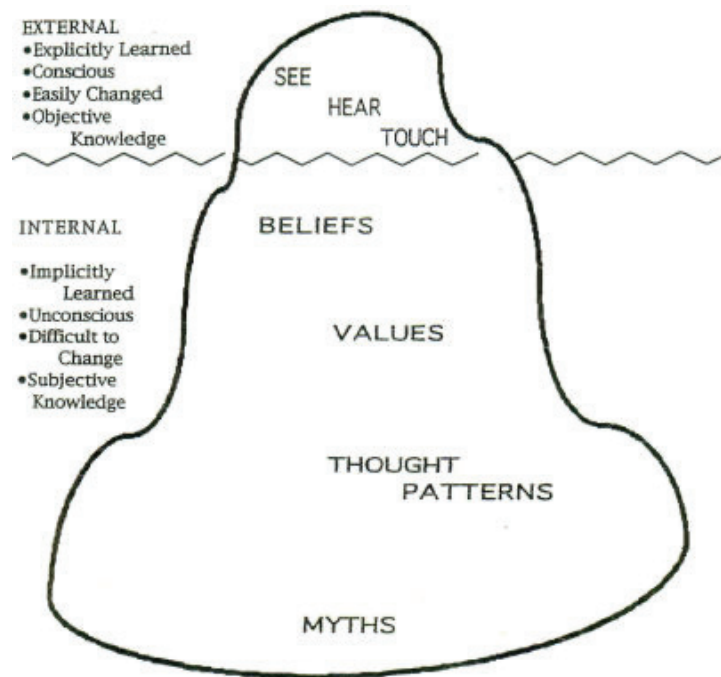
Figure 1: The Cultural Iceberg

(Source: Weaver, 1993, http://home.snu.edu/~hculbert/iceberg.htm)

Challenging the correlation between cultures and nations, Ros i Solé (2003:143) states that 'the fallacy of identifying cultures with nations should be demolished.' Apart from

the fact that this association fails to account for the perpetually shifting, global, culturally diverse modern world, it also implies that there is an accepted set of quantifiable cultural norms that are able to accurately define the people of a nation. Park (2005) picks up on this theme of cultures being associated with nations and argues that this is not only misleading, but also discriminatory. Explaining this position, Park argues that the term culture is employed as a euphemism for 'race' and 'ethnicity' and serves to indicate deficit in the sense that 'different from' equates to 'less than'. Park maintains that through using the white mainstream as a point of comparison, there is an assumption 'that culture is that which differentiates minorities, immigrants and refugees from the rest of society' and that the preservation of stereotypes is made possible by culture as a category defined by essential, fixable traits (p. 19). Commenting on the link between culture and heredity Hofstede (1994) states:

Cultural traits have often been attributed to heredity, because philosophers and other scholars in the past did not know how to explain otherwise the remarkable stability of differences in culture patterns among human groups. They underestimated the impact of learning from previous generations and of teaching to a future generation what one has learned oneself. The role of heredity is exaggerated in the pseudo-theories of *race*, which have been responsible, among other things, for the Holocaust organized by the Nazis during the Second World War. Racial and ethnic strife is often justified by unfounded arguments of cultural superiority and inferiority.

(Hofstede, 1994:5-6)

Promoting a position that moves beyond nations, Ros i Solé (2003) suggests a set of cross-national influences that shape an individual's culture including communities of work, social groups, ethnic origins and gender. This approach to culture acknowledges that there will be differences in interpretations for the reason that culture is dynamic, variable and influenced by human agency. This argument is discussed by Skelton and Allen (1999:4) who characterise culture as 'dynamically changing over time and space - the product of ongoing human inter-action. This means that we accept the term as ambiguous and suggestive rather than as analytically precise. It reflects or encapsulates the muddles of life.' Similarly, Diaz-Rico and Weed's (2006) explanation of culture underscores that it is not static or solitary, but rather is evolving and negotiated between individuals:

The explicit and implicit patterns for living, the dynamic system of commonly agreed upon symbols and meanings, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, behaviors, traditions, and/or habits that are shared and make up the total way of life of a people, as negotiated by individuals in the process of constructing a personal identity.

(Diaz-Rico & Weed, 2006:232-233)

The role of human agency and the inevitably of variation in defining culture is captured by Spencer-Oatey (2008) who emphasises that culture, while shared by a group of people, is not inherited or predetermined:

Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs,

64

policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour.

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008:3)

This description highlights the 'fuzzy' nature of culture and illustrates that culture is neither definitive, nor occurs in a vacuum. Spencer-Oatey's definition underscores that while a range of factors contribute to the individual's behaviour and interpretation of behaviour, there is no absolute set of features by which one cultural group can be discriminated from another. In short, it can be assumed that degrees of variation between individuals will occur. The notion of human agency as playing a key role in culture is picked-up on by Streeck (2002) who cites this as being a shift in how culture is conceptualised. In Streeck's words:

The old model of patchwork of cultures and cultural identities, which is to a large extent a product of late-19th century anthropology and its context, colonialism, has now begun to recede, giving way to a mode of thinking about culture and social life that, in the first place, regards cultural difference as a product of human agency, not as a part of a seemingly natural order of things, and is utterly aware of the contested and shifting nature of cultural identity and cultural borders.

(Streeck, 2002:301-302)

In other words, membership within a cultural group does not change the fact that there are individual differences within a group. Individual differences in judging whether or

not a given utterance is pragmatically appropriate are thus to be expected considering that pragmatic judgment depends on factors including the participants' beliefs and values from their own culture (Thomas, 1983), social identity, and subjectivity (Pierce, 1995; Siegal, 1996).

In order to establish some firmer ground in this thesis, my own position draws on Streeck's (2002) and Spencer-Oatey's (2008) views which embrace both collective elements and factors of human agency as informing culture. This position is captured in Christensen's (1992) definition which understands culture as formed in a historical context, and Streeck's position which argues the need to move beyond culture as a static notion. In short, culture describes an ongoing process of learned and shared human patterns of behaviours and interactions acquired through socialisation. Like all social units, the classroom has its own unique and developing culture observable in collaboration between the students, the processes of teacher/student interaction, specific classroom activities, classroom materials and so on. These shared characteristics are termed 'commonalities' by Christensen (1992) who explains culture as consisting of 'commonalities around which people have developed values, norms, family values, social roles, and behaviours, in response to the historical, political, economic, and social realities they face' (p. 86). It is these shared patterns of explicit and implicit commonalities which provide insights into not only how the students express themselves, but also how they interpret the teacher's language use and behaviour. The point that people within a culture tend to interpret meaning in similar ways is expressed in Lederach's (1995) definition that 'Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the

social realities around them' (p. 9). In relation to the current thesis, it is these shared reactions that can provide insight into potential areas of pragmatic failure which may unintentionally bring about an assumption of meaning that does not correspond with the speaker's intent.

In relation to culture and its associated generalisations, a further point of caution relevant to this thesis is the tendency in research to reference politeness orientations and face within 'western' culture or societies. As Watts (2003) points out, it is 'all too easy to talk about 'western societies'' without acknowledging that there are of course differences in politeness between the US and Western Europe (p. 83) and indeed within both political entities. For example, McKay (2002) cautions that contrasting western and eastern assumptions of cultures of learning 'can perpetuate differences, promote the concept of otherness, and lead to simple dichotomies and stereotyping' (p. 121). Accordingly, for the following thesis, the objective is not to define culture in terms of nation, but rather to explore the participants' shared patterns of language use and behaviour in relation to a specific series of L2 learning activities. Understanding the influence of culture is deemed important in that insight into the participants' interpretation of classroom interaction can be enhanced through an understanding of the knowledge and schematic framework that the students bring to the classroom. As Scollon and Scollon (2001) point out, 'cultures do not talk to each other; individuals do' (p. 138). With this in mind the following thesis recognises that culture alone does not define the students or account for all classroom behaviour. Each student brings his own unique perspective to the classroom. At the same time, the study illustrates that within the culture of the classroom there are shared patterns in how the students behave,

express themselves, interact, and interpret language and behaviour. These discernible patterns of behaviour among the students are examined with attention to the students' views of their own classroom participation, and an analysis of the underlying assumptions which may inform these behaviours.

2.5 Language and Culture

The link between culture and language has been a matter of considerable interest to L2 teachers and has generated ongoing discussion within the research community (Atkinson; 2002, Byram; 2012, Kramsch; 1993, 2003, 2004, 2009, Liddicoat; 2004a, 2009). In recent years, language teaching has increasingly highlighted the need for pedagogical intervention in order to promote student opportunities to discern cultural and linguistic features of the L1 and L2. Exploring implications for teaching and learning, intercultural communicative language teaching (Newton et al., 2010) emphasises that 'culture is no longer an invisible or incidental presence in language learning but instead is … a strand with equal status to that of language' (p. 1). Studies examining the intertwined relationship between language and culture have highlighted that understanding culture is not regarded as an addition, but rather as being a vital component in achieving second language proficiency. This is noted in Mitchell and Myles' (2004) argument that 'language and culture are not separate, but are acquired together, with each providing support for the development of the other' (p. 235). Consequently, language is not only a series of words and rules, but also a complex social practice which Shohamy (2006) describes as 'open, dynamic, energetic, constantly evolving and personal' (p. 5). As Thanasoulas (2001) explains, language

teaching is culture teaching, and someone involved in teaching language is also involved in teaching culture at the same time.

To prepare language students to use the target language in the real world interaction, language teachers are increasingly encouraged to build awareness of the cultural contexts where the target language is used. In short, language is to be seen not as a mechanical or isolated construct. This position is underscored by Crystal (1997:5) when he states that, 'Language has no independent existence: it exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its user.' This connection between culture and language is well summarized by Liddicoat (2004b:17) as follows:

Every message a human being communicates through language is communicated in a cultural context. Cultures shape the ways language is structured and the ways in which language is used. A language learner who has learnt only the grammar and vocabulary of a language is, therefore, not well equipped to communicate in that language.

(Liddicoat, 2004b:17)

As language and culture are interconnected, the use and interpretation of language is informed by socio-cultural factors relevant to the user and the specific contexts where interaction occurs. For example, in Japanese there are many first-person pronouns, the use of which displays the speaker's and the listener's relative social position within the specific context in which interaction takes place (see Shibatani, 1990). The first-person forms listed by Martin (1988:1076-1077) include *watakushi, wayashi, atashi, atakushi,*

watai, wate, wai, atai, ate, watchi, ashi, asshi, washi, wasshi, boku, ore, ora, uchi, jibun, ono, and *onore*. For both men and women, the first-person pronoun *watakushi* 私 is used to display higher status than the use of 私 *watashi*. For men, the informal *boku* 僕, which translates as manservant, is used to display casual deference, while *ore* 俺 establishes masculinity and superiority particularly when interacting with peers who are younger or of lower status. By the same token, depending on the situation, the informality of *ore* may be interpreted as either being rude or as a sign of close rapport. The use of one's own name in place of a first-person pronoun, a practice employed by children and at times young women, is viewed as being endearing; however, when used by an adult, may be either positively or negatively viewed as childish (see Martin, 1988; Shibatani, 1990).

Highlighting the connection between language and socio-cultural factors, Liddicoat et al. (2003:8) make the point that 'language does not function independently from the context in which it is used.' In this sense, one's communicative practices are shaped and transmitted by culture, just as language functions as a tool by which culture is communicated. For example, cultural customs, values, roles, rules and so on are created and shared through the use of language. The complex nature of interaction between language and culture is well represented in the following diagram. The figure shows that cultural knowledge is required in order to interpret and understand verbal or non-verbal communicative strategies within specific contexts. Crozet and Liddicoat's (1999) explanation of the different levels of interaction between language and culture illustrates

that there is no level of language which is independent of culture, and therefore, all levels are open to cultural variation.

Culture ←——→ Language				
world knowledge	spoken/ written genres	pragmatic norms	norms of interaction	grammar/ lexicon/ prosody/ pronunciation/ kinesics
culture in context	culture in general text structure	culture within utterances	culture in the organisation and selection of units of language	culture in linguistic and paralinguistic structures
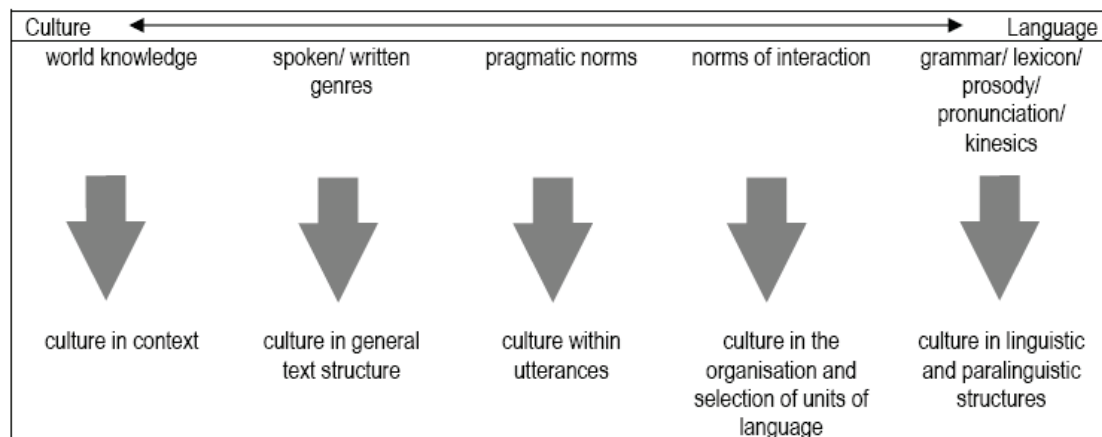
(Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999)

Figure 2: Interactions between Culture and Language

The diagram illustrates that culture can be seen to inform and construct pragmatic and interactional norms, and the ways in which politeness and appropriateness are realised through communication strategies. In addition, the far right of the model shows that structural features of language, both verbal and non-verbal, provide a means by which culture is communicated in a pragmalinguistically appropriate way (see Chapter 3 for discussion of pragmatics). The interplay between culture and language is discussed in the following analysis in order to gain understanding of the context of language use and behaviour in reference to student comments. This thesis maintains that language teachers have a responsibility to acknowledge the 'legitimacy of the cultural heritages of different ethnic groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes, and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum'

(Gay, 2000:29). This position relates to the current thesis in so far as the teacher's socio-culturally informed views of appropriate classroom verbal and non-verbal communication strategies may not necessarily correspond with the beliefs and values held by the Japanese students. For this reason, notions of politeness in how to conduct and manage the teacher/student relationship are difficult to uphold without awareness of one's cultural assumptions, and those held by the interlocutor. Hill *et al*. (1986) argue that politeness is 'one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport' (p. 349). Matsumoto (1988) makes the point that 'people in a culture choose strategies of politeness according to the cultural expectation and requirement' (p. 423). What is clearly needed is a way to explain the similarities and differences in situated cultural expectations for politeness.

Attention to face as a cultural construct (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1989, 1992) has generated considerable discussion, one which is drawn on extensively throughout the following analysis of data. At the same time, this thesis aligns with the position (Tobin, 1999) that excessive preoccupation with cultural differences may lead to over-simplification of cross-cultural interaction and thereby work to legitimise an oppositional paradigm that is counterproductive to understanding students as complex individuals. Scollon and Scollon (1995) posit that in order to avoid oversimplification and stereotyping 'comparisons between groups should always consider both likenesses and differences, that is, they should be based upon more than a single dimension of contrast, and it must be remembered that no individual member of a group embodies all of his or her group's characteristics' (p. 157). I attempt to explore cultural and social

features of face and identity through a description of a motivated selection of emerging, multilayered and often overlapping themes as revealed through the feedback provided by participants. Cultural comparisons introduced throughout this thesis do not in any way imply that interpretations of face for Japanese and non-Japanese occupy opposite ends of a spectrum. This is not to say that I have avoided comparative discussion. On the contrary, comparative analysis is a key feature of the pragmatics literature and emerges as a priority for the students in their attempts to negotiate face and align with identities. As Valdes (1986) points out, not only are similarities and contrasts in the native and target languages useful teaching tools, but when applied to teaching practices, they can become an advantageous learning tool.

Chapter 3: Pragmatics

Overview

Chapter 2 described the broader context of the history of Japanese contact with the English language and a number of key stages by which English was gradually implemented at the elementary school level. This was followed by an overview of the term culture as used throughout this thesis and a discussion on the nature of the relationships holding between language and culture. Chapter 3 begins with a critical introduction to the field of pragmatics as it pertains to the central themes of this thesis. The field of pragmatics is central to the analysis of classroom recordings and retrospective interviews conducted with both the teacher and students. By adding layers

of description, pragmatics reveals specific points during learning activities when the students' and their teacher's interpretations of classroom communication deviate and thereby potentially threaten face and the configuration of the students' identities. The chapter continues with an account of cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics and their relevance to this inquiry. This account is followed by a discussion of pragmatic failure and resistance to a native-speaker model of the construction and interpretation of pragmatic forms. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the issue of whether pragmatics can, and indeed should be taught within the L2 classroom. Finally, this discussion leads into examining the role of pragmatics within the field of intercultural communicative competence.

3.1 Introduction: What is Pragmatics?

The term *pragmatics*, originally coined by Charles Morris in 1938, was identified as the branch of semiotics that studies the relation of signs to interpreters, in contrast with semantics, which examines the relation of signs to the specific objects to which they refer (Levinson, 1983:1). Introduced into linguistics in the 1980s through Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983) and Levinson's *Pragmatics* (1983), the field of pragmatics has attracted growing attention over the past three decades as interest in the social aspects of language move beyond literal interpretations of linguistic forms to the manner in which the meanings of such forms are interpreted by interlocutors in context. Evolution in the field of pragmatics has been motivated by what Archer et al. (2012) describe as 'the realization that we need a broad theory of human communication going beyond what is treated in semantics, which can explain how human beings use language

to express what they mean on different levels' (p. 4). The field of pragmatics, referred to by Archer et al. as 'a full-blown theory of communication and language use' (p. 2012:xxiii)[6], goes beyond the literal interpretation of language to explore the ways in which the use of language and context affect meaning (Huang, 2007). In this sense, pragmatics is concerned with linguistic and non-linguistic signals framed with attention to the specific socio-cultural features of the context and its participants. Accordingly, at base pragmatics embraces the view that communication represents an inherently complex process in which the speaker/writer will not always communicate directly what he means, correspondingly, the manner in which listener/readers interpret meaning will not always coincide with the intended communicative objective of the speaker(s) (see Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Koike & Pearson, 2005; LoCastro, 2012; Matsumara, 2004; Ross & Kasper, 2013; Taguchi, 2012).

With regard to second/foreign-language teaching and learning, the mainstream relevance afforded pragmatics can be observed in the array of publications available, and the diverse range of research areas explored in academic journals such as the *Journal of Pragmatics* and *Intercultural Pragmatics*. Notwithstanding this exposure and engagement, Archer et al. (2012:3) note the diversity of possible definitions and a persisting lack of clear boundaries regarding 'how pragmatics should be delimited from semantics and grammar, the scope of the discipline of linguistic pragmatics and terminology we need to describe pragmatic phenomena.' Indeed, the field of pragmatics, referred to by Bar-Hillel (1971) at that time as the 'wastebasket' of linguistics (p. 405), extends over such a range of phenomena that it has become notoriously difficult to

---

6   For background into the field of pragmatics over the past three decades see Archer et al., 2012; Grundy, 2000; Levinson, 1983; LoCastro, 2003, 2012.

succinctly answer the question 'What is pragmatics?'. While this uncertainty of response can be interpreted as divisive, ambiguity regarding how pragmatics is to be identified and what should be included within the field can more positively be seen as an indication of the recent dynamic growth and rapid expansion of its applications.

Despite varying views on how pragmatics could best be characterised and indeed in some circumstance quantified, there exists nevertheless a shared focus within all approaches to pragmatics on discovering; (a) the communicative intentions of the speaker and/or writer, (b) the meanings assigned by the listener and/or reader, and (c) the situational variables which impact on the use and interpretation of language forms during communication. As a consequence, the process of interpreting pragmatic meaning depends on the accretion of a wide range of language data; the examination of the verbal and non-verbal cues employed by interlocutors to jointly construct meaning through the 'interweaving of linguistic analysis, local contextual information, and sociolinguistic dimensions such as socio-cultural and historical information' (LoCastro, 2012:xi). In short, it is the inferences that are drawn from language in use, both linguistic and non-linguistic, that provide essential information as to how such forms and behaviours are intended to be interpreted, or might be, within the given context. In this way, essential to pragmatics is the recognition that there may be gaps between the literal and denotative meaning of an utterance and the connotative meanings of any message being conveyed. A simple example being that if a father were to remark to his son, 'It's a big help when you do things around the home' is he; (a) praising the boy for his help, (b) reminding the boy that he should be helping, or (c) admonishing the boy for neglecting to help?

The capacity to effectively make use of the pragmatic features of a language refers to one's ability 'to go beyond the literal meaning of what is said or written, in order to interpret the intended meanings, assumptions, purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions that are being performed' (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010:5). Moreover, the facility to effectively comprehend and produce a communicative act requires knowledge of factors such as social distance, social status and cultural knowledge among participants. Barron (2003) describes competence in one's ability to use pragmatic features of language as 'knowledge of the linguistic resources available in a given language for realising particular illocutions, knowledge of the sequential aspects of speech acts and finally, knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of the particular languages' linguistic resources' (p. 10). Taking these factors into account, pragmatics examines the varying ways in which interlocutors express and assign meanings to wordings and behavious in order to effectively communicate while making choices regarding appropriateness, word choice, structures, appropriateness within the specific context, and the anticipated impact of their verbal and non verbal actions on the listener. In this respect, one of the challenges for researchers of pragmatics is to ascertain the principles and systems that motivate the speaker or writer when producing an utterance, and the listener or reader when interpreting the given message.

3.2 Cross-Cultural Pragmatics and Interlanguage Pragmatics

Over the past three decades, a diverse body of research exploring cross-cultural pragmatics (CCP) and interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) has emerged within the

pragmatics literature. The approach to pragmatics explored through CCP is to 'study pragmatic phenomena in different cultures in order to be able to set up comparisons and thus to predict possible misunderstandings' (Archer et al., 2012:110). In this way, CCP examines the challenges individuals experience in using and interpreting verbal and nonverbal behaviour by means of focusing on the causes of miscommunication. Taking a different line of inquiry, ILP is defined by Kasper (1998:184) as, 'the study of nonnative speakers' comprehension, production, and acquisition of linguistic action in L2, or put briefly, ILP investigates how to do things with words in a second language.' That is to say, ILP examines the individuals' L2 performance in interaction and concentrates on how one employs developing abilities in the target language to communicate (LoCastro, 2012:79). For this reason, a key feature of ILP research is the relationship among language learners' and users' grammatical development and pragmatic development.

Research into CCP and ILP explores and seeks to understand the systematic relationships between linguistic forms and the underlying values and beliefs that impact on the production and interpretation of language during interaction. The relevance of CCP in linguistic theory and as a practical area of importance for language teachers and students alike is underscored in Wierzbicka's (1991) comment:

In different societies and different communities, people speak differently; these differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic, they reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values; different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of in terms of

78

independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

(Wierzbicka, 1991:69)

Wierzbicka (1991) emphasises that variations in the conventions of language use are systematic, and that as a result, we can assume that ways of speaking can be comprehended fully only through an awareness of cultural values and priorities. This position in expanded upon by Ishihara and Cohen (2010) who note that many speech acts tend to follow in regular and predictable patterns for members of a given community. Nevertheless, the researchers note that variation occurs in language use as pragmatic norms denote 'a range of tendencies or conventions for pragmatic language use that are not absolute or fixed but are typical or generally preferred in the L2 community' (p. 13). For this reason, a shared native language, culture and social influences does not equate to a uniform interpretation or use of pragmatic conventions. For example, addressing distinctions within pragmatics, Schneider and Barron (2008) outline five types of variation as regional, socio-economic, ethnic, gender, and age-related. This framework, while not intended to serve as a closed set, illustrates the variation in language use both across and within socio-cultural groups. A case in point being Barron's (2009) examination of apologies across the US which found that while the same realisation types and strategies were commonly used, there was a difference in frequencies and distributions.

Recognising that communicative practices are situated within a specific context and in relation to specific influences on the individual participants, CCP and ILP research illustrates that diversity in languages and cultures can obscure pragmatic meaning and

that general patterns of variation in language conventions exist. In this sense, CCP and ILP research are fuelled by the understanding that within the modern world, people from different language and cultural backgrounds interact on a daily basis and that this interaction does not always progress as intended.

The potential obstacles within communication between individuals who may not share a language or socio-cultural frame of reference are noted by Archer et al. (2012:225) who comment that, 'Communication between speakers of different languages is fraught with difficulty, even between speakers who appear to know each other's language well.' Drawing attention to the challenges facing the language student and researcher, Ishihara and Cohen (2010:10) remark that, 'What makes the study of speech acts across languages all the more interesting is that while these core strategies tend to exist in most languages, knowing whether they are applied in the given language context, and if so, determining when, how, and why they say what they say can be challenging.' Research in the fields of both CCP and ILP recognises that individuals from different cultures, societies and speech communities may interact in accordance with different language conventions that may not always be obvious to the listener or even apparent to the speaker. Moreover, assumptions regarding pragmatic norms influence the meaning assigned to language during communication and impact on the verbal and nonverbal communication strategies by which people elect to express themselves.

Recognising the potential for variance in pragmatic norms, the avoidance of cross-cultural misunderstanding requires a level of awareness of social norms, cultural reasoning, and the impact of language on the interlocutor (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010:14).

While it is one thing to accept the need for the language student to acquire knowledge of the cultural and social reasoning behind the use of a target language, a primary obstacle to identifying the motivations behind pragmatic forms lies in the very fact that divergence between the L1 and L2 may not be obvious. The pragmatic rules for language use, as Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan Taylor (2003) point out, 'are often subconscious, and even NS (native speakers) are often unaware of pragmatic rules until they are broken (and feelings are hurt, offense is taken, or sometimes things just seem a bit odd)' (p.1-2). Moreover, in addition to an unintended listener response, the violation of pragmatic forms can influence the interpretation of meaning and thereby interfere with communicative goals. In this way, diversity in the pragmatic norms by which individuals interact may result in incompatible expectations and lead to 'misperceptions' about the other group (Boxer, 2002). In other words, potential incongruity in the interpretation of language use and behaviour may incorrectly inform not only the intended meaning behind an illocutionary act, but also how one chooses to identify the interlocutor.

To illustrate diversity in the use of language, albeit in a limited way, one can look at the use of language in conducting speech acts such as thanking and refusing as negotiated in Japanese and English. As Bouchard (2011) notes, the Japanese receiver of a gift will typically register gratitude through responding 'sorry' *(sumimasen)* whereas non-Japanese are likely to regard expressions such as 'Thank you' or 'Oh, you shouldn't have' as pragmatically appropriate (p. 82). Bouchard theorises that 'in Japanese, 'Thank you' as an expression of gratitude does not always sound sincere enough' (p. 82). Shedding light on this gap in pragmatic expectations, Kondo (2008) points out that the

Japanese expression *sumimasen* is multifunctional and used for both apologising and thanking, yet tends to be translated in English as 'I'm sorry'. Consequently, while a non-Japanese speaker may assume that it is an inappropriate expression of thanks, the Japanese speaker tends to view the communicative expression of thanks as requiring one to simultaneously convey indebtedness as well as thanks (Ide, 1998; Kumatoridani, 1999). Consequently, for the receiver of a gift, *sumimasen* serves as an appropriate expression of gratitude while at the same time registering indebtedness for the generosity and potential inconvenience that has resulted from the purchase.

The potential confusion when pragmatic forms from the native language and culture are transferred to the second language performance is illustrated in studies such as the examination of refusals (Kondo, 2008; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987). *Pragmatic transfer*, identified as 'any use by NNSs (non-native speakers) of speech act realisation strategies or linguistic means that is different from L2 NS (native-speaker) use and similar to L1 NS use' (Kasper & Dahl, 1991:225), is evident in Kondo's (2008) research of Japanese native speakers' formulaic, non-specific reasons when in refusal situations. Similarly, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) found that refusals by Japanese, compared to those by Americans, seemed unspecific, empathetic, and lofty. Specifically, Kondo found that Japanese exhibited a tendency to practice phrasing refusals by not finishing sentences in order to avoid directly rejecting an offer. Moreover, Kondo found that Americans preferred to employ 'Positive Opinion', 'Gratitude' and 'Future Acceptance' when refusing in English. In contrast, Japanese students were more likely than Americans to use expressions such as 'Regret' and 'I'm sorry', which the researcher hypothesised, was 'probably caused by cultural norms and the tendency of the Japanese to prefer to

humble themselves to appeal to the empathy of the hearer in order to restore rapport with others' (p. 161). These examples suggest that the use of the L2 was embedded in social relations which have been transferred from Japanese into English.

The above examples suggest that the underlying values and beliefs behind the performance and interpretation of speech acts performed in the L1 can be transferred to verbal and nonverbal interaction in the L2. Hence, divergence in L1 and L2 pragmatic forms may create confusion, or in a worst case scenario, result in communication breakdown or unintended offence if the speaker is unable to communicate the intended message while conforming to standards of socio-cultural appropriateness held by the interlocutor. For instance, in the case of refusals it is conceivable that an English speaker may find a prematurely abandoned response and the absence of a concrete reason for refusal as implying the absence of legitimate excuse. Consequently the refusal becomes a potential source of offence as the receiver of the refusal is left to contemplate 'Why?' The challenge for interlocutors becomes one of co-constructing meaning in line with cultural, social and individual expectations that may not be shared or obvious. This of relevance to the following study for the reason that within the context of the classroom the English language teacher's verbal and non-verbal interaction with Japanese students is guided by patterns of language use, attitudes, and behaviour influenced by cultural, social and linguistic factors. Of interest here is that irrespective of the teacher's communicative intentions, failure to recognise the potential for variance in the production and interpretation of language within the language classroom can result in misunderstandings.

3.3 Pragmatic Failure

The term *pragmatic failure* denotes a wide range of communicative dysfunctions and misunderstandings. Pragmatic failure is characterised by Riley (2006) as resulting from 'an interactant's applying inappropriate social rules or knowledge to the production and interpretation of discourse and related communicative behaviours' (p. 313). In short, individuals may express themselves and interpret meaning according to socio-culturally informed patterns of language use that are not readily identifiable without an insider's perspective. Described by Thomas (1983) as 'the inability to understand 'what is meant by what is said'', cross-cultural pragmatic failure is explained by Thomas as a mismatch of schema and interpretive frame in which interactants from different cultural backgrounds misunderstand or miscommunicate intended meanings (p. 91). Simply put, during communication the speaker produces language and the listener assigns meaning in accordance with his own socially and culturally informed worldview. Pragmatic failure affects language production and interpretation in the sense that interlocutors are bound by their own socio-cultural norms and will typically use these as the basis from which to evaluate each other.

Thomas (1983), based on Leech's (1983) distinction between sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics, discusses two kinds of pragmatic failure: sociopragmatic failure and pragmalinguistic failure. Pragmalinguistic failure occurs when the illocutionary force of the utterance is different from the force assigned to it by the native speakers of the target language, or when speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from L1 to L2. On the other hand, sociopragmatic failure deals with the social conditions placed on

language in use and occurs when the speaker fails to perform the required speech act in the right context and in using the appropriate language forms. For this reason, sociopragmatic failure stems from different intercultural perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour and as a consequence, engages one's beliefs and value system. This engagement refers to implicit social meanings and deals with mismatches in social aspects of language use such as the miscalculation of size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance, and relative power, which may be caused by cross-cultural differences in understanding certain social values. Thomas (1983) makes clear that while pragmalinguistic failure is basically a linguistic problem caused by differences in the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force, sociopragmatic failure stems from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour.

The distinctions between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure are useful, however the borderline is often blurred in the sense that both are fundamentally concerned with perceptions of socio-cultural norms. For example, a Japanese speaker of English may apologise when giving a gift due to transfer from Japanese interaction strategies. In Japanese, when handing a gift to a business associate, a Japanese speaker may say: *'Kore wa tsumaranai mono desuga, yoroshikattara douzo'* (Literal translation: This is something worthless/trifling, but I would be happy if you accepted it.). The speaker intentionally understates the value and appeal of the gift however, it is understood by the recipient that this is not a reflection of the true value of the gift. On the contrary, gifts are typically given to those of higher status or someone who has, or is expected to be of assistance to the gift giver. Consequently, the gift has in all likelihood

85

been carefully selected as the value is determined in proportion to the debt incurred and importance of the relationship. In this case, it is difficult to determine whether the Japanese speaker's decision to use an English apology when handing the gift to the recipient represents pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic failure. As the act of giving gifts as an indication of the value placed on a relationship is closely associated with Japanese culture it is not easy to specify an equivalent socio-cultural context or pragmatically appropriate English speech act.

As pragmalinguistic failure represents a problem with the linguistic encoding of pragmatic meaning or force, an important source of this type of error is pragmalinguistic transfer. As discussed above, this occurs when specific L1 speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from the L1 to L2. On the other hand, a distinctive feature of sociopragmatics is the interdependent relation between linguistic forms and socio-cultural contexts (Harlow, 1990:328). It is the knowledge of how to vary the language output in speech acts according to different situations and/or social considerations which is why Thomas (1983) sites sociopragmatic failure as being more difficult to correct than pragmalinguistic failure. As an example of this type of sociopragmatic transfer, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) studied differences in how Japanese and Americans refuse initiating acts such as requests, invitations, offers and so forth. The researchers found that Japanese were status-sensitive whereas Americans were familiarity-sensitive. As a result, the Japanese participants changed their behaviour according to relative social power and employed more elaborate speech for superiors, while less for subordinates. In contrast, American participants changed their behaviour according to social distance and employed more elaborate speech for intimates, while

less for strangers.

The implications of pragmatic failure may be considerable given that pragmatic errors are not usually marked as clearly as grammatical errors. In other words, while a grammatical error when refusing an invitation may alert the native speaker to potential difficulties a non-native speaking interlocutor may be experiencing in interpreting the invitation or formulating a response, deviation from L1 pragmatic forms tend to go unnoticed. For this reason, an individual may not recognise or respond to the pragmatic deviation and instead, evaluate the refusal based on what he views as L1 standards. As LoCastro (2012) notes, 'Grammatical errors made by a nonnative English speaker may be forgiven, a mistake attributed to low proficiency in the target language. However, speakers are less willing to explain away pragmatic failures' (p. 85). The stakes become higher when the pragmatic infringement directly threatens the interlocutor or in some way contradicts standards associated with the specific interactional context. Having said this, points of student/teacher disparity in the following analysis of classroom data and participant reflections suggest it cannot be assumed that the L2 speaker will automatically desire to adhere to L1 pragmatic standards. We address this through attention to relevant literature in the following section and the data findings presented in Part 3.

3.4 Pragmatics and Resistance to a Native-Speaker Model

Within the context of the classroom, language students bring to the classroom a diverse and unique set of socio-cultural backgrounds, experiences and beliefs which inform

their expectations regarding the L2, the classroom, and the roles they associate with both the teacher and the student. This worldview, even within a homogenous group, will manifest itself through varying expectations and learning styles. In addition, we can add to this mix the teacher whose background, experiences, beliefs, and professional knowledge will influence the learning environment (see Borg, 2003, 2013; Ishihara, 2010; Shulman & Shulman, 2004 for discussion of teacher education and beliefs). Ishihara and Tarone (2009) note that within most classrooms in which pragmatic features of the target language are taught it is the *'native-speaker model'* or *'native norms'* which students are expected to emulate. This position is based on the premise that students will desire to use the L2 in line with native speaker standards. This theme is taken up by McKay (2002:12) who argues that the evolving nature of English as an international language for communication and the expression of culture raise questions regarding student objectives. McKay suggests that the primary objective of the student is to effectively communicate their ideas and culture. The point being that the student, while developing the ability to use the L2, may not necessarily aspire to becoming a virtual native speaker of the target language or to align with the native-speaker model.

Student resistance to sociopragmatic norms and their pragmalinguistic manifestations can generate insight into underlying ideologies, cultural values, social practices and assumptions that inform language students' worldview regarding the native language and the target language. Challenging the assumption that a 'native-speaker model' of language use is the accepted objective for the student, Haugh (2007) notes that L2 users are receptive to some pragmatic features of the second language while resisting others. Haugh maintains that this is evident particularly when 'underlying values formed

through first language experiences are perceived to be inconsistent with values underlying language use in the second language' (p. 658). This position is reflected in the work of Dewaele (2008) which points out that the L2 user may not necessarily elect to perform 'appropriately' even if aware of appropriateness associated with a new language or culture. Amongst other alternatives, options the student has include the avoidance of interactions that may lead to inappropriate behaviours or accommodation to the L1 norm to achieve a desired outcome (Dewaele, 2008). Divergence from or alignment with perceived pragmatic norms of a speech community is not a onetime decision as students may at times 'model themselves after native speakers or follow culturally acceptable norms in the community' while at other times elect to 'intentionally behave rather uniquely in order to preserve their subjectivity' (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009:301). In this way, whether conscious or subconscious, students are constantly evaluating pragmatic choices in line with their own worldview and their own subjective position.

Research has illustrated that language students may demonstrate affective resistance toward the use of certain native-speaker norms and to maintain identity, may deliberately engage pragmatic features of the L1 even when known to be inappropriate (Al-Issa, 2003; Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; Robinson, 1992; Siegal, 1996). Speaking to this issue, Ishihara and Tarone (2009) noted that L2 Japanese speakers' were unwilling to embrace specific pragmatic norms that they felt challenged their values. The researchers highlighted that one of the participants elected to use *keigo* (Japanese honorifics) when interacting with a younger employee even though aware that this was inconsistent with the expected Japanese pragmatic language forms. The participant

made this decision because he felt that not to employ honorifics would conflict with his views of human equality. Similarly, Siegal (1996) reported that a female western learner of Japanese felt affective resistance to Japanese female language norms because she regarded them as being too humble. Underscoring cross-cultural disparities, Robinson (1992) noted that female Japanese learners of English felt uncomfortable refusing in English, because they felt refusing was not so desirable in Japan. In these cases, observance of L1 pragmatic norms was not regarded as an indication of L2 limitations but rather an attempt to assert social identities in a way the speakers found appropriate and comfortable.

A final point concerns the idealised and misleading view of a 'native-speaker model' of pragmatic competence as somehow guaranteeing the language student communicative precision. Specifically, the 'native-speaker model' begs the question whether the native speaker is in fact always an effective communicator. Speaking to this concern, Coupland et al. (1991:3) state that 'language use and communication are (...) pervasively and even intrinsically flawed, partial, and problematic.' In many ways this underscores what we all know to be true; that being the native speaker is not always the ideal communicator in every situation. It goes without saying that there are native speakers who struggle to effectively communicate and conversely, non-native speakers who excel at communicating even when faced with limited L2 proficiency. Accordingly, idealising a 'native-speaker model' as the target for language students promotes expectations and assumes standards that may not only be inconsistent with student goals, but also create a false sense of universal standards of pragmatic forms that students should aspire to. Challenging the validity of the 'native speaker model', Cook (1999) stresses that as L2

users know more than one language they are naturally different from L1 monolingual speakers. Hence, Cook makes the point that L2 researchers and teachers should recognise L2 users as legitimate speakers in their own right as opposed to a failed approximation of L2 monolingual native speakers.

3.5 Pragmatics and Intercultural Communicative Competence

The term *communicative competence*, defined in different ways by different scholars, is built on the premise that understanding a language requires more than the ability to assemble and perform lexical items according to grammatical rules. Researchers have argued that to become a competent second language user, one needs to be able to produce and interpret the target language in a way which is appropriate to the context, the participants, relationships, and socio-cultural rules for interaction which may not always be obvious (Bachman & Palmer, 1996; Canale & Swain, 1980, 1981). In short, to effectively communicate one must have the ability to produce language which is structurally accurate and appropriate to the context.

The concept of communicative competence was initially introduced by Hymes (1966) in reaction to Chomsky's (1965) notion of linguistic competence and its perceived inadequacies in its failure to account for contextual appropriateness. Stressing the role of context, Saville-Troike (1996:362) explains communicative competence as 'what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community.' In other words, socio-cultural factors relevant to the specific communicative context inform the speaker's verbal and non-verbal behaviour. While

definitions of communicative competence vary, there is agreement that students cannot master a target language without adequate knowledge of the culture related to that language (see Bachman, 1990; Canale & Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia, 1995 et al.; Saville-Troike, 1996). Bachman's (1990) model identifies communicative competence as consisting of language competence, strategic competence, and psychological mechanisms. Based on this model, language competence comprises both organisational competence and pragmatic competence, which is further explained as encompassing illocutionary and socio-linguistic competence. Pragmatic competence is characterised by Bachman as 'the relationships between utterances and the acts of functions that speakers (or writers) intend to perform through these utterances, which can be called the illocutionary force of utterances, and the characteristics of the context of language use that determine the appropriateness of utterances' (pp. 89-90). Importantly, Bachman's model regards pragmatic competence as interacting with 'organizational competence' to enhance communicative competence.

In recent years, there has been a shift as the concept of communicative competence has been transformed into the concept of intercultural communicative competence (ICC). The European Council defines ICC as 'The ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities' and the 'ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality' (Byram et al., 2002:14). This definition highlights the collaborative nature of ICC and emphasises that humans are complex, dynamic and diverse (ICC is discussed in greater detail in section 12). Scarino (2009) explains intercultural language learning as being primarily about the way in which 'language and culture come into play in creating and exchanging

meaning' (p. 69). For this reason intercultural language learning focuses on the development of students' ability 'to recognise and integrate into their communication an understanding of themselves as already situated in their own language(s) and culture(s)' and when communicating, 'to recognise that others also approach communication from the background of their own experiences within their own language(s) and culture(s)' (Scarino, 2009:69). In addition, Scarino highlights that intercultural language learning recognises that individuals 'interpret communication and relationships through the frame of reference of their cumulative experience within their own language and culture' and this cumulative experience is 'constantly reconsidered and re-articulated, and re-shapes the frame of reference that people draw upon in creating and interpreting meaning' (p. 69). The need to foster ICC alongside linguistic competence has arisen from students' need to acquire intercultural skills for cross-cultural communication in which they are likely to experience linguistic and cultural barriers. In other words, the shift towards the concept of ICC embraces awareness of the need for a more holistic approach to communicative competence fueled by a growing understanding that language and culture cannot and should not be separated. Accordingly, ICC stresses the mediation between different cultures, namely, the ability to look at oneself from an 'external' perspective, analyze and adapt one's own behaviours, values and beliefs (Byram & Zarate, 1997).

The view of competence as embraced by ICC regards a primary goal of language education as building knowledge of both the native and target language cultures and culturally-shaped identities. The point being here that intercultural language teaching focuses on the teaching of both culture and language as interlocked. Awareness of one's

own cultural dimensions, often not apparent at a conscious level, is viewed as critical in the successful mediation of interaction with people from other cultures. The language student is involved in a process of negotiation in which the language and culture of both the L1 and L2 are valued. Liddicoat et al. (2003) describe intercultural language learning as follows:

> Intercultural language learning involves the fusing of language, culture and learning into a single educative approach. It begins with the idea that language, culture and learning are fundamentally interrelated and places this interrelationship at the centre of the learning process. (…) Intercultural language learning involves developing with learners an understanding of their own language(s) and culture(s) in relation to an additional language and culture. It is a dialogue that allows for reaching a common ground for negotiation to take place, and where variable points of view are recognised, mediated and accepted.
>
> (Liddicoat et al., 2003:43)

This approach to culture encourages students to interact, to structure and understand their own social world in order to be better able to communicate with people from other cultures. Thus cultural knowledge is not viewed as acquired information about a foreign culture, but as the capacity to interpret cultural contexts and interact within them. According to Beneke (2000):

> Intercultural communication in the wider sense of the word involves the use of significantly different linguistic codes and contact between people holding

significantly different sets of values and models of the world. Intercultural competence is to a large extent the ability to cope with one's own cultural background in interaction with others.

(Beneke, 2000:108-109).

Consequently, ICC is linked not only to one's sensitivity to features of the target language culture, but also represents the ability to recognise the culture, behaviours, values and beliefs that one brings to any interaction. Crozet (2007:5) describes intercultural language learning as 'the turning inward of cultural information through self-reflection leading to an enhanced understanding of the role of culture/language in the construct of world-views.' Byram's (1997) model proposes that ICC consists of five components: attitudes, knowledge, two sets of skills and awareness:

- Attitudes

  values and beliefs, curiosity and openness

  relativising self and valuing others

- Knowledge

  of self and others in communication

  of other cultures

  of processes of interaction: individual and societal

- Skills

  for interpreting and relating

- Skills

  for discovering and interacting

- Awareness

  critical cultural awareness.

Importantly, Byram's model does not view the native-speaker as the model for the language student. Instead, the objective is for language students to become intercultural speakers. Similarly, assimilation to the target culture norms is not seen as the objective of acquiring language. On the contrary, it is the development of an intermediate position as a means of mediating between cultural frameworks. In order to achieve this objective, language students follow the norms of an 'intercultural speaker' that require them to acquire the 'competences which enable them to mediate/interpret the values, beliefs and behaviours (the 'cultures') of themselves and of others and to 'stand on the bridge' or indeed 'be the bridge' between people of different languages and cultures' (Byram, 2006:12). Language students are to be encouraged to understand their own identities in relation to others and to recognise that identities change and develop as a result of exposure to new cultures. In this sense, the intercultural speaker is charged with building a new place for himself based on an understanding of and respect for cultural diversity.

Intercultural language teaching represents an approach to culture in language learning in which students are encouraged to engage with their own and others' cultures in order to establish an ability to move between these worlds. Students are encouraged to recognise the culturally-shaped worldviews that shape their personal identities. Not only does intercultural teaching involve developing the students' critical cultural awareness, but also focuses on teaching the skills and attitudes needed to understand and effectively

interact with people from different cultures, that is, to become interculturally competent. Liddicoat (2002, 2005) illustrates a pathway for acquiring intercultural competence as a model of student's internal processes of noticings, reflections and language production. This pathway requires students to interpret and construct their own model of culture learning through cultural exploration.
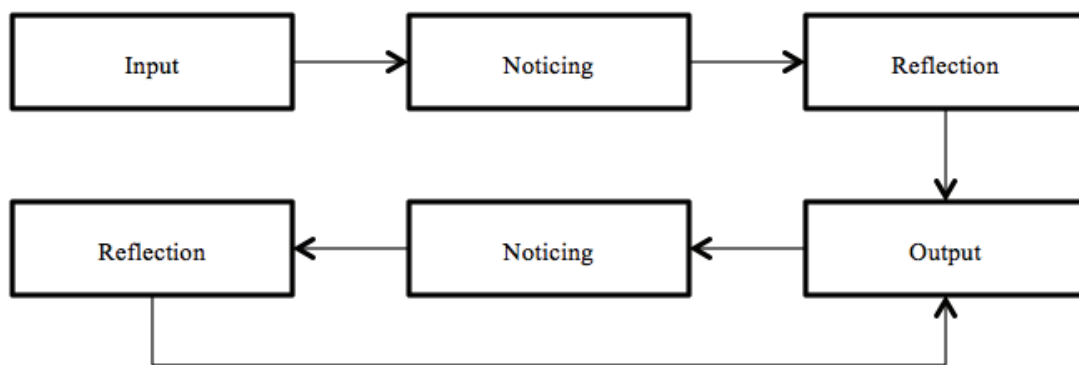
Figure 3: A Pathway for Developing Intercultural Competence

The student begins with knowledge of the practices of their own first culture and gradually acquires an approximated system of practices through exposure to new input. The approach involves awareness-raising opportunities to reflect on one's own culture, experimentation with the new culture, and choosing how to respond to cultural differences. This requires 'the turning inward of cultural information through self-reflection leading to enhanced understanding of the role of culture/language in the construct of worldviews' (Crozet, 2007:5). Students infer, compare, interpret, discuss and negotiate meaning (Liddicoat et al., 2003) through this process that is referred to as the finding of a 'third place' (Kramsch, 1993). This 'third place' is described by

Kramsch (1993:236) as 'the interstices between cultures that the learner grew up with and the new cultures he or she is being introduced to.' According to Kramsch, this third place is the one where L2 learners synthesise elements of different cultures and establish their own understanding of the cultural differences between those cultures. The last section of the pathway involves intercultural negotiation in action captured as a cyclical process. In this way, developing ICC is viewed as an ongoing process in which students continue to develop and act with intercultural understanding.

3.6 Should and Can Pragmatics be Taught?

Recognising that pragmatic forms are not always shared by native speakers and not always welcomed by the language student, the teacher is left to ponder what role if any pragmatics instruction should play in the language classroom. Focusing on awareness raising, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor's (2003:38) argue that 'The goal of instruction in pragmatics is not to insist on conformity to a particular target-language norm, but rather to help learners become familiar with the range of pragmatic devices and practices in the target language.' This position reflects an analysis of previous studies in pragmatic instruction research conducted by Rose and Kasper (2001) which cautions that 'Teaching target norms, which learners are then forced to use, does not seem to be an appropriate way to teach pragmatics, as learners' pragmatic choices are connected with their cultural identities' (p. 153). The problem may be intensified if the student is forced to comply and not given explicit explanations regarding why and how native speakers conventionally use the target language as they do.

When teachers incorporate pedagogical strategies that are culturally and linguistically responsive, they have been able to increase student efficacy, motivation, and achievement (Archer et al., 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lee, 2001). With this in mind, the objective of instruction is therefore not to enforce student conformity to all of those features associated with the target language, but to facilitate awareness of 'pragmatic devices and practices in the target language' (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003:5). In this way, students can be encouraged to develop awareness of the context in which communication is taking place and identify how to interpret and respond appropriately to the situation. This issue has been addressed by Ishihara and Tarone (2009) who make the important distinction between receptive and productive pragmatic competence. That is, even if students choose not to produce native-like language and behave in a native-like manner, it is important for them to learn to recognise and understand intentions, nuances, politeness, rudeness in others' linguistic production.

The teaching of pragmatics is regarded as a complex undertaking as the use of language, both the target language and native language, is intricately connected with cultural beliefs, values, specific situations, interlocutors, and other variables. In addition, for pragmatic instruction to be effective, it is critical that pragmatics forms a part of the language teacher's content and pedagogical knowledge. Research suggests that students need to recognise, understand, and depending upon their goals, learn to engage in pragmatically appropriate exchanges, as well as be cognisant of the wider socio-cultural norms governing pragmatic exchanges (Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Koike & Pearson, 2005; LoCastro, 2012; Ross & Kasper, 2013; Taguchi, 2012). The language classroom can potentially provide a non-threatening

environment for exploring the relationship between the pragmatics of the L1 and L2 as students can be encouraged to experiment with pragmatic options and be guided as they discuss and reflect on their experiences.

Research as early as the 1980s found that language students who achieved a high level of structural proficiency in a target language would not necessarily have attained equal proficiency in pragmatic aptitude (Schmidt, 1983; Swain, 1985; Thomas, 1983). Furthermore, research has demonstrated that language students exhibit considerable differences from native speakers in the area of language use, in the execution and comprehension of speech acts, and in the management of conversation such as back channeling, silences and short responses (see for example, Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Kasper & Rose, 1999). Underscoring the importance of pragmatics, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) argue that L2 instruction should attend to matters of pragmatics for the very reason that 'the majority of learners apparently do not acquire the pragmatics of the target language on their own' (p. 3). As Cohen (2008:226) notes 'many advanced language learners are able to utilise complex linguistic systems, but are unable to express and interpret meaning in order to perform language functions (e.g., apologies, requests) appropriately'. Thomas (1983:110) concurs in suggesting that pragmatic competence cannot be simply 'grafted' on to grammatical competence. In a similar vein, Childs (2005) highlights the crucial role of pragmatics in the following comment:

Pragmatics is not an optional add-on. It is a necessary facet of language and of language learning. This is because the whole point is no longer grammatical form

but communication of meaning and that is based on situations. The emphasis is on

appropriate patterns, whether they are grammatical or not.

<div align="right">(Childs, 2005:23)</div>

The teaching of pragmatics aims to expand the language students' ability to recognise

and use socially and culturally appropriate language in relation to the varying situations

encountered when interacting in the target language. Awareness of L2 pragmatic forms

is seen as crucial to enhancing one's ability to communicate and interpret meaning

accurately within specific socio-cultural contexts. For this reason, building pragmatic

competence is recognised as an essential component in the acquisition of language.

Ethnographic research conducted both inside and outside of the classroom reveals rich

language and literacy practices that may otherwise go undetected (Dyson, 2005; Mahiri,

2004). The immediate question remains one of whether pragmatics can be taught. The

answer appears to be a decisive 'Yes'. Research clearly demonstrates that instruction

targeting the pragmatic features of a language positively impacts on students L2

pragmatic competence (see Alcon, 2005; Alcón-Soler & Martínez-Flor, 2008; Jeon &

Kaya, 2006; Kasper, 2001; Kasper & Roever, 2005; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Kasper &

Schmidt, 1996; Kondo, 2008; Rose, 2005; Rose & Kasper, 2001; Ross & Kasper, 2013;

Taguchi, 2012; Yoshida et al., 2000). As pragmatics is held to be teachable, research

has illustrated that language students require opportunities to develop control of

pragmatic forms of the target language in order to effectively and appropriately draw on

pragmatic knowledge during real world communicative exchanges. As knowledge of

pragmatics and the capacity to use pragmatic strategies are gained both implicitly and

explicitly, it is widely agreed that it is necessary for explicit pragmatics instruction to be integrated into the L2 English curriculum at the early stages of learning, and maintained at every level of students' L2 proficiency (see Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; LoCastro, 2012).

As attention to the need for pragmatics instruction within the language classroom intensifies, there has been an increase in pedagogical suggestions outlining techniques and activities to develop pragmatic awareness through noticing, understanding and producing pragmatic forms (see Archer et al., 2012; Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan, 2006). In order to raise pragmatic awareness, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) promote moving away from a teacher centred classroom and creating options for practicing L2 pragmatic abilities through student-centred interaction. Among other matters, Kasper (1997) notes that student-centred activities extend students' speaking time, provide opportunities to practice conversational management, perform communicative acts, and interact with peers. In terms of pedagogical steps, Kasper (1997) has argued that the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge requires pertinent and recognisable input in addition to opportunities to develop a 'high level of processing control in order to access relevant knowledge quickly and effectively in different communicative contexts' (p. 148). The two primary types of activities frequently cited in research are awareness-raising activities and activities that focus on communicative practice. Kondo (2008) cites awareness-raising activities as a means by which to sensitise students to cultural differences and variables involved in language use. Stressing the importance of awareness raising activities, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) maintain that

instruction in pragmatics requires authentic language samples and input preceding interpretation or production activities. In this approach, awareness-raising activities are followed by interactive opportunities and hands on student-centred interaction designed to rehearse linguistic forms and contextualised pragmatic meaning. To achieve this, Kasper (1997) suggests the inclusion of activities such as role-play, simulation, and drama to engage students in different social roles and speech events.

As early as 1983, Thomas outlined the teachers' responsibility as being to 'equip the student to express her/himself in exactly the way s/he chooses to do so - rudely, tactfully, or in an elaborately polite manner' (p. 96). Thomas goes on to explain that the teacher's role is to provide the student with the necessary knowledge to prevent him from 'being unintentionally rude or subservient' (p. 96). For this reason, awareness of pragmatic norms and appropriate contextualised use of language is regarded as a way of enabling rather than restricting the student. The teacher is the bridge by which students develop pragmatic awareness in order to make linguistic choices that are informed. The focus on empowering the language student is consistent with contemporary research such as that expressed in Kondo's (2008:153) view that students need to be given 'the opportunity in the classroom to reflect on their own linguistic choices, compare those choices with pragmatic features of the target language and then to try out the various other options available to them.' The objective being for the language student to have the pragmatic tools whereby he can choose how to express himself and to have knowledge of how his choices may be interpreted by an interlocutor. In this way, through instruction, Kondo maintains that students can preserve their own cultural identities and communicate in the target language with greater control over the intended

force and outcome of their language use. Regarding the teaching of pragmatics, a key goal is thus for the language student to become a more effective and successful communicator capable of participating in a variety of communicative contexts with different interlocutors. In short, students are encouraged to understand the target language and control it in a way consistent with their individual, social, and cultural identities. This position raises questions of cross-cultural linguistic *politeness, face* and *identity* which are addressed in the next section, Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Face/Identity and Politeness Theory

4.1 Overview

The multi-dimensional concept of face is central to the following study of classroom politeness and identities observed and interpreted during English activities. Linguistic politeness, viewed as a key focus of the field of pragmatics, attends to 'meaning in interaction' (Thomas, 1995:23) and the possible ways in which information can be communicated in order to protect the participants and the appropriateness of the context. Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical basis for the study by means of a critical examination of the key fields of *politeness, face* and *identity*. First, an overview of the central construct of face is developed through attention to Goffman's (1955) theory of social interaction and Brown and Levinson's (1978) influential politeness theory. The chapter continues with a review of literature both for and against Brown and Levinson's notion of face and theory of universal politeness with a concentration on Japanese scholarship

and in the context of the Japanese language. The following chapter provides an overview of identity which examines the interrelationship between identity and face. The purpose in so doing is to present a broad sketch of the background to the main themes, namely face and identity, which are examined through close attention to the voices of students during retrospective interviews following English learning activities with a native-speaker teacher. The results and discussion (Part 3) draw extensively from the literature examined in the following section in order to highlight key areas of divergence pertaining to the construct of face and the degree to which it can account for elements of linguistic politeness across cultural contexts (see Arundale, 2006, 2009, 2010; Gu, 1990; Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2010; Ide, 1989, 1992; Matsumoto, 1988; Nwoye, 1992; Pizziconi, 2003). The following review of literature draws extensively from Japanese scholarship in order to build a platform from which to explore cultural, social and linguistic factors which influence the Japanese students' management of face and identity alignment as observed in classroom-based learning activities and participant feedback on this participation.

4.2 Goffman on Face and Facework

Face has been and continues to be the focus of a great deal of research in applied linguistics. The concept of face, widely understood in the fields of sociology and linguistics as 'the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event' (Scollon & Scollon, 1995:35) is derived from the basic assumption that as social beings we are united by an intrinsic concern for how we are perceived by others (Haugh & Hinze, 2003). Located in the flow of daily

communication, face denotes the public self-image human beings wish to maintain and as such can be drawn upon to explicate an extensive range of phenomena including those emotional and social aspects that 'a person expects others to recognise and acknowledge' (LoCastro, 2003:110). During interaction, the collaborative practice of attending to mutual face claims is viewed as a dynamic process by which one petitions an interlocutor in order to develop and/or maintain those positive aspects of face that the individual values, in accordance with cultural, social and individual notions of appropriateness. In addition to these private face claims, one's linguistic motivations are seen as being guided by an awareness of the need to engage in the reciprocal process of attending to an addressee's face claims. In order to understand this twofold negotiation of both petitioning and granting face and how it relates to contemporary theories of linguistic politeness it is appropriate to begin by a discussion of the American sociologist Erving Goffman's concept of face.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, Goffman developed a theory of social interaction which maintained that people process certain variables when deciding the form of their speech. Goffman (1955) referred to these variables as matters concerning face and hypothesised that during the process of interaction individuals consciously or sub-consciously structure their verbal and non-verbal behaviour through accounting for these variables. These variables include aspects such as one's relationship to the interlocutor, the situation in which the exchange takes place, and the nature of what it is we wish to communicate. According to Goffman (1967):

Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an

image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.

(Goffman, 1967:5)

Goffman's examination of face-to-face interaction presents a framework for the interpretation of social exchanges based on the notion that the construct of face can potentially explain how people elect to present themselves in social situations. As earlier noted, Goffman refers to the actions taken by an individual in order to make whatever he is doing consistent with face, as facework (1967:12). Bargiela-Chiappini's (2003) re-examination of Goffman's (1955) original conceptualization of face notes that, 'For Goffman, 'facework' has to do with self-presentation in social encounters, and although individual psychology matters, it is the interactional order that is the focus of Goffman's study' (p. 1463). In this sense, facework represents the speaker's endeavours to interact in a positive manner when publicly presenting himself and responding to an interlocutor's face claims in order to maintain what he assumes to be social appropriateness. According to Goffman's publication 'On face-work' (1955; republished 1967):

In any society, whenever the physical possibility of spoken interaction arises, it seems that a system of practices, conventions, and procedural rules comes into play which functions as a means of guiding and organizing the flow of messages. An understanding will prevail as to when and where it will be permissible to initiate talk, among whom, and by means of what topics of conversation.

(Goffman, 1955:33-4)

107

The 'understanding' that Goffman (1955) speaks of assumes that interlocutors will recognise a system of practices, conventions and procedural rules that will enable the speaker to project positive value, support the interlocutor's face, and work to preserve the equilibrium of the encounter. Goffman defines face as 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' (p. 213). The line taken refers to 'a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself' (Goffman, 1967:5). According to Goffman, when a line and image are in agreement the speaker is regarded as maintaining face, however if there is discontinuity between the desired line and image then this is described as being 'in the wrong face' (Goffman, 1955:339). Watts (2003) characterises Goffman's concept of face as 'the conceptualizisation each of us makes of our 'self' through the construals of others in social interaction and particularly in verbal interaction, i.e. through talk' (p. 124). In other words, the line an individual takes in social encounters is formulated according to how he wishes to be recognised and valued, how he views the interlocutor, and how he perceives the situation.

According to Goffman's (1967) theory of face, social encounters are enacted in such a way that mutual face claims are maintained through self-respect and considerateness. Reflecting on Goffman's concept of face, Watts (2003) emphasises that the notion is not regarded as a permanent aspect of our construction of the self, but rather is impacted by the flow of events that occur during interaction. To highlight this shifting status, Watts defines face as a 'socially attributed aspect of self that is temporarily on loan for the

duration of the interaction in accordance with the line or lines that the individual has adopted' (p. 125). In this sense, an individual who is granted face during interaction may subsequently find that a line he employs results in face being withdrawn. For example, a teacher who explains a new concept to students may be granted face for his skill and expert knowledge when instructing the class. The same teacher however, may decide that a number of students require further practice and set the class an additional task to be completed after class. The assumption that students are struggling (whether correct or incorrect) and the decision to have all students complete supplementary work, may strike the students as unreasonable and result in the teacher's face being withdrawn.

Throughout the process of interaction the individual not only seeks to claim face but also responds to the face claims of the interlocutor. According to Goffman's (1967) theory, these 'actions' may be conscious or unconscious, and often become habitual. In this way an individual, through verbal and non-verbal strategies employed to enact face, may elect to uphold, enhance or potentially challenge another person's face. The link between the maintenance of one's face and preservation of the specific social situation is explained in Manning's (1992) account of Goffman's work in which he comments that 'there is a general conspiracy to save face so that social situations can also be saved' (p. 38). The implication being here that facework not only defines the individual, but serves to regulate conduct according to the specific situation. Consequently, the strategies engaged during interaction and the ways in which one chooses to conduct himself in public are profoundly influenced by one's interpretation of social appropriateness and the social image he desires to construct, preserve, and build on.

By way of example, one can look at the interactional work carried out by a teacher and parent within the context of a formal school-based exchange and a chance social encounter. When conducting a parent-teacher interview the teacher may elect to establish a professional distance with parents in order to preserve formality and uphold what he views as being mutual expectations associated with the occasion of the interview. This could be achieved through practices such as the avoidance of private talk, attention to time constraints and/or focusing the exchange directly on the student's academic performance. Among other matters, this distance may allow the teacher to impress upon the parent that he is acting in accordance with his professional duties and therefore the information being communicated represents a professional rather than personal appraisal of the student. Moreover, from the parents' perspective the professional distance may create a context in which the parents feel free to make requests or potentially challenge the way in which the teacher or school is handling the professional responsibilities associated with schooling. In contrast, if the parent and teacher were to meet by chance at a local soccer game both parties may actively seek to build camaraderie and avoid the distance associated with professional role and rank as expressed in the context of the school. This could be achieved simply through functions such as cheering for the team and the avoidance of school talk.

Over the years, Goffman's (1955) concept of face has continued to influence theories of politeness and has been expanded to shape Brown and Levinson's (1987) influential model of Universal Politeness (see Levinson, 1988). Dedicated to Goffman's memory, Brown and Levinson's (1987) revised essay titled 'Politeness. Some universals in

language usage' states that '…our notion of face is derived from that of Goffman and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'' (p. 61). Central to Brown and Levinson's paradigm, the first to incorporate the notion of face as fundamental in politeness systems, is the assumption that all competent members of society, irrespective of cultural or linguistic differences, have face and rational capacities. It is to Brown and Levinson's model which we now turn.

4.3 Brown and Levinson on Face and Politeness

In 1978, building on Goffman's definition of face, Brown and Levinson identified what they termed 'a most remarkable phenomenon' claiming that there exists 'extraordinary parallelism in the linguistic minutiae of the utterances with which persons choose to express themselves in quite unrelated languages and cultures' (p. 55). On this premise, Brown and Levinson outline an all-embracing model of face and politeness that reasons motivation behind politeness and linguistic devices are remarkably similar across languages and cultures. Essentially, Brown and Levinson's theory is built on the assertion that every speech act, referring to the function or the action performed by a particular utterance, carries with it a potential threat to the speaker/writer and the listener/reader. Of great importance to the study of pragmatics, Brown and Levinson's theory proposes that there is a broad set of polite linguistic conventions for mitigating the force of speech acts and these linguistic mechanisms serve the same interactional and social purpose across languages. This theory, often referred to as the 'face-saving theory' of linguistic politeness, brings together three key concepts:

111

- Goffman's (1967) notion of face as 'the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself' (p. 61).

- The view of communication as a rational activity.

- Grice's (1967, published in 1975) Cooperative Principle and associated maxims of conversation which assumes that communication is a cooperative effort in which interlocutors will recognise and contribute appropriately to a common purpose or purposes (p. 45).

At the heart of 'face saving theory' is the notion of face defined as 'something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction' (p. 61). In a significant departure from Goffman's (1967) theory of face and facework, however, Brown and Levinson delineate face as consisting of two related sets of human wants: positive face, the want to be approved of by others, and negative face, the want to be unimpeded by others.

(a) Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to nondistraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

(b) Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

(Brown & Levinson, 1978:61)

This dual concept of face assumes that during interaction an individual will seek

112

positive recognition as a contributing member of the social world, while at the same time strive to preserve his independence. Face is viewed as being constantly at risk given that any kind of linguistic action which has a relational dimension is seen as positing a threat to either the speaker or the hearer via what are called *face-threatening acts* (FTAs), regarded as pivotal to politeness theory. FTAs are characterised according to two parameters:

- Which type of face is being threatened (positive or negative face).
- Whose face is being threatened (speaker or addressee).

Acts characterised as threatening the negative face of either speaker or hearer are those which do not account for the desire for freedom of action. Damage to the addressee's negative face include acts that pressure the hearer to perform, or not perform, a certain act (e.g. orders, requests, threats), acts that express the speaker's attitude towards the addressee (e.g. expressions of admiration, hatred) or acts that may result in the addressee incurring debt (e.g. promises). Those acts that threaten the positive face of either speaker or hearer are acts which do not account for the interlocutor's feelings or wants. Threats to the hearer's positive face include those acts in which the speaker expresses a negative assessment of the hearer (e.g. insults, contradictions or complaints) or indifference to the hearer's positive face such as disregard for their values or well-being. Acts that threaten the speaker's positive face might include apologies, acceptance of a compliment, self-humiliation, confessions or emotion leakages such as uncontrollable tears. For example, an apology or an admission of personal fault by the speaker may damage his positive face.

Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that during face threatening moments a Model Person (MP), 'a willful speaker of a natural language' who possesses both rationality and face, will generally employ linguistic strategies to mitigate the conflict (p. 58). It is assumed that all individuals are realisations of the MP and therefore when a speaker decides to commit an act that potentially causes the speaker or hearer to lose face, he will use an appropriate politeness strategy in order to minimise the risk. The researchers outline various politeness strategies for negotiating FTAs based on the assumption 'that the mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal' (p. 62). The theory states that the speaker will evaluate the weightiness of a FTA (x) based on the social distance between the (S) speaker and the hearer (H), the power the hearer has over the speaker, and the ranking of the imposition:

$$W (x) = D (S, H) + P (H, S) + R (x) \text{ (Brown \& Levinson, 1987:76)}$$

In the above, Wx refers to the weightiness of the FTA, D (S, H) the social distance that exists between S and H, P (H, S) the power that H has over S, and Rx the extent to which the FTA is regarded an imposition within the culture in which S and H are situated. The speaker's assessment of whether and how to employ a FTA requires balancing the need for maximum efficiency with the desire to preserve the hearer's face or speaker's face. In cases in which the latter is more highly prioritised the speaker will seek to minimise the threat to face generated by the FTA through choosing from a number of strategies of varying risk.

At the heart of linguistic politeness lies the speaker's desire to mitigate face threats in order to:

- Protect one's public self-image.
- Protect the public self-image of the addressee.
- Preserve socio-cultural norms appropriate to the situation.

As communication is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual interdependence, it is assumed that it is in the best interest of interlocutors to protect each other's face by softening or avoiding the impact of FTAs. Accordingly, as recognition of face wants and needs is key to linguistic politeness, it is assumed that interlocutors will instinctively adjust their language based on what they believe to be shared face values. For example, when managing potentially face-threatening situations such as disagreement, an individual may elect to linguistically exhibit some polite defrayal by acknowledging the value of the interlocutor's contribution before offering an alternative such as, 'I see what you mean, but another solution might be to …'.

Brown and Levinson (1987) outline five possible politeness strategies available to the speaker when linguistically communicating face-threatening information. These strategies are hierarchically based on the extent to which they threaten the hearer's face. The five strategies for dealing with FTAs assume that by virtue of what they term 'payoffs' or 'advantages', 'any rational agent will tend to choose the same genus of strategy under the same conditions' (p. 71). The higher number of the strategy, as seen

in the following diagram, identifies the increasing weightiness of the FTA. It is assumed that the speaker will select from strategies with a higher degree of politeness in order to reduce the potential threat to face and that MPs will not select a strategy less risky than required.

Circumstances determining choice of strategy:
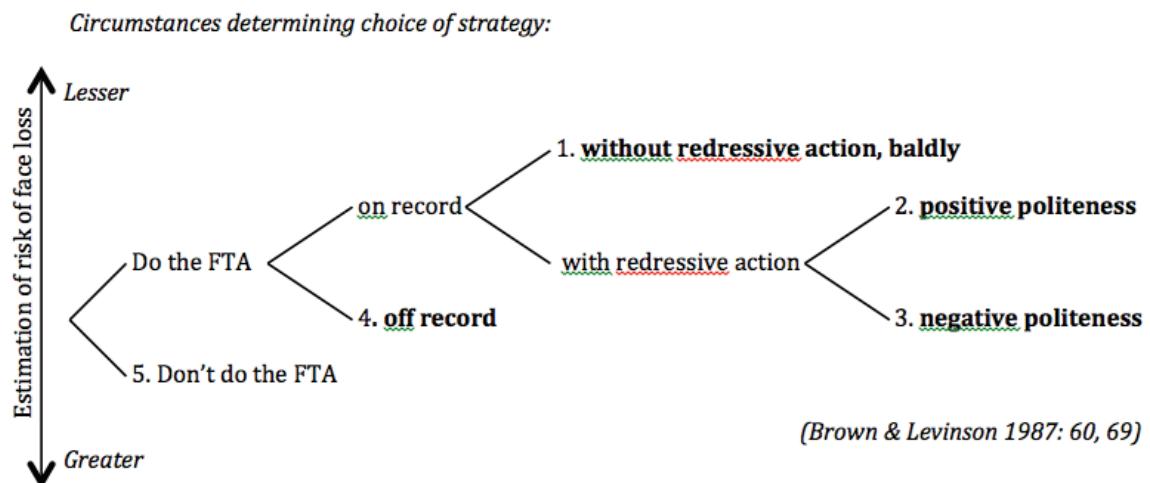
Figure 4: Brown and Levinson's Politeness Strategies

In situations when the FTA is regarded as highly threatening, the speaker has the option not to do the FTA (strategy 5). At the other end of the spectrum, if a speech act is regarded as having minimal weightiness it can be executed baldly, on record, with no redressive action (strategy 1). In this case the speaker produces the FTA without attempt to minimise the threat to the addressee's face and therefore follows Grice's (1975) Maxims in order to achieve maximum efficiency; Quality (Be non-spurious), Quantity (Be informative but don't say more than is required), Relation (Be relevant), and Manner (Be perspicuous) (Grice, 1975).

With the exception of avoidance (strategy 5), the chart makes a distinction between

doing a FTA on record (strategies 1, 2 and 3) and doing it off record (strategy 4). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), if a speaker goes 'on record' then there is 'one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur' (p. 69). In contrast, if the speaker elects to go 'off-record' then there is 'more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent' (p. 69). For example, if a student requires assistance from the classroom teacher and asks, 'Can you help me with this?' he would be on record as the request is unambiguous. If however, the student were to say, 'I have been thinking about this problem all night' he would be going off record as he has not made an explicit request for assistance.

As the model indicates, the two key strategies by which politeness can be expressed are positive and negative politeness (strategies 2 and 3). Positive politeness, referred to by Scollon and Scollon (1983, 1995) as 'solidarity politeness' aims at supporting or enhancing the addressee's positive face through emphasising the common ground interlocutors share. Positive politeness is orientated towards the positive face that the addressee claims and consequently the speaker demonstrates that he values the listener and wishes to affirm his positive self-image. On the other hand, negative politeness strategies, defined by Scollon as 'deference politeness strategies', are orientated towards addressing the listener's desire to maintain claims of territory and self-determination (Brown & Levinson, 1987:70). Scollon and Scollon (1983) point out that 'In any particular case, of course, because of individual differences, differences in the imposition being advanced, or differences in the context, any strategy might be used by a speaker' (p. 169). Accordingly, the types of politeness strategies that are to be

117

expected in each system are regarded as being predictions, which will or will not be confirmed during conversational exchanges. Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory assumes that negative politeness is the universally preferred approach to facework: 'It is safer to assume that H (hearer) prefers his peace and self-determination more than he prefers your expressions of regard, unless you are certain to the contrary' (p. 74). The focus is therefore on recognising and upholding the addressee's freedom of action through avoiding imposition or softening the encroachment on the addressee. In other words, positive politeness contributes to the creation of a positively polite conversational style: to stress in-group knowledge, shared attitudes and values, and appreciation of addressee; and features of negative politeness contribute to the aim of distancing and non-imposing that defines negative politeness (Coates, 1993:94). This following section explores both opposition to and support for the universal applicability of politeness theory. In order to construct context for the investigation I have focused primarily on face and politeness through a discussion of literature and empirical research presented by Japanese scholarship.

4.4 Challenging the Validity of Brown and Levinson's Construct of Face and Model of Linguistic Politeness

In essence, Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) theory of linguistic politeness is based on the premise that face is a basic and universal underlying concept of politeness which transcends cultures and languages. While Brown and Levinson's theory has received support from the research community (Ji, 2000; O'Driscoll, 1996; Rhodes, 1989; Yule, 1996), others have voiced concern that the cultural values embedded in Brown and

118

Levinson's framework are not necessarily recognised in all societies (see Hill et al. 1986; Nwoye, 1992; Ohashi, 2003, among others.). Challenging claims of universality, critics have questioned the validity of face as a construct for universally explicating politeness across cultural contexts given that the model is expanded through data from three entirely unrelated languages: Tamil (a South Indian, aboriginal language unrelated to the Indo-European languages of North India), Tzeltal (spoken by Mayan Indians), and English within the US and England. In particular, Brown and Levinson's paradigm has been broadly disputed from both a theoretical and empirical standpoint by researchers working with languages other than English, who, for example, argue that the notion of negative face is not relevant to Japanese culture (Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988), to Chinese culture (Ervin-Tripp, 1995; Gu, 1990; He & Zhang, 2011; Ji, 2000; Mao, 1994) or to Korean culture (Ervin-Tripp, 1995). Among other things, these critics have accused the framework of expressing a culturally biased interpretation of politeness that oversimplifies linguistic strategies and neglects factors such as the presence of audience, social status and hierarchical influence.

Bargiela-Chiappini (2003:1461) notes that criticism has been directed at Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of negative and positive politeness as mutually exclusive and the implication that negative politeness is what she terms approach based while positive politeness is avoidance-based. In addition, Spencer-Oatey (2007:639) notes opposition to a range of related issues such as the extent to which face is an individual or relational phenomenon, whether it is a public or private phenomenon, and whether it is a situation-specific or context-independent phenomenon. Three further criticisms leveled at the model are the prominence given to FTAs, the adoption of a MP, and

119

accusations of Western 'individualist' bias (Archer et al., 2012:87). In reference to FTAs, Archer et al., (2012:87) note that criticism challenges the fact that the politeness model is centred on FTAs and how to manage them. Secondly, the adoption of an MP is criticised as equating to 'decontextualized pragmatics' as it 'uses rational, goal-oriented means to calculate the politeness strategies required in a given interaction' (p. 87). Finally, criticism of Western bias argues that Brown and Levinson's understanding of politeness is 'at odds with collectivist communities' orientation to the group (see, e.g., the Japanese), and therefore overlooks important differences when assuming that all interlocutors share the same 'wants' regardless of their cultural heritage' (p. 87).

The issue of 'Western bias' and the application of face to politeness theory have dominated and polarised the debate (Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2010:2073) with Leech (2005) going so far as to argue that 'focus on the individual, however appropriate to the West, is quite inappropriate to the group orientation of Eastern cultures' (p. 2). As the breadth of investigation into face continues to embrace non-Western cultures and languages other than English, these questions and others pertaining to claims of universality are increasingly being examined with an emphasis on elucidating specific cultural and linguistic orientations as opposed to conforming to a definitive standard. It is precisely this attention to cultural diversity that is likely to drive future investigation of face as a culturally defined phenomenon. In addition to cross-cultural inconsistencies regarding Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) focus on autonomy and negative politeness, there has also been opposition to the formulaic variables of social distance (D), power (P) and imposition used to calculate imposition and determine appropriate politeness strategies:

> Being defined as static entities that determine polite meanings, these variables represent a narrow approach to social realities, an approach that neglects the dynamic aspects of social language use – aspects that may have no systemic status in the traditional view, but should be at the very heart of a modern one.
>
> (Werkhofer, 1992:176)

This criticism highlights a concern in that by quantifying linguistic politeness through variables presented as an uncontextualised quantitative formula, how can we accurately address the depth and nature of real-world language use as observed in dynamic and fluid situations? Furthermore, how does a formulaic rendering of politeness based on a MP account for the linguistic choices made by real people interacting with different interlocutors, in different situations and communicating in a range of languages? In other words, the model has been challenged with regard to its ability to respond to the diversity associated with the linguistic, cultural and social backgrounds and contexts that people bring to any real world communicative exchange.

On these grounds, opponents of universal politeness such as Nwoye (1992) have characterised claims of universality as 'shaky' and exhorted a position that argues that politeness principles 'need to be seriously re-examined' (p. 328). Intense criticism has generated divisiveness within the research community leading MacMartin et al. (2001) to suggest '…we would like to argue for moving away from the use of face concepts in actual doing analysis, at least for the time being' (p. 223). Similarly, Watts (2003) points out that Brown and Levinson's theory of linguistic politeness is not a model of

politeness but is essentially oriented to face management, and therefore ushers in a call for separating the notion of face from politeness. While outlining the significance of the role face plays in politeness research Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini (2010) note that the conflation of politeness with face and culture-specific elements of face remain problematic. The researchers suggest that it may be time to theorise face on its own terms and in this way move towards a theory of face 'that is (albeit temporarily) divorced from a focus on (im)politeness' (p. 2073). The point being that continuing controversy surrounding face is largely associated with the application of face to politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, [1978]1987). As a result, debate regarding the validity of Brown and Levinson's theory of face for explicating politeness in differing cultural contexts has dominated discussion and that, accordingly, a separation may allow for greater attention to discussion of a broader theory of face which better accommodates culture-specific constituents of face without being controlled by them.

Challenges to the notion of face and universal politeness model have not gone unrecognised by Brown and Levinson (1987) who note that 'cultures may differ in the degree to which wants other than face wants (such as the want for efficiency, or for the expression of power) are allowed to supersede face wants', and they refer to 'subjective ideals' being associated with people's values of D, R and relative P (p. 246). The researchers defend their theory and put forward five dimensions of cross-cultural variation:

1. The general level of Wx in a culture, as determined by the sum of P, D, R values.
2. The extent to which all acts are FTAs, and the particular kinds of acts that are FTAs

in a culture.

3. The cultural composition of Wx: the varying values (and thus importance) attached to P, D, and Rx, and the different sources for their assessment.

4. Different modes of assignment of members to the sets of persons whom an actor wants to pay him positive face, and the extent to which those sets are extended: are the relevant persons a highly limited and restricted class, or are they (or some of them) an extensive set?

5. The nature and distribution of strategies over the most prominent dyadic relations in a particular society: are they distributed symmetrically? Asymmetrically? In particular configuration?

(Brown & Levinson, 1987:244)

As can be seen, these dimensions deal with the gravity attached to a FTA in addition to values attached to power, distance and imposition. While they acknowledge that there may be variation in the pervasiveness of positive face and different weight attached to specific politeness strategies, they nevertheless reaffirm the basic tenet of universality and the two dimensions of face as explicating politeness across cultures and languages. In sum, while Brown and Levinson allow that their notion of face is expected 'to be the subject of much cultural elaboration' they consider that their politeness model can explain such cultural elaboration (pp. 13-15). Even with attention to the dimensions of cross-cultural variation, questions pertaining to the dual notion of face, the universality of face, and the interrelationship between face and politeness continue to be broadly disputed from both a theoretical and empirical standpoint by researchers working with languages other than English (see Félix-Brasdefer, 2006; Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Mao,

1994; Márquez Reiter, 2000, 2002; Matsumoto 1988, 1989, 1993; Nwoye, 1992; Ohashi, 2003; Placencia, 1992, 1996; Vázquez-Orta, 1995).

Criticism of universal politeness for its failure to address socially and culturally sensitive factors has generated considerable attention, particularly within the Japanese research community with regard to the Japanese honorific system and the use of markers of social status. Leading the way, Japanese researchers Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) have argued that the use of politeness in Japanese is inconsistent with universal politeness theory as Japanese routinely employ honorifics in situations when there is no apparent threat to the face of the addressee. In order to examine these arguments, key Japanese perspectives on politeness are considered in reference to the relationship between Japanese face and politeness in the following section.

4.5 Japanese Scholarship Opposition to Universal Politeness

Asian scholars have questioned Brown and Levinson's assertion that positive face (self-image) and negative face (freedom of thought and action) represent universal human wants that can explain verbal and non-verbal politeness across cultural contexts (see Gu, 1990; Hill et al. 1986; Ide, 1989; Ji, 2000; Kang, 2001, 2002; Liu, 2001; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988, 1989, 1993; Ohashi, 2003; Yoshimi, 1999). In particular, such scholarship has argued that the focus on autonomy and negative politeness represent a western focus on individualism that does not accurately account for non-Western cultures that value factors such as group belonging and status within the group. This argument is explained by Terkourafi (2007) as follows:

Contrary to the original Asian construal of face, the scientific term found in the socio-pragmatics literature is characterised by an emphasis on Other's face (…), an emphasis on the individual rather than the group, and an emphasis on saving face and the possibility of threatening face. Since these features are inherited from Western folk terms, it should not come as a surprise that this scientific term seems ill-fitted to serve the demands of a universalizing principle.

(Terkourafi, 2007:321)

Matsumoto (1988) and Ide's (1989) foremost criticism of Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) politeness theory centres on concerns that the notion of face fails to accurately account for Japanese culture in which the group is regarded as being of greater importance than the individual. A primary objection raised here being that Japanese honorifics, the use of which Brown and Levinson's model classifies as a negative politeness strategy ('Give deference'), occur routinely in non-FTA utterances. Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) argue that within Japanese society the desire to belong and the high value placed on the creation of harmonious relationships is valued over the desire to preserve one's individual territory or negative face. As Matsumoto (1988) puts it, 'A Japanese generally must understand where s/he stands in relation to other members of the group or society, and must acknowledge his/her dependence on the others' (p. 405). For this reason, it is the relative social status of the interlocutor, not the content of what is being communicated, which dictates the appropriateness of linguistic forms. On the other hand, politeness as expressed by Brown and Levinson focuses on redressing the potential threat to the interlocutor's face that arises from

specific conversational moves. As Haugh (2005) notes:

> The use of different speech levels in Japanese is not a matter of showing concern for the addressee's desire to be free from imposition, nor does it involve showing approval for their want. Instead, it is often a matter of acknowledging the addressee's place relative to oneself.
>
> (Haugh, 2005:44)

Based on the premise that Japanese social interaction is governed primarily by the desire to acknowledge and maintain the relative position of others, Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) have argued that Japanese face and politeness strategies can be understood through attention to culturally sensitive factors as revealed through cultural and social interdependence and discernment or conformity to socially prescribed conventions. Pizziconi (2003) characterises the position outlined by Matsumoto and Ide as 'one that stresses the role of appropriateness over individual motivations as the prevalent regulating criterion in the speaker's manipulation of the utterance' (p. 1472) or as Matsumoto (1988) puts it, 'the Japanese politeness system places a higher value on recognition of the interpersonal relation than on mitigating impositions on freedom of action' (p. 421).

Outlining her conceptualisation of Japanese face, Matsumoto (1988) argues that 'preservation of face in Japanese culture is intimately bound up with showing recognition of one's relative position in the communicative context and with the maintenance of the social ranking order' (p. 415). For this reason, the choice of stylistic

126

level and address forms are associated with socio-cultural conventions derived from a group-centred hierarchy-based ethos. According to Matsumoto, 'relation-acknowledging devices' such as formulaic expressions, honorifics and verb forms are employed by the speaker to indicate differing social status of the interlocutors as opposed to offering redress for FTAs. As way of explanation, Matsumoto goes so far as to state that 'one's commitment to the social structure and to the other members of a group is so strong that one's actions become meaningful and comprehended only in relation to others' (p. 408). The formalised system of marking the relative status of the speaker, addressee, referent and bystanders is examined by Brown (2007) who emphasises that Japanese verb forms not only have plain (e.g., *da*) and polite (e.g., *desu, masu*) forms, but also have humble, neutral or honorific forms (p. 37). In addition, Brown points out that 'certain nouns can be prefixed with 'o-' or 'go-' in order to honor the addressee or referent' (p. 37). In stating her position, Matsumoto argues that even plain or neutral forms 'carry specific social and interactional information and can be used only in certain situations' (p. 418). Thus, in contrast to the notion of negative face which argues for the preservation of one's territory, Japanese face is viewed as being firmly motivated and influenced by the cultural and social notions of relative social status, membership and situational appropriateness which are expressed through the lexico-grammar of the politeness strategies one employs (Matsumoto, 1988).

Explaining through attention to examples from Japanese formulaic expressions, honorifics and verbs of giving and receiving, Matsumoto argues that as Japanese identify themselves as being part of social networks, the notion of personal autonomy 'cannot be considered as basic to human relations in Japanese culture and society' (p.

405). In support of this position Matsumoto (1989) stresses that, 'a Japanese speaker cannot avoid conveying the setting and the relationship among the addressee, the third person(s) or objects(s) in the utterance, and him/herself' (p. 208). In other words, Japanese speech level markers are obligatory and force the speaker to appropriately acknowledge and address the hierarchy embedded within the relationship. Consequently, even in non-threatening situations, the speaker is obliged by the use of a particular linguistic structure to indicate his perceived social position in relation to the addressee. This position is reflected in the findings of Hill et al. (1986) where they state that 'specific linguistic forms, at a conventional level of politeness' in Japanese are determined after 'the factors of addressee status and general situation relative to speaker's own' (p. 362). On this basis, Matsumoto argues that 'a theory of politeness must account for the use by Japanese speakers of honorific in the absence of FTA's, or must count all utterances as intrinsically face-threatening' (1989:217). While Brown and Levinson's formula for calculating the weight of a FTA may not be able to account for the examples put forward by Matsumoto (examples presented below), this hardly seems to be justification for concluding that it fails to remain relevant when examining the dimensions underlying politeness in Japanese and other languages. On the contrary, the criticism Brown and Levinson have attracted is in itself something of a tribute to the scope and relevance of their notion of face and model of linguistic politeness as a framework in which contrastive studies of pragmalinguistic strategies can be explored.

One of the primary arguments underlying Matsumoto's (1988:409) claim that Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of face is incongruous with politeness in Japanese is her argument that the Japanese expression *Doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (lit. I ask

you to please treat me well/take care of me), while polite in situations where the interactants are meeting for the first time, can also constitute an imposition upon the addressee's freedom of action. The frequently employed expression which expresses the desire that the relationship be positive is viewed as illustrating the complexity of politeness in Japanese as the person with whom the speaker desires the addressee to benefit from a good relationship may be a third party such as *Shujin o doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (lit. I ask you to please treat/take care of my husband well) (pp. 409-410). According to Matsumoto, as the expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* serves as a direct request to the boss it represents an imposition upon his freedom. At the same time it is considered polite for the reason that it is an acknowledgement that the boss, in his superior status, has the power to perform the action requested and therefore expresses vertical deference. Matsumoto points out that these expressions could be interpreted as positive politeness strategies as they enhance the addressee's face, yet maintains that this is not the case as 'it is not done straight-forwardly,' and there is no 'manifestation of intimacy' (p. 410). Underlining what she sees as being a fundamental contradiction between constituents of face in Japanese culture and Brown and Levinson's model, Matsumoto notes that within Japanese society recognition of interdependence is encouraged and that 'it is an honor to be asked to take care of someone in that it indicates that one is regarded as holding a higher position in the society' (p. 410). In short, the speaker humbles himself to the addressee by placing himself in a subordinate position and acknowledging the need to be taken care of. Accordingly the status of the interlocutor is enhanced through imposition. The discussion suggests that Brown and Levinson's model of positive and negative face cannot adequately explain why politeness arises in a situation in which the speaker is

neither attending to the addressee's desire for approval, nor desiring to be free of imposition. This point has been challenged by Pizziconi (2003) who makes the point that the expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* is 'a highly conventionalized and ritualistic negotiation of the role of benefactor/ patron/ superior etc. in a given situation' (p. 1485) and therefore does not in fact constitute a request as such.

Matsumoto argues that differing speech levels in Japanese are commonly used to articulate equivalent content with different interlocutors in order to mark relative social status based on the premise that in Japanese, 'Acknowledgment and maintenance of the relative position of others, rather than of an individual's proper territory, governs all social interaction' (p. 405). As opposed to serving the interlocutor's negative face wants, the researcher cites Japanese verb-form selection as dependent on 'the social and psychological attitude of the speaker towards the particular referents expressed by the subject and object of the verb' (p. 416). By way of example, the frequently applied forms of the expression 'Today is Saturday' are offered by Matsumoto to illustrate how identical propositional content is structured according to the social context. While the expression could be used between any interactants in English, in Japanese the speaker is obliged to select from polite and honorific forms in order to construct a sentence.

1.   *Kyoo wa doyoobi da*

       Today TOPIC Saturday (COPULA-PLAIN)

       (Today is Saturday)

2.   *Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.*

       Today TOPIC Saturday (COPULA – POLITE)

(Today is Saturday)

3. *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozai masu*

    Today TOPIC Saturday (COPULA – SUPER POLITE)

According to Matsumoto, in these examples the copula's allomorph is varied according to social order and stratification pertaining to the interlocutor. Accordingly, the speaker must choose among several obligatory honorific markers, *da, desu, degozaimasu,* and consequently the expression cannot be socio-pragmatically or grammatically neutral. Matsumoto argues that sentence (1) is not appropriate when used with an interlocutor of a higher status, while sentence (2) is appropriate because the addressee honorific form *desu* is used in its copula and therefore conveys attention to the listener's relative social position to the speaker. Matsumoto states that sentence (3) would only be used on formal occasions between adults. In this sentence, the copula verb *degozaimasu* ('be (deferential)') indicates a high level of politeness and formality although the statement itself does not impinge on anyone's prerogatives.

These examples are presented as evidence that the Japanese speaker will adjust speech levels according to social factors that acknowledge the individual's relative position rather than the propositional content of the message to be communicated. Importantly, as the example does not carry a FTA, Matsumoto argues that the use of honorifics reflects the status difference of the interlocutors rather than serve the listener's negative face wants (p. 414). Using these examples and others, Matsumoto argues that 'there is no socially unmarked form' and that 'in any utterance in Japanese, one is forced to

131

make morphological or lexical choices that depend on the interpersonal relationship between the conversational participants' (p. 418). Challenging Matsumoto's position, Usami (2002) claims that the speech levels can be accounted for using Brown and Levinson's formula for calculating the weight of a FTA based on the premise that as the addressee's relative power become greater, the weightiness of the FTA increases and this necessitates the use of a more polite linguistic form.

A key criticism of universal politeness theory has been that it does not adequately take into consideration 'the way selection of facework strategies in situated social roles (e.g. teacher – student) seems to be based on rights and obligations, rather than on an abstract computation of distance, intimacy, and rank' (Tracy, 1990:216). This point resonates throughout Matsumoto's (1988, 1989, 1993) argument that Japanese politeness places a higher priority on attending to rank between interlocutors rather than the negative politeness strategy of minimising the imposition on the addressee's action. Matsumoto's position has received strong support from Mao (1994) who argues that Japanese linguistic devices are selected according to discernment, with the objective being to 'recognise each other's social position and to convey such a recognition through the proper linguistic means, including formulaic expressions, honorifics, verbs of giving and receiving, and other 'relational-acknowledging devices' (p. 467). This raises the question of whether utterances such as requests should be interpreted as intrinsically face-threatening, while seemingly innocuous comments such as 'today is Saturday' can be considered inoffensive. Accordingly, the use of a universal formula as proposed by Brown and Levinson for assessing FTAs cannot adequately explain the complexity of Japanese politeness as evidenced in speech levels where the place of the addressee,

relative to oneself, is valued above the desire to be free of imposition or approval of wants.

Proposing an alternative framework to universal politeness, Hill et al. (1986) suggest a theory based on the notions of *wakimae* (discernment) and *volition.* According to Hill et al., politeness is defined as one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport. Based on this definition, a system for polite use of a particular language will exhibit two major aspects: the necessity for speaker discernment and the opportunity for speaker volition. A large-scale quantitative study of Japanese and American linguistic politeness carried out by the researchers found that the notions of *wakimae* (discernment) and volition are fundamental to politeness in Japan. While the researchers note that no single English word translates this concept of wakimae adequately, the term discernment is employed to describe the sense of strict adherence to expected norms and 'almost automatic observation of socially agreed upon rules and applies to both verbal and non-verbal behaviour' (p. 348). This definition is upheld by Ide (1989) who explains wakimae as a set of socially expected norms 'appropriate behavior people have to observe in order to be considered polite in the society they live' (p. 299).

As a counterpart to *wakimae*, Hill et al. use the term *volition*, defined as an aspect of politeness that 'allows the speaker a considerably more active choice, according to the speaker's intention, from a relatively wider range of possibilities' (p. 347). In this sense, volition refers to the creative use of communicative strategies to achieve politeness as realised through verbal strategies. In short, the intention of volition politeness is to save

face, while *wakimae* guides the selection of appropriate linguistic forms based on social convention. Drawing on the concepts of *wakimae* and volition Hill et al. (1986:354) examined how much speech is obligatory (discernment) and how much variation or volition is allowed in a given culture and specific situation. Initially, a small group of American and Japanese university students were simply asked to answer three questions:

1. List the people you commonly meet.
2. List all the expressions you use in borrowing a pen.
3. List all the expressions you use in asking the time.

On the basis of data accumulated Hill et al. (1986) developed a survey which was administered to a large group of students in both countries in order to measure the degree of politeness of each expression, the appropriate politeness level for the various addresses (distinguished by power and status) and which linguistic form they would use. Students were asked to rank the expressions used for borrowing a pen (20 in Japanese; 22 in English) on a scale from 1 to 5 in which 1 was the most uninhibited or relaxed in speech while 5 was the most careful (p. 352). In addition, the participants ranked the people addressed along a similar scale and were then asked to indicate the expression(s) they would use with each addressee.

Research findings indicated that there were similarities between the politeness strategies employed by the participants such as neither group using expressions regarded as being the most uninhibited with addressees considered as requiring the most care. At the same

time, in regard to the expressions required for each addressee, the findings reported that the agreement on proper forms for each addressee was very high amongst Japanese participants while low amongst the American participants. In particular, when addressees were characterised in terms of occupation, status, relative age, degree of acquaintance with the speaker, the particular situation and so on, Japanese speakers showed a very high agreement on the appropriate form(s) for making the request. On the other hand, the Americans demonstrated a more diffuse correlation between those particular person/situation features and the appropriate form(s) for making the request. The conclusion being that while discernment and volition are evident in politeness strategy selection in both sociolinguistic systems, the weight assigned by Japanese speakers than American English speakers differs. In sum, for the Japanese students discernment was prioritised over volition, while the American participants considered volition to be the primary consideration and discernment secondary (p. 362). Thus, although both the Americans and Japanese follow the same overall model of polite use of language, they differ in the weight assigned to the various factors subsumed under discernment, and this, according to the authors, is the affirmative view of politeness and once such conventions have been established, they can then be manipulated for negative ends such as sarcasm or mockery.

Echoing Matsumoto (1988) and Hill et al. (1986), Ide (1989) and Ide and Yoshida (1999) have challenged universal politeness theory as not being applicable to honorific languages and argue that within Japanese society *wakimae* (discernment) is of greater importance than volition politeness directed towards the preservation and maintenance of face. In particular, Ide (1989) criticises Brown and Levinson's view of politeness as a

strategic means by which to minimise the impact of an FTA, while failing to recognise 'socio-pragmatically obligatory' communicative strategies in the Japanese language. For Ide, volition-based politeness serves to save face, in accordance with Brown and Levinson, but discernment-based politeness is like a grammatical requirement, constituting a sociopragmatic concordance system. Consequently, Ide maintains that the purpose of Japanese honorifics is not exclusively to save face for the reason that honorifics are obligatory even when there is no FTA. In Ide's words:

> For the speaker of an honorific language, linguistic politeness is above all a matter of showing discernment in choosing specific forms, while for the speaker of a non-honorific language, it is mainly a matter of the volitional use of verbal strategies to maintain the faces of the participants … However, the two aspects are integral to the universals of linguistic politeness, working potentially in almost all languages.

> (Ide, 1989:245)

In support of this position, Ide et al. (1992) examined notions of politeness by having approximately 200 Japanese and 200 American subjects associate ten adjectives with the most appropriate scene from fourteen interactional situations. The researchers found that the American subjects tended to connect *polite* with *friendly*, whereas the Japanese subjects judged *teineina* 'polite' and *shitashigena* 'friendly' as being distinct. The conclusion being that in American culture volition guides politeness, whereas the Japanese politeness is guided by *wakimae* (discernment). Based on Ide's (1989) position, when interacting it assumed that the Japanese speaker will select appropriate linguistic

forms according to social convention rather than seek to uphold face needs. For this reason, *wakimae* involves language use based on common schemes of socio-culturally informed perceptions realised through appropriate linguistic forms and the modes of speaking according to contextual factors. In this way, the speaker is orientated to roles and situations based on 'the choice of linguistic form or expression in which the distinction between the ranks or the roles of the speaker, the referent and the addressee are systematically encoded' (p. 230). Ide argues that honorifics are not a negative politeness strategy and cautions against confusing linguistic forms and verbal strategies. Based on this distinction, linguistic forms are viewed as socio-pragmatically obligatory and employed irrespective of whether the referent is or is not present:

1   Sensee-wa   kore-o   yon-da.

        Professor-TOP   this- ACC   read-PAST

        'The professor read this.'

2   Sensee-wa   kore-o   oyomi-ni-nat-ta.

        Professor-TOP   this- ACC   REF.HONO-read-PAST

        'The professor read this.'

                                                                (Ide, 1989:227)

According to Ide's (1989) discernment model, only sentence (2) is appropriate within Japanese society as the speaker is obligated to use honorific forms when one refers to a person of higher status, in this case the professor. The speaker is bound by social rules to choose between honorific and non-honorific forms based on the premise that the 'use

of an honorific verb form is the socio-pragmatic equivalent of grammatical concord, and it is determined by social rules' (p. 227). Ide cites a second reason to separate linguistic forms and verbal strategy as being that 'strategies are oriented only to the hearer, whereas linguistic forms are used not only for the hearer, but also for the referent and the speaker' (p. 229). While volition characterises the strategically-motivated practice of politeness, Ide maintains that the above example illustrates *wakimae* (discernment) in which an obligatory polite form is required 'independent of the speaker's rational intention' (p. 242). Consequently, while volition-based politeness serves to save face, discernment-based politeness is a socio-pragmatic requirement. On this basis, Ide argues that Brown and Levinson's theory fails to explain Japanese politeness in which language choices are governed firstly by *wakimae* (discernment). Additional support for the notion of discernment is offered by Hasegawa (2012) who emphasises that the Japanese speaker does not have total freedom of their linguistic choices as 'failure to observe the social norm of polite language (tameguchi) is frequently ridiculed and penalized.' Hasegawa goes so far as to state that 'this fact demands acknowledgement of Ide's notion of discernment' (p. 245).

Challenging Ide's position, Cook's (2006, 2008) analysis of the use of Japanese politeness argues that social identities and social relationships are fluid, and that they are constructed and negotiated during the moment-by-moment unfolding of social interaction in which speakers are not mere passive observers of social norms, but, rather, active agents who construct their own social worlds. Cook identifies three assumptions underlying Ide's theory: (i) human actions are based predominantly on the agents' active choices in some societies, but on the passive observation of social rules in other

societies; (ii) social identities are *a priori* determined in Japanese society; (iii) there is a one-to-one correspondence between honorific form and social status/rank (Cook 2006:271). Questioning these assumptions, Cook makes the point that as social identities are an emergent product of social interaction they are universally fluid and that every move the speaker makes is his/her own active choice rather than passive observation of social rules as discernment. In support of this position, Cook (2006) examines speech-style shifts between the *masu* and plain (non-honorific) forms during Japanese university academic consultation sessions; a prototypical situation in which discernment has been claimed to be required due to the clearly-defined difference in social status between professor and student. Cook found that contrary to that which Ide's discernment predicts, both professor and student shifted between the addressee honorific *masu* and the non-honorific plain forms plain forms in sentence final positions. In other words, the *masu* forms and the plain forms were not used to index inferior or superior status, but to jointly construct multiple social relationships as the interaction unfolded (see Niyekawa, 1991). In Cook's (2006) own words, 'the *masu* form in Japanese is not a matter of displaying discernment but is a choice the speaker makes to co-construct a particular relationship' (p. 11).

On the basis of these findings, Cook (2006) argues that Ide's dichotomy is irrelevant based on the position that politeness is an interactional achievement, and that discernment is 'an active co-construction in which the grammatical structures and the sequential organization of talk serve as resources for the participants to construct their identities in the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction' (p. 269). The point here being that there is no distinction between discernment and volitional strategies to

indicate politeness as honorific strategies are not obligatory but represent an active choice available to the speaker when constructing social identities and building relationships.

Criticism of Brown and Levinson's (1878[1987]) politeness model raises the question as to whether imposition can be interpreted as carrying a fixed value across cultures. The fact that requests such as Matsumoto's (1988) *shujin o doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu* (lit. I ask you to please treat/take care of my husband well) can convey politeness and imposition at the same time, raises questions regarding the validity of the assumption that requests always threaten the addressee's negative face and thereby challenge the importance of negative politeness. The implication being here that the assumption of threat to face as proposed by Brown and Levinson is built on the questionable tenet that negative face is inherently valued more highly than positive face. In contrast, Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) maintain that the individual is concerned about his position within the group and the loss of face is therefore associated with failure to comprehend or acknowledge the structure and hierarchy of the group.

The influence of social expectations on interaction is addressed within Nakane's (2006) research into intercultural communication between Japanese university students and their Australian lecturers. Nakane found that Japanese students regarded the hierarchical structure delineating teacher and student roles as a primary motivation when interacting within the classroom environment. Nakane's research is informative in that it suggests that the Japanese participants' perceptions regarding hierarchy and classroom linguistic behaviour practices were not altered by the cross-cultural context of the investigation. In

other words, Japanese students adopted the same classroom behaviour they recognised as appropriate within a Japanese education setting when interacting with Australian lecturers in an Australian setting. The point being that politeness in Japanese arises primarily from acknowledging role and rank rather than in terms of compensating for impositions on one's autonomy.

Questioning the validity of universal politeness Matsumoto (1988) suggests that 'a modification in the requirement that the constituents of face be universal' (p. 425) could generate enhanced agreement between theory and practice and recommends the inclusion of 'a certain spectrum of styles that can be chosen, according to the culture and the situation, to affect face preserving ends' (p. 424). In short, the notion of face would be a 'general notion of 'face'' and include options available within differing cultures and situations (p. 424). Matsumoto's attention to perceived disparities between an Eastern group-orientation and a Western individual-orientation of politeness may to some extent disguise the fact that Brown and Levinson (1987) acknowledge that cultures may differ in the degree to which negative and positive face wants are valued (p. 249). Nevertheless, there remains intense interest in examining whether universal politeness theory, and in particular that relating to negative face, is relevant, particularly when it appears that the dimensions proposed by Brown and Levinson cannot account for the use of different speech levels in Japanese in the absence of threat to the addressee's face (see Haugh, 2005). It is here that researchers working with languages other than English have questioned Brown and Levinson's assertion that positive face (self-image) and negative face (freedom of thought and action) represent universal human wants that can explain verbal and non-verbal politeness across cultural contexts.

4.6 Beyond Japanese Scholarship: Concepts of Face in (Non)Western Cultures

Over the past two decades, an expanding body of empirical research examining a diverse range of languages and cultures argues that a single notion of face cannot adequately account for linguistic politeness. For example, through an examination of the norms of interaction in African Igbo society, Nwoye (1992:313) outlines a distinction between individual and group face, emphasising that group face conforms to the 'culturally expected norms of behavior that are institutionalized and sanctioned by society.' In reference to Chinese politeness behaviour Mao (1994) argues that 'Chinese face emphasises not the accommodation of individual 'want' or 'desires' but the harmony of individual conduct with the views and judgment of the community' (p. 605). Félix-Brasdefer's (2006) investigation of the linguistic strategies employed by Mexican Spanish speakers found that the notion of negative face 'does not seem to operate in Mexican society because Mexicans do not emphasise the protection of their freedom of action, but rather stress their need to be included in the group and conform with the expected cultural norms of a community that recognises social distance, social power, and closeness in given interactional contexts' (p. 2180). Moreover, Placencia's (1996) examination of telephone conversations shows that deference, achieved through strategic lexical choices, is a key value in an Ecuadorian concept of face. Placencia notes that this is not due to the desire to protect one's individuality or territory, but rather to 'conform to the social norms of the group . . . and dictate respect to the elderly and parents' (p. 21). A key theme of these studies is the point that group orientation, not only individual orientation, needs to be taken into account when examining politeness

orientations.

Drawing a distinction between individual and group face within African society, Nwoye (1989), for example, illustrates the strategic use of euphemisms and proverbs as means of expressing face-threatening acts politely in interactions among the Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria. According to Nwoye (1992:313), for members of Igbo society group face conforms to the 'culturally expected norms of behavior that are institutionalized and sanctioned by society.' Nwoye's conceptualisation of face thus prioritises concern for the collective image of the group over the individual self-image, with the group defined as 'any social unit larger than the individual' (p. 315). Nwoye's examination found that within Igbo society few matters were regarded 'as strictly personal, and therefore, there is a high degree of what in Western societies would be regarded as meddlesomeness or not minding one's business' (p. 327). Nwoye's analysis of requests, offers, thanks and criticisms within Igbo society maintains that they are rarely considered impositions, leading the researcher to suggest that while face is associated both with self and the group, it is attention to the group which is ranked higher (p. 326).

Chinese face, frequently conceptualised through the dual concepts of '*mien-tzu*' (or '*mianzi*') and '*lien*' (or '*lian*'), is characterised as embracing the placement of individuals in social hierarchies rather than the accommodation of individual wants or desires (Gu, 1990; Hu, 1944; Mao, 1994; Zhai, 2004). In an early study of the Chinese concept of face conducted through the examination of set phrases Hu (1944) argues that *mien-tzu* refers to 'prestige that is accumulated by means of personal effort or clever

143

manoeuvring' and is dependent on the external environment, while *lien* refers to the respect assigned by one's social group on the basis of confidence in one's moral character (p. 465). Placencia (1996:39) notes that while *mianzi* and negative face as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1878[1987]) have in common the notion of 'respect behaviour' they are fundamentally different for the reason that negative face refers to the individual's territorial integrity while *mianzi* refers to the individual's dependence on societal recognition. As *mianzi* is impacted by the actions of others it is never 'a purely individual thing' (Ho, 1976:882). Moreover, (1994) as Mao notes, that *lien,* 'as positive face, deals with 'the desire to be liked and approved by the others' but it embraces a much different background from positive face: it has a deep moral sense, it is not negotiable, and it is not attached to any sense of closeness, as is positive face is (pp. 461-462). These findings raise questions as to whether the Chinese cultural values of *mianzi* and *lien* can be accounted for by universal concepts of negative and positive face, in line with the features allocated by Brown and Levinson's, namely to be unimpeded in one's actions and to be approved by the group.

The examination of the linguistic strategies employed in Mexican Spanish in refusal interactions (Félix-Brasdefer, 2006) found that politeness is accomplished largely by means of formulaic/semi-formulaic expressions that utilise ritualised linguistic forms to convey *respeto*, and linguistic forms that weaken the illocutionary force of a refusal. The researcher notes that the negotiation of face and selection of linguistic strategies was accomplished by means of indirect attempts at (re)negotiating a successful resolution politely according to a shared sense of *respeto* based on knowledge of social power and social distance. In contrast with Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) theory,

Félix-Brasdefer notes that direct refusal was not interpreted as being impolite and consequently, did not impose on the interlocutor's negative face. On the contrary, a direct refusal was often accompanied by in-group identity markers, diminutives, and given names between equal-status friends which were interpreted as expressing closeness or affiliation (p. 2179). Interactions are realised in the forms recognised by the members of the group and socio-cultural values of are components of social ideology.

The observations of the above cited cultural-based studies exploring communicative orientations in different languages and socio-cultural contexts underscore that the cultural values that constitute face are not necessarily shared by all people. Some cultural values do not appear to fit the definitions of negative and positive face, suggesting that a universal and single politeness theory as proposed by Brown and Levinson ([1978]1987) cannot adequately account for the diversity of languages as observed in varying socio-cultural contexts. While a number of studies have argued that universal politeness, and in particular, the notion of face is seriously flawed, others maintain that it is too valuable a construct to be disregarded and does indeed apply to Japanese culture. The following section discusses support for universal politeness from within the Japanese research community.

4.7 Universal Politeness Theory: Support from Japanese Scholarship

Descriptions of Japanese politeness offered by Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) have been critically labeled as polarising by Pizziconi (2003) for the reason that they advocate a position which characterises 'some languages as conforming to individualist

behaviour' and others as attending to 'fixed social norms' (p. 1471). Indeed Matsumoto's (1988) contention that negative face is 'alien' to Japanese culture (p. 405) and that Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of face can not account for polite linguistic behaviour in Japanese for the reason that self image is based on group rather than individual alignment, appears to validate Pizziconi's criticism. In any case, universal politeness theory has not been categorically rejected by all Japanese scholarship (see Fukada & Asato, 2004; Fukushima; 2000; Haugh, 2005; Ishiyama, 2009; Pizziconi, 2003; Takano, 2005). Studies examining conversational data have demonstrated that negative politeness strategies and place affirming discernment are not used exclusively in Japanese polite speech (Cook, 2011; Geyer, 2008; Okamoto, 1998). Researchers such as Fukada and Asato (2004:1991) have directly challenged Ide's position arguing that 'the notion of discernment politeness has gained acceptance among scholars without much critical examination.'

For the most part, challenges to Matsumoto and Ide's positions have not disputed what Brown (2007) characterises as Japanese's 'much richer and more formalized system than English of marking the relative social status of the speaker, addressee, referent and bystanders' (p. 37). Rather, the principal point of contention relates to whether Japanese honorifics are in fact inconsistent with Brown and Levinson's model of face and linguistic politeness. Fukushima (2000) argues that Matsumoto and Ide have not invalidated Brown and Levinson's theory by showing that some choices of politeness forms are obligatory in specific situations as their data amounts to 'simply discuss[ing] some sociolinguistic characteristics of the Japanese language, which are not significant pragmatically' (p. 61). Pizziconi's (2003) re-examination of the Japanese language

argues that while Japanese scholarship has claimed that interactional markers operate independently of the imposition to the addressee's action, 'Politeness (as 'appropriateness') is better observed, even in Japanese, in the polite stances constituted by strategic use of polite devices rather than in unmediated polite meanings conveyed by the plethora of dedicated honorific' (p. 1471). Pizziconi argues that as opposed to demonstrating that identity markers are not a negative politeness strategy, Matsumoto (1988) has only managed to illustrate that identity-marking devices make the interlocutors' roles more explicit.

Similarly, taking issue with claims that the Japanese honorific system is incompatible with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, Fukada and Asato (2004:1992) argue that identity-marking devices are indeed consistent with the preservation of face and accordingly 'there is no need to set up a separate kind of politeness, such as discernment'.

> We suspect that both Ide and Matsumoto were misled by the superficial correspondences between linguistic forms and social rules. The rigid Japanese social rules require precise control on polite language use, depending on a person's social status, occupation, familiarity, sex, formality of the situation, etc. The well-developed system of Japanese honorifics enables the Japanese to express subtle differences in the degree of deference, making it appear that these social rules dictate the use of honorifics.
>
> (Fukada & Asato, 2004:1996)

By way of example, Fukada and Asato (2004) directly examine a number of claims such as Matsumoto's (1988) comparison of linguistic requests in English and Japanese. Matsumoto presents the following examples as evidence that the Japanese language system places a greater emphasis on showing human relationships than minimising imposition.

(3)   Mot – imasu   ka

        Hold-POLITE QUESTION

        'Will you hold this?'

(4)   Mot – e – masu   ka

        Hold-POTENTIAL-POLITE QUESTION

        'Can you hold this?'

                                                        (Matsumoto, 1988:420-421)

In what amounts to a distinctly different interpretation, Fukada and Asato (2004:1994) challenge this analysis and claim that 'Matsumoto's examples only show the lack of convertibility of these English request expressions in to Japanese and do not therefore count as evidence for Matsumoto's argument that reducing the imposition of the utterance by indirectness will not be recognised as politeness in Japanese.' To illustrate, the researchers present the following examples which show the effect of an indirect element in the Japanese language system:

(5)   Motte – kudasai – masu   ka

Hold-give-IMPERATIVE-POLITE QUESTION

'Will you hold this for me?'

(6)   Motte – kudasai – mas- en   ka

        Hold-give-IMPERATIVE-POLITE-NEG QUESTION

        'Won't you hold this for me?'

Fukada and Asato (2004) point out that sentence (6) contains an indirectness marker, the negative morpheme, which carries a higher degree of face-saving effect illustrating that indirectness does indeed contribute to the politeness of a Japanese utterance. Framed around the analysis of a number of examples, Fukada and Asato maintain that universal politeness theory can indeed explain Japanese honorifics when the vertical hierarchy of Japanese society is taken into consideration. The researchers base their analysis of Japanese honorifics on Brown and Levinson's (1987) formula for computing the seriousness of an FTA (Weightiness (X) = Distance (S, H) + Power (H, S) +Rank of imposition (X), focusing on power and distance variables. Arguing that 'an account based on the politeness theory is superior to the discernment account' (p. 1991), Fukada and Asato explain the use of honorifics in non-FTA situations as follows: when interacting with a person of higher status, power and distance in Brown and Levinson's weightiness formula receive markedly high values and in turn lift the value of W(X). Consequently, regardless of the severity of the imposition, any act, whether intrinsically face-threatening or not, will be regarded as an FTA in Brown and Levinson's model. Accordingly, some sort of mitigation becomes necessary and this may be interpreted as accounting for the occurrence of honorifics, which the researchers refer to as a negative

politeness strategy. Fukada and Asato raise four key points that call into question Ide's (1989) claims.

1. In contrast with Matsumoto (1988) and Ide's (1989) claim that Brown and Levinson's (1987) face preservation cannot explain the use of honorifics in Japan, Fukada and Asato maintain that failure to employ correct honorific usage does in fact have much to do with face-preservation for if the speaker neglects to employ honorifics when expected, this may sound presumptuous and rude, in turn generating a threat to both the speaker's and the addressee's face (p. 1997).

2. Fukada and Asato demonstrate that even when a person is in a position customarily deserving of honorifics, Ide's (1989) claims that discernment-based politeness is socio-pragmatically obligatory can be refuted on the grounds that an honorific form 'sounds bizarre' when addressing acts considered to be dishonorable. To illustrate a series of examples are presented in which 'dishonorable acts' are framed through levels of honorifics typically assigned to social superiors:

> Senseega   dookyuusei   o   koroshi-ta
>
> teacher NOM classmate ACC kill-PAST
>
> 'My teacher killed my classmate.'

> ?Senseega dookyuusei o o-koroshi-ninat-ta
>
>   Kill-HONO-PAST

Senseega   dookyuusei o   gookanshi-ta

teacher NOM classmate ACC rape-PAST

'My teacher raped my classmate.'

?Senseega   dookyuusei   o   gookannasat-ta

                                rape-HONO-PAST

Sensee   ga ginkoogootoo o hatarai-ta

teacher NOM bank robbery ACC commit-PAST

'My teacher committed a bank robbery.'

?Sensee   ga   ginkoogootoo o o-hataraki-ninat-ta

                                commit-HONO-PAST

The researchers somewhat extreme examples (murder, rape, robbery) underscore the absurdity of pairing honorable forms of address with heinous actions even if the perpetrator happens to be hierarchically superior to the speaker. Presented as evidence that 'the honorific phenomenon is not sufficiently automatic to be called 'the socio-pragmatic equivalent of grammatical concord'' (p. 1998), this argument demonstrates that the obligatory indication of the social relationship is not the only criterion for honorific usage.

3. Fukada and Asato show that honorifics can be used by social superiors when interacting with subordinates in both non-formal and formal situations when the rank of

151

imposition is sufficiently high to trigger the usage. Alternatively, some formality of a situation, e.g., a ceremony or a funeral, would create a temporary distance between the interlocutors and in turn trigger the use of honorifics by the superior to a relatively low status person. As way of example, an exchange in which a lecturer requests the assistance of a student intern in grading work is presented:

Jaa, isogasete   sumimasen kedo   yoroshiku onegai shimasu.

Well, having you hurry   I am sorry, but   please beg – POLITE

'Well, I'm sorry to rush you, but thank you very much for taking care of this.'

(Fukada & Asato, 2004:1998)

The underlined honorific, *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, is deemed appropriate within the context of the exchange as it indicates the lecturer's hesitation and gratitude when requesting the intern's assistance to grade homework as 'the rank of the imposition would be given a sufficiently high value to trigger the use of honorifics' (p. 1998). The researchers' point here being that discernment politeness fails to account for cases of honorifics being used with subordinates, and argue that 'the use of honorifics is closely tied to face preservation and that an account based on the notion of face is much more promising than one based on the notion of discernment' (p. 2000).

4. Fukada and Asato believe that Brown and Levinson's (1987) formula provides an explanation of a particular social perception in Japan, i.e., that it is a good quality for young people and women not to speak too much in front of their seniors and superiors (p. 2000). The researchers argue that in contrary with Japanese social standards, 'Ide's

rule incorrectly predicts that a junior employee can speak as much as seniors and superiors in a meeting as long as he uses honorific forms' (2004:2000). However, if interpreted according to Brown and Levinson's 'Don't do the FTA' (fifth strategy), the high values associated with power and distance variables elevate the total FTA regardless of whether an act is intrinsically face-threatening or not. As such, anything said can be counted as an FTA and consequently the FTA is avoided.

Support for Fukada and Asato's (2004) position can be found in Usami's (2002) investigation of discourse politeness in Japanese which analysed 72 conversations between unacquainted people concentrating on the significance of age and gender. Focusing primarily on speech level shift and topic initiations, Usami reasons that the use of Japanese honorifics can be accounted for by calculating the weight of a FTA as if there is no imposition involved in the act; if the relative power or distance value is high, then the weightiness of the FTA will become greater and appropriate linguistic forms will be required. Usami concludes that her results support the hypothesis that Japanese politeness is indeed influenced by the social variable of power (p. 225). In summary, while contestations concerning Brown and Levinson's (1987) model may be abating, arguments presented by Japanese scholarship both for and against face and universal politeness theory suggest that the face framework, in conjunction with culturally specific dimensions, has a significant role to play in analysing Japanese interaction. The challenge appears to be that of finding a middle-ground position in order to attend to features of Japanese culture, society and language, while also providing an opportunity for comparisons to be made across cultures.

4.8 The Ground In-Between

The concept of positive and negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987[1987]) as being universal human attributes is described by O'Driscoll (1996:4) as being 'too valuable to be jettisoned' on the basis of 'false assumptions about what it entails'. In line with this position, a number of attempts to overcome the perceived weaknesses of politeness theory have been made in order to better address culture-specific values and issues of cultural variation. A number of researchers have illustrated that the dual notion of face remains relevant and can potentially be adapted to account for cultural variance (see Fukushima, 2000; Haugh, 2005; Mao, 1994; Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2008). Bringing together common underlying principles associated with the notion of face, a number of alternative frameworks look to account for the diversity observed within languages and cultures while avoiding the tendency to rely on cross-cultural cross-cultural generalisations. For example, drawing from Matsumoto's (1988) claims and Brown and Levinson's theory, Mao (1994) suggests that there are two views of face in any given society:

> An underlying direction of face that emulates, though never completely attaining, one of two interactional ideals that may be salient in a given speech community: the ideal social identity, or the ideal individual autonomy. The specific content of face in a given speech community is determined by one of these two interactional ideals sanctioned by members of the community.

> (Mao, 1994:472)

154

This view of face is built on the premise that understanding cross-cultural politeness requires an understanding of these individual and social manifestations of face, and recognition that one may be more prevalent in accordance with socio-cultural expectations. Rapport Management theory as developed by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2008) proposes a move away from a singular view of communication in terms of positive or negative politeness in acknowledging the complexity of communication as a dynamic phenomenon with a multiplicity of factors influencing communication. Spencer-Oatey's model conceives of communication as aimed at transmitting information and establishing, maintaining or modifying social relationships. The researcher maintains that interaction, governed by sociopragmatic interactional principles that social groups internalise and tacitly take for granted, is influenced by a rich combination of both social and contextual factors that need to be taken into consideration when defining the rules of the appropriate use of the language. Outlining a broader framework than Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, Rapport Management looks to explain how language is used to promote, maintain, or threaten harmonious social relations. In Spencer-Oatey's model, rapport refers to 'people's subjective perceptions of (dis)harmony, smoothness-turbulence and warmth-antagonism in interpersonal relations' while rapport management describes 'the ways in which this (dis)harmony is (mis)managed.' (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009:102). Importantly, Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management theory presents a social component in that it distinguishes between face needs which refer to a person's personal or social value, and sociality rights which refer to a person's personal or social entitlements.

With the term 'rapport' replacing politeness, Spencer Oatey (2008) argues that the

motivation for politeness is not only the desire to maintain face, but also the desire to maintain sociality rights defined as 'fundamental personal/social *entitlements* that individuals effectively claim for themselves in their interactions with others' (p. 14). Spencer-Oatey proposes a three dimensional model of rapport management: (i) the management of face, (ii) the management of sociality rights and obligations and (iii) the management of interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:14). The concept of face in the Rapport Management model is explained as 'people's sense of worth, dignity and identity, and is associated with issues such as respect, honour, status, reputation and competence' (p. 14). The relation between face and a person's self-identity is viewed in three respects: self as an individual (individual identity), self as a group member (collective identity), and self in relationship with others (relational identity) (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:14). Within the management of face we have quality face, concerned with personal qualities and self-esteem, and identity face, concerned with values effective in social or group roles. The management of sociality rights, on the other hand, involves the management of social expectancies. Sociality rights are social or personal expectancies or entitlements that individuals claim for themselves (Spencer-Oatey, 2000:14). Some are constantly negotiated, while others are culturally or situationally determined beforehand. Within the management of sociality rights we have equity rights and association rights. Equity rights refer to our right to receive personal consideration and be treated fairly, while association rights account for our entitlement to association or dissociation with others such as the degree of closeness-distance in relations. The third component determining the rapport of interaction in Spencer-Oatey's framework is the interactional goal of the conversations, which may be transactional and/or relational (2008). Interactional goals may damage

social interaction if they come into conflict. If they do not, their management may result in rapport maintenance or rapport-enhancement.

Within the framework of rapport management, Spencer-Oatey (2008) proposes that rapport can be threatened by face-threatening behaviour, rights threatening/ obligation-omission behaviour, and goal-threatening behaviour (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 17). Spencer-Oatey (2005) explains the management of rapport as 'not only behavior that enhances or maintains smooth relations, but any kind of behavior that has an impact on rapport, whether positive, negative, or neutral' (p. 96). Moreover, Spencer-Oatey points out that people can hold differing types of rapport orientations towards each other and outlines four categories (Spencer-Oatey, 2008:32):

1. Rapport enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors;

2. Rapport maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors;

3. Rapport neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors;

4. Rapport challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors.

Importantly, these orientations can change during the course of an interaction during which an individual will determine, consciously or unconsciously, whether their rapport has been enhanced, maintained or damaged (Spencer-Oatey, 2005:96). Furthermore, the

contextual factors are determined as power and distance relations among interlocutors, the number of participants in conversations, cost-benefit considerations, social and interactional roles and so on. Under the pragmatic principles and conventions Spencer-Oatey deals with the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic principles followed in order to manage the rapport between interlocutors (2008:40-43). In view of the fact that different cultures have different views regarding how rapport should be constructed, it is assumed that misunderstanding may occur in cross cultural communication. Spencer-Oatey (2000) notes that cultural differences in language use can have a major impact on people's assessment of rapport management outcomes and suggests that variation may occur in aspects such as contextual assessment norms, sociopragmatic conventions, pragmalinguistic conventions, fundamental cultural values, and the inventory of rapport-management strategies (Spencer-Oatey, 2000:42). The impact of these potential cultural differences in language use on people's assessment of rapport management constitute factors that are to be taken into account when analysing the management of rapport.

Haugh (2005) marks out a middle ground position arguing that positive and negative face may be valuable in explicating politeness in English, yet 'not sufficiently broad in nature to effectively account for politeness phenomena in Japanese' (p. 42). Haugh proposes that in order to circumvent theoretical shortcomings and supplement Brown and Levinson's paradigm, the concept of 'place' may serve to explicate Japanese politeness. Haugh's model of Japanese face and politeness orientations hypothesises that 'politeness in Japanese arises primarily from acknowledging the place of others, or compensating for impositions on that place, rather than trying to compensate for

158

possible impositions on the individual autonomy of others' (p. 45). In other words, the speech levels in Japanese focus on recognising the addressee's place in relation to the speaker as opposed to attending to the imposition or acknowledgement of the individual's wants.

Emphasising the role of place in Japanese politeness, it has been argued that Japanese speakers, when using *keigo* (honorific system) determine the appropriate level of speech based on whether the addressee is a member of the in-group *uchi* (inside), or the out-group *soto* (outside) (see Harada 1976; Ikuta 1983; Niyekawa, 1991; Wetzel, 1994). Intimacy is linguistically manifested by the use of plain forms in conversation, while the use of honorifics can be seen as a means of maintaining or acknowledging distance. Plain forms, when used by a superior, can potentially be seen as evoking a sense of camaraderie. However, if used by the inferior (unless otherwise sanctioned) this is marked as a departure from the rules of social conduct. According to Niyekawa (1991) hierarchy is invoked if the interlocutor is determined to be *uchi* (inside) while non-polite or minimal polite language is reciprocally engaged in the case that the interlocutor is considered *soto* (outside). Lebra (1976) notes that the intimacy and distance associated with the *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' requires consideration of the given situation:

The Japanese are known to differentiate their behaviour by whether the situation is defined as *uchi* or *soto*... Where the demarcation line is drawn varies widely: it may be inside vs. outside an individual person, a family, a group of playmates, a school, a company, a village or a nation. It is suggestive that the term *uchi* is used

159

colloquially to refer to one's house, family or family member, and the shop or company where one works. The essential point, however, is that the *uchi-soto* distinction is drawn not by social structure, but by constantly varying situations.

(Lebra, 1976:112)

In other words, the *uchi-soto* distinction requires attention to be paid to the social factors operating in the given situation rather than being based on pre-existing categories. For example, within the social context of the school community the *seito* (student) is expected to acknowledge and uphold the role of the *sensei* (teacher) as a valued expert, and to engage an appropriate level of politeness to make this clear to the teacher and other members of the class.

As we note above, Haugh (2005) proposes that place, consisting of the dual concepts of the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction), is a culturally specific manifestation that underlies Japanese politeness orientations. Inclusion is depicted as being a part of something else such as a particular set or group, while distinction is defined as being different or distinguishable from others (p. 47). This model of inclusion comprises groups fashioned both socially and psychologically; social groups depict the family structure and metaphorical extensions such as the workplace or class, while psychological groups are derived from an affinity-linking individuals such as friends (p. 49). In contrast, distinction involves one's public persona or social standing and is based on the individual's role (*ichi, yakuwari*), rank or status (*mibun, chi'i*), and circumstances (*jookyoo*) (p. 54). Roles are subdivided to include institutional positions and non-institutional positions. Institutional positions are characterised as

'those that are given to people with recognition from others that this position/role has been bestowed upon this person' and tend to have well defined boundaries such as an individual's occupation. Non-institutional positions are described as being context sensitive and less well-defined such as roles arising from social connections (p. 54). Based on Haugh's framework, in non-institutional positions the situation defines the individual's position and consequently there is greater variation in roles. Identifying and preserving position in relation to others is rooted in one's social standing in accordance with the social and cultural value attached to the specific place.

According to Pizziconi (2003), 'The need for an unbiased terminology for cross-cultural comparison is more urgent than ever, and the task of creating one as problematic as ever. Terms like 'deference', 'tact', 'superior', even 'politeness' itself, clearly carry multiple connotations in different cultures' (p. 1502). While the theoretical implications of the diverse range of views of face and politeness remain uncertain, what is clear is the underlying recognition that the management of face is closely tied to verbal and nonverbal communication strategies. The question remains whether all people intrinsically share negative and positive face, and it is the priority attached to both which continues to drive discussion. It is here that we turn to the notion of identity which in the view of this thesis promises to present a broader approach to understanding the fractal complexity and diversity of face and language.

4.9 What is Identity?

Over the past two decades, growing interest in understanding the relationship between

161

identity and language learning has been reflected in the wealth of publications within the field of applied linguistics.[7] Joseph (2013:36) describes identity as being related to who individuals are in relation to 'the groups to which they belong, including nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, generation, sexual orientation, social class and an unlimited number of other possibilities.' Studies on identity in language education have tackled different issues including identity and ideology, identity and race, identity and gender, identity in writing, language student identity, and teacher professional identity. This increasing scope of research has been fuelled by awareness that issues of identity and language are closely bound together. In short, identity research has demonstrated that as we move towards a view of language as being more than a fixed linguistic system of grammar, vocabulary and syntax, there is the need for greater recognition of contemporary notions of self and identity in order to better understand how students, as complex social participants, interact with and acquire a target language (Kanno 2003, 2008; Kinginger 2004; Kramsch 2009; Lee, 2008; Norton, 1997, 2000, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2002; Pavlenko 2003). Identities are not bestowed upon an individual but are 'forged – created, transmitted, reproduced, performed – textually and semiotically' through signs (Joseph, 2013). Joseph emphasises that language is the ultimate semiotic system and that 'every identity ideally wants a language of its own' (p. 41). This

---

[7]While identity is a relatively new construct in research on the learning of languages, it represents a rapidly expanding area of research which demonstrates that identities play an important role in language acquisition (see Block, 2003, 2007b; Clarke, 2008; Day, 2002; Heller, 2007; Higgins, 2009; Joseph, 2004; Kanno, 2003, 2008; Kramsch, 2009; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Lin, 2007; Miller, 2003; Nelson, 2009; Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Toohey, 2000; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).

relationship between language learning and identity is framed by Norton and Toohey (2002) as follows:

> Language learning engages the identities of students because language itself is not only a linguistic system of signs and symbols; it is also a complex social practice in which the value and meaning ascribed to an utterance are determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks. Likewise, how a language learner interprets or constructs a written text requires an ongoing negotiation among historical understandings, contemporary realities, and future desires.
>
> (Norton & Toohey, 2002:115)

Antrim (2007) emphasises that language, as a channel for self-identification, is a significant part of who we are and who we identify with culturally, ethnically and socially. For this reason, Antrim proposes that identities can be public, private, perceived and projected and 'while language is only one means of constructing these identities, it provides a foundation for those identities' (p. 2). As a result, second language competence cannot be viewed in isolation from social practices both within and beyond the classroom context. In essence, identity is connected to one's sense of self which is 'lived, negotiated, on-going, changing constantly across time and space, social, multiple, it is also a learning process with its pasts and future incorporating the present' (Wenger, 1998:163). For this reason, identity explores the complex, dynamic and potentially contradictory ways in which a person views himself and others, explained by Jenkins (2004:5) as 'our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others

(which includes us).' Mendoza-Denton (2002:475) describes identity as 'the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signalled through language and other semiotic means.' The researcher points out that identity 'is neither attribute nor possession, but an individual and collective-level process of semiosis' (Mendoza-Denton, 2002:475). In other words, identity is not automatically acquired at birth, ascribed by others, or assigned within a classroom. On the contrary, identity is viewed as evolving, multifaceted and negotiated. In this sense, identity refers to the fluid and multiple identities one inhabits through the interactive negotiation of social restrictions and drawing on socially available resources. Ryan (1997), drawing from the work of Britzman et al. (1993) and Taylor (1991), explains that identity construction represents a process of negotiation carried out within the social environment:

> The construction of identity, however, is not an individual or exclusively personal thing. Selves are neither made nor changed in isolation. Rather the process of identity formation is dialogical in nature. Who we are and what we become is tied very closely to the social circumstances in which we find ourselves. Our interactions with others who we may or may not know, as well as a range of other phenomena in our social milieu, shape in fundamental ways who we think we are and who and what we identify with.

> (Ryan, 1997:42)

In other words, an individual's identities are influenced by the socio-discursive practices and parameters in which he engages and do not represent a state of being, but

rather respond and develop according to the specific circumstances. Illustrating this point, Hall (1990) refers to identity as the process of 'becoming', and proposes that identity should be thought of as a 'production which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (p. 222). For this reason, an individual's identities are viewed as continuously renegotiated through assimilating new experiences. While the individual has a degree of control in constructing identities, it is not simply a process of the individual aligning to desired identities as the process is negotiated within parameters imposed by the culture, society and the social group (Ryan, 1997:42). Consequently, an individual and his identities might be simultaneously positioned on various dimensions, not always freely chosen, when engaged in discourses and social practices.

Explaining the multiplicity of identities, Ushioda (2011) describes identities as being 'socially forged and negotiated through our relations and interactions with other people' (p. 202) while Norton and Toohey (2011) view identities as personally valued constructions which focus on how the individual relates to the social world and how one interprets his possibilities for the future. Impacted by social constructs, these facets of identities are forged to shape the way in which the individual understands his relationship to the world and possibilities for the future. The context-dependent nature of identities as constructed during interaction is captured by Zimmerman's (1998:91) three types of identity: *discourse identity, situated identity,* and *transportable identity.*

1. *Discourse identity* This refers to the identities an individual adopts within the immediate interaction which are 'integral to the moment-by-moment organization

165

of the interaction' (p. 90). Discourse identity relates to the sequential development of the talk as interlocutors engage (i.e. speaker, listener, questioner, challenger).

2. *Situated identity* This refers to the alignment of roles with reference to the social situation the participants are in and their contribution in 'engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets' (p. 90). For example, within the context of the classroom the teacher and students will behave according to rank and roles viewed by the participants as being socio-culturally consistent with the classroom environment.

3. *Transportable identity* This refers to identities transported across a variety of interactions and are 'usually visible, that is, assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization' (p. 91).

These levels of description illustrate that identity is constructed across time and space as an individual conducts social negotiations based on his perceptions of self and his relationship to the changing contexts. Identity, associated with self-identification, is defined by Antrim (2007:1) as 'our behavior, values and self-concepts. This is reflected in the language we use, our word choices in identifying ourselves as well as in the words we choose not to use.' As language is a key form of self-representation associated with how we identify ourselves culturally, ethnically and socially (Day, 2002; Morita, 2004; Norton, 2000, 2006, 2010, 2013; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), it follows that the learning of 'other' or 'additional'[8] languages may challenge the student

---

[8] As many language learners are multilingual with multiple competencies, Block (2003) suggests that 'other' or 'additional' may be more appropriate than 'second' to indicate the status of languages

166

to expand personal, social and cultural identities in order to accept or potentially reject the new language and all that it symbolises.

Through exploring the relationship between the individual and the social world, identity research conceptualises an integrative approach to understanding the complex interaction of the language student in relation to learning processes and the socio-cultural learning context. The importance of recognising students' identities is emphasised by Norton (2000) who argues that '... it is only by acknowledging the complexity of identity that we can gain greater insight into the myriad challenges and possibilities of language learning and language teaching in the new millennium' (p. 154). The complex nature of identity is further illustrated in Simon's (2004) Self-Aspect Model of Identity (SAMI) which offers an integrated approach to identity in proposing that a person's self-concept comprises beliefs about his own attributes or self-characteristics. SAMI considers two levels of identity; namely 'collective identity' which arises where self-interpretation focuses upon a socially shared self-aspect and 'individual identity', which is the consequence of self-interpretation based upon a complex configuration of self-aspects. As illustrated below, SAMI demonstrates that the number of attributes or self-characteristics attached to the individuals can be extensive as these constitute the basic units of identity:

- Personality traits (e.g., outgoing).
- Abilities (e.g., poor student).
- Physical features (e.g., black hair).

---

being learned.

- Behavioural characteristics (e.g., go jogging everyday).

- Ideologies (e.g., Buddhist).

- Social roles (e.g., teacher).

- Language affiliations (e.g., English, Japanese).

- Group memberships (e.g., running club member).

Insight into the negotiation of identities and its deep connection with language learning is offered in Norton Peirce's (1993) qualitative study of five immigrant women in Canada. Norton Peirce's research illustrates the impact power relations wield on language learning through enabling and/or constraining the range of identities students can negotiate in their classrooms and communities. In their diaries, the women recorded daily interactions in English with bosses, co-workers, and landlords and frequently found themselves silenced due to their marginal positions as immigrants and language learners. Reflecting on the participants' experience, Norton Peirce introduced the term *investment*, hypothesising that the women invested in English as linguistic capital. Norton Peirce's definition of the construct of investment, inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1991), 'signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice' (p. 5). The researcher suggests that when learners make an investment in the target language, they do so with the understanding that, 'they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources' (p. 17). In short, the learner invests in a second language with the objective of claiming a wider range of identities and an expanded set of possibilities for the future.

Norton (2010:3) proposes that learners invest in the target language with the knowledge that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. Norton goes on to explain that as the value of the learners' cultural capital increases, their 'sense of themselves, their identities, and their opportunities for the future are reevaluated' (p. 3). In other words, acquisition of the target language is perceived by the learner as impacting on his life in a way that he assumes to be favourable. For example, language may be viewed as a resource which can receive different values and help to gain access to opportunities such as education or employment opportunities within the target language community. Speaking to future possibilities, Kanno and Norton (2003) refer to imagined communities as 'groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination' (p. 241). This sense of imagined communities extends across time and space and speaks to the connections and a sense of community one imagines sharing with others at a future time (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). In Norton's (2010) own words, 'Thus in imagining themselves bonded with their fellow human beings across space and time, learners can feel a sense of community with people they have not yet met, including future relationships that exist only in a learner's imagination' (p. 3). For this reason, identity continually reacts to changing structural conditions and social contexts in order to transform the learner's relationship with interlocutors and potentially claim alternative identities. The language learner is regarded as maintaining multiple identities that are socially and culturally constructed relationships to the cultural and social contexts in which he operates. Norton and Toohey (2004) refer to *safe houses* as sites of identity construction, 'that allow students to negotiate the often contradictory tensions they encounter as members

of diverse communities' (p. 5). In this way, when interacting with the target language in specific social situations the learner is engaged in organising and reorganising socio-culturally constructed identities in line with how he relates to the social world of the classroom, his desires for the future, and his perceptions of appropriate situational role and rank. As Antrim argues:

Our language choices reflect not only how we view ourselves, but how we are viewed by society. An individual's identity is reflected in various language constructed identities: ethnicity, gender, and cross-cultural/counter cultural. In turn these identities are projected by society on the individual/ethnic group by the language choices society makes in describing and addressing these individuals.

(Antrim, 2007:2)

Throughout this thesis, the term identity is used both in the singular and plural forms; however this is not to suggest that the participants are without social constraints or in some way fragmented. Rather identity is viewed as being dynamic, hybrid and fluid. In the following analysis, the terms identity and identities refer to the Japanese students' evolving awareness of their roles and relationships within social and cultural forms of practices, values, and beliefs. Consequently, the individual may at times have the freedom to align with particular positions yet at other points be expected to align with socially determined restrictions placed on their choices. These identities are viewed as being forged by social, cultural, and individual interpretations of how the individual wishes to align or disalign himself in the present and with an eye to the future.

4.10 The Interrelationship between Identity and Face

As noted in the above discussion, it is widely accepted in the literature of pragmatic studies that face and identity influence the complex and dynamic ways in which individuals present themselves verbally and non-verbally during interaction. Moreover, it is recognised that language and issues of identity are closely bound together, as too are language and the management and negotiation of face. Nevertheless, somewhat surprisingly, it appears that researchers have shown little interest in how the constructs of identity and face are interrelated and impact on the student both within and outside of the language classroom (Joseph, 2013; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Potentially these two powerful conceptual areas, namely identity and face, present an opportunity to explore the communicative negotiation of face within the broader framework of identity. Or, simply speaking, theories of identity may enrich the understanding of face and aid the analysis of face by adding layers of description that have traditionally been overlooked. While face research has addressed issues such as the degree to which face is individual or relational, public or private, and situation-specific or context-independent, Spencer-Oatey (2007:639) points out a lack of attention to the one fundamental point underpinning the debate, namely the issue of identity.

With these issues in mind, Spencer-Oatey (2007) proposes a new approach to analysing and conceptualising face through attention to insights gained from identity theories. Spencer-Oatey (2007) promotes the inclusion of the multiple perspectives offered for 'a richer and more comprehensive understanding of face and the frameworks needed for analyzing it' (p. 639). By way of explanation, Spencer-Oatey notes that while face

literature routinely makes reference to identity there has been little attention to the interrelationship of these two concepts. The researcher points out that as opposed to exploring associations, face and identity research have tended to assume a parallel trajectory with points of intersection a rarity. The assumption that conceptualisations of face and identity are intrinsically contradictory has created a situation in which a number of key questions have failed to generate interest within the research community:

To what extent are identity and face similar or different?

How may theories of identity inform our understanding of face?

How may they (theories of identity) aid our analyses of face?'

(Spencer-Oatey, 2007:639-640)

Concurring that there is a tendency within literature to stress the perceived distinctions rather than explore the interrelationship between face and identity, Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini (2010) note a recent shift towards conceptualising face in the context of identity which, in their view, begs the question whether 'research on face can be (or need be) distinguished in any meaningful way from broader work on identity' (p. 2073). The distinction between face and identity, as outlined by Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini, rests primarily on the argument that face represents an individual's claims as to who he is within an interaction, while identity is a more enduring concept that encompasses how an individual sees himself and identifies himself. In this way, conceptualisations typically paint a picture of identity as attending to the whole person whereas face is seen as related to those aspects one elects to publicly reveal. Questioning this distinction Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini state:

The problem facing this distinction is that, on the one hand, identity has increasingly been conceptualised as rooted in interaction and thus less enduring than previously thought, while, on the other hand, according to emic or folk conceptualisations, face is often seen as enduring across interactions unless otherwise challenged.

(Haugh & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2010:2073)

In short, face is conceptualised as being stable unless challenged, while identity is continually negotiated in line with the specific context in which the interactions takes place. Arguing that identity and face have much in common, Joseph (2013:35) points out that 'each is an imagining of the self, or of another, within a public sphere involving multiple actors.' Nevertheless, Joseph suggests that as identity and face have entered into language and discourse research from different directions, researchers have tended to frame them so that they appear to be 'no more than tangentially related to one another' (p. 35). To illustrate, Joseph argues that in research there has been a fundamental, and in the researcher's view, dubious, distinction drawn between how face and identity relate to time with face viewed as being 'punctual' while identity is seen as a 'durative' phenomenon (p. 36). Challenging this distinction, Joseph emphasises that an individual's face should not be considered inconsistent or facework as not enduring. Similarly, Joseph notes that identity is generally conceived as being the property of a person even when an individual's awareness of his identity 'may lie below the surface until a particular contact creates a tension that brings it to the fore' (p. 36). The researcher's point being that face and identity are far more complex, variable and

173

dynamic than outlined in traditional definitions.

Spencer-Oatey (2007) notes that face and identity are socio-cognitively similar in that they both have to do with one's self-image, yet points out that face is distinct from identity in that the attributes it is associated with are sensitive to the claimant (p. 644). For this reason, the construct of face deals specifically with those aspects of identity that the student elects to claim in accordance with the desired public-self-image.

> (…) face is only associated with attributes that are affectively sensitive to the claimant. It is associated with positively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly), and with negatively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others NOT to ascribe to him/her.
>
> (Spencer-Oatey, 2007:644)

It is perhaps inevitable that the demarcation of face and identity has given rise to disagreements regarding the depth to which and areas in which these two notions differ. Two key areas of division that differentiate face and identity are; (a) the role of the interlocutor, and (b) the focus on positive claims. In essence, when claiming face an individual petitions for desired face, however, claims are reliant on the evaluation of the interlocutor who may elect to corroborate or challenge the desired public front claimed. In short, both negative and positive face claims are dependent on the appraisal of the interlocutor and cannot be claimed without joint construction. On the other hand, identity speaks directly to the individual's perceptions of self, and while invariably influenced by the interlocutor and restrained by social constructs, does not require

ratification. This distinction is highlighted by Arundale (2006) who characterises face as a dyadic phenomenon while identity is referred to as an individual phenomenon.

The second point of divergence pertains to face as concerned with positive claims and avoidance of negatively evaluated attributes that the individual does not wish to have ascribed. As a public self image, face is associated with positive claims in accordance with how the individual desires to be valued by interlocutors within specific situations. Identity however, is much broader in scope in that it is orientated towards the individual's perceptions of self and therefore may be characterised as negative, positive or neutral. This distinction is noted by Spencer-Oatey (2007) who argues:

> Face is not associated with negative attributes, except in so far as we claim NOT to possess them. In this respect, there is a clear distinction between face and identity. A person's identity attributes include negatively and neutrally evaluated characteristics, as well as positive ones, whilst the attributes associated with face are only positive ones.
>
> (Spencer-Oatey, 2007:643)

Nevertheless, Spencer-Oatey emphasises that there will be differences in how individuals evaluate a given attribute impacting face claims. For example, a Japanese child who has acquired English competence abroad may elect to hide these skills at school in Japan so as to avoid losing face among peers by appearing too accomplished or atypical. However, the same student, if participating in a tightly controlled STEP English proficiency interview (see section 2) may make face claims based on his

English competence. Spencer-Oatey refers to affective sensitivity to illustrate that self presentation operates in foreground and background modes. When self-perceived identity equals other-perceived identity, face perception is viewed as running in a background mode (Schlenker & Pontari, 2000) or passing unnoticed, however becoming salient when the two perceptions are in conflict. Accordingly, claims of face happen only when self-perceived identity is not in harmony with other-perceived identity, either in a positive way or in a negative way. This is summed up by Spencer-Oatey (2007:644) when she notes that 'When everything is going smoothly, we may barely be aware of our face sensitivities (they are operating in the background mode), yet as soon as people appraise our face claims in an unexpected way (either positively or negatively) our attention is captured because we are affectively sensitive to those evaluations.' Accordingly, face differs from self-perceived identity, as face can never be claimed unilaterally, and must include the consideration of other's perception of self-attributes, which is essentially other-perceived identity. Identity, on the other hand, is individual and can be claimed without regard to the other's perspective.

While this distinction is clear, if face and identity are socio-cognitively interpreted they are similar to the extent that they both have to do with one's self-image and accordingly, different factors that constitute a person's identity may also influence his/her face (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). The key point here being that identity and face can potentially offer valuable insights into the individual's interpretation of self through highlighting different levels of self perception. This is demonstrated in Spencer-Oatey's (2007) approach to face-analysis which seeks to describe how the face-gain/loss occurs from the perspective of the interactant(s) involved in ongoing interaction. What causes the

176

loss or gain of face; in other words, to find the specific face-sensitive attribute(s) and to determine what face means or represents for the interactant(s) involved in a particular situation.

Spencer-Oatey (2007) argues that as face entails claims on the evaluations of others, it follows that it should be evaluated as an interactional phenomenon unfolding in real-time interaction. The focus on real-time interaction illustrates that claims to face, and an anticipation of an interlocutors face claims, can vary dynamically during an exchange. Individual, relational and collective factors need to be considered when examining the underpinnings of face for as Spencer-Oatey (2007) cautions, 'analysing face only in interaction is comparable to studying just one side of a coin.' The researcher goes on to stress that 'face, like identity, is both social (interactional) and cognitive in nature' (p. 648). The researcher's point being that 'there are cognitive underpinnings that influence (but do not determine) how face unfolds in interaction, and that considering these will inform and enrich an interactional analysis' (p. 648). For this reason it is argued that the construct of face, examined alongside theories of identity, potentially provides a broader and richer platform from which to approach varying levels of explanation of how face unfolds during the dynamic process of interaction.

This line of reasoning is useful for the following study and face research in general. If we intend to study face we should undoubtedly first determine how a face phenomenon occurs; and then seek to determine the underpinnings related to the occurrence. It follows that as the face attributes an individual claims are in essence those that he regards as being of importance to this public self-image, they can provide insights into

the identity he wishes to construct or maintain. Face, as the positively evaluated attributes one wants others to acknowledge and the negatively evaluated attributes that one may not wish ascribed, entails claims on the evaluations of others. Accordingly, in the following study face is evaluated as an interactional phenomenon unfolding in real-time interaction. The study maintains that face claims, jointly constructed during interaction, provide insight into identities as the individual's perceptions of self. It is here that we now turn to the research methodology employed.

PART 2

CHAPTER 5: Methodology and Data Collection

5.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to describe the process of data collection, to present the rationale behind methodological decisions and to explain the analytical methods I employed during the analysis of data. The overriding objective of the research design is to present and examine the specific patterns and functions of verbal and non-verbal language use as revealed in the Japanese students' management of face and (dis)alignment with identities during English learning activities. In order to shed light on the management of face, I take a twofold approach and examine students' interpretations of classroom events while at the same time analysing discourse in order to explore both lexico-grammatical features and characteristics of actions in the social context together, not in isolation. This chapter begins with an overview of the research methodology followed by a description of the phases involved in the process of data collection and the piloting process of the research instruments. This includes a presentation of the types of data collected, namely transcriptions of classroom interactions (English/Japanese), results of stimulated recall interviews (Japanese), and transcriptions of semi-structured interviews (English). The chapter presents information that provides insight into the motivations behind the research design, the organisation of data in terms of presentation and transcription conventions (Appendix A). The chapter outlines the steps employed in the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the

theoretical framework underpinning the analysis and ethical considerations concerning data collection.

5.2 Introduction to Research Methodology

In the present study, a qualitative interpretive methodology is adopted in order to provide a contextually rich account of student language use and behaviour during English learning activities (Davis, 1995; Erickson, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000; Richards, 2003). To investigate the negotiation of face and identities during classroom interaction, the study, structured around fieldwork, feedback and analysis, draws on a broad range of data collected through classroom recordings and retrospective interviews. In this way the study aim is to provide a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) or a descriptive-explanatory-interpretive account of the students' interaction with the teacher and each other within the English language classroom. This is achieved through incorporating both an emic perspective, that is the culturally specific framework used by the Japanese students for interpreting and assigning meaning to their experiences, and an etic perspective, based on a framework which explores concepts and categories relevant to the Japanese students through the academic frameworks, concepts, and categories of face and identities (see Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Thick description is accomplished through a holistic approach (Lutz, 1981), that is, the verbal and non-verbal behaviours are investigated in the context in which the students and teacher produce them, and they are interpreted and explained in terms of their relationship to the entire system of which they are a part.

In the tradition of qualitative interpretive research, the description seeks to provide a contextually rich account of the classroom under investigation and the participants (Erickson, 1986). According to Erickson (1986), the key feature of qualitative interpretive research is 'interest in human meaning in social life and in its elucidation and exposition by the researcher' (p. 119). In order to gain an understanding of the meanings of actions from the actors' point of view (Davis, 1995) qualitative inquiry adopts an exploratory perspective through methods such as focus interviews, observation, content analysis of documents and archival records (Richards, 2003). As Creswell (1998) states,

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting.

(Creswell, 1998:15)

It is important to note that a frequent criticism of qualitative inquiry is that as data is interpreted in an explicitly subjective manner (Stake, 1995:45) there will inevitably be concerns with reliability and validity. To a large extent this criticism assumes that the procedures for validating claims made through qualitative research are not as well developed and standardised as those for research following a quantitative research paradigm. The assumption that only quantitative analytical research can deliver objective research findings is far from given. For example, comparing quantitative and qualitative methodologies, Salomon (1991) makes the point that 'explanations are

involved in both cases, and the selection of variables, actions to be observed, and interpretation of findings can be similarly affected by the selection of theories, points of view, political agendas, and methods of analysis' (p. 11). For qualitative research paradigms, the validity of findings can be considerably strengthened if the findings are established through reference to multiple data sources, agreed upon by multiple investigators, or confirmed by multiple methods. Accordingly, questions regarding the validity of findings can be addressed through triangulation of data sources, investigators, and methods (Stake, 1995). Three validity checks proposed by Richards (2003) are the following:

- *Member validation:* Seek views of members on accuracy of data gathered, descriptions, or even interpretations

- *Constant comparison:* Keep comparing codings with other codings and classifications, looking for new relationships, properties, etc.

- *Negative evidence:* Seek out negative evidence/cases and assess their relevance to interpretations

(Richards, 2003:287)

These three validity checks provide analytical mechanisms which encourage the researcher to maintain an open mind, while remaining receptive to possible alternatives regarding interpretations of the data. As noted, in the current study, data was drawn from several key sources: classroom interaction, student reflections on this interaction, and teacher interviews. This allowed for the different students to provide first hand responses to the data gathered and facilitated both comparisons and access to negative

evidence. Through combining the recording and transcribing of naturally occurring interactions with techniques of observation and interviewing, the study therefore aims to gain insight into what the students were thinking through focusing on the students' interpretations of their classroom performance. In this way, identity, as revealed through the construct of face, and face, as revealed through identity (dis)alignment are examined through attention to the students' subjective interpretation of their own language use and behaviour at specific moments during English activities. Specifically, data regarding the students' interpretation of their language use is obtained through a series of ten retrospective interview sessions following each of the English learning activities. The motivation for this being that when attributing meaning to the students, the study aims to understand how language both shapes and is shaped by factors such as the classroom socio-cultural context and the participants. As Gee (1999:10) puts it:

Language has a magical property; when we speak or write, we design what we have to say to fit the situation in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that very situation. It seems, then, that we fit our language to a situation that our language, in turn, helps to create in the first place.

(Gee, 1999:10)

The study argues that the participating students, and indeed all students, are not mere observers of social norms, but, rather, active agents constructing their own social worlds. Consequently, classrooms can be viewed as evolving networks which bring together the teacher and students with their mediated actions, the moment the participants act in real time using various discursive and non-discursive mediational means (Scollon 1998,

1999). Mediated action, as the focus of analysis, argues that the utterance is but one example of a mediated action, and that all other actions, whether it be opening a book or pointing at a board, are just as much mediated actions that constitute parts of interaction. In other words, the mediated action links the discourse and the social action. Every mediated action is taken in a site of engagement which can be seen as a window that opens the possibility for the mediated action to occur. During the course of social interaction, interlocutors engage in a negotiation of face relationships and employ strategies to manage face and align with, resist or reject identities. The strategies employed during communication, verbal and non-verbal, are conditioned by socio-cultural norms of a particular society and informed by the individual's judgment.

The study maintains that within the English language classroom there are inevitably moments during which the communicative competence of the participants will be challenged. *Critical moments* constitute moments within the processes and practices of the classroom during which the participants (teacher and/or students) identify and orient to the occurrence of contradictions arising among conflicting orders of discourse (Candlin, 1987). During critical moments the participants' actions, beliefs and competencies may be challenged and subjective realities questioned (Candlin & Lucas 1986). As the direction of communication may deviate from what participants regard as being situationally appropriate, it is assumed that the communicative skills of interlocutors will be challenged in order to avoid or resolve potential misunderstandings. In other words, the interactions that occur may develop in unanticipated ways, and therefore may require the teacher and/or students to employ differing communicative strategies to clarify or explain. The participants' interactional management of critical

moments through verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies, shed light on the individual personalities and ideologies of the students in a manner which at times requires them to reveal cultural, social and individual positionings through the communicative strategies they employ.

Through the analysis of classroom discourse and the students' subjective views of this discourse, the thesis explores how the students enact socially and culturally situated identities through the pragmatics of face. Data analysis is inductive with key patterns and themes emerging from primary data sources examined with attention to the participants' experiences within the research site. Discourse analysis (see section 1.5) provides a broad platform from which to delve beneath the structural features of the language employed by the students in order to gain insight into socio-psychological characteristics and features of communication through concentrating on the meaning of language in interaction and 'language in situational and cultural context[s]' (Trappes-Lomax, 2004:134). The motivation for employing DA being that it can be used 'to show how micro-level social actions realise and give local form to macro-level social structures' and thereby 'a way of linking up the analysis of local characteristics of communication to the analysis of broader social characteristics' (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999:12-13). In short, linguistic forms are regarded as tools for communication and serve social functions. In this way the study explores the relationships between interrelated factors, namely the students, their cultural backgrounds, their relationship to each other, the setting, and the linguistic choices made within the context of the English activities. Roberts and Sarangi (2005) outline a number of key stages in the analysis of discourse of medical encounters which are incorporated into the following collection

and analysis of data. These stages are:

1. Stage 1 – repeated listening to and viewing of data recordings with attention to the identification and examination of key themes.

2. Stage 2 – transcribe data to a level of fineness appropriate to the thematic focus.

3. Stage 3 – examine whole interaction through attention to feedback from participants on their interpretation of the events.

4. Stage 4 – process of constant reading and re-reading of transcripts, informed by linguistic, sociological and cultural concepts.

(Roberts & Sarangi, 2005:633)

Within the context of the current study, the functions of language use as observed in the students' negotiation of face at the micro-level are analysed through drawing on social and cultural structures relevant to the participant identities. As Gee (1999) states, 'any situation involves identities as a component, the identities that the people involved in the situation are enacting and recognising as consequential' (p. 111). Recognising the construction of identities as a reflection of the students' socio-cultural knowledge, beliefs and values, the following analysis explores how language is both used during L2 learning activities, and how language is transformed by these activities.

In Chapter 4, it was noted that there has been limited attention within the research community to the interconnections between the concepts of face and identity. The research methodology of this thesis aligns to the view that face and identity, while different, are related to the extent that they are both closely associated with one's

self-image (Haugh, 2005; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Accordingly, factors that constitute a person's identity may be said to influence his negotiation of face. In order to develop an appropriate theoretical framework for this research, the preceding chapter has presented a review of the evolution of face management theory through time and across cultures. Acknowledging that cultural, social and linguistic diversity are factors that impact communicative practices, the subsequent analysis maintains that it is of value to frame the examination of classroom interaction in the context of the sites of this thesis with attention to culturally specific elements as proposed by Japanese scholarship. For this reason, a composite model (described in detail later in the chapter) combining theories of politeness and face is employed within the qualitative framework. The objective of the composite model employed in the following study is to provide a means by which to examine a number of cultural, social and individual factors that influence the students' (dis)alignment with identities and management of face as revealed during communication throughout a specific series of English learning activities.

The research methodology of this thesis is based on the view that face, as a culturally influenced construct with a diverse range of conceptualisations across cultures and between individuals, is basic to all human beings. Face, as observed during the Japanese students' discursive negotiation and renegotiation of face while participating in L2 English activities, serves as a window through which discursive orientations and behaviour may be examined from the students' perspective. The study argues that identity, as a multi-faceted and dynamic concept of self, generates insight into face within the context of the classroom, and does so from multiple perspectives. For this reason, the interconnections between face and identity may be said to shed light on the

Japanese students' verbal and nonverbal discursive strategies while insights from theories of identity may provide multiple perspectives from which the phenomenon of face can be studied.

5.3 Data Sources and Process of Collection

In designing a methodology for the present study, a number of constraints needed to be taken into consideration. A key aspect for consideration was the methods to be used to collect high quality and naturally occurring classroom interaction, as this is a basic requirement for conducting any situated DA. Secondly, a classroom in which English activities were taught by a non-Japanese teacher to Japanese students aged approximately 10 through 12 needed to be chosen for the reason that from 2011 MEXT initiated compulsory English learning activities within primary school curriculum (see section 2.2) specifically for 5th and 6th grade students (ages 10 to 12). As this is the age group participating in compulsory English language activities it was desirable to find a class of participants within the age group in order to elicit thoughts and reactions to their classroom participation. A third point that necessitated careful planning was the design of the stimulated recall sessions to be conducted with students in order to examine their views and opinions of language use during classroom activities. Indeed, while previous studies provide stimulated recall data (see Gass & Mackey, 2000; Mackey & Gass, 2005) the young age of the students necessitated a simple and comfortable approach that did not place too many demands on the students. With this in mind, efforts were made to create a comfortable environment for students through measures such as providing a selection of drinks and snacks, limiting technical demands,

and the use of unobtrusive recording devices. In addition, retrospective sessions were carried out in a sunlit room with student friendly features including a choice of seating (beanbags, chairs, cushions) and a selection of books and games that could be freely used prior to, or following retrospective sessions. The last aspect of the methodology design concerned ways of providing accessible feedback to the researched community, namely language teachers and students. Based on these requirements, I designed a research methodology for the study that would be carried out in six stages, namely:

1. Access – to identify an English conversation classroom for school aged student (approximately 10 through 12) taught by a native speaker of English.

2. Preliminary observations – to build rapport with children and the teacher. To decide on practical issues including where to position audio/video-recording equipment, and when to commence recordings.

3. Video-recordings – conduct recordings in order to observe naturally occurring classroom-based interaction. This was to be followed by the observation of video-recordings by the researcher to be carried out after each English learning activity in order to determine points for use in recall sessions with self-nominated participants.

4. Teacher interviews – to be carried out with the native-speaker teacher. A sequence of four semi-structured interviews (Appendix B) taking the form of a 'professional conversation' (Kvale, 1996) to be audio-recorded and partially transcribed. In addition, the teacher will complete a questionnaire on beliefs, attitudes and practices regarding the use of the first language (L1) and target language (TL) within the language classroom (Appendix C).

189

5. Stimulated recall retrospective interviews – video-recorded classroom interaction from classroom activities to be played back to students during stimulated recall sessions. Students are encouraged to share their attitudes towards their own behaviour and language use during language activities (Appendix D).

6. Dissemination of findings – The last stage of the methodology designed for the present study consists of planning a professional development seminar for using the results of the study to benefit teachers and thereby the students they instruct.

These six stages are discussed in greater detail in the sections below.

5.4 Pilot Study

In preparation for the main study a pilot study was conducted involving two students and two NS English teachers. All participants self-selected and were not participants in the main study. The piloting of the research instrument is an important component of any research project (Dörnyei, 2003) and indeed, is likely to be imperative when the aim of the study is to specifically investigate the perceptions of the respondents. The objective of the pilot study was to generate feedback with regard to how the instruments worked and to determine whether they performed the purpose for which they were designed and thereby to increase the reliability, validity and practicability of the research instrument (Cohen et al., 2000:260). The research instruments were piloted at various stages of development in order to examine the effectiveness of; (a) teacher semi-structured interviews, (b) questionnaire on L1 and L2 use, and (c) retrospective interviews to be conducted with students. The pilot study was viewed as being of

importance to the effectiveness of the study for reasons outlined by Dörnyei (2003):

The pilot study can highlight questions:

- whose wording may be too ambiguous

- which are difficult for informants to respond to

- which can turn out to measure irrelevant items, such as common patterns of unexpected responses or non-responses

- which are too problematic to code into meaningful categories.

The pilot study can identify problems or potential pitfalls with regard to:

- the administration of the research instrument

- classification of the responses for data analysis

The pilot study can give valuable feedback with regard to:

- the overall attractiveness and appearance of the research instrument

- the clarity of the instructions

- the length of time deemed necessary for the informants to complete the task

- omissions in the coverage of the content required

- appropriateness of any cover letter (if applicable).

(Dörnyei, 2003:64)

According to Dörnyei (2007:75), while piloting is more important in quantitative studies than qualitative ones, there is still value to be gained from 'trial runs' as they provide an opportunity to test techniques such as interview skills. The pilot study was

conducted in two parts: two teachers participated in semi-structured interviews and completed a questionnaire designed to record perceptions of L1 (Japanese) use during English class activities, while two students participated in retrospective interviews. Throughout both piloting stages, a great deal of useful information was obtained with regard to the reliability, validity and practicability of the research instrument. For example, based on teacher comments, changes were made in the wording of several questions on the semi-structured teacher interviews and ambiguous questions were deleted altogether. In addition, as the teacher interviews were to directly follow English lessons it was decided to reduce the time required. The teachers indicated that the 30-45 minute format piloted was felt to be excessive and they found it difficult to concentrate and make the transition from teacher to interviewee in such a short span of time. In the words of one teacher, *I'm happy to answer questions but I'm usually exhausted after lessons. If the interview goes on too long it could be a problem.'* In addition, both teachers pointed out that it is not unusual for parents to want to speak to the teacher following class, and that the school requires teachers to write notes on the lesson in a folder so that a record of progress can be maintained. Taking teacher feedback into account, alterations were made in order to improve clarity, comprehensibility and reduce time demands placed on the teacher. It was also decided that the teacher would be reminded at the beginning of each interview that he was free to indicate how much time he had available and adjustments to the time demands would be made if necessary.

Secondly, the first version of the questionnaire designed to record the teacher's use of, and attitudes towards, the students L1 (Japanese) within the English language classroom was piloted with the two teachers. Drawing from questionnaire based research on the

use of the first language in second language teaching (Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 2001; Levine, 2003; Nation, 2003; von Dietze et al., 2009; von Dietze et al., 2010) the questionnaire was designed to gather insight into the teacher's Japanese proficiency, beliefs and practices when instructing the classes under observation. It was initially envisaged that in order to record teacher estimates of L1 Japanese use during English activities that percentages would be chosen by the teachers such as: 0%–20%; 20%–40%; 40%–60% and so on. Teacher feedback from piloting highlighted concern that it was difficult to quantify use of Japanese and consequently a new approach was developed and trialed which made use of a range of questions and response options. In addition, based on teacher feedback, a number of changes were made to the wording of several items, and several items were deleted altogether.

In the final questionnaire, four parts were employed to measure the teacher's Japanese proficiency, opinions regarding L1 Japanese use, and frequency estimates regarding the use of Japanese in specific situations (Appendix C). Response options were tailored to the specific questions in order to make the process clear for the participating teacher and to gain meaningful insight into his beliefs and practices. For example, in order to gauge Japanese proficiency (Part 1) the teacher was asked to circle the sentence that he believed best applied with options ranging from *'No Japanese'* through to *'Advanced'* (approximately level 1 of Japanese proficiency test). In Part 2, attention focused on opinions regarding the use of Japanese in the English classroom. The teacher was asked to mark the degree to which he agreed or disagreed with a number of statements such as *'I believe that there are situations in which the first language, Japanese, should be used in the classroom by the teacher.'* Response options ranged from *'1- strongly disagree'*

through to '5- *strongly agree'*. In Part 3, the teacher was asked to provide percentage estimates *(0% - 20%; 20% - 40%; 40% - 60%...)* when responding to questions such as *'I use Japanese to communicate with my students about ………….. of the time in the classroom.'* Finally, in Part 4, the teacher was asked to provide frequency estimates of how often he spoke Japanese in a number of specific situations such as: *'To translate key words/grammar'*, *'To ask questions to check comprehension'*, *'To explain administrative information such as announcements.'* Response options ranged from *'almost every class'* through to *'almost never'*.

In regard to retrospective interviews to be conducted with students, the pilot stage was seen as an opportunity to test the amount of time required for each recall session and to confirm the practical and technical feasibility of using recorded images and an audio device for retrospective data collection. This was considered of high importance as the flow of retrospective sessions, and ease with which recording equipment could be used by students, was viewed as being critical to obtaining quality data. The pilot study revealed that the initial time estimates for recall sessions, between 20 to 30 minutes, were unrealistic. On the basis of these observations it was decided to increase the length of recall sessions to 50 minute sessions in order to allow for at least 10 minutes to explain recall requirements, and to provide ample time for students to practice using the equipment and to ask questions. In addition, time was allowed for a winding-down phase during which the student was thanked for participating, and in the case that parents/grandparents/caretaker transported the student to and from sessions, time was made to personally thank those involved.

Concerning technical feasibility, the retrospective sessions were initially to be shown on a television monitor and paused for retrospective feedback – to be either initiated by the researcher or the student. During the pilot phase, the first student indicated that he was willing to comment on classroom exchanges when the researcher paused the recording, yet was reluctant to actually take the initiative and to pause the recording. Even when encouraged, the student expressed concern that what he had to say may not be considered of importance and hence he was reluctant to pause the recording. With the second student, it was decided to trial the same procedure on a computer with the mouse placed within close range to the student. The act of pausing and playing the images on the computer appeared to be far less inhibiting and the student was willing to take the initiative. This may have been due to student familiarity with computers at home and frequent use of the computer for a range of activities during English language activities. The act of pausing the recording was not viewed as being difficult and as a result, the student was more inclined to self-select points at which to pause the recording. On the basis of student feedback and observations of these trial runs, it was decided that the computer would be the best option for viewing classroom recordings during retrospective sessions.

In addition, the piloting phase highlighted that the audio-recording device initially employed was difficult to operate and appeared to be a distraction to students who repeatedly glanced in the direction of the recorder. On the basis of these observations it was decided to use a smaller non-obtrusive audio-recording device. Students were also informed that the audio-recording device would be used only for the purpose of making transcripts which they would be able to personally view. Finally, as noted above, after

the first pilot session a variety of snacks and drinks were made available to the students. Following the second pilot session, the student indicated that the presence of *oyatsu* (snacks) made him feel that it was more like an informal chat and less like an interview.

5.5.1 Phase 1: Trajectory of Access

The data collection was undertaken in Japan over a three-month period, from August to October 2009. Data was collected in person by the researcher from two classes of 12 Japanese students of English. Due to the nature of the study and the requirements of the data collection procedures, it was necessary and possible for a single researcher to collect data from all participants. For data collection to be possible as well as useful for the purpose of the study, I needed to obtain access to an English conversation classroom, and more specifically, to English activities for students around the age of the Japanese elementary school students at the 5th and 6th grade levels. The reason being that as stated earlier, compulsory English activities at Japanese schools have been implemented at the 5th and 6th grade levels by MEXT from 2011 and the study aims to explore young students' management of face and identity (dis)alignment during English language activities instructed by a NS teacher.

The private language school where I am employed, was viewed as an ideal site as it provided the opportunity for access and the student body included a large number of students within the target age group. While UES is a private school, it is important to note that public and private English education in Utsunomiya, as in much of Japan, do not represent opposite ends of a spectrum for there is extensive crossover and

integration in areas such as teaching materials, curriculum design and teaching staff. As Butler (2007a) notes, 'The private sector has aggressively expanded its marketing to young English learners' while at the same time, 'schools themselves also frequently ask private entities and individuals to help conduct EES (English at elementary schools) instruction' (p. 143). In regard to the school in which the study was carried out, the teaching contracts extend from private schools through to government schools with classes sizes ranging from private classes through to groups of up to 80 students.

As UES classes are held both at government and private facilities, it had to be decided whether to conduct research within a primary school English classroom or within a UES classroom. It was decided that small private classes held within a UES classroom (10-15 students) would be more effective in achieving the research aims for the reason that the large number of students in classes at public schools (30 to 40 students) limit the amount of time students have to directly interact with the teacher. Consequently, this would make it difficult to isolate specific points during which individual students were directly involved in exchanges that could later be utilised for stimulated recall sessions. In addition, within public schools the ALT is assigned to conduct classes with the Japanese classroom teacher in attendance approximately once every one or two months which meant that it would not be possible to record the same class for consecutive weeks.

Through my work at UES I was able to schedule times to discuss my research and to explain my goals to the school owner, Ms. Komoriya and co-director, Mr. Ueno. An initial meeting with Ms. Komoriya and Mr. Ueno was scheduled during which my

research was discussed in detail and the nature of my observation schedule and recall sessions presented. This was followed by three follow-up meetings over the duration of several weeks during which Ms. Komoriya took the time to carefully examine my application, which consisted of: a letter explaining my motivation for the study, proof of studentship and an agreement letter signed by the head of my department and my supervisors. The application included English and Japanese information sheets and consent forms for parent/caregiver and the participating teacher (see Appendices F-J). Besides the specific research goals of the study, the discussions focused on practical issues that would impact on class scheduling and participants including:

- Student privacy.

- Scheduling of classes and stimulated recall sessions.

- Stimulated recall procedure.

- Student/teacher self-selection procedures.

- Communication with parents/caregivers.

- Dissemination of research findings.

Following detailed discussions, Ms. Komoriya and Mr. Ueno indicated their enthusiasm for the project and expressed willingness for the school and two classes of 12 self-selecting students to become involved. It was decided that a preliminary observation period of three weeks followed by a four week period of recording would be acceptable as this would limit the inconvenience to the teacher and the class while facilitating the amount of data collected. Operating at three locations, one of the schools located in a residential area was selected for the study. The reason for this choice being

that the students attending this school tend to live in close proximity to the school and therefore transportation to and from retrospective sessions scheduled for the following day was less likely to present a problem to parents/caregivers. Two classes of 12 students were identified exclusively through self-selection from an overall body of 50-60 students in the target age group (10-12 years old) who attend classes at UES schools on a weekly basis. All participants were fifth and sixth grade students attending Japanese public elementary schools. In order to identify a teacher, an email was sent to UES teachers explaining the objectives and requirements of the study. Interested teachers were encouraged to respond and welcomed to raise any questions they had either by email, telephone, or face-to-face meetings. Four teachers self-selected and a final decision was made by Ms. Komoriya and Mr. Ueno strictly on the basis of class and teacher schedule. Effectively this meant that the teacher was able to teach an existing class and no re-scheduling was required. During preliminary discussions the teacher, Mr. Hamsworth, was invited to raise any concerns and indicated that due to the small size of the classroom in which the study was to be conducted, he felt the presence of two cameras would be a distraction for students. The teacher also indicated that he felt uncomfortable about being in recordings and was concerned that this was how the students would feel. It was again explained that recordings would be used for retrospective interviews and the analysis of classroom interaction, and that data would be presented in the form of transcriptions. In addition, it was decided to avoid the inclusion of still photographs in the thesis and the teacher was informed. The teacher found this acceptable and it was agreed that one camera would be used and a small audio-recording device used as a back-up. The location for the camera within the classroom was determined in consultation with the teacher.

Following access negotiations, students attending Friday lessons were initially provided with information sheets and consent forms in Japanese (see Appendix J). This was because Friday evening English classes would allow students who were interested in attending Saturday morning retrospective interviews to schedule appointments. Students who wished to participate in the study were able to self-select while students who did not wish to participate had a wide selection of alternative classes offered within the same time slot, or if preferred, at a different time. Participants were also informed of the option of non-participation and notified that they could withdraw from the research at any point. All of the 24 students in the target age group (10-12 years old) indicated that they were willing to be videoed in class. In addition, all of the students volunteered to participate in recall interviews with 22 students indicating their availability to participate in Saturday morning sessions.

5.5.2 Phase 2: Preliminary Semi-Participant Observation

Once access to the class had been confirmed and students and teacher consent acquired, I was able to move on to the second stage of my project and to conduct a period of preliminary observation in both classrooms. I visited both classes of 12 students for three consecutive Fridays to conduct the second stage of my research, namely to further discuss my objectives with the teacher, determine camera position, and to establish contact with the students. During this time, the use of the video-camera was explained to the students and positioned in the classroom to familiarise the participants with it. Recording equipment was placed in view of all participants and the intention to record

clearly indicated on the consent form. As the video and audio-recorders were small and portable they could be easily and unobtrusively located and altered. The camera was only turned on for brief periods during these times as the intention was not to record, but to allow students to become comfortable with the presence of the camera. In addition, the objectives of preliminary observations were to:

- Build rapport with students
- Build rapport with the teacher
- Assess the effectiveness of the recording equipment to be used
- Find the least obtrusive place to position recording devices.

In line with these objectives I chose to conduct preliminary observations myself and thought it best to conduct semi-participant observation; that is when the researcher engages only partially with activities in the community observed. This meant that I was engaging only partly in each classroom, which gave me the necessary time and space to test out the recording material. It further helped dissociate me from the role of 'teacher' in the hope of later eliciting language beliefs and ideologies that they may not have disclosed to the teacher. At the end of these observations, I had developed solid foundations on which to build a trusting and collaborative relationship with the teacher. Furthermore, observations of the target classroom demonstrated that students seldom moved around during activities which meant that there was relatively little interference in terms of background which could interfere with recording quality.
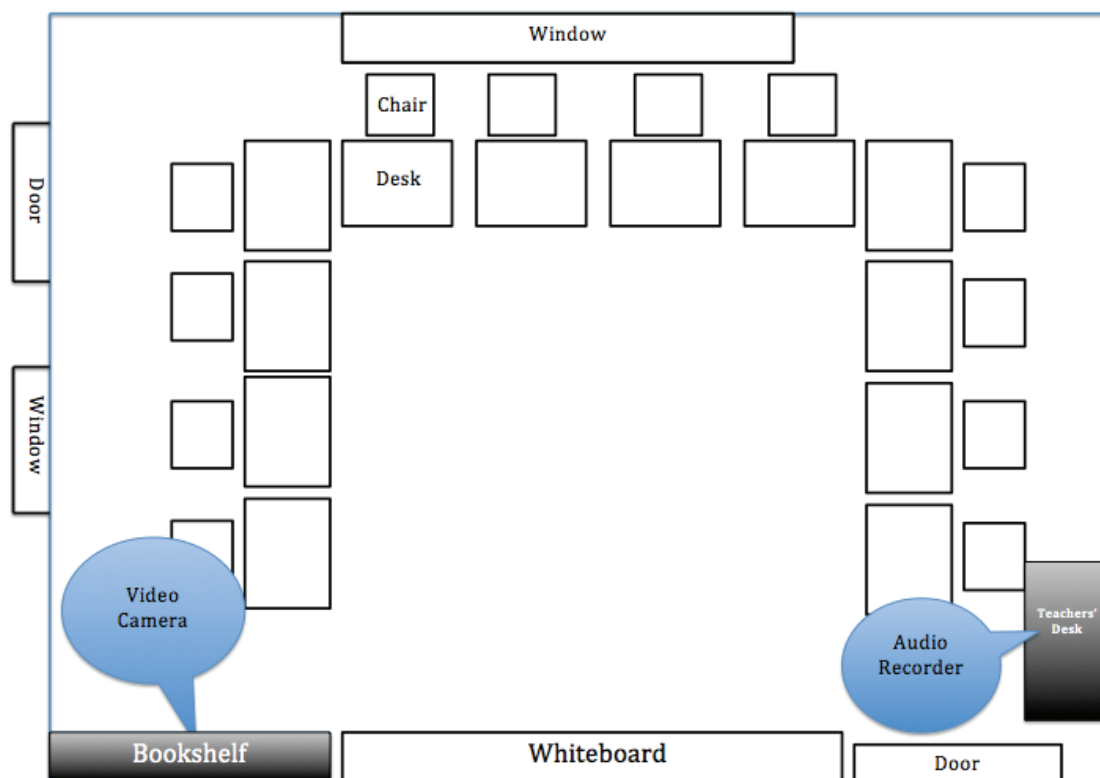
Figure 5: Diagram of Classroom

After consultation with the class teacher, it was determined that the least intrusive place to locate the video-camera was a large floor to ceiling bookcase in the right front corner of the classroom. It was decided that the audio-recording device used as a back-up should be placed on the teacher's desk on the opposite side of the classroom in order to capture student and not impede the teacher's movements. The availability of shelf space meant that a tripod was not required and therefore recording equipment did not in any way impede student or teacher movement. Moreover, the bookcase happened to be the best place to record classroom interaction as it was away from the windows, which were sometimes open and thus let in outside noise in the classroom, provided an overview of the students, and blended into the background. The recording needed to be of good quality so that the data collected could be accurately transcribed. The designated

position for the camera allowed me to record both dyadic talk and multi-partied talk which was crucial as recall sessions required the use of tangible audio prompts to be successfully employed (see Gass & Mackey, 2000; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Assessment of the recording equipment made during a trial run indicated that I would not need to use an external microphone as the camera microphone and audio-recording device were able to pick up both teacher and student talk. After a three-week technical familiarisation period during which the camera remained placed in the classroom, the teacher was again consulted on the camera presence. During this stage the teacher indicated that he felt the camera had been an initial distraction, however that students quickly appeared to become comfortable and seemed to forget the camera was there. For his own part, the teacher indicated that during the lesson he had forgotten that the class was being recorded. As both students and the teacher seemed to have adjusted to the presence of the camera and the audio-recorder, it was decided that I could now move on to the third phase of the methodology, which consisted of undertaking classroom video and audio-recording of English activities.

5.5.3 Phase 3: Video-Recording

The third phase of the research consisted of four weeks of video and audio-recording of English activities conducted in the two classes of 12 students taught by the participating teacher. This resulted in the recording of a total of 8 x 60 minute classes which were closely examined. As noted, the video-camera and one audio-recording device were placed on either side of the classroom in order to reduce potential distraction and to capture a wide angle-shot of the classroom and the participants. In addition, the camera

was placed on the record function prior to the commencement of classes in order to limit camera intrusiveness (Derry et. al., 2010). Video recordings of classroom interaction provide a powerful means by which to observe and understand classroom language and behaviour. The benefits of video recording technology in providing researchers with a window into classroom practices appropriate for application in a range of data collection and analysis has been broadly acknowledged (see Derry et. al., 2010; DuFon, 2002; Jacobs et. al., 1999). The use of affordable and high-quality video technology aids in capturing language and behavioural observations of real people, in real situations, doing real things.

Field notes from observation are likely to miss certain aspects of interactions, as the researcher is generally limited to writing down the general idea of what the interlocutors say. The researcher may only be able to record brief interactions consisting of a few short turns because of memory limitations and constraints on the speed with which spoken interaction can be written (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989). Consequently, a primary advantage of video recorded data is that it can be readily replayed, reviewed and reinterpreted (DuFon, 2002). Moreover, video allows for control of observer fatigue or drift (unintentionally going off on a tangent). With each repeated viewing, the researcher can change focus somewhat, and see things that may not have been seen at the time of recording or during previous viewings (DuFon, 2002). Moreover, visual contextual information can assist the researcher to negotiate the ambiguity of verbal messages by reducing the potential number of accurate interpretations (Iino, 1999). Consequently, by replaying the event, the researcher can take time to contemplate, deliberate, and ponder the data intensively before drawing conclusions (DuFon, 2002).

While the intention of video recording is to maximise the richness of data, there are nevertheless potential limitations associated with issues such as camera intrusiveness (Derry et. al., 2010). The concern being that people may change their behaviour when they know they are being videotaped which may influence the behaviour of interest. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as participant reactivity or reflexivity to awareness of being observed. As Labov (1972) notes, 'the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation' (p. 209). While the camera can represent a distraction, the inclusion of the technical familiarisation period for participants being recorded prior to the recording stage may aid in creating a level of acceptance (DuFon, 2002). A further concern for the researcher is that videotaped data captures only what is observable, and therefore does not provide insight into the thoughts and feelings of those being recorded (Derry et. al., 2010). As this information cannot be seen or heard on recordings, visual data needs to be triangulated with other data sources such as researcher's field notes and/or interviews with participants. The use of retrospective interviews in order to get participants to recall and describe their thoughts, feelings and reactions at different points in time during a given event is a valuable to generate triangulation (see Clarke, 2001; DuFon, 2002).

Despite drawbacks, the recording of English activities is regarded as an opportunity to examine the real-life dynamics of classroom interaction without the potentially more distracting presence of the researcher (DuFon, 2002). The video recordings enabled the

identification of who was speaking, gestures, facial expressions, and other visual interactional cues relevant to the negotiation of meaning (see Derry et. al., 2010). In addition, it was possible to collect contextual and non-verbal information regarding the type of activity speakers were engaging in and non-verbal features of exchanges such as silence. The video recordings were used both for the analysis of classroom discourse, and when presenting classroom data to the students during stimulated recall sessions. Moments during which the students were communicatively engaged with peers or the teacher were logged for straightforward identification during retrospection. As a result, students participating in retrospective sessions did not have to watch the entire recorded lesson, and could instead be easily directed to points during which they were verbally engaged in the English activities. Attention to the participants' perspective through retrospective interviews generated rich insight into the unobservable factors that influenced the students and their teacher's language use and behaviour.

5.5.4 Phase 4: Teacher Interviews

In addition to data collected through classroom recordings and stimulated recall, the teacher took part in a sequence of four one-on-one semi-structured interviews and completed a questionnaire designed to gain insight into his use of Japanese during English activities. Taking the form of a professional conversation, each interview was audio-taped and sections transcribed. By the notion of 'semi-structured', the interviews were conducted in a way that is, as Kvale (2007) puts it, 'neither an open everyday conversation nor a closed questionnaire' (p. 11). The teacher was given opportunities to articulate his thoughts on a set of questions tapping into his beliefs about language

teaching and learning, as well as his thoughts regarding the previous class. For example, two of the questions asked were: *'In your view, what is the best way to learn English?'* and *'In your view, what is the best way to teach English?'* The purpose was to uncover his beliefs about his approach to language teaching. By using the semi-structured format, the interviews allowed flexibility to follow up on ideas which the teacher raised during the interviews in addition to the planned questions to been covered. Interviews lasted approximately 20 minutes with the multiple interview format aimed at obtaining an account of the teacher's thoughts regarding aspects of the class and student participation. The progression of interviews was as follows:

- Interview 1: To develop a general understanding of the teacher's views of student and teacher roles within the L2 classroom. To ask the teacher to comment on his views regarding how he teaches English, and how he believes English can be best acquired by students.
- Interviews 2 and 3: To focus on the teacher's thoughts and reflections in relation to the observed lesson. Additional questions may be added over the course of the investigation.
- Interview 4: Interviews 1 through 3 will have been analysed prior to the final interview. Areas that require further clarification will be identified and questions developed.

As noted above, in order to gain insight into the teacher's views regarding use of the L1 (Japanese) during learning activities, the teacher was asked to complete a questionnaire drawn from previous field work (Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 2001; Levine, 2003; Nation,

2003; von Dietze et al., 2009; von Dietze et al., 2010). Specifically the teacher was asked to consider his beliefs and classroom practices regarding the use of Japanese during English activities. Interview data, supported by observations of classroom interaction together with questionnaire data were used to gain insight into the teacher's classroom teaching practices. This was deemed important as questions regarding how much L1 and L2 the teacher uses and in what contexts, as well as how much L2 the teacher expects students to use, are inextricably linked to all other classroom practices. Accordingly, it was important to determine what the teacher and students believe goes on in the classroom and to build a description of their verbal behaviour as it relates to L1 and L2 use.

5.5.5 Phase 5: Stimulated Recall

Stimulated recall procedure, a retrospective technique based on retrieval cues, was employed in order to gain insight into the students' thoughts (see Gass & Mackey, 2000; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Viewed as a subset of introspective research methods, stimulated recall uses audio and/or visual stimulus to assist the participant to recall and report on thoughts and motivations entertained during specific activities or tasks. The line of reasoning being that tangible stimulus will help 'stimulate recall of the mental processes in operation during the event itself' and thereby 'access to memory structures is enhanced' (Gass & Mackey, 2000:17). Video-recorded data was used to play back classroom interaction to the students in order to assist them to 'recall and describe their thoughts, feelings and reactions at different points in time' during the English activities and therein providing insight in 'the unobservable' (DuFon, 2002:44). In this way, the

use of multimedia sources such as video in recall sessions has the advantage of replaying and reintroducing cues that were present at the time of the task (Sime, 2006; Slough, 2001).

Focusing on the recollection of retrievable information as opposed to rationalisation, stimulated recall methodology is a popular tool in educational research for exploring the connection between discourse and cognition within the classroom practice and interaction (Clarke, 2001; Keyes, 2000; Plaut, 2006; Sime, 2006). For example, Plaut (2006) employed stimulated recall to investigate students' and teachers' constructs of 'confusion' in their study of transferring teacher expertise to student teachers. Similarly, stimulated recall was utilised by Sime (2006) to explore the perceived functions that teachers gestures perform in the EFL classroom when viewed from the point of view of students. Mackey et al. (2000) employed stimulated recall in order to examine how students perceive feedback and its target, that is, what feedback is being provided for, and whether their perceptions affect their noticing. According to Clarke (2001) an advantage of conducting video-stimulated interviews is that video records provide 'a specific and immediate stimulus that optimises the conditions for effective recall of associated feelings and thoughts' and the verbal reports obtained with the assistance from such a stimuli, can offer 'useful insights into those individuals' learning behaviour' (p. 16). Moreover, as verbal reporting is based on the use of a tangible prompt, Gass and Mackey (2000) maintain that stimulated recall does not place the same demands on memory retrieval as post hoc interviews, and is less demanding than think-aloud protocols which require extensive training of participants (p. 18). Accordingly, it is assumed that with these reduced demands on the participant, by

examining stimulated recall data the researcher may gain access to 'what the respondents actually perceived about each situation (e.g., what they perceived about the relative role status of the interlocutors) and how their perceptions influenced their responses' (Cohen, 2004:321).

Despite its popularity, stimulated recall methodology has generated a number of concerns in regard to issues such as falsifiability, replicability, reliability and validity (Gass & Mackey, 2000). In regard to methodological issues, a concern is that it is far from conclusive whether it is indeed possible to observe internal processes in the same way as external events. The point being that if it is assumed cognitive processing is unconscious, then cognitive processes are inaccessible or potentially vulnerable to inaccurate reporting (Dörnyei, 2007). Moreover, while recall revelations are directly reported on by participants, this does not guarantee that they accurately reflect the individuals thought processes (Plaut, 2006; Sime, 2006). For example, during the process of viewing the recording of a lesson, students may pick up new or additional information which they did not attend to during the class and consequently accounts might be vulnerable to problems of unintentional misrepresentation (Clarke, 2001). Consequently, the student may establish new connections with material which unintentionally inform their reflections and undermine data reliability. In addition, it is conceivable that students may censor or distort their thoughts and ideas in order to present themselves more favourably (Sime, 2006). A further concern is that once information is established in the long term memory it may no longer be a direct report of the experience and what the person was thinking, but rather a reflection or a combination of experience and other related memories (Plaut, 2006; Sime, 2006). In

addition, stimulated recall can only access information the participant is conscious of. For this reason, preexisting strategic moves that are routinised may not be detected during recall because procedural knowledge governing such strategy-use enters long-term memory and so is therefore, not available for verbal reporting (Ericsson and Simon, 1993).

The study acknowledges that surface behaviours might not always reflect underlying strategic processing and that stimulated recall can assist the researcher to identify students' strategic thoughts and to obtain reasonably reliable, though of course not perfect, insight into what they were. Nevertheless, the afore-mentioned limitations highlight the need to complement stimulated recall methodology with observational methods so as to obtain a fuller understanding of what constitutes management of face and enactment of identities. Within the current study, recordings of classroom interaction between students and their teacher provides information about actual verbal and non-verbal behaviours to complement reflective reports of such behaviours. In this way, when combined with other data sources, stimulated recall serves as a window into an individual's thoughts and feelings and can identify subjects that are of interest and importance to the students (Pomerantz, 2005). This position is underscored in Theobald's (2008:14) examination of recall with children which surmises that the 'examination of the video-stimulated accounts brings us closer to the children's standpoint' and uncovers matters that are important to children, but which may be disregarded by adults. Triangulating stimulated recall data with observational data is seen as a means by which to tackle issues of validity, as it is possible to question the degree to which the reported thought processes were taking place during the event

rather than being constructed after the event. This triangulation of data builds in layers of description and thereby provides a thicker description and increased credibility or validity (Goldman-Segall, 1998).

Stimulated recall methodology is particularly appropriate in investigating the negotiation of face during English activities in the present study, not least because students' face is essentially a matter of subjective perception and consequently should not be evaluated as being true or false (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). In other words, while face and identity are informed by socio-cultural factors that provide useful perspective on the interpretive and comparative analysis of language and behaviour, it is important to bear in mind that personal agency affects the way language is used and interpreted. Stimulated recall offers a method of obtaining information directly from the students which is then examined with close reference to classroom interaction. The analysis of classroom discourse is cross-referenced to retrospective verbal reports on the students participation through a back and forth analysis. This meant that classroom excerpts were examined with attention to how language was being used and for what purposes, and further discussed in reference to stimulated recall data which provided insight into the students' interpretations of these exchanges. Maintaining a clearly defined protocol for administration of recall sessions allowed for consistency in procedure (Appendix D: See for details regarding stimulated recall procedure.).

To facilitate reporting, the stimulated recall interviews were conducted in the students' L1 and then translated into English. Recall sessions were carried out within 24 hours of the lesson in order to minimise the impact of time lapse on participants' ability to

accurately reflect on discourse and behaviour motivations (Gass & Mackey, 2000). Information gained during the pilot stages was utilised, prior to the first session of data collection, to draw up a set of written instructions for the administration of the recall sessions. A total of ten recall sessions, scheduled for approximately 40 to 50 minutes in length, followed the recorded English lessons. In order to ensure uniformity of measurement (and hence, reliability), the procedures involved in each recall session were standardised. For example, the participants were not informed about the recall procedures until arriving for sessions in order to prevent foreknowledge influencing participants' commentary. Stimulated recall was employed taking into account the following recommendations:

- Maintain an interval between task and retrospective interview that does not exceed two days.
- Encourage directly retrievable information as opposed to explanations or interpretations. Encourage feedback through questions such as, 'What were you thinking?'
- Do not inform respondents of subsequent retrospective interview in order to prevent influencing interaction.
- Encourage participants to volunteer information as much as possible. Avoid asking leading questions.
- Conduct retrospective session in learners L1.

(Dörnyei, 2007:149-150)

In recall sessions, the student sat in front of the computer with the playback controls at

their disposal. Video-recorded classroom interaction from classroom activities was played back to the student while a separate audio-recording device, placed unobtrusively in a corner of the interview space, recorded the student throughout the interview. The interviewer sat next to the student so that they could watch the video segments together. Classroom scenes were shown to the student who was probed for his attitudes and motivations regarding his discourse and behaviour as observed during English activities. The administration procedure was conducted in Japanese and recall sessions were administered in the same order and recall prompt questions were the same. The use of Japanese helped ensure that students had the opportunity to communicate their thoughts and attitudes accurately. The instructions employed during each of the data collection interviews were standardised and sessions were administered according to protocol. The total time of sessions was approximately 40-50 minutes with recall activity to take between 30-40 minutes. Every time when the video was stopped and when the students did the reporting constituted an episode. An episode comprises the video playback of a related clip, the prompt (if any) by the researcher and the prompted or unprompted reporting of a student.

In general, after the video segment had been played and stopped by the student, the interviewer initiated conversation using the interview protocol. However, several variations occurred during retrospective interviews as students volunteered their reasoning or provided accounts of the action in the video spontaneously, or occasionally talked to the interviewer whilst the chosen segment was still playing. The use of the video recordings in the interviews changed the social structure of the interview, which rather than being depicted as researcher-instigated discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000)

could at times be described as student instigated. An outline of the phases in stimulated recall procedure is as follows:

Phase 1. Student enters room. The student is greeted and shown where to sit. The student is thanked for attending and engaged in free conversation for several minutes. Questions that invade the student's privacy are to be avoided. Possible questions include: *How did you come here today? Do you have any plans for this weekend? What do you like to do in your free time?* Following warm-up questions, the participant is offered a drink and told to feel free to take anything from a bowl of snacks placed on the desk.

Phase 2. An explanation of the purposes of the session is provided and recall procedure explained and modeled.

The reason I have asked for your help today is that I am trying to learn more about what students think about during English lessons. We are going to watch video-recorded segments of yesterday's English class on the computer. I am interested in what you were thinking about at the time when you were talking.

As you watch the recording, if you would like to comment on what you were thinking at the time, click on pause. If I want to ask you about what you were thinking about I will click on pause. You can use the computer mouse to pause the recording at any point you would like to. I'd like to know what you were thinking about at the time, not what you think about it now. If you do not wish to comment or have nothing you wish to say that is

of course fine.

After providing instructions, the student is shown where the pause icon is and encouraged to practice starting and pausing the recording. The student is then invited to ask any questions he has regarding the procedure and to seek clarification at any stage if uncertain.

Phase 3. Commence stimulated recall session:

- *What were you thinking about when you said that?*
- *Were you paying special attention to something just then? What was it?*
- *I see you're laughing/ looking confused/ saying something there. Can you tell me what made you ………?*

If the student responds 'I don't know', the investigator will determine whether appropriate to paraphrase or move on. The investigator will not probe for a response. Moreover, the investigator will refrain from giving feedback such as 'Good', 'That's right' as it suggests to the participant that a specific type of response is desirable. Response to student comments will be through backchannelling using expressions such as 'I see' *(naruhodo)* and 'yes' *(hai)*. After recall session have been completed two or three additional explicit questions are asked if deemed appropriate. Potential questions include:

- *Did you feel that there were times when the NS teacher and students misunderstood*

each other? What were they?

● *Do you feel the same when you study English as when you study other subjects?*

● *Is there anything special about the English class?*

● *How do you feel about having a NS teacher conducting lessons?*

● *How would you compare teacher/ student communication when working with a NS teacher as opposed to a Japanese teacher?*

● *Do you feel that there are any differences in how a Japanese teacher and NS teacher communicate with students? What are they?*

Phase 4. Carry out winding down phase focusing on student feedback and free conversation (1 or 2 questions). The student is asked if he has any questions or comments. Finally, the student is thanked for his time and told how useful his contribution has been. The student is guided outside of the classroom and parents greeted and thanked.

5.5.6 Phase 6: Dissemination

The final stage of the methodology designed for the present study consisted of designing a program by which the findings of the study could be communicated to teachers at the school, UES, and potentially used for non-Japanese English teachers working in public and private Japanese primary schools. The goal of this stage is to find ways to provide accessible feedback to teachers in order to improve teaching techniques and ultimately benefit students. The approach to dissemination adopted in this study was to focus on professional development programs for practicing teachers through

drawing on the results of the thesis. The key objectives of the professional development programs being to raise teachers' awareness of what they are doing in the classroom, verbally and non-verbally, and how this may impact on the students management of face and identity claims. Raising awareness is seen as a key step towards promoting teacher action by which theory is enacted, practiced, and realised through engaging, applying, exercising, realising, or practicing ideas.

5.6 Translating and Transcribing Conventions

Stimulated recall sessions, and the corresponding moments during L2 learning activities which triggered this feedback, were transcribed in Japanese and then translated into English. First, all verbal comments in recall sessions were audio-recorded and logged onto a recall coding sheet (Appendix E). The left column of the coding sheet provided a brief description of the segment of classroom discourse that triggered the recall. The second column recorded the recall prompt if initiated by the researcher. The third column listed a transcription of the participant's retrospective comments in Japanese, while the fourth column was an English translation of retrospective comments. When transcribing retrospective data a colour coding system was adopted whereby a different colour was allocated to English and Japanese: blue font to signal Japanese and a red font for English. A full inventory of retrospective interview excerpts was painstakingly created through multiple viewings. While arranging these recordings and transcribing was a time-consuming task, the data set generated is rich and allows for the analysis of language use at the discourse level.

In transcribing and translating recall sessions I was conscious that both talk and transcription are social acts and the transcriber brings his own perspectives and language ideology to transcribing discussion (Roberts, 1997). In order to maintain objectivity in translations, particular attention was paid to preserving and recording the mood and content through multiple viewings of the recall sessions as these were critical to my analysis. The issue of how to translate data in the language of a thesis or publication (i.e. in my case, translating instances of Japanese talk in the language of this thesis) has been addressed in several textbooks on Conversation Analysis (see ten Have, 1999; Liddicoat, 2007). Classroom and retrospective data was transcribed using transcription symbols (Appendix A) adapted from the system developed by Jefferson (Wood & Kroger, 2000:193). These transcription symbols, common to Conversation Analysis, help to communicate precisely how and when the students speak. Descriptions of non-verbal action were included in the transcripts when it was deemed necessary for the analysis of meaning. Through repeated viewings of recordings, utterances were analysed for their force as social acts during the negotiation of face and enactment of identities. Among other things, attention was paid to what was said, the audience addressed, the responses from interlocutors, voice intonation and gestures and facial expressions. When finalised, students and their parents were shown the transcriptions for use in the study. Once again students and parents were asked to indicate whether they consented to the information in the transcripts being used in the study.

The presentation of participant classroom exchanges throughout the thesis is structured with Japanese presented in italics and English in standard font (non-italicised). As can be expected within a language classroom, often participants shifted between languages.

Following the original participant comment is a translation of the Japanese in single quotation marks. In keeping with Jefferson's conventions all non-verbal activity is enclosed in a double bracket. Classroom excerpts are numbered, a brief outline of the context provided, and pseudonyms for the students engaged in the exchange stated. For example:

EXCERPT 23 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) attempts to ask Fuyuki (F) to select a number from between 1 and 20 in order to fill out a bingo grid. Fuyuki appears to be confused by the teacher's use of '*dotchi demo iiyo*' which implies the choice is to be made between either the number 1 or the number 20, as opposed to between 1 and 20.].

1 T: ((T looks at F's book)) choose a number between 1 and 20 (1) *ichi kara nijuu made (2) dotchi demo iiyo*
        'From 1 to 20, either is fine'

2F: (5) ((F looks at T and tilts head to indicate confusion))

3T: (3) ((T leans over and points at F's book)) <u>between 1 and 20</u> (1) *ichi kara (.) nijuu made (1)* <u>*dotchi demo iiyo*</u>
        'From 1 to 20, either is fine'

4F: (3) ((F looks at T and tilts head)

5T: (3) ((T appears frustrated)) Write it <u>here</u> ((points at area on book))

6F: (6) ((F looks down, does not write))

7T: (2) <u>*hayaku shite*</u>

'Do it quickly'

8   ((F's classmates can be seen whispering))

The presentation of participant retrospective feedback throughout the thesis is structured with the original Japanese text followed by an English translation. All Japanese text is recorded in italics with the corresponding English translations incorporated within brackets.

Senseiga yoku nihongo o hanasutoki 'deshou' toka 'ne' toka 'yo' tte itte hanashikata ga kitsuku kanjiru.

(When the teacher speaks Japanese he often says *'deshou', 'ne'* and *'yo'* and it feels harsh.).

Three independent translators (2 Japanese and 1 non-Japanese) were employed to confirm accuracy of translations of classroom interactions and retrospective interview feedback.

5.7 Data and Steps for Data Analysis

In order to deal with subjectivity, triangulation through the use of different types or sources of data was employed as a means of crosschecking the validity of the findings. The approach taken to analysis is to use the data to establish a naturalistic description of the students' language use and behaviour throughout the English learning activities.

Two issues that needed to be addressed concerned the selection and balance of data to be analysed, and the way in which to integrate the multiple types of data collected. In addition, it was necessary to specifically determine appropriate segments of classroom interaction and student feedback for analysis from the data sources. The objective being to select segments that were comprehensive and could potentially shed light on the students' management of face and alignment with identities. The importance of identifying suitable discourse for analysis is noted by Wood and Kroger (2000:88) who maintain that 'the identification of segments should be comprehensive in order to include all possible instances (because their relevance may not be apparent until analysis is done and because it is often the marginal cases that are most important).'

It was decided to focus primarily on the corpus of data from both stimulated recall sessions and classroom interaction. A primary reason being that retrospective data provided a means by which to observe how students interpreted or constructed each turn at talk and in this way language-in-use could be interpreted from the students' perspective. In addition, explication of the detailed manner in which verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies were employed at the discourse level of the interaction provided a way by which to ground characterisations of the Japanese students and their classroom (Mori & Zuengler, 2008:24). In short, student reflections as revealed during stimulated recall sessions are analysed in conjunction with the specific classroom discourse that triggered the participant response, and at times, teacher interviews. The analysis benefited from the detailed and candid insights provided by the students' retrospective feedback, teacher interview data, and classroom recordings which generated three different points of entry to the examination of

classroom interaction.

In this section, I describe step by step how I undertook the analysis of the corpus of recall data and classroom interaction. The framework for data analysis consists of the three stages of description, analysis and interpretation (Wolcott, 1994). Data analysis was carried out in tandem with the data collection to the extent that retrospective and classroom data was being transcribed and translated from the first week of observation. Accordingly, this was a gradually evolving process in which the dataset, coded categories and research questions, were continually re-evaluated and reformulated.

STEP 1. The first step in the data analysis process consisted of organising the video-recordings using a labeling system indicating the class, the day of recording, and the participants. This was followed by repeated viewing of the recorded English activities in order to identify points during language activities during which the students who had nominated to take part in retrospective sessions, were directly involved in exchanges with the teacher or with peers. This had to be carried out within 24 hours of the activities in order to prepare for retrospective interviews. Points identified during language activities were logged for easy and rapid identification during recall sessions. The log sheet included a brief description of the event and the time on the video recording.

STEP 2. Developing a comprehensive verbatim of transcripts was an important aspect of the data construction process as this data was to be used to gain insights into the students' verbal and non-verbal communicative orientations (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Stimulated recall data was transcribed and translated through a lengthy process of repeated listening to audio-recorded interviews. In addition to stimulated recall, the classroom excerpts that triggered student retrospection are transcribed and presented in a textual format for comprehensive analysis in order to better understand the context surrounding the students' comments. As previously noted, all recall session were reviewed by independent translators.

STEP 3. Stimulated recall data was segmented and labeled with *Nvivo* codes. The qualitative research software NVivo9, computer software that assists in managing and analysing unstructured information including interviews, documents and surveys, was employed as an analytical tool for categorising and coding recall data. A primary strength of NVivo 9 is its ability to uncover subtle connections within qualitative data and display connections visually with the aid of tools such as word trees, tree maps, connection maps and cluster analysis. Verbal responses were identified, classified, and tabulated according to categories revealed through emerging patterns or topics. Emerging patterns were explored, interpreted and advanced through; (a) the analysis of classroom discourse, and (b) data acquired from teacher interviews.

STEP 4. Stimulated recall sessions were coded thematically in order to gain insights into the discursive strategies employed by participants in the management of face and alignment or rejection of identities. Through repeated readings, redundancy among codes was reduced and overlapping codes were clustered together. Coded themes were used to uncover connections within the data and examined in relation to transcribed exchanges that occurred during the learning activities. Themes identified in stimulated

recall and classroom interaction were predominantly 'folk categories' in that they focused directly on the students' thoughts and feelings in relation to classroom participation including the learners' fear or failure, feelings of anxiety, and insecurity (Delamont, 1992:150). Central themes of interdependence, situational appropriateness and relative social status are examined with reference to cultural incongruity that emerges from teacher and student feedback. The interpretation of data explores student retrospection, classroom recordings and teacher interviews within a framework of relevant literature with inferences from the data forming the basis from which I examine the participants' face and identity. Codes were collapsed into four broad themes, namely:

- Peer collaboration.

- Characteristics of Japanese identities.

- Use of the mother tongue.

- Recourse to, and the maintenance of, silence.

STEP 5. The analysis of teacher interviews and questionnaire feedback involved the following steps:

1. Interview comments were examined for evidence of overlap with topics that emerged during student recall sessions.

2. Feedback that overlapped was transcribed and examined alongside student feedback and classroom recordings.

3. Questionnaire data was examined for patterns of teacher L1 and L2 use and beliefs. Data was examined in conjunction with student feedback in a back and forth process.

STEP 6. Students' management of face as observed in the verbal and non-verbal strategies employed during recorded classroom interaction were examined alongside corresponding retrospective feedback data. Recall could then be triangulated with teacher interviews/questionnaire data and examined alongside transcribed points from learning activities. In this way, data analysis explores these recurring patterns of student attitudes, behaviour and shared language that shed light on identity construction, identity enactment and the management of face during cross-cultural L2 classroom interaction. As noted, in keeping with the tradition of qualitative research, findings are examined with attention to building *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) in order to inform and possibly modify existing generalisations (Stake, 1995:7-8) regarding L2 English teaching at the elementary school level within Japan. As Gee (1999:118) points out, DA will look for 'patterns and links within and across utterances in order to form hypotheses about how meaning is being constructed and organised.' This is a cyclical process in so far as the analysis moves between the structure of the language and the situated meaning in order to understand the use of language to interpret aspects of the situation. For this reason, it is through a repeated back and forth analysis of classroom transcripts, participant reflections, and description of relevant historical and social factors that the following examination aims to explore how specific social activities are engaged by the participants.

5.8 Theoretical Framework and Analysis of Data

Discourse analysis is employed in order to explore classroom interaction, interviews

and retrospective data collected by audio and video-recording. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that discourse research is primarily qualitative as it attempts 'to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (p. 3). For this reason, the goal is to indicate 'a way of linking up the analysis of local characteristics of communication to the analysis of broader social characteristics' (*ibid:* 13). To this end, the associations between local patterns/functions of the students' verbal and non-verbal communication strategies employed during the negotiation of face at the discourse level are discussed in relation to social and cultural structures associated with (dis)alignment to identities.

A final and important point is that the study aligns with Spencer-Oatey's (2007:648) view that 'face, like identity, is both social (interactional) and cognitive in nature' with the cognitive underpinnings associated with values and sociality rights or obligations which affect face claims and face sensitivities. For this reason, the effective management of face entails an understanding of why certain occurrences are regarded by interlocutors as threatening. The examination embraces Spencer-Oatey's argument that theories of identity can offer a richer and more comprehensive understanding of face than has been achieved thus far. Accordingly, attention to identities alongside the examination of face is embraced in order to establish a framework for the analysis of face and provide a broader perspective for conceptualisation and analysis of student interaction. This constitutes an important theoretical basis for the ensuing back and forth analysis of the Japanese students' interaction during English activities. These conceptualisations, alongside the notion of face, constitute the fundamental structure of this study's theoretical framework. Leech (2005) makes the point that:

There is little doubt that the Eastern group-orientation and the Western individual-orientation are felt to be strong influences on polite behaviour. But do the East and the West need a different theory of politeness? I would argue that they don't, because the scales of politeness can be used to express such differences in values, both qualitative and quantitative.

(Leech, 2005:27)

Aligning with the view that scales of politeness can provide insight into both similarities and differences within and across cultures, the following analysis of student talk is carried out through a composite theoretical framework which draws on a critical account of both Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face duality and notions of social and cultural interdependency, discernment and place as advocated by Japanese scholarship (see Matsumoto, 1988; Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 1989; Haugh, 2005). A primary reason for adopting a composite theory lies in the fact that an increasing body of empirical research examining a diverse range of languages and cultures has demonstrated that a single notion of face cannot adequately account for linguistic politeness across cultures, societies and languages. All the same, the following analysis maintains that the concept of positive and negative face as proposed by Brown and Levinson remains a powerful conceptual and analytic tool particularly if used in combination with culturally appropriate descriptions of Japanese culture, society and language. In short, in addition to Brown and Levinson's model of politeness in which the notion of 'self' is independent and highly individualistic, the study maintains that the examination of Japanese students classroom interaction requires language to be

appropriately framed in order to display appropriate attitudes consistent to the cultural and social context.

In regard to a culturally appropriate model, the study draws on Hill et al.'s (1986) examination of volition and discernment, Haugh's (2005) theory of place in relation to Japanese society, consisting of the dual concepts of the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction), Ide's (1989) theory of *wakimae* (discernment) politeness, and Matsumoto's (1988) theory of interdependence. To briefly recap:

- Hill et al. (1986) empirical study of volition and discernment further consolidated in Ide's (1989) theory of *wakimae* (discernment) politeness proposes that there are two types of linguistic politeness; namely volitional politeness and discernment politeness. Ide argues that volitional politeness is governed by individual intention and realised through verbal strategies whereas discernment politeness operates at a socially prescribed level and is realised by formal linguistic forms such as honorifics. According to Ide discernment politeness is key to the Japanese politeness system in which linguistic forms are selected on the basis of social convention independent of the speaker's rational intention.

- Haugh's (2) theory of 'place' based on inclusion and distinction account for the notion of 'self' as projected by Japanese as collectivistic. Haugh's theory, particularly useful for analysing face in Japanese culture, is built on the premise that face in Japanese culture is inherently associated with the 'place' in relation to group membership and social connections and role. Accordingly, the attributes or

factors of an individual's intimates and of an individual's group members contribute to the perceived identity and/or status of that individual.

- Matsumoto (1988) maintains that understanding one's position in the social hierarchy and speaking and behaving accordingly is a defining feature of Japanese politeness. Based on this position, an individual is more aware of his/her relation to others in the group than his/her own territory. Japanese honorifics are cited as evidence of socio-cultural interdependence expressed through 'relation-acknowledging devices' (p. 411) that indicate the interlocutor's social status differences. Matsumoto's argument being that 'relation-acknowledging devices' are not used as a redressive action for face threatening acts as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987). On the contrary, the honorific system and appropriate levels of speech are employed by Japanese speakers' when compensating for impositions on place as opposed to impositions on the individual autonomy.

The decision to examine classroom interaction through a composite approach derives from the belief that Brown and Levinson's notion of positive and negative face and model of linguistic politeness, while limited in cross-cultural applications, is too valuable to be rejected outright. As stated earlier, the model is built around the notion of face duality and developed to include super-strategies which explain how face is managed during interactions through taking into account the influence of distance, power and ranking of impositions (see Chapter 4). In opposition to universal politeness we have Matsumoto (1988) and Ide's (1989) positions that argue negative face cannot accurately account for Japanese culture and communication strategies in which the

group is regarded as being of greater importance than the individual.

Supported by a growing number of empirical studies targeting languages other than English (see Chapter 4), varying cultural parameters illustrate the need for a modified approach to face in order to construct culturally inclusive frameworks. The ground in-between, as proposed in Haugh's 2005 notion of place, offers valuable insights into the management and negotiation of face and as such, provides a balance between an opposed rhetoric associated with collective and individual theories of face and communication strategies. Allowing for differing perspectives facilitates cultural comparison and the acknowledgement of specific cultural features, while importantly avoiding the assumption that intercultural communication is inherently a collision of cultures. For this reason, while comparisons and contrasts between the Japanese students and their non-Japanese teacher shape the ensuing discussion of interaction within the classroom, the study recognises that each of the participants is influenced by factors unique to his own background. Accordingly while patterns of language use and behaviour are observed, it is acknowledged that face and identities cannot be accounted for entirely in terms of cultural conditioning.

5.9 Practical and Ethical Issues

In this last section, I report and discuss some of the practical and ethical issues encountered during the data collection and data analysis processes described above. I first give an account of ethical considerations regarding consent and issues of self-presentation. Ethical issues linked with the processes of data collection and data

analysis described above were carefully considered before and during the study, as well as during the dissemination of findings. This project also obtained approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Human Sciences (Department of Linguistics) of Macquarie University[9].

Before beginning the study, written consent was obtained from the owner of the participating English language school. The objective of classroom data collection was to attain samples of daily classroom interaction with minimal external interference from myself, the researcher. This was deemed possible for the reason that my responsibilities at the research site did not involve directly teaching the participating students or working with the participating teacher. Nevertheless, in order to address any pressure my involvement may have placed on the teacher I carefully explained the focus of the study and clearly indicated that participation was voluntary. To this end the teacher was given an information sheet and signed a consent form prior to the recording of classes and interviews. In addition, from the onset the teacher was included in discussion regarding decisions that impacted on the classroom such as the camera position, and was encouraged to raise any concerns he may have had.

The procedure for approaching students/ parents was as follows:

● An information sheet (Appendix F) and consent form was placed in the school lobby explaining the details of the study (Appendix G).

---

[9] Reference: HSHE28AUG2009-D00023

- Classroom teachers were asked to inform students that interested parties may take the leaflet home and discuss it with parents.

- Teachers explained that participation was voluntary and this was reinforced in the information sheet and consent form.

- The information sheet included contact information for the researcher, the school owner, school secretary, and research supervisors. The school secretary, Ms. Kobori, was available to address questions regarding the project.

- Interested parties were asked to contact the school directly and a time was arranged to address any questions prospective participants had.

Once interested students had been identified, the parent/caregiver was given additional information and a consent form to be signed by both the participating student and the parent/caregiver (see Appendix G for a copy of a consent form for parent/caregiver). A translator was hired in order to guarantee that all documentation for parent/caregiver was accurately communicated in Japanese. With all participants, it also was agreed that anonymity would be preserved in the thesis and in any other disseminating activities. To this end, pseudonyms were used when referring to participants when producing transcripts and writing-up data. In addition, the three independent translators had no prior knowledge of, connection to or contact with the participants. The translators did not keep any records of the data.

As the research is carried out within a children's language class it was essential that parents and participating students had a clear understanding of the research procedures

and dissemination of information and had the opportunity to discuss participation. For this reason, in giving consent the parents were required to confirm that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Parent Information Sheet and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my child's involvement in the project with the researchers.

3. I have discussed participation in the project with my child and my child assents to their participation in the project.

4. I understand that my child's participation in this project is voluntary; a decision not to participate will in no way affect their academic standing or relationship with the school and they are free to withdraw with no explanations or consequences.

5. I understand that my child is welcome to study in another class at the equivalent level offered during the same or different time slot.

6. I understand that my child's involvement is strictly confidential and that no information about my child will be used in any way that reveals my child's identity.

7. I understand that video/audio recordings will be made as part of the study.

8. I understand that I will be able to review the finalised transcript of the recall session after it has been completed.

In this chapter I have discussed the four stages of the data collection in the present study and outlined the stages employed for data analysis. The following chapter provides a summary of the four central themes which guide the discussion of results; (a) peer collaboration, (b) characteristics of Japanese identities, (c) use of the mother tongue, and (d) recourse to, and the maintenance of, silence. These themes serve to structure the analysis of participant face and provide insights into student identities as revealed through the Japanese students' management of face and the communicative practices engaged while negotiating face within the context of an English language classroom. The analysis endeavours to explore the management of face and comment on what this reveals about the identities that the Japanese participants enact within the L2 classroom. Prefaced on the view that language student identities cannot be understood outside the contexts in which they are enacted, the following analysis describes classroom-based instances when students and the teacher reacted differently to classroom practices and considers why these differing reactions occurred. The participants' feedback illustrates culturally based communicative practices that result in cross-cultural misunderstanding and which thereby may interfere with the management of face and performance of identities. The analysis explores the cultural context, social expectations and the classroom environment in order to examine the impact on the management of face from the students' perspective.

PART 3

Chapter 6: Overview of Results and Discussion

6.1. Overview of Findings

Students come to the language classroom with individual and varied histories and experiences that mediate their understandings of the environment and provide them with tools to negotiate such understandings within it. In order to examine the construct of identity as revealed through the pragmatics of face, cross-cultural communication within the L2 English classroom is examined from the perspective of the participants and as articulated in the participants' own words. This analysis argues that student face, as the public way in which students engage and petition interlocutors when claiming recognition, has the potential to shed light on discursive practices, attitudes and behaviour important to how students perceive themselves in the present and regard possibilities for the future. Interactional data from L2 learning activities, and the Japanese students' reflections on this interaction generates a foundation from which the study aims to describe Japanese students' management of face. In examining face through data sets and relevant literature, this analysis strives to make sense of how students construct, negotiate or potentially oppose the identities that arise during L2 learning activities through exploring the public construct of face. Identity formation, as an ongoing negotiation between the individual and the social context, takes into consideration cultural and power relations. Within the context of the classroom environment, the student brings lived histories to the classroom activities, and it is

through communication with peers and the teacher that students negotiate and co-construct their views of themselves and the world.

As empirical research examining face as claimed by young students represents an area largely uncharted (see Chapter 2), the investigation focuses on discussing classroom interaction as framed through the participants' views as revealed through retrospective interviews and recordings of classroom interactions. Data examines ways in which the participants employ verbal and non-verbal communication strategies in order to; (a) claim and maintain face, (b) avoid face threat, (c) attend to the addressee's face needs and wants, and (d) preserve socio-cultural norms viewed as being appropriate within the context. In short, it is through these communication strategies that the participants seek to express and preserve the speaker-addressee relationship in accordance with cultural, social and individual interpretations of appropriateness. In order to attend to conventions governing interaction within the classroom, the students encode language based on perceptions of the nature of the relationship shared with peers and the teacher, and on perceptions regarding how the addressee views the relationship in accordance with the context. These activities and contexts are instilled with, and represent specific cultural values and ideologies (which privilege certain practices over others), and these shape the dynamics of the interactions. For this reason, classroom observations and participant reflections are discussed with reference to cultural and social factors pertinent to the Japanese classroom environment.

Data reveals that the participants aligned with various identities that shed light on their interpretation of the classroom context and their roles within the classroom. At the same

time, student comments highlight that within the teacher/student hierarchy of the classroom identities are not always freely chosen by students as they may be assigned by the teacher. Dynamic nominalism (Hacking, 1986) referred to in SLA as identity categorisation (Pennycook, 2001) argues that people come to fit categories themselves, as a form of social construction, and these come to define positions or subjectivities available to people. According to Hacking, 'If new modes of description come into being, new possibilities for action come into being in consequence' (p. 231). Within the context of the current study, the language school in which the research takes place has its own institutionally and culturally defined categories which are ranked according to values, beliefs, practices, among others. Moreover, these categories are inscribed in the teacher's cultural models of schooling and transmitted through his interactions with students. The teacher and school have the power to impose identity categories, and in Hacking's view, there exists tensions between agency and imposition of these identity categories. Discourses are seen as having the power to impose however individuals can accept or reject the imposition and at the same time contribute to shaping the discourses.

The current data sources illustrate that the identities assigned by the teacher were not always consistent with how students appeared to align themselves or claim face as competent members of the class. This suggests that potentially conflicting interpretations of what constitutes appropriate classroom behaviour may give rise to a number of competing identities. While the similarities and differences discussed should not be taken to be representative of Japanese and non-Japanese students in general (the samples are too small in number and limited in scope to permit that), the results underscore that social and cultural factors influence the negotiation of face and identity

(dis)alignment. In other words, while there may be similarities across cultures in the face that people claim, there may also be variation at a more detailed level such as the overall importance and weight that people attach to face wants and needs.

The presentation of results here is organised around four areas of investigation which provide the framework from which I discuss the participants' negotiation of face and expression of identities. These themes, each of which is discussed in an independent chapter, are not organised in order of importance as each raises essential questions and highlights potential problems that can result from a lack of awareness of cross-cultural variation between the Japanese students and their non-Japanese teacher's assumptions regarding face and identities. Student feedback underscores that the classroom, as a dynamic context in which participants seek to construct identities through identifying roles and expectations, maintains appropriate behaviours and a regulatory frame of responsibility. These expectations are informed by cultural values and social practices which govern both behaviours in public and within the culture of the school. In this sense, the classroom is a decidedly independent setting which embraces detailed systems regarding behaviour and interaction. It follows that students are expected to uphold these roles in order to preserve the classroom environment. It also follows that within the cross-cultural context these expectations are not always going to be equally apparent to interlocutors who will not always share cultural and social frames of reference. Identified through the examination of student retrospective feedback, the following table indicates the four central themes that emerged as being of significance to the participating students' negotiation and management of face.

Description of Categories

Peer collaboration	Spontaneous collaboration between students during learning activities.
Japanese identities	Students' resistance to L2 classroom practices and teacher expectations deemed by students to conflict with what they held to be standard classroom behaviour and/or language use.
Teacher use of Japanese	Students' interpretations of the teacher's use of the L1 (Japanese) during L2 learning activities.
Student silence	Students' resistance to the teacher's intervention during periods of student silence during L2 learning activities.

Analysis of the above categories takes into account a number of factors including the participants' language proficiency, educational practices and beliefs about teaching and learning. The analysis focuses on the process of identity construction as students endeavour to align to the teacher's expectations while simultaneously upholding Japanese identities and avoiding loss of face. Although discussed here in separate chapters, these key acts of identity, examined through the construct of face, do not occur independently of each other as they are interrelated and often intersect or emerge in parallel.

United by a desire to project a positive image and align with specific identities within the L2 classroom, the Japanese students and their non-Japanese teacher employ culturally, socially and individually informed communicative strategies and behaviour in order to demonstrate individual worth and maintain classroom appropriateness. As

Tateyama and Kasper (2008) explain, 'In order to be academically successful students have to become competent members of their classroom community, and such membership critically involves classroom specific ways of participation' (p. 45). It follows that students are influenced by their interpretations of what they assume to be 'good student' behaviours and practices when aligning with identities. The term 'good student', while open to the interpretation, is used in the following analysis to express how the students felt they were expected to participate in classroom activities in order to achieve a positive teacher evaluation. The analysis agrees with Ellwood's (2008) characterisation of a 'good student' as 'one who conforms not only to notions of capability and, by implication, intelligence, but also to certain culturally influenced attitudes and behaviours' (p. 544). Ellwood emphasises that 'students prefer to be seen as "good" by their teachers and seek to avoid the exclusion and marginalisation that can derive from any kind of negative student identity' (p. 544). In other words, a 'good student' performs in harmony with culturally informed expectations regarding role, expected levels of aptitude and behaviour within the classroom.

Among other matters, the Japanese students' retrospective feedback generates insights into patterns of cross-cultural variation regarding:

● Interpretations of classroom appropriateness.
● Expectations pertaining to teacher/student role and rank.
● Acceptable discursive practices and behaviour within the L2 classroom.

Student feedback suggests that unfamiliar expectations impacted on the Japanese

students' ability to maintain face and in consequence interfered with their ability to present themselves in the way in which they wanted to be viewed by the teacher. Frequent retrospective feedback characterised by comments such as, *'nani itte iika wakaranai'* (I didn't know what to say), *'sasaretakunai'* (I don't want to be chosen), and *'yadana to omotta'* (I felt uncomfortable) suggests that the students were not sure what to do and felt that a solution was to avoid participation. In addition, retrospection such as *'itsumoto chigau to omotta'* (I thought it was different from usual), and *'odoroita sorewa mezurashii'* (I was stunned, that was unusual) underscored a sense of cross-cultural variance which left the students feeling uncomfortable.

To recap, throughout the course of the investigation it is the Japanese students' own assessment of their language use and behaviour that brings to light identity negotiations and the interactional achievement of face within the L2 classroom. Student feedback suggests that the L2 classroom, as a cultural and social construct, supports behaviours, discursive practices and roles that reflect cultural values and social practices that are not always consistent with Japanese student expectations. When Akari was expected to adapt to unfamiliar classroom interaction practices and role relationships, her feedback comment sauch as 's*ensei no seitoeno kitai wa kowakukanjiru nanio surebaiinoka wakaranakute kuyashikattashi shinpai datta'* (I felt scared by the teacher's expectations of students. I didn't know what I was meant to do so I was frustrated and worried) suggested that she was at times dejected and confused when participating in English activities. Moreover, retrospective feedback such as that offered by student Miu, suggests that the implications are significant as she resists participating when uncertain as to teacher expectations: *'Senseiwa nanio shiyoutoshiteirunoka wakaranakattakara*

kuyashikatta sukoshishitara akiramechatta' (I didn't understand what the teacher was trying to do so I was frustrated. After a while I kind of gave-up.). Miu's desire for the teacher to '*yasashiku oshiete ageta houga iikana'* (It would be best to take a gentler approach to teaching) highlighted her sense of vulnerability and implied that threat to face may have at times unintentionally alienated or silenced the Japanese students. While the positive intentions of the non-Japanese teacher are not in doubt, the students' reflections on classroom interaction suggest that face, or rather a lack of cross-cultural awareness regarding cultural variance in face wants, influences the complex process of identity construction and enactment. It is here that I turn to the first theme of the data analysis, peer collaboration.

Chapter 7: Face as Managed through Peer Collaboration

7.1 Overview: Peer Collaboration

Chapter 7 examines the students' management of face and identity alignment as explored through the theme of peer collaboration as evidenced through spontaneous verbal collaboration during English language activities. Throughout the period of observation, classroom recordings evidenced the pervasiveness of spontaneous student verbal collaboration during the performance of a range of language learning tasks. By spontaneous verbal collaboration, I refer to situations in which a student actively engaged a peer, typically in the L1 Japanese, in order to solicit, transmit or corroborate information related to some aspect of the learning task. In other words, student

collaboration was that negotiated verbal interaction which took place as students both provided and/or requested peer assistance when co-constructing meaning. While commonly employed by the students, collaboration surfaced as a primary cause of cross-cultural classroom friction between the students and the teacher with implications for the interactional management of face. Relevant to the following analysis is the divergence between the students' and their non-Japanese teacher's interpretations of; (a) the discursive functions student collaboration served, and (b) the appropriateness of collaboration within the context of the communicative L2 classroom.

As the initiators of peer collaboration, classroom recordings highlighted that the students controlled factors such as the timing, content, participants and the format of collaborative peer exchanges. Managed by the students, the data suggests that peer collaboration is a channel for self-identification in that it represents a part of who the student is and how he identifies with his peers. The multilayered nature of identity as revealed through student collaboration underscores that the students routinely construct and enact new selves which are not always in synchrony with expectations held by the teacher. In this sense, collaboration exposes cross-cultural disparities in the management of face and the impact this potentially has on the students' ability to maintain student alliances. The teacher's resistance to student collaboration is relevant to classroom participation as it appeared to at times silence students. Consequently, rather than encouraging individual contributions and speeding-up learning activities, it at times impeded progress and gave rise to a negative student impression of the teacher. Cognisant of the teacher's disapproval of collaboration, retrospective comments demonstrated that the students were faced with the dilemma as to whether to uphold

what they viewed as being acceptable classroom collaborative interactional patterns even if this meant potentially enduring a negative teacher evaluation. Accordingly, the examination of classroom excerpts draws attention to the students' experiences of competing identities, that is, the choices they face between aligning with identities that feedback suggests are not always mutually recognised by the teacher or the students. For this reason identity, as evidenced through peer collaboration, explores the complex, dynamic and in this case conflicting ways in which the students negotiate who they are within the larger social construct of the classroom.

In this chapter I draw on classroom excerpts and participant interpretations of those excerpts in order to explore the management of face and the miscommunication that results as students collaborate with peers. The chapter begins with an overview of student verbal collaboration which is followed by an examination of the teacher's views of this collaboration as expressed through interview comments. The teacher's interpretation of collaboration is contextualised through the analysis of classroom recordings which illustrate the intervention strategies employed by the teacher in order to either prevent or to bring an end to student collaboration. Collaboration is then discussed through attention to the students' classroom participation and their reflections on this participation as revealed through retrospective interviews. Student reflections outlined three primary objectives of collaboration which are discussed in turn; (a) to compare and confirm lesson content, (b) to solicit answers, and (c) fear of failure. By fear of failure I refer to points during learning activities when peer collaboration served as a communicative tool by which students attempted to resource peer knowledge in order to minimise the potential of an incorrect contribution when interacting with the

teacher or in front of the whole class.

A distinctive feature of collaboration observed throughout the recorded classes was that students frequently initiated exchanges without being directly instructed to by the teacher and even at points when specifically directed to work independently. Moreover, while teacher intervention evidently threatened the students' desire to be recognised and valued as competent and diligent students, classroom recordings indicated that collaboration was seldom concealed from the teacher. On the contrary, collaboration occurred seemingly irrespective of what was taking place during learning activities. By this I mean that students interacted with peers during a range of tasks and even in cases when the teacher explicitly requested individual student responses. During these moments it was not uncommon for a nominated student to leave the teacher waiting as he consulted a classmate prior to venturing an answer. Classroom recordings illustrated that student initiated peer collaboration tended to draw a negative reaction from the teacher who directly intervened. An outcome being that students were recurrently instructed to work *'hitoride'* (alone) or chastised and directed not to talk *'hanasanaide'* (don't talk). It was this critical teacher reaction to collaboration and the public nature of the intervention which a number of students strongly objected to during retrospective interviews. Specifically, the students questioned what they felt to be the teacher's assumption that collaboration represented an inability to comprehend task requirements or willingness to participate in classroom activities. These diverging views of collaboration are discussed through attention to the students' negotiation of face and alignment with identities.

7.2 Teacher Interpretation of Student Initiated Peer Collaboration

Interview feedback supported by recordings of classroom activities illustrated that student collaboration, particularly when initiated by students during tasks that the teacher viewed as being suited to individual participation, was negatively interpreted. Acting on this negative interpretation the teacher would often intervene in order to instruct students that he expected them to work alone. Providing insight into his views the teacher commented that he felt peer collaboration often equated to a lack of sufficient student engagement in the English learning activities he had prepared. In the teacher's own words: *'When the students are talking to classmates, even if it has something to do with the lesson, it tells me that they are not involving themselves in the way I expect. I want each student to become involved and to contribute.'* In addition, the teacher's interpretation of student collaboration and negative assessment of those students who consulted peers was indicated in comments such as: *'If I ask students a question and they have to think about the answer, they might look at the person next to them to say 'What's the answer?' or 'Give me the answer!' I don't like that.'* The teacher went on to explain: *'It may be a problem with understanding what to do or how to answer. I can understand this. I live in Japan. I know what it's like to struggle with a new language. But I also know that's not a good reason to look for an easy way out. Getting someone else to do the hard work is not an acceptable option.'* The teacher, based on the assumption that collaboration was effectively the act of a weaker student soliciting information from a more competent classmate stated that: *'There's no benefit in relying on the smart kids all the time. If you want to improve or you want to learn you have to be prepared to try yourself.'*

247

An additional point raised by the teacher was the concern that a primary motivation behind student collaboration was the students' desire to avoid failure: *'Japanese students rely on each other and ask each other for help because they're afraid of messing-up. They want to get it right the first time because they think it is embarrassing to mess-up.'* Suggesting that this assumed fear of failure was a Japanese cultural characteristic potentially damaging to language learning, the teacher stated that, *'From my culture we're encouraged to make mistakes, we're encouraged to try our best, do what we can, make a mistake, learn from it, and move on. Making mistakes is the way we learn.'* Expressing his desire for the Japanese students to embrace his views of 'making mistakes' and to accept error as a part of the learning process the teacher commented: *'I don't care even if they get the answer wrong. To me, trying to get the answer is more important than actually getting the answer right, it's better than just sitting there and not saying anything or asking somebody else to give them the answer.'* Underscoring the priority he attached to discouraging what he felt to be excessive student collaboration the teacher commented: *'It's the main challenge for English teachers working with Japanese students. Trying to get students to answer on their own without talking to classmates.'*

The teacher's interview feedback suggested that student collaboration was interpreted as being the case of a less motivated or less able student's inappropriate solicitation of information from a classmate assumed to have higher motivation and to be of higher English proficiency. Moreover, collaboration was viewed as being associated with what was viewed as being an excessive fear of failure. Teacher interview data suggested that

collaboration was not only perceived as being counterproductive to L2 learning for the reason that students were expected to learn from making mistakes, but was also a threat to the teacher's management of face for the reason that it interfered with the teacher's ability to demonstrate content knowledge and approachability. That is to say that the Japanese participants' reliance on peer collaboration threatened the teacher's ability to direct the class and facilitate learning in line with his intentions. In the teacher's own words: *'I want the students to know that I'm approachable. Let's have fun, relax, enjoy, and don't be afraid to make mistakes. Come and talk to me about anything, don't ask a classmate when I'm available.'* By soliciting classmate support the teacher appears to assume that students are ignoring or perhaps undervaluing his professional standing as the authority in the classroom. Unable to claim recognition from the students as being an approachable person and competent L2 teacher, the teacher's role within the classroom becomes difficult to define.

Of relevance here is that in order to align with a competent and approachable teacher identity, the teacher is reliant on the students aligning with complementary roles. In other words, in order to be a successful teacher he must have students take on and embrace the behaviours he associates with 'good students'. In the classroom excerpts which follow the teacher seeks to align participants with what he views as being a 'good student' identity through encouraging individual participation and actively intervening in order to discourage students from soliciting peers for assistance. Throughout the period of observation, the teacher intervened during student collaboration and used both Japanese and English to verbally reinforce that collaboration was not recognised as being permissible classroom behaviour. In addition to restrictions on collaborative

249

discursive practices, the illocutionary force of the teacher's intervention surfaced in student retrospection as constituting a threat to students' face. For example, the data suggests that for a number of participating students, the explicit Japanese directives to terminate collaboration appeared to reinforce teacher requirements with a disproportionate discursive force. The following forms of discursive intervention were prevalent throughout activities:

- *Jibunde* (Work by yourself/ alone).
- *Hitoride* (Work by yourself/ alone).
- *Shizuka ni* (Be quiet).
- *Hanasanaide* (Don't talk/speak).
- 'By yourself'.
- 'Listen'.

Student feedback suggested that teacher intervention during student initiated collaboration reinforced that the teacher had the 'right' to hold the floor and that student talk that was not directly teacher sanctioned violated classroom protocol. In the following section, the participants' reflections on peer collaboration are discussed with respect to the corresponding classroom excerpts which when viewed together provide insight into language use and the motivations behind communicative strategies. The analysis explores student management of face through the examination of three key functions of collaboration exhibited by students during learning activities to:

- Compare and/or confirm responses to classroom tasks with peers.

- Solicit answers from peers in order to complete learning exercises.

- Compare/solicit/verify responses with peers in order to avoid failure.

These three functions of collaboration frame the following analysis for the reason that they provide insights into the negotiation of face and critical aspects of the students' emerging identities within the classroom.

7.3 Student Collaboration in Order to Compare and Confirm

The first two data excerpts explore points during which students collaborated in order to confirm and compare answers to questions asked by the teacher. Of relevance here is the fact that students did not appear to interpret collaboration as being a breach of standard student classroom behaviour. Accordingly, teacher intervention intended to bring to an end verbal collaboration and was viewed by the students as a threat to the management of face as it implied that the collaborating students were violating assumed classroom standards. In both Excerpts 1 and 2, the participating students collaborated with peers to check answers while the teacher was moving about the classroom offering his assistance. The first excerpt begins with two students discussing answers to a homework activity from the previous week when the teacher, only metres away, looks directly at the students while shaking his head and waving his hand in front of his face. This gesture, commonly employed in Japan in order to indicate disapproval of behaviour, explicitly conveys that he does not approve of the exchange. The teacher's unspoken directive to bring to an end the collaboration does not appear to influence the students' behaviour as intended as they continue to compare answers. It is apparent that the teacher is

interpreting his face (namely, the 'place he stands' as the authority figure within the classroom) as being somewhat threatened by the students failure to respond as assumed when he turns in their direction and begins to walk directly towards their desks. At this point the students respond to this display of authority and seemingly imminent threat of reproach by promptly breaking-off the exchange and falling silent.

EXCERPT 1 [Classroom excerpt: Hikari (H) asks Fuuka (F) about a homework activity while referring to her workbook. The teacher (T) intervenes.].

1H: *nanio sureba ii ka (.) wakaranai* ((looks at workbook))

        'I'm not sure what to do'

2F: ((Points at H's book and leans closer)) *ee* (1) *kore janai?* (1) I went to ((inaudible))

        'well, isn't this it?' I went to ((inaudible))'

3H: ((T shakes his head and gestures to indicate that he does not approve of collaboration)) *ko yu funi yatta* ((points at her answer))

        'I did it this way'

4F: ((F directs H's attention to her workbook)) *nanka* (1) *kore tte sa* (1) *ko yu funi kakeba ii* (.) in the morning

        'well, this is ... you write it like this (.) in the morning'

5H: ((H alters her work)) *ko kana*?

        'like this?'

6F: *unn* ((nods to indicate agreement))

        'yes'

7T: ((T turns and walks towards students while shaking his head))

8H/F: ((Students glance up at teacher, whisper and fall silent))

9T: ((T stops and looks at students)) (4) that's better ((T changes direction moving

          back towards front of the classroom))

In the above exchange, Hikari begins in turn 1 by indicating that she is not sure how to

complete the task and in doing so petitions the student seated next to her for assistance

'nanio sureba ii ka wakaranai' (I'm not sure what to do.). Hikari does not appear to

regard the admission of difficulty as a threat to her face or inappropriate within the

classroom context and does so in view and hearing range of the teacher who is standing

only metres away. Classmate Fuuka, openly responding to the request for assistance

seemingly without hesitation (turn 2), leans over towards Hikari offering a suggestion as

to how she thinks the activity should be carried out, *'ee kore janai?'* (Well, isn't this it?)

Fuuka's use of the expression *'janai'* serves to mitigate the potential threat to Hikari's

face in that it provides interactional space for her to respond. Characterised by Manita

and Blagdon (2010) as an expression engaged to 'make assertions more vague', *janai*

allows the Japanese speaker to express opinions without overt displays of confidence

and thereby avoid pushing their positions on others (p. 428). In this way Fuuka conveys

that she is not completely certain of the accuracy of her understanding of the task which

consequently invites a subsequent turn from Hikari who assumes that she may indeed

understand the material as well as her classmate. Hikari, empowered by her peer's

receptiveness and the suggestion that she too harbors doubts, orients to her turn by

revealing her answer in turn 3, *'ko yu funi yatta'* (I did it this way.).

The construction of Fuuka's response, beginning with *'nanka'* in turn 4, is a frequently

253

used Japanese expression which functions as a non-confrontational means of evaluating Hikari's views. *Nanka*, translated by Manita and Blagdon (2010:428) as, 'I have a vague feeling about this' or 'I don't really understand the reason, but…' serves to uphold Hikari's face by implying that both students share equal status as evidenced in their compatible levels of English competence. This approach provides a platform from which Fuuka then launches into a more direct explanation of how she believes the task is to be negotiated, *'ko yu funi kakeba ii'* (Well, you write it like this.). The peer collaboration as a means of finding a potential solution to the homework task is consistent with Tang's (1993) examination of spontaneous collaborative learning which found that Chinese students work collaboratively in order 'to discover solutions and generate new ideas together in an atmosphere of mutual respect' (p. 116). Even in situations without teacher initiation, direction or structure, Tang found that collaboration frequently occurred between students who sought each other's views on how to negotiate learning tasks. Importantly, Tang's investigation determined that students' spontaneous collaboration on assignment work corroborated that integrating perspectives had a positive effect on their learning. Highlighting these positive learning outcomes, Tang hypothesises that 'the students' thinking is likely to be stimulated to higher cognitive levels when they try to express their own opinions, argue for their points, relate, compare and apply the information' (p. 127).

Similarly, this open approach to peer collaboration is consistent with Foster and Snyder Ohta's (2005) cognitive and socio-cultural investigation of classroom negotiation which found that students actively sought peer co-construction and prompting when engaged in classroom tasks. The researchers found that 'students expressed interest and

encouragement while seeking and providing assistance and initiating self-repair of their own utterances, all in the absence of communication breakdowns' (p. 402). Moreover, the researchers note that maintenance of a supportive and friendly discourse was prioritised by students over achieving entirely comprehensible input. In the above exchange, the participating students are able to express uncertainty without discomfort or concern that revealing an inability to complete the task will result in loss of face as a competent member of the class. Moreover, the students are willing to seek peer assistance and express self-doubt in the presence of the teacher and other classmates. As noted, the teacher is well within hearing range of the students and due to the relative simplicity of the Japanese, it can be assumed that the students would have been aware that the content of the exchange, a homework activity, would be evident to the teacher.

Through directly looking at and moving towards the students (turn 7) the teacher once again asserts his opposition to the students' negotiation which brings an abrupt end to the exchange. The students' silence has implications for the teacher as the threat to his face associated with his failure to have the students work alone can only be restored by such student silence. This is evident in the defensive and mildly agitated manner in which the teacher responds *'that's better'* (turn 9) before returning to the front of the classroom. Within the small classroom, the intervention poses a direct threat to both the students negative and positive face (Brown and Levinson, 1978) as it impedes their freedom of action and the desire to be free from imposition, while also failing to ratify the students desire to be appreciated and approved of. The teacher's intervention, initiated in view of the entire class, implies that the students' tendency to collaborate is viewed as violating expectations associated with the context of the classroom. In this

255

way, the teacher is non-verbally placing constraints on student interaction through delineating what he determines to be acceptable classroom verbal interaction between students. This is relevant to the students for as Walsh (2006) points out, teacher control over activities such as turn taking can lead to control over topics and activities. While recordings evidenced that the teacher's intervention was not contested by the participants during classroom activities, students were however eager and willing to defend themselves during retrospective interviews. A point in case being Hikari's desire to shed light on the motivation behind the above exchange:

Shukudai toka machigaeta tokoro tokano hanashi o shiteta futsuu ni suru koto dato omou nanimo waruikoto shitenai nande sensei ga sonnani okotta noka wakaranai hazukashikatta korekara wakaranai koto ga attara dousurebaiino tte kanji.

(We were talking about things like the homework and places we had made mistakes. I think it's a normal thing to do. We weren't doing anything wrong. I don't know why the teacher got so angry. I felt embarrassed. What should I do if I don't understand something in the future?).

Importantly, Hikari's feedback illustrates that she viewed the exchange as two directional and thereby as serving to facilitate both her and Fuuka's understanding of the homework material. Moreover, Hikari notes that she views classroom collaboration in this case as a *'futsuu ni suru koto dato omou'* (a normal thing to do) and consequently she finds it difficult to understand precisely why the teacher reacts angrily when *'nanimo waruikoto shitenai'* (we weren't doing anything wrong). Hikari explains that

256

the teacher's critical intervention leaves her feeling *'hazukashikatta'* (embarrassed) and confused.

Hikari's identity claims illustrate that language learning is a complex social practice as the value and meaning ascribed to an utterance or behaviour, in this situation peer collaboration, may at times be differently determined by the value and meaning ascribed by the teacher and the students. Hikari's interpretation of peer collaboration represents her understanding of the classroom and her role in regard to contemporary realities and future desires. Hikari's classroom behaviour demonstrates the conflicting identities she assumes as she seeks to align with her classmate, Fuuka, although working collaboratively in order to understand classroom content, desires to be recognised by the teacher as an engaged and motivated member of the class. This is evident when she appears in turn 8 to feel compelled to conform to the teachers wishes and terminates the exchange with her classmate (turn 8). In line with the teacher's intentions, intervention during student initiated collaboration is interpreted by Hikari as an indication that collaboration is not an acceptable strategy for negotiating gaps in comprehension. Not only does this represent a threat to face and a challenge to identity alignment, but may also represent a potential impediment to Hikari's learning as she does not appear to have explicitly been made aware of alternative strategies or acceptable practices for dealing with lesson content she finds challenging or would like to discuss. Hikari's frustration is evident in her concluding remark: *'Korekara wakaranai koto ga attara dousurebaiino tte kanji?'* (What should I do if I don't understand something in the future?).

In contrast with Hikari's implication that peer collaboration represents a standard

practice, the teacher's intervention effectively aligns the participants with a negative student identity and implies that the student's failure to work alone reflects noncompliance with what are effectively unstated classroom rules and standards. The implication being here that the collaborative approach represents the avoidance of engagement through sharing the workload in order to make life easier for the less competent, or possibly both students. Hikari's frustration at being positioned as a less capable student is further evident in the following retrospective comment:

Sensei wa watashi ga wakaranai to omotteite tomodachi to hanasuto okoru hitori de yaruyorimo tetsudatte moratta houga kantandakara watashi wa tetsudatte moratte irundato sensei wa omotteirutte wakaru demo sore wa chigau sugoku hazukashiku kanjirushi hanasenakunaru nande itsumodoori tetsudai ainagara yattewa ikenai nokaga wakaranai naniga waruino?

(The teacher thought that I didn't understand and he gets angry when we talk together. I know he thinks that I'm just getting help because it's easier than doing it alone. That's wrong. It makes me feel really embarrassed and it makes it hard for me to talk. I don't get why we aren't allowed to help each other like we usually do. What's wrong with it?).

Through emphasising the reciprocal benefits of student initiated exchanges, Hikari seeks to counter the teacher's assumption that collaboration is the preferred form of classroom participation for students for the reason that *'hitori de yaruyorimo tetsudatte moratta houga kantandakara'* (It's easier than working alone.). Hikari's comments

258

suggest that she was conscious of identities favoured by the teacher within the classroom and felt pressure to conform to demands for individual participation. Hikari notes feeling *'sugoku hazukashiku'* (really embarrassed) when the teacher intervenes, and her response is to *'hanasenakunaru'* (stop talking). Conscious of the teacher's expectations within the classroom, Hikari, while opposed to what she views as being an errant teacher interpretation, aligns to these expectations through falling silent. Recall presents an opportunity for her to defend and explain her views during which she definitely reacts to the teacher's position as being *'chigau'* (wrong). As Hikari does not appear to view her behaviour as violating normative classroom practices, she reacts to the implication that she should refrain from collaboration as follows: *'Nande itsumodoori tetsudai ainagara yattewa ikenai nokaga wakaranai naniga waruino?'* (I don't get why we aren't allowed to help each other like we usually do. What's wrong with it?).

Collaboration on certain tasks potentially provides an opportunity for students to benefit from peer suggestions and may contribute to willingness and success in negotiating classroom activities. A point in case being de Guerrero and Villamil's (2000) examination of the spoken discourse between Spanish-speaking ESL students during peer editing sessions for a writing class. The researchers found that particular attitudes and behaviour displayed by students such as humour, sensitivity and politeness advanced valuable peer interaction and collaboration. Effective use of discourse strategies such as advising, eliciting and requesting clarification resulted in co-constructed learning in both English and Spanish which was shown to serve as valuable scaffolding for students. Similarly, patterns of co-construction and mutual

assistance were evident at points during the English activities when the students assisted peers with activities including textbook based questions, the translation of specific vocabulary, error correction, and pronunciation. In particular, classroom recordings demonstrated the frequency with which students collaborated in order to identify the correct response to teacher initiated questions even in cases when the teacher had directly nominated an individual student to respond. In other words, the teacher would nominate a student by name or gesture to answer a question after which the student would openly turn to a peer and proceed to discuss the question in Japanese. To illustrate, the following exchange occurs when the students are instructed to take turns working one on one with the teacher on a short conversation drill. The teacher intervenes when a student directly seeks assistance from a classmate.

EXCERPT 2 [Classroom excerpt: Kana (K) solicits assistance from Ami (A). The teacher (T) intervenes to ask students to work alone.].

1T: ((T points at K to indicate it is her turn)) let's start (.) I will read the first part ((refers to textbook)) are you ready?

2K: ((K turns to speak with classmate seated next to her)) *kore kana?*
        'Is it this?'((A leans towards K))

3A: ((Points at textbook)) *koredato omou*
        'I think it's this'

4T: ((T taps on desk to get students attention)) ask me ((students look up at T))

5K: ((K turns towards A)) *dou yatte yomu no?*
        'How do you read this?'

6T: ((T looks at K)) ask me (1) what's the problem? *wakaru? (1) wakaranai ?*

260

'do you understand? You don't understand?'

7K: ((turns to peer) *dosureba ii? nani wo sureba iino?*

        'what should I do? What do I need to do?'

8T: ((T looks at K and holds up one finger to indicate that she should work alone))

9 A: (A turns to K)) *konomama yonda hou ga ii to omou* ((points at textbook))

        'I think you should just read it like this'

10K: *ee (1)* ((looks at A)) *dekiru ka wakaranai*

        'I don't know if I can do it'

11T: ((T steps towards students)) (2) <u>*hitori de*</u> *(2)* ((looks directly at K and A))

        'work alone'

12K/A: ((K and A stop talking and look down at their books))

In turn 1 the teacher indicates that it is Kana's turn to participate in the conversation drill and asks her whether she is ready. Contrary to the teacher's expectations, the student does not respond to the teacher's request for confirmation as to whether she is prepared to begin and instead turns to consult the student seated next to her. It is here that Kana proceeds to ask her classmate, Ami, whether she has correctly identified the dialogue she has been asked to read with the teacher, *'kore kana'* (Is it this?) Having had his offer to assist effectively ignored by Kana, who then goes on to immediately seek peer assistance, provokes the teacher to react in turn 4 by tapping on the desk. Having effectively gained Kana's attention, the teacher then instructs her to 'ask me', as opposed to a classmate, for assistance. Kana briefly looks up, but does not respond to the teacher's request to be consulted nor the implication that discussing the task with a peer is inappropriate. Once again she turns to her classmate Ami and asks *'dou yatte yomu*

no?' (How do you read this?). In turn 6 the teacher reiterates the instruction 'ask me' after which he seeks to find a more concrete way of providing assistance by confirming whether Kana has understood what she is expected to do by asking *'wakaru? wakaranai?'* (Do you understand? You don't understand?). Without directly responding to the teacher's offer of assistance, Kana (turn 7) again turns to Ami and attempts to clarify what is required *'dosureba ii? nani wo sureba iino?'* (What should I do? What do I need to do?). The teacher, unable to effectively encourage the student to raise her concerns directly with him, holds up one finger to gesture that with the exception of consulting himself, he expects her to work alone and by implication, he does not approve of her collaborating with a classmate. Seemingly unconcerned as to the teacher's physical proximity and attempts to offer of assistance, Ami responds in turn 9 by directing Kana's attention to a vocabulary box under the conversation. In turn 10 Kana, responding to Ami's assistance, openly indicates that she is uncertain as to whether or not she can answer as required in the task, *'dekiru ka wakaranai'* (I don't know if I can do it), yet does not appear to view teacher assistance as an option in addressing her concerns. Throughout this exchange the students do not endeavour to conceal the fact that they are working together and the teacher's physical presence and attempts to provide assistance do not interfere with the exchange. When the students continue to collaborate, the teacher elects to assert his authority (turn 11) by moving towards the students while directing them in Japanese to *'hitori de'* (work alone). The intervention, delivered in a raised voice in the students' mother tongue, has the desired effect when the students terminate their exchange and look down at their textbooks in silence.

The teacher's serious countenance orients to the fact that he seeks to establish that he will not permit the collaborative exchange to continue. His intervention conveys his disapproval of the students in front of the class and in this way threatens the students desire to be recognised as 'good students' while at the same time setting barriers that place limitations on the type of interaction students are permitted to engage in. While the student's communicative intentions in the exchange were to establish what she was required to do and how it was to be done, this was interpreted by the teachers as being inappropriate classroom behaviour. The intervention eventually resulted in the participants being silenced (turn 12).

The frequency of student collaboration throughout the recorded classes suggests that the Japanese students did not view open collaboration as either detracting from their positive face claims as valuable and competent members of the class, or contradicting what they viewed as acceptable classroom practices. On the contrary, it appears that collaboration was an avenue for the students to connect with classmates and to clarify information without feeling intimidated or that they were imposing. This appears to be in keeping with Haugh's (2005) theory of 'place' based on inclusion and distinction which as noted (see Chapter 4) is built on the premise that face in Japanese culture is inherently associated with 'place' in relation to group membership and social connections and role. Haugh (2005) proposes that inclusion is depicted as being a part of something else such as a particular set or group, while distinction is defined as being different or distinguishable from others (p. 47). Accordingly, the attributes or factors of an individual's group members, in this case students and teacher, contribute to the perceived identities and/or status of the individuals. Within the context of the classroom

the student is expected to acknowledge and uphold the rank and status of the teacher as an expert and engage an appropriate level of politeness to make this clear to the teacher and other members of the class. These factors suggest that even simple requests for assistance, such as those expressed by Kana in the above excerpt, represents a potentially face threatening exchange for the student whereas soliciting a peer provides a means of acquiring the same information without necessarily exposing oneself to the associated risk to face.

Classroom exchanges illustrate that while student collaboration was typically on task, the teacher nevertheless discouraged exchanges and viewed their occurrence as interruptive. Interview feedback highlighted that from the teacher's perspective, there was the added concern that as student collaboration was conducted in the L1, the non-Japanese teacher was at times linguistically excluded from access to the students' inner circle. For example, the teacher was unable to identify the precise nature of comprehension difficulties or gain insights into other issues that may have been impacting on student performance within the classroom. Stating that he was at times linguistically challenged, the teacher remarked *'I don't get it right every time, my Japanese is not perfect. I'm not fluent.'* As a result, the teacher's face is threatened by limitations in his capacity to perform professional functions such as assessing comprehension, providing remedial instruction, and coordinating the class. Reflecting on L1 collaboration throughout learning activities, the teacher commented, *'The students have a responsibility too in terms of their participation and attitude.'* The implication being here that L1 interaction between students not only was viewed as limiting participation, but also was seen as reflecting what was considered to be a

substandard attitude towards L2 learning activities. In this way the teacher's positioning of the students imposed cultural assumptions and values that the teacher associated with a successful student identity. At the same time, retrospective student feedback indicated a gap in perceptions regarding the appropriateness of student collaboration and the specific functions it served. Moreover, it is important to note that the teacher's rejection of student collaboration made it difficult for students to take proactive steps to clarify their own understanding, while also interfering with the students' efforts to align with identities they associated with the classroom environment.

Reflecting on the exchange in Excerpt 2, Ami commented, *'jibun de nanio ieba iinoka wakaranai kara tomodachi ni kikuto omou soreni tokidoki nani o sureba iinoka hakkiri setsumei saretenai kara wakaranai'* (I think that the reason you ask a friend is because you don't know what you should say and sometimes you don't know what to do because it's not really explained clearly.). The student's observations suggest that she regards collaboration as being an obvious method of negotiating comprehension difficulties and consequently she can reasonably assume the teacher is aware of and receptive to peer collaboration. In addition, the feedback underscores that in part she believes the need for classmate assistance is a result of the teacher's inability to adequately explain lesson content, *'hakkiri setsumei saretenai'* (It's not explained clearly.). The solicitation of peers to compensate for what was felt to be a lack of teacher direction was again noted by Ami in the following: *'Amiga wakaranakatta de Kaho chan to shabettete de Kaho chan ga Iori chan ni itte nanka souiunowa nanka setsumei motto shite moraitai na tte'* (Ami (I) didn't understand so I was talking to Kaho, then Kaho asked Iori. Well, this kind of thing. I would have liked to get more instructions.). From Ami's perspective, the

fact that she is admonished by the teacher for seeking classmate assistance in order to compensate for what she regards as insufficient teacher explanation is unfair and objectionable. Rejecting the implication that she has done anything wrong, Ami indicates that while she was conscious of the negative teacher evaluation, *'sensei wa watashitachi ga issho ni hanashite hoshikunai tte koto ga wakaru'* (I know the teacher doesn't want us to collaborate)*,* she rejects this position and affirms her desire to continue engaging in peer collaboration *'watashitachi ga tetsudaiau no o sensei ga okoru noga okashii sensei wa sorega iya demo watashi wa nareteiru yarikata de yari tsuzuketai'* (It's strange the way he gets angry about us helping each other. Even if he doesn't like it I just want to keep doing things the way I'm used to.). This display of resistance to the teacher's demands through the continuation of peer collaboration, while likely to be critically viewed by the teacher, demonstrates the student's desire to align with what she regards as a familiar classroom identity she associates with her role as an engaged student, while at the same time illustrating her willingness to assume an identity of resistance to achieve this, albeit outside of the classroom where her objections will not go on record.

Resistance to the teacher's implication that student collaboration violated standard classroom practices was also voiced by other students. A case in point being when student Akari, reflecting on an episode when instructed by the teacher to carry out a classroom activity *'jibunde'* (by yourself) later commented: *'Sonna ookina koede hanashite naishine nanka shitsumon shitadakede yokeina koto dewa nainoni kyuuni nanka 'shhh''* (We weren't talking in a loud voice, we were just asking questions, not talking about unnecessary things and then suddenly the teacher told us to be quiet.). The

266

student's reflections differentiate collaboration recognised as being on task from collaboration that she characterises as, '*yokeina koto*' (irrelevant or inappropriate). The reference to '*yokeina koto*' suggests that Akari recognises the teacher's intervention as based on conjecture that the exchange was not related to lesson content. Moreover, Akari's reference to the low volume at which the participants collaborated suggests that as the exchange does not interfere with other members of the class it was not regarded as being a threat to classroom practices. When viewing a further point of teacher intervention when reacting to a student initiated exchange Akari went on to comment: '*Nannde sensei okoruno? Watashitachi ga kanningu shiteruto senseiga omotteru youdashi, watashitachi o waruku kanji sasetai mitai*' (Why does the teacher get angry? It sounds like he thinks we are cheating and wants to make us feel bad.). The feedback illustrates not only that the student is aware of the implication that she and her classmates are cheating, but also believes that the teacher is deliberately setting out to make her feel uncomfortable for reasons that she does not agree with yet appears powerless to change.

In both Excerpts 1 and 2, the participants finally responded to the teacher's demands for individual participation by breaking-off communication with classmates. The threat to face resulting from the implication that students had violated classroom practice, namely the requirement for individual participation, surfaced as being a concern for the students during retrospective feedback. While aware of the negative identity alignment, the students' decision to withdraw into silence rather than present identities potentially undesirable to the teacher suggests that the students' classroom verbal behaviour was in part guided by an awareness of the uneven teacher/student power dynamic. This

appeared to impact on the students' decision as to whether to continue taking part in collaborative exchanges with classmates. Students may have felt obliged to comply with the teacher's expectations regarding collaboration in order to manage and possibly work towards restoring lost face. To this end, silence represented a means of minimising the threat to face. While demonstrating a willingness, albeit reluctant, to adopt the teacher's expectations during the learning activities, retrospection highlighted that students resisted positioning where they were aligned with a less capable student identity. While perhaps unable or unwilling to express their views directly when addressing the teacher during English activities, retrospective feedback suggested that student collaboration was viewed by the participants as a practice that aligned students with a good student identity through serving to maintain both student and teacher face. Essentially, student collaboration provided a readily available means by which students could resource collective peer knowledge and maintain the teacher's position of authority by avoiding imposing on his time. In other words, from the students' perspective it appears that collaboration was viewed as a means by which students demonstrated they were capable of participating and finding solutions, and did not wish to use the teacher's valuable time for comprehension difficulties or questions that may not have been shared by the class. It is the role of collaboration and the view that soliciting answers from peers was a positive practice which maintained rather than challenged face to which we now turn.

7.4 Student Collaboration in Order to Solicit Answers

The next three classroom excerpts (Excerpts 3, 4 and 5) demonstrate student collaboration when soliciting answers from peers in order to respond to classroom

questions asked by the teacher. The implications for the management of student face and alignment with a positive student identity as recognised and desired by the students are examined through attention to retrospective interview data. Of relevance here are the students' insights into their views regarding collaboration and their reaction to the implication that they were failing to uphold the classroom practices that the teacher associated with a 'good student' identity. It is also of consequence that the teacher expresses a clearly opposing view and feels that he is justified in challenging the students' motivations and assigning negative identities. In all three excerpts, the students were asked questions and elected to consult classmates. As in the excerpts cited above, the teacher expressed opposition through intervention and during follow-up interviews commented, *'I expect the students to take responsibility for their own work'* and *'they're just taking the easy option'*. The management of face, as discussed in the excerpts, reveals the students' dilemma as they try to align with teacher expectations while expressing themselves in line with what they appear to recognise as standard classroom interactional patterns. In the first selection, Excerpt 3, a student assists her classmate who is unable to answer a question asked by the teacher.

EXCERPT 3 [Classroom excerpt: Sayaka (S) is nominated by the teacher (T) to answer a question. The teacher stands directly in front of Sayaka as Risa (R) tells her the required answer.].

1T: ((T turns to student)) Sayaka (1) can you do (.) number (.) 7 (.) please ((points at textbook))

2S: ((looks up at teacher)) *kore?* ((points to activity in textbook))

269

'this?'

3T: ((moves over to look at position S is referring to)) yep ((nods in agreement))

4S: she is (4) she (3) ((leans towards classmate sitting next to her to ask for

         assistance))

5T: ((T points at textbook to draw S's attention to visual support))

6S: she is (2) ((turns to classmate)) *nandakke*

         'What is it again?'

7R: ((R looks at her textbook and responds to S)) (2) waking up

8S: (2) she is (1) waking up ((looks up at T))

9T: ((shakes head to indicate disapproval)) next time (1) *jibunde yarinansai*

         'Do it by yourself'

10S/R: ((Both S and R look down))

In turn 1, Sayaka is nominated by the teacher to answer a question from the textbook

and after confirming with the teacher that she has understood the question being asked

'kore?' (this), attempts to formulate a response in turn 4. The teacher, responding to

Sayaka's difficulty to construct a response, directs her attention to a corresponding

diagram he assumes will help her (turn 5). Still appearing uncertain, Sayaka turns to a

classmate, Risa, and directly solicits the answer through asking *'nandakke?'* (What is it

again?). Although the teacher is observing the exchange, her classmate Risa does not

appear to hesitate as she shares the answer *'waking up'* (turn 7). In turn 8, Sayaka then

looks up at the teacher who has been monitoring this exchange and repeats the correct

answer *'she is waking up'*. The teacher appears frustrated in turn 9 and his critical

demeanour, communicated through disapproving shaking of the head, implies that

Sayaka's performance has been negatively evaluated. His disapproval is confirmed when he rebukes the student in front of her classmates: *'Next time jibunde yarinansai!'* (Next time do it by yourself!). Japanese is used by the teacher to convey, without the possibility of miscommunication, that an individual student contribution is expected.

On viewing this classroom excerpt during retrospection, Sayaka responded directly to the teacher's implication that she was failing to meet his expectations for individual participation when she stated that: *'Imi wakaranai nanka waruikoto shichatta mitai minna yatteru shi futsu no koto dashi betsuni himitsu jya naishi'* (I don't get it, it's like I did something wrong. Everyone does it (collaborates). It's normal, it's nothing secret.). Sayaka's response presents as a rejection of being positioned as a less capable student through emphasising that collaboration represents a typical Japanese classroom practice. In making her case, Sayaka stresses that collaboration is a reciprocal process in which all students are engaged, *'minna yatteru'* (everyone does it) and is not a behaviour she feels she needs to conceal from others *'himitsu jya naishi* (It's nothing secret.). The implication here being that the point of soliciting information from a classmate is not to avoid contributing to activities, but rather is motivated by the desire to participate accurately. As a result, it appears that through assisting one another students could maintain a degree of control over their ability to effectively take part in conversation tasks without having to be totally reliant on the teacher to bridge gaps in understanding task requirements. This was captured in Sayaka's comment: *'Sensei ni kikanaide kurasumeito to hanashiatte dousureba iinoka kaiketsu dekiruto jishin ga moteru'* (It gives me confidence when I can work out what to do by confirming/collaborating with my classmates without having to ask the teacher.).

Underlying the student's retrospective feedback is a prevailing sense of student interdependence expressed through collaboration and recognition that peer interaction represents a mutually beneficial practice. As Sayaka did not recognise collaboration as being a breach of standard classroom behaviour, the teacher's tendency to intervene and indicate clear disapproval represented a direct threat to the participants' face through projecting an interpretation on students that was inconsistent with the face they were claiming. Reflecting on a similar situation during English activities when she responded to a classmates request for assistance in order to answer a question asked by the teacher, student Akari commented *'Yuki-chan ga kotaeru tokoro kotaega wakattetakara Yuki chan ni oshieyouto omotte'* (I knew the answer to the question Yuki was being asked so I went ahead and told Yuki.). Akari's willingness to volunteer assistance when her classmate Yuki appears to be uncertain is a response shared by student Marin who commented: *'Moshi darekaga sensei ni kikareteru shitsumon no kotae o watashiga wakarunara oshiete ageru darekani kikaretara tetsudatte agerushi kurasu meito mo onaji youni shitekureru'* (Well, if I know the answer to a question someone is being asked by the teacher then I will tell them. If someone asks me I will help them and classmates will do the same for me.). Marin's interpretation of the exchange illustrates that she regards offering a specific answer to a question directed to a classmate to be an acceptable strategy by which she willingly supports a classmate. Moreover, it is assumed that this will be reciprocated when required. For example, at another moment during activities when she was uncertain Marin commented: *'Hitori de dekinai atama no naka de sagashite de wakaranakute de 'nandakke' tte kou minna ni nandakke tte itte chotto tasuke o motometa'* (I couldn't do it alone. I searched for the answer in my head

and I didn't know, so I was like, 'what is it?' I asked 'what was it?' to everyone (classmates) to get some help.). While this may draw a negative teacher appraisal, the participant feedback suggests that identity as a member of the class as evidenced through the interdependent sharing of information was prioritised over the potential loss of face that may stem from failing to meet the teacher's demands.

Assuming that peer collaboration was viewed by the Japanese students participating within the study as an acceptable practice, it comes as no surprise that in retrospective interviews the participants articulated a desire to be able to collaborate with peers unimpeded by teacher intervention. Moreover, students' specifically indexed frustration at collaboration drawing a negative teacher evaluation as can be seen in the following two classroom excerpts (Excerpts 4 and 5). Excerpt 4 begins with the teacher moving throughout the classroom checking whether students have completed a homework task.

EXCERPT 4 [Classroom excerpt: Student Risa (R) consults classmates Miu (M) and Ayaka (A) regarding homework activity. The teacher (T) intervenes.].

1T: ((T moves around classroom)) OK (1) who did their homework? (5) ((T walks around looking at students as they begin to open workbooks)) what's the homework? (1) do you remember? ((T addresses whole class)) (3) did you do your homework?

2S: ((students open books and glance around at peers))

3T: ((T turns to two students with bandaged fingers)) oh (.) we've got two broken fingers? (1) It's like the bad finger club (2) ((smiles)) yeah (1) the broken finger

group ((T laughs and continues to look at students workbooks))

4R: ((R turns to M on her left)) *ne* (1) *yattetta no?*

        'hey, did you do it (the homework?)'

5M: ((M turns to R)) *Hmm?* ((tilts head))

        'what?'

6R: *shukudai atta?* ((opens book))

        'did we have homework?'

7M: ((R points to her book)) *kore*

        'this'

8R: *dayone* ((nods in agreement)) (10) ((looks at homework)) *a:re (.) chotto matte*

        (2) ((R turns to A on her left and points to her book)) *kore tte sa (1) korette*

        shukudai dakke?

        'that's right. Wait a second, this, was this homework?'

9A: ((points at page of workbook)) *kore dane?*

        'It's this right?'

10R: *kore dane (1) nankoka (1) oshiete?*

        '(yeah) it's this. How many are there?

11A: ((points at her answer and moves her workbook so that Risa can more easily

        see.))

12T: ((shakes head and raises finger to indicate students should work

        alone)) *hitoride yatte(.) hanasanaide*

        'work by yourself, don't talk'

As is the case in earlier excerpts, the student exchange initiated by Risa was audible to

the teacher suggesting that the participant was not concerned that revealing that she had not finished the task or did not know the answer would neither reflect negatively on her face as a competent member of the class, nor bring about a negative evaluation of the peers she engaged. Risa solicits peers on either side of her in full view of the teacher and checks her work even though the teacher has intervened on a number of earlier occasions and registered his displeasure. During this exchange, Risa consults peers with increasing urgency particularly after the teacher indicates (turn 1) he will be checking homework and starts to move around the classroom. In turn 4, seemingly unconcerned at the risk of attracting teacher or peer attention to herself or her classmates, Risa inquires whether the student sitting next to her has done her homework, *'ne yattetta no?'* (Hey, did you do it?). Risa, after reviewing what she assumes to have been the homework *'dayone'* (that's right), finds a problem and turns to another peer (turn 8) in order to substantiate homework requirements and check her answers, *'chotto matte korette sa korette shukudai dakke?'* (Wait a second this, was this homework?). In turn 10, Risa, in view and audio range of peers and the teacher directly requests the answer to the homework task *'oshiette'* (tell me). The teacher intervenes in turn 12 instructing the participants to *'hitoride yatte, hanasanaide'* (work by yourself, don't talk). The teacher's intent to have students comply is made explicit both in his instruction to participate alone, and also when he shakes his head and holds up one finger to reinforce his demand.

During retrospection, the participant Risa, commented, *'kocchimo yappari doushiyou tte omotte nn tomodachi ni kiita'* (This point too I also felt like, 'What am I going to do?' I asked my friend.). Risa's classroom interaction and feedback suggests that she views

collaboration as a valid means of soliciting information during classroom activities when unable to arrive at an answer herself. From Risa's perspective, collaboration should not be associated with either a lack of competence or potential loss of face. Suggesting that the teacher's decision to intervene was at times interpreted as both unusual and threatening Akari stated, *'Itsumoto chigau na to omotta itsumonara hanashitari shitemo daijyoubu dakedo konosensei kowaina to omotta'* (I thought it was different from usual. Usually we are allowed to collaborate in class but I felt this teacher was scary.). Akari's reference to unfamiliar discursive and behavioural expectations within the L2 classroom draws attention to the teacher's non-Japanese status and the threat to face that arises from disparities in conceptions of classroom rank and role. Characterised as being *'chigau'* (different) when weighed against familiar *'itsumo'* (always) practices, the feedback implies that cross-cultural discrepancies interfered with the students ability to interact as the teacher did not accommodate the Japanese students desire for peer collaboration. Furthermore, the student stresses that the teacher's unfamiliar expectations resulted in her feeling *'kowaina to omotta'* (I felt he was scary.). The students' suggestion that collaboration is acceptable student behaviour is also supported by student Hikari's reaction to being instructed by the teacher to work alone. In Hikari's own words: *'Unto jibundewa tomodachitokano o mite naoshitari shitakedo sorede unto mata machigattetara unto doushiyou tteiuka nanka nanimo waruikoto shitenai'* (Well, I looked at my friends (homework) and I fixed it (my answers) and stuff, but then, well, I felt like, 'What will I do if I make another mistake?' We weren't doing anything wrong.). The students' feedback implies that within the classroom context, the teacher's objection to collaboration and clear preference for individual contributions restricted the Japanese students' ability to interact freely with classmates. Thus the

276

students, isolated from a key resource, namely the student body network, at times felt uncomfortable and unable to perform as they would have liked within the classroom.

In the following classroom exchange, students are instructed by the teacher to work alone to identify and write the names of a number of countries on a map. The excerpt begins when a student, unable to answer, seeks assistance from a classmate sitting next to her. Prior to this exchange the students have been instructed by the teacher on several occasions to work alone.

EXCERPT 5 [Classroom excerpt: Kaho (K) asks Mimi (M) for assistance with a workbook activity when the teacher (T) intervenes.].

1T: ((T addresses the whole class)) I want you to write down your answers <u>here</u> ((holds up workbook and points to illustration of a map))

2K: (5) ((K turns to M who is seated next to her)) *kore muzukashii (1)* ((K points at map in her workbook))

        'this is difficult'

3M: ((M leans over to look at K's workbook)) *dekiru kamo*

        'I think I can do it'

4K: ((K points at blank space on map)) *nani kakeba ii?*

        'what should we write?'

5T: ((T looks at class and gestures writing with a pen)) <u>lets go</u> ((points at book))

6K: ((K turns to M)) *nani kore?*

        'what's this?'

7M: *kore kaite* ((M directs K's attention to the correct answer from the vocabulary box))

'write this'

8K: ((begins to write)) *kore deshou*

'This, right'

9M: *soudayo* ((M continues to points out each of the answers from the vocabulary box as K fills in map))

'Yes, that's right'

10T: OK ((holds hand up to indicate M and K should stop)) HEY (.) listen ((shakes his head)) (1) No talking (.) work alone

11 K/M: ((K and M glance at the teacher and then look down at their desk in silence))

In turn 4, Kaho, after having indicated to classmate Mimi that she regards the task as being *'muzukashii'* (difficult), proceeds to directly ask Mimi, who is seated next to her, what she should write in order to complete the task, *'nani kakeba ii?* (what should we write?) In turn 7 Mimi responds by indicating the required answer *'kore kaite'* (write this) and then takes it upon herself to point out the remaining answers to the activity (turn 9). The exchange is open in the sense that neither participant attempts to hide the exchange from the teacher or other members of the class. The teacher, within close physical proximity, reacts to Kaho and Mimi's exchange in turn 10 by rebuking the students, 'Hey, listen', while at the same time shaking his head from side to side to indicate that a collaborative effort it not going to be accepted. The teacher finally makes his position clear by stating his expectations that there should be 'no talking' and students should 'work alone'. From the students' perspective, it appears that the

confrontational nature of the teacher's intervention captures them by surprise and they glance up at the teacher as if to confirm it is indeed them he is referring to. After establishing that they are being spoken to, the students then look down at their desks in silence. Following the class, the teacher specifically commented on this and other points of student collaboration stating that, 'the students know what I expect and I don't want them taking the easy option'. The teacher's position suggests that the students share his values regarding 'good student' behaviour and that collaboration should be recognised as being out of place within the context of the classroom.

In contrast, the student's perspective was articulated during retrospection when Kaho provided the following straightforward explanation: *'Konotango atteru tte kakunin shitara atteru tte ittekureta'* (I was checking to see whether the word was right. (My classmate) said it was right.). The student, soliciting her classmate for help, is nevertheless on task and actively engaged in seeking confirmation as to the accuracy of her responses. Explaining the rationale behind her decision to seek peer assistance Kaho states *'wakaranai kara tomodachi ni kikitai dousuru no toka kikitai'* (I didn't know so I wanted to ask a friend. I wanted to ask 'What do we do?' and other things.). The fundamental need for assistance in order to understand lesson content coupled with the student's desire to actively seek this assistance from classmates underscores that the teacher's intervention potentially threatens Kaho's ability to engage in classroom activities. Rejecting the implication that she has behaved inappropriately, Kaho suggests that the need for peer support is also the result of a lack of direction offered by the teacher, *'Wakaranai kara tatoe o daseba iindakedo tatoe ga nai kara zen zen wakaranai kokono imiga yoku wakaranakatta'* (It would have been fine if the teacher gave us an

example, but there wasn't an example. I had no idea what to do. I didn't really understand.). The student's suggestion '*tatoe o daseba ii*' (the teacher should give us an example) presents as a criticism of the teacher's professional skills. The use of the Japanese verb + *ba* indicates a conditional 'if', and with the additional *ii* (good) expresses the speaker's conviction that a particular course of action would be beneficial. Kaho's choice of expression, typically used for making suggestions and giving advice, implies doubts in the teacher's abilities. As the teacher is not present, Kaho's submission does not directly threaten the teacher's face, however it does serve to imply a lack of confidence in the teacher's ability perhaps as a result of her frustration at his critical intervention within the classroom. Indeed it appears that Kaho is objecting to being tagged with an identity which implies that she has failed to uphold norms associated with what the teacher implies constitutes 'good student' behaviour particularly when she has been proactively seeking peer assistance in order to take part in English activities and to compensate for what she views as being a lack of sufficient teacher direction.

7.5 Student Collaboration and Fear of Failure

The third theme to emerge from the data sources pertaining to peer collaboration that will be discussed in this section is what can be described as the students' desire to avoid error in order to align with a 'good student' identity. Classroom recordings and student reflections revealed that in order to align with identities they associate with competence, the students assumed that they had to avoid making errors when interacting with the teacher and that collaboration with classmates provided a readily available means of

achieving this objective. As distinct from the data excerpts discussed to date, the following interaction traces an interesting practice whereby students engaged in not only joint construction of responses, but also delivered responses to questions together. This practice of tandem responses was observed throughout learning activities. Student retrospective feedback suggested that jointly proffered responses significantly reduced the perceived threat to face through sharing the responsibility shouldered by individual participants. On the other hand, it appears that the teacher's critical intervention during co-construction and delivery represented a failure to acknowledge an important identity issue for the students.

In the first excerpt (Excerpt 6) the teacher stands at the front of the class from where he indicates that he will check the answers to a number of workbook questions with the whole class. When nobody volunteers a response to a particular question a student is nominated by the teacher to answer. The student turns to consult a classmate after which the students proceed to respond to the question together.

EXCERPT 6 [Classroom excerpt: When students do not volunteer answers to workbook questions the teacher (T) asks a student to respond. The student, Satoko (S) is asked to translate Japanese vocabulary into English. Satoko consults classmate Marin (M) and the two respond to the question together.].

1T: ((T holds up workbook while asking questions)) SECTION one (.) number one (1) *onegaishi::ma:su* or (.) *do::zo* (2) IN ENGLISH? ((T looks at students waiting for someone to volunteer a response))

2S: (5) ((student silence))

3T: ((T looks around at students)) what's the <u>English</u> word? ((T looks directly at S and points at her to indicate she is expected to respond))

4S/M: (3) ((S turns to M who is seated next to her and whispers (inaudible))) S and M respond in unison)) <u>please</u>

5T: (3) ((T looks from S to M in deliberate left/ right movement)) <u>please</u> (1) ((nods to indicate the answer is correct)) <u>now</u> (1) let's try <u>again</u> (.) alone ((points at M))

6S/M: ((M turns to S and whispers (inaudible))

7T: ((T points at M again)) number 2 is (.) *OKI* (2) <u>How</u> do you say that (.) <u>in English?</u> (2)

8S/M: (4) ((M turns to S and students whisper (inaudible) before responding in unison)) <u>large</u> (1)

9T: ((T shrugs as he turn from S to M)) <u>who</u> is answering (1) are you <u>twins?</u>

In both turns 4 and 8, while one of the students has been solicited by the teacher to respond the students proceed to briefly collaborate before responding in unison. Although the answer given by the students is correct, the response delivered by both students, results in a critical teacher reaction (turn 5) with the participants instructed to 'try again'. The teacher demonstrates that he does in fact intend to have the students 'try again' and proceeds to nominate one of the student's to respond to a different question. Once again, (turn 8) the students consult each other before delivering a joint response. On this occasion the teacher does not even bother to indicate that the response is correct and instead focuses on addressing what he implies is an unacceptable response strategy,

namely a collaborative answer. This is evident when in turn 9 the teacher shrugs his shoulders in an expression of confusion while looking at both of the students in turn while asking 'Who is answering? Are you twins?' The teacher's implication that the joint response represented a failure to uphold standard classroom behaviour appeared to have contradicted the students' interpretations as revealed during retrospective interviews. For example, one of the students, Marin, expressed confusion at the teacher's response asking *'ano futago tte do iu koto?'* (What was that about the twins?) Marin went on to articulate her view of the above collaborative response as, *'nanka minna de ieba anmari medatanaishi nn machigattemo minna ga kaba shitekureru kara anshin dakara'* (Well, if we all said it together you don't really stand out and if you make a mistake everyone can cover for you. It feels safe.). The students' tendency to solicit and receive peer assistance resulted in a joint performance in which the assistance was incorporated within responses. In the above excerpt, it appears that the joint response is interpreted as shifting the focus away from the individual and thereby facilitating the maintenance of face as the risk of teacher attention is substantially reduced. Similarly, commenting on a moment when she collaborates with classmates student Hikari notes: *'jibun kara iou to omou kedo jibun dewa nanio iuka tte daitai wakatterukedo jishin ga nai'* (I thought about answering myself. I kind of knew what to say but I didn't have any confidence) and goes on to explain *'un jibun hitoriyoriwa minnato isshoni ittahowa jibuntekiniwa yariyasui'* (Yeah, rather than by yourself, it's easier for me to respond all together.).

These findings are consistent with Japanese students' concern over making mistakes as reported by Nakane (2006) who commented, 'Japanese students perhaps tend to have

differing criteria for relevance and correctness of student comments in the classroom, and hence frame classroom participation as a risky act' (p. 1819). The assumption that an errant response during classroom participation involves a risk of face loss suggests that peer collaboration may serve as a means of exploring safe and ideally advantageous identities. Moreover, the student's reference to feeling *'anshin'* (safe) and the collective tendency to *'kaba shitekureru'* (cover for each other) highlights the emergent nature of identities as the students seek to align to the group and avoid teacher positioning as less competent students. For this reason collaboration between students did not replace classroom contributions, but rather appeared to serve as a first decisive step. This observation is supported by Foster and Snyder Ohta (2005) who maintain that 'assistance given and utilized creates a discourse that is a joint performance, something which can be seen as an important precursor of individual production' (p. 414). For this reason, the teacher's automatic rejection of identities associated with acts of student collaboration may have unintentionally interfered with classroom participation.

The suggestion that Japanese students may embrace different criteria for relevance and correctness of student comments in the classroom (Nakane, 2006) and the implication that this may influence views of the weight associated with classroom participation was reflected in the current study by retrospective views expressed by student Akari who commented *'Sonotoki tte wakatte temo, kotaeyouto wa honto omowanai nandaro wakatteta kedo sashitekurenaito kotaerarenai iunowa ookii'* (At that time, even if I knew, I really don't consider answering. How can I explain this? I knew (the answer), but if (the teacher) doesn't choose me I can't answer. It's a big thing to answer.). It is revealing to note that even when confident in her ability to correctly respond to a

question, Akari still identifies commenting in the classroom as a threat to face for the reason that it is *'iunowa ookii'* (a big thing to answer). Nakane's (2006) research into intercultural communication between Japanese university students and their Australian lecturers noted that Japanese students regard speaking in front of the class as a potential source of embarrassment and view it as a 'big deal'. This position is echoed in Tani's (2008) large-scale survey of Asian students' in-class participation at the National University of Singapore. The survey explored the links between learning experience and beliefs, motivations and personal characteristics. Tani found that of the over 1000 students surveyed, a clear majority was uneasy about in-class participation. Moreover, the primary reason for unease cited by participants was the belief that in-class participation was too risky as students feared making mistakes and 'looking stupid' (p. 350). A sense of vulnerability associated with making mistakes, combined the view that classroom participation represented a risky and significant undertaking were themes that surfaced throughout the students feedback within the current study. Collaborative responses were one of the ways students negated these threats to face and thereby sort to maintain identity as competent and engaged members of the class.

The participants' insights into their views regarding classmate collaboration implied that joint responses were perceived to be standard classroom practice that aligned the students with peers. Collective responses functioned on a number of levels to support students' face as it helped to reduce anxiety associated with an individual student response, provided a sense of security in numbers, and was a tangible means of negotiating classroom material deemed difficult to comprehend alone. Retrospective feedback underlined that students were anxious to avoid individual errors when

responding to teacher-initiated questions. While a correct contribution was seen as resulting in a positive teacher appraisal, an incorrect contribution was associated with the loss of face and the possibility of being aligned with an undesirable identity. In the final excerpt in this chapter, student collaboration ensues when the teacher nominates a student to take part in a short substitution drill. After struggling to respond the student seeks assistance from a classmate.

EXCERPT 7 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) move around the classroom nominating students to take part in a substitution drill. The teacher stops in front of student, Risa (R) and indicates that she will be the next participant. Risa seeks classmate Hikari's (H) assistance.].

1T: ((T moves over to R's desk and stands in front of where she is seated. T points down at R's textbook to indicate that she will be reading substitution drill three)) <u>what is</u> he <u>doing?</u>

2R: (2) ((R looks up at T and smiles. R tilts head in a gesture typically employed to indicate that she does not understand either the question or the answer))

3T: (2) what is (.) he <u>doing?</u> ((T points at illustration in R's textbook which can be used as visual support))

4R: (2) he is (.) ((R turns to speak to classmate seated next to her, H)) (4) ((inaudible))

5 R/H: (2) ((R/H respond in unison)) watching T.V.

6T: (2) ((T points at R to indicate individual response is required)) <u>watching T.V.</u> ((T holds up index finger to indicate that one more response is required. T turns

away and faces class))

7R: (2) ((R glances towards H and tilts her head in a display of confusion that can be seen by classmates but not the T)) watching T.V.

In turn 2, Risa appears uncertain and tilts her head to the side in order to communicate her confusion to the teacher. Responding to this uncertainty, the teacher repeats the question in turn 3 while directing the student's attention to the visual support he expects her to work from. Risa attempts to answer the question in turn 4, however hesitates before turning to a classmate and briefly deliberating. Here, Risa's collaboration gives her the opportunity to co-construct a response after which the students go on to contribute a joint response in turn 5. The teacher responds in turn 6 by gesturing to indicate that an individual response is required. While it is hidden from the teacher and therefore passes by him unnoticed, the student's tilting of her head (turn 7) conveys to her peers that she is confused by the request to repeat a correct answer. The subtle gesture aligns her with her peers, the in-group, and indicates that she contests the teacher's directive while at the same time she excepts that she has to respond as directed by the teacher. Reflecting on her position Risa later commented, *'nanka kurakunaru'* (I kind of felt down) and *'sensei ga itte hoshii koto o iunowa motto kantan'* (It's easier to say what the teacher wants.). These competing identities suggest that the participant felt that she had to construct and enact classroom identities that did not always reflect how she viewed herself or wished to be viewed by her peers. Irrespective of her personal desires, the student felt it necessary to accommodate the teacher by appearing to align with an identity consistent with the teacher's expectations.

The Japanese students' attention to maintaining face through the avoidance of error suggests that while students are willing to exchange opinions with peers, there is an extra significance attached to giving opinions to the teacher. In contrast with Western face, Matsumoto (1988) hypothesises that Japanese face is not motivated by self-preservation, but arises from interdependency and a high value placed on the creation of harmonious relationships (see section 4.5). Reflecting on the instruction to work alone a participant, Iori, comments: *'Jibunde tte iwareruto nanio kikeba iinoka yokei wakaranaku naru'* (When you're told to do it by yourself it makes it even harder to decide what to ask.). The feedback suggests that Iori felt that the English class activities could potentially be complicated by the lack of access to the established peer network. This feedback implies that the student may have struggled to adapt to a system in which the basic unit of the classroom was the individual as opposed to the group. The perception of a collaborative identity as a means of protecting threat to face is reinforced by additional student feedback which highlighted the sense of empowerment when responding with the support of peers. For example, student Marin commented: *'Issei ni iu toki wa futsu ni ieru kedo hitori de iutoki ga kinchou suru'* (I can say it fine when we say it together but when I have to say/do it by myself I get nervous.). Similarly, noting that she could respond *'futsu ni'* (usually) when in unison with her classmates student Hikari commented, *'Minna de issei ni iyu toki wa futsu ni ieru kedo hitori de iutoki ga kinchou suru kara'* (At that time, when we all said it together, I could say it usually, but when I say it by myself I feel nervous.).

7.6 Overview of Implications of Cross-Cultural Variance in Teacher/Student Interpretations of Collaboration

This examination of collaboration as seen from the Japanese students' perspective highlights the need for teachers working with Japanese students to be cautious of negatively interpreting student initiated collaboration as an indicator of student comprehension limitations, the deliberate avoidance of hard work, or a sign of insufficient motivation. Classroom recordings illustrated that the non-Japanese teacher endeavoured to promote and instill a sense of personal autonomy through stressing individual contributions, and assumed that collaboration threatened this objective. In contrast, collaboration from the students' perspective was clearly not seen as a form of cheating but rather as a collective effort to share group knowledge in order to achieve the best possible results in a given task. Moreover, retrospective data illustrated that collaboration was viewed by students as an acceptable interactional practice by which students could draw on peer alliances as a means of facilitating comprehension, formulating responses and reducing the threat to an individual's face. In the words of student Akari, *'Gakkou wa betsuni zenzen minna futsuuni hanashiterushi'* (At school it is not particularly (a big thing to talk to classmates), not at all. Everyone does it usually.). In this sense, the shared ownership of a classroom contribution arrived at through collaboration may have rendered it less threatening for the student to venture a classroom contribution as it minimised the risk to student face associated with errant classroom contributions.

Classroom excerpts indicated that collaboration was a means for the students to create the space required to process input and potentially modify output in a non-threatening and mutually beneficial exchange with peers. Moreover, collaboration functioned to

create affective bonds and reinforce solidarity with peers. This is suggested in the potential advantages of peer collaboration within the classroom as suggested by Foster (1998):

> It increases the amount of class time available to an individual student to practice speaking the target language, it decreases the amount of time students spend listening (or not listening) to other class members interacting with the teacher, it avoids the anxiety and self-consciousness that prevent some students from speaking up in front of the whole class, and it allows the teacher more opportunity for individual instruction.

(Foster, 1998:1)

Within the current study it appears that through collaborating, the participants enacted cultural identities through upholding the legitimacy of peer co-construction as an appropriate classroom linguistic practice. Accordingly we can suggest that teachers may require exposure to adequate training and culturally sensitive teaching/learning strategies that encourage them to acknowledge and accept potentially different interpretations of collaboration. Within the current study, collaboration emerged as central to the process by which participants managed face and aligned with the desired identities they associated with membership within the student group and in relation to matters of competent student performance. Contrary to the teacher's assumption that collaborating students were off-task or seeking an easy option, student feedback indicated that collaboration was regarded as an expression of active interest in lesson content and was not viewed by students as diminishing the effort invested. Moreover,

290

the students' tendency to collaborate suggested that the Japanese students did not view an independent classroom contribution as being more meaningful than a contribution arrived at through collective efforts.

A central point to emerge from feedback pertains to differing interpretations of the cultural and situational appropriateness of collaboration within the L2 activities. The teacher's preference for individual participation was perceived by Japanese students as restrictive, uncomfortable and inconsistent with what they considered to be standard classroom communication strategies. On the one hand, participants were encouraged by the teacher to freely participate in speaking activities, while at the same time students were cautioned for resourcing peers and instructed to work alone. The resulting incongruity threatened to undermine students' face claims as the students were aligned with a negative identity for reasons that were not made clear to the students. As the teacher controls the balance of power, the students are faced with the challenge of negotiating their participation in classroom activities in order to avoid a negative appraisal. While the teacher may not have regarded the request to work alone as an imposition, the participants' retrospective feedback suggested that this strategy resulted in embarrassment and an increased sense of vulnerability.

From the teacher's perspective, it appears that the practice of collaboration in itself was not the primary issue, but was rather the timing or points during lesson activities at which the students elected to seek collaborative support which created misunderstanding. In particular, the teacher objected to collaboration when an individual student had been specifically requested to respond to a question. The

implications were significant for the reason that following several occasions when the teacher intervened, a number of participants mistakenly assumed that collaborating with peers, irrespective of the classroom activity, was not permitted by the teacher. While this may not have been the teacher's intentions, it was nevertheless how student Iori felt: *'Sensei ga watashini kurasumeito to hanashitehoshikunai kotoga hakkiri wakaru watashitachini hanashite hoshiikedo sorewa karetodakenara mitai'* (It's clear that the teacher doesn't want me to talk to my classmates. It's like he wants us to talk but only when it's with him.). Similarly, participant Kaho expressed concern about communicating with peers even regarding seemingly mundane tasks: *'Senseiwa watashitachiga kurasumeito to hanasunoga sugoku kirai keshigomu o kariru kotosae kikenai kanji ga suru'* (The teacher really hates it when we talk to classmates. I feel like I can't even ask to borrow an eraser.).

It is important to note that through specifically targeted training teachers can be guided to identify their own views of collaboration as well as those held by their students. Greater teacher awareness can ultimately lead to a situation in which the students inclination to collaborate, rather than viewed as being an obstacle to learning, can be effectively integrated within the classroom to promote learning. The benefits of collaboration in facilitating language acquisition are extensive**:**

> Research on collaborative learning has shown that gains in student learning arising from small-group discussions arise from such activities as engaging with the task, trying to understand other people's thinking, explaining and justifying one's own thinking, critically monitoring what others are doing, and being supported in

carrying out complex tasks.

<div align="right">(Barnes, 2004:14)</div>

This position is consistent with that expressed by Foster and Snyder Ohta (2005) who maintain that it is through negotiations that 'problem utterances are checked, repeated, clarified, or modified in some way (lexically, phonologically, morphosyntactically) so that they are brought within the optimum i+1 level' (p. 405). The optimum i+1 level refers to Krashen's (1982, 1985) theory that second language acquisition is enhanced through exposure to comprehensible input slightly beyond one's current L2 knowledge. Students' negotiation for meaning and other forms of peer assistance and repair are a means by which they seek to comprehend the L2. An example being Kobayashi's (2003) qualitative examination of collaboration which observes three students as they work collaboratively to create a PowerPoint document at a Canadian university. Kobayashi found that through peer collaboration the students were able to accomplish and succeed on a task that would have potentially been beyond their capabilities if attempted alone. These findings demonstrate not only the benefits of collaboration, but also point to the need for educators to develop an awareness of factors that may promote or inhibit effective collaboration among students within the language classroom. Student feedback highlighted the potential threat to face and alienation of student identities that can result from limitations in the teacher's awareness of discourse practices associated with the classroom environment as recognised by the student.

Chapter 8: Classroom Acts of Alignment to Japanese Identities

8.1 Overview: Feeling Japanese in the L2 Classroom

Chapter 8 examines the students' management of face as explored through alignment to Japanese identities. Retrospective interviews suggested that the students were highly aware of what they felt to be a degree of conflict that existed between what they viewed as being factors associated with their Japanese identities and their alignment with the expectations they associated with the second language classroom under the instruction of the non-Japanese teacher. Specifically, feedback underscored that when the students felt that they were being negatively evaluated by the teacher or that the classroom teaching practices employed by the teacher deviated from assumed Japanese standards, there was a tendency for the students to cite what they identified as being an incompatibility between non-Japanese and Japanese classroom teaching practices and attitudes. Student criticism of the teacher suggested that rather than upholding the teacher's *'tachiba'* (standing in relation to others) the students were intent on demonstrating that they did not think highly of, or accept his position of authority within the classroom. In this way, the students' line of approach brings into focus the teacher's non-Japanese status within the classroom and suggests that the students have a shared socio-cultural understanding of conduct that they at times felt to be threatened by the teacher's classroom conduct.

The students' assumption that Japanese and non-Japanese identities are intrinsically different and at times seemingly irreconcilable set the stage for competition between what retrospective feedback identified as being a sense of conflict between Western and

Japanese identities. The following section examines classroom excerpts and student feedback on these excerpts which illustrate the students' alignment with their Japanese identities and their resistance to, and/or rejection of classroom practices interpreted as threatening these identities. Student references to cultural incongruity not only highlighted a general assumption among the students that points of miscommunication or discomfort that occurred during lessons were culturally motivated, but also frustration that they were expected to embrace unfamiliar practices. The discussion draws on a critical account of the themes of (*kokusaika*) internationalisation, ethnocentricity, and *nihonjinron* theories of the uniqueness of Japanese culture. The comparative nature of the retrospective feedback suggested that student attention to an abstract notion of what constitutes the 'Japanese way' served as a means by which students attempted to rationalise classroom situations they found uncomfortable, build solidarity with peers, and ultimately deal with potential loss of face.

Based on the premise that the Japanese identity is held to be distinct from non-Japanese identity, *nihonjinron* argues as a central premise that the Japanese are a culturally homogeneous people *(tan'itsu minzoku)* and there exist unique characteristics associated with race, language and culture which constitute Japaneseness (see; Befu, 1993, 2001). Drawing on comparative generalisations between 'Westerners' and the 'Japanese', *nihonjinron* claims that attributes exclusive to the Japanese include 'the Japanese brain, social customs and language' (Liddicoat, 2007:34) and promotes a 'Japanese identity [that] is the anti-image of foreignness and, as such, can only be affirmed by formulating the images of the Other, namely the West' (Yoshino, 1992:11). According to Takayama

(2008), *nihonjinron* ideology presents Japanese society as 'group-oriented, harmonious, ethnically homogeneous and reliant on shame, while characterising the West (especially the United States) as individualistic, fond of conflict, ethnically plural and reliant on guilt' (pp. 24-25). *Nihonjinron* and the assumption of the uniqueness of Japanese culture is captured in the following definition offered by Japanese anthropologist Befu:

> In short, a claim is made for equivalency and mutual implications among land, people (that is, race), culture, and language, such that those and only those who practice the culture also speak the language and have inherited Japanese 'blood' from their forebears, who have always lived on the Japanese archipelago, and that no other person speaks the language natively and practices the culture.
>
> (Befu, 2001:71)

Befu (2001) maintains that *nihonjinron*, although seemingly being descriptive statements of observed facts, however faulty they might be, serves as a prescriptive model or ideology that characterises an idealised vision of what Japanese society should be like (p. 81). The nationalistic self positioning not only sees Japan and the Japanese as being unique, but implies that the world outside Japan is essentially a singular collective group. Summarising this sense of friction Rivers (2011b) argues that:

> As a non-colonized country, the Japanese are typically proud and protective of their national language, culture, and perceived ethnic homogeneity. This symbiotic-like relationship is often used to evoke patriotic sentiment and unity among the Japanese people, especially when sensing physical or ideological threat.

In the current study, student retrospection highlighted particular teaching practices, uses of language and behaviour employed by the non-Japanese teacher as threatening their management of face through imposing on freedom and contradicting interpretations of Japanese classroom appropriateness. The students frequent references to perceived differences between Japanese and non-Japanese teaching approaches is of interest as none of the students' had travelled outside of Japan, or indicated having contact with non-Japanese outside of English classes. This is important in the current study for the reason that the Japanese students appeared to approach aspects of the English classroom carrying assumptions that there were cultural differences that could not be reconciled. The following data draws attention to areas of systematic variance in teacher and student attitudes pertaining to specific teaching practices which the students found objectionable and specifically referred to as conflicting with the 'Japanese way'. Among other matters, student feedback suggested that alignment with and a desire to protect what was felt to be threatened Japanese identity was viewed as being of significance to the students and influenced their management of face. In this way the following analysis examines the shifting and conditional nature of identities as students construct and enact new selves which reflect both national and international motivations.

8.2 Student Alignment to Japanese Identities and Resistance to Face Threat Associated with Teacher Solicited Peer Error Correction

The following three data excerpts (Excerpts 8, 9 and 10) illustrate student acts of

alignment to a Japanese identity through resistance to peer correction practices employed by the teacher throughout English activities. In particular, the students took exception to the teacher's practice of inviting class members to actively take part in the correction of peers. This typically occurred following an incorrect student contribution after which the teacher would solicit corrections from the students. The teacher would ask for volunteers and/or directly nominate an individual student who was then instructed to correct the mistake while the class, including the student responsible for the original error, watched on. Interview feedback suggested that the teacher interpreted the lack of voluntary student participation during the correction of students as a cultural predisposition to shyness, *'The students are shy when you ask them to correct something. I know they can do it but they're just too shy. It's a cultural thing.'*

Providing insight into the students' views, retrospective feedback revealed reluctance to correct classmates' errors and emphasized the belief that correction was fundamentally the role of the teacher. Accordingly, the correction of peers not only clashed with expected classroom norms, but also appeared to represent a threat to the face of both the correcting and the corrected students. Data sources suggested that the students' reluctance to participate, even when directly solicited by the teacher, was in part motivated by the desire to maintain face through upholding the equal status of classmates. Students expressed solidarity through rejecting the teacher's invitations to offer corrective suggestions as this may have implied superior English proficiency and established a proficiency hierarchy that the students were not comfortable with. For this reason, it appears that for the students, maintaining bonds associated with acknowledging equal status were more highly prioritised than potentially being aligned

with a 'good student' identity by the teacher for contributing a correct response. Excerpt 8 begins with the teacher asking a student to respond to a question from the textbook. When the student responds incorrectly the teacher reacts by soliciting corrective feedback from another member of the class.

EXCERPT 8 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks Yuki (Y) to respond to a question from the textbook. When Yuki's response is incorrect the teacher seeks student assistance in order to correct the error by inviting participation from the class. When the class remains silent a student, Risa (R), is asked to correct the error.].

1T: ((T holds textbook and points to the first in a series of illustrations)) do they exercise? (2) ((T nods in the direction of Y indicating she is to answer))

2Y: (2) no (1) they (1) doesn't ((looks up at teacher while tilting head to indicate uncertainty as to whether her response is correct))

3T: no (2) <u>everybody</u> ((T looks around at class)) (3) no they <u>doesn't</u> (1) is that OK?

4S: (3) ((students remain silent))

5T: no (.) they <u>doesn't</u> (2) is that ok? ((T looks around at students))

6Y: (2) ((students remain silent. Y begins to talk to student seated next to her about *purikura* (small sticker photographs) on her pencil case))

7T: yes? (1) no? (1) ((T slowly looks from left to right of classroom seeking a student response)) is that OK? ((T looks at students))

8S: (1) ((students remain silent))

9T: what should it be? ((points at R))

10R: (2) no (.) they <u>don't</u> ((looks down))

11T: <u>right</u> (1) no (.) they <u>don't</u> ((T looks at Y))

In turn 1, the teacher directly nominates Yuki to respond to a question from the textbook as her classmates watch on in silence. Yuki haltingly responds in turn 2 after which she looks up at the teacher while tilting her head to the side in a gesture commonly used by Japanese to register uncertainty. Yuki's face is threatened when the teacher, rather than responding directly to her uncertainty and what is effectively an appeal for his assistance, states that the response is in fact incorrect 'No' (turn 3). After indicating that the response is incorrect, the teacher then proceeds to invite the class to confirm the accuracy of Yuki's response *'Everybody, No, they doesn't. Is that OK?'*. In view of the fact that the teacher has emphatically stated that the answer is incorrect, the invitation to the class is met with student silence as a response would be essentially to reiterate a foregone conclusion. This was highlighted during retrospection when Risa commented that the teacher has effectively answered the question *'Is that OK?'* he poses in turn 3, and therefore she is uncertain as to what the students are required to do: *'Sensei ni chigautte iwareta senseiwa nanio itte hoshiinoka wakaranai sakki senseiga kotaetakara'* (The teacher said 'No'. I don't know what he wants us to say. He had already answered the question.) Moreover, the teacher's question, 'Is that OK', not only draws further attention to the error, but also implies that Yuki's mistake will be obvious to her classmates who are deemed capable of making the required correction. From the teacher's perspective, it appears that restating the error is not intended to illicit a Yes or No response but rather to encourage students to provide a correction.

In turn 6, after the teacher again asks the students: *'No, they doesn't. Is that OK?'*, Yuki responds by shifting her attention away from the teacher and begins to talk to the student seated next to her. This simple act of classroom resistance can be observed in the rejection of the student role, and as such may be seen as representing the criticism of classroom practices. Suggesting her resistance to the teacher's unwanted attention and objective of finding a correction from the members of the class, Yuki then proceeds to engage her classmate in conversation as she points out various *purikura* (stamp sized sticker photographs) attached to her pencil case. The students' conversation, in full view of the teacher and clearly off-topic, suggests Yuki's desire to protect her face by diverting some of the attention from the impasse while simultaneously challenging the approach the teacher has outlined for error correction.

The students' silence, even when encouraged by the teacher to volunteer responses, suggests that the teacher's request for involvement places the students in an uncomfortable position. In what appears to be an effort to avoid eye contact, students can be seen looking away from the teacher, looking down at their textbooks, and playing with pencil cases. Through their nonparticipation the students effectively index resistance to the request for contributions and thereby uphold Yuki's face. Without a correct student response, the assumption that the correct answer should be common knowledge to the students cannot be validated. In this sense, while contributing a response may represent an opportunity for an individual student to align with the teacher's notion of a 'good student' identity, the students nevertheless elect to align themselves with their classmate. This was reflected in student Risa's retrospective comment, *'Yuki mo watashimo iyanakimochi o surudake dakara nanimo iitakunai'* (I

didn't want to say anything because Yuki was just going to feel bad and so would I.).

In turn 9, the teacher reacts to the lack of student response to his requests for participation by gesturing towards an individual student, Risa, and thereby nominating her to respond. Risa, having been directly solicited is compelled to answer and after a short pause responds, *'No, they don't'*. The apparent ease with which Risa responds indicates that the question is indeed within her L2 competence. Following her response, Risa does not wait for teacher confirmation of whether the answer is correct and instead looks away from the teacher and down at the desk. Her behaviour suggests confidence in the accuracy and appropriateness of her answer, while also registering that she did not wish to be nominated to provide the correction. While not a willing participant, Risa appears reluctant to refuse the teacher's direct request to participate. During retrospective feedback Risa commented, *'Yuki ga machigaeta ato kurasu zenin no maede shitsumonni kotaetakunai Yuki ga iyana omoi surudake dakara sensei ni watashini kiite hoshikunakatta'* (I didn't want to answer the question in front of the whole class after Yuki has just made a mistake. She was just going to feel bad so I wish the teacher hadn't asked me.).

In addition, the student's feedback drew attention to what she implied to be a distinct contrast between Japanese and non-Japanese classroom correction methods and motivations: *'Chigau iikata ni shitehoshii nihonjin no sensei wa iwanai nihonjin wa motto aite no kimochi o kangaeru to omou'* (I wanted him to say it in a different way. Japanese teachers wouldn't say that. I think Japanese consider each other's feelings more.). Her observations suggest not only that the teacher has not approached error

correction in a way that the students find familiar, but that she regards his approach as uncomfortable and something that she would like to see altered. The position that peer based correction is not a standard classroom procedure is emphasised when she states that *'nihonjin no sensei wa iwanai'* (Japanese teachers wouldn't say that.). As way of explanation, Risa goes on to explain that this is because *'nihonjin wa motto aite no kimochi o kangaeru to omou'* (I think Japanese consider each other's feelings more.). Commenting on a moment during English activities when the teacher asked a student to correct her peer's errant response to a question, student Iori commented *'Kowai to omotta, sensei wa Nihon no yarikata jya nakute watashitachi ga sensei ni awasenakucha ikenai yarukedo yada'* (I felt scared. The teacher doesn't do things in the Japanese way and we have to do it his way. I just do it, but I hate it.).

A sense of otherness is manifested in Risa and Iori's distinction expressing as it does underlying tones of a value judgment associated with superior-inferior rhetoric in which the familiar Japanese approach is viewed as being superior to what the students may assume is a standard non-Japanese approach. Hinenoya and Gatbonton (2000) maintain that it is common for a sense of distinctiveness to be 'associated with attitudes reflecting better-worse, positive-negative, or even superior-inferior comparison with others' (p. 227). In Risa's feedback, it appears that the student assumes that Japanese people *'consider each other's feelings more',* while non-Japanese do not share these concerns. The teacher's failure to perform in line with expectations held by the student suggests that he has failed to execute his role according to standards the student associates with the role of the teacher and the context of the classroom.

Risa's critical appraisal of what she regards as being the teacher's lack of awareness and concern for the students feelings was consistent with comments offered by other students. For example, in aligning with a Japanese identity viewed as being distinct from values held by the teacher, student Marin commented: *'Wakaranakutemo nanimo dekinaishi sensei ni otagai naoshiattette iwarerunowa kirai machigaeta hito ni sugoku waruku kanjirukara kotaetakunai minnani totte muzukashikunaru'* (You can't do anything if you don't even understand. I didn't like it when the teacher asked us to correct each other. You feel really bad for the person who made the mistake and you don't want to answer. It makes it difficult for everyone.). In addition, student Iori spoke about what she felt to be a greater concern for peers held by Japanese when she commented *'mawarinohito o kizukatte'* (we think more about the people around us) while Kaho noted the importance of the class student body working as a unit: *'Nihon dewa seito minna wa chimu noyou'* (In Japan the students are all like a team.). In the above excerpt the teacher did not appear to regard the solicitation of oral contributions following the student's error as threatening either the face of the incorrect student or her peers. Of relevance here is that the teacher's approach to error correction is interpreted and rationalised by the students during retrospective feedback as representing a fundamental difference between Japanese and non-Japanese teaching practices. Specifically the above comments suggest that the students feel that Japanese teachers have greater concern for students' feelings and that Japanese students are more unified than they assume non-Japanese students to be. For this reason, taking a position that underscores attention to perceived cultural divisions and a desire to uphold Japanese identities, students' feedback emphasises group interdependence as registered through attention to the unity of the group. While students are expressing their dissatisfaction

with the teacher, rather than challenging his approach to error correction they have framed their criticism as representing a cultural division. The following classroom excerpt (Excerpt 9) provides a further example of a point during English activities when a student was asked by the teacher to correct a classmate.

EXCERPT 9 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks student Marin (M) to answer a question. When she answers incorrectly the teacher nominates Sayaka (S) to correct Marin's response.].

1T: ((T points at M)) It's your turn (2) here we go ((T points at M's book)) (2) what is <u>he</u> doing?

2M: ((M looks up at T)) (3) he <u>watch</u> sports

3 T: (3) ((shakes head to indicate response is incorrect)) he (.) <u>watch</u> sports? (1) <u>watch</u> (2) what's wrong with this? ((T looks around at students and gestures towards S inviting her to offer a correction))

4 S: (3) ((whispering to peer)) *nande watashi nano* ((looks up at teacher while tilting head to imply she doesn't understand))
        'why me?'

5 T: (3) ((T looks at S)) what's wrong with this?

6 S: (2) ((S looks up at the teacher and tilts head to indicate she doesn't know))

7 T: ((T points at textbook)) what's wrong with this? (2) ((T looks as S)) <u>come on</u>

8 S: ((S looks away from the teacher and begins to look through her pencil case))

9 T: (4) watches (1) he <u>watches</u> sports (2) you know this ((T looks at S and then around at other students))

Following the student's incorrect response (turn 1) the teacher repeats the mistake *'he watch sports'* and uses stress to draw the class's attention to the verb form. As opposed to seeking volunteers (Excerpt 8), the teacher immediately nominates Sayaka to make the necessary correction. Sayaka, flaunting 'good student' conventions, quietly registers her apprehension to the student seated next to her when in turn 4 when she asks *'nande watashi nano'* (Why me?). After a short pause it appears that the student is not going to respond and the teacher again asks *'what's wrong with this?'* In turn 6 Sayaka looks up at the teacher and tilts her head to the side suggesting that she does not know what the correct answer is. The teacher appears agitated in turn 7 when he interjects *'come on'* suggesting that he believes that the student is capable of answering the question yet is electing not to. In turn 8 the student responds by looking away from the teacher as she begins to go through the contents of her pencil case in a move that suggests that she does not wish to take part in the exchange.

Contrary to the image she projects as being unable to respond to the teacher's question, during retrospection Sayaka indicated that she did in fact know the answer yet objected to being asked *'kotaewa wakatteta kedo kouiufuni kikareru nowa yada'* (I knew the answer but I don't like being asked like this.). Highlighting her resistance to participation, Sayaka notes that she is unwilling to participate, and by way of explanation, implies that the process of error correction is the teacher's responsibility, *'nanimo iitakunai nihonjin no sensei wa oshiete kureru'* (I didn't want to say anything. Japanese teachers tell us (the answer)). This subtle display of resistance suggests that Sayaka is willing to risk a negative teacher appraisal and forego the opportunity to

claim face as a competent student. Moreover, her refusal to respond suggests that she is willing not only to risk face, but also to threaten the teacher's face in order to uphold what she views as standard classroom practice. The teacher, seemingly resolved to the fact that he will not be able to elicit a response from the students responds *'watches, he watches sports, you know this'* (turn 10). During retrospection, Sayaka pinpoints her concern with the teacher's approach to correction through stating that a Japanese teacher would provide the answer. In this way Sayaka draws on cultural comparisons to imply that she views the teacher's request for students to assist in peer correction as being inconsistent with Japanese teaching practices. The student's view that peer correction failed to take into account the feelings of the student being corrected, was not a standard classroom procedure, and was a practice that students wished to avoid, was also expressed by other students.

On viewing a point during English activities when students were invited by the teacher to suggest possible answers to a question a classmate had incorrectly responded to, Kaho commented, *'sensei ga minna ni kiitara kotaerarenaku naru, machigaeta hito no kimochi o kangaerukara kotaerarenaku naru, kotaerarenai wake dewanaikedo nihon dewa futsuu ni surukoto dewanaikara kotaetakuna'* (If the teacher asks everyone we can't answer. You can't answer because you think about how the person who made the mistake feels. It's not that I can't answer, it's just that I don't want to because it's not normal in Japan.). Kaho, framing her position as representative of the feelings and views she assumes her classmates share, indicates that she cannot contribute a response out of concern for the feelings of the classmate being corrected. Again, the student makes a point of emphasising that this is not an issue of English proficiency, but one of

maintaining classroom standards and peer relationships which she prioritises more highly than the opportunity of claiming positive face through individual success.

Retrospective interviews imply that the students assumed that the teacher did not share their concern for feelings or an awareness of appropriate classroom roles regarding student correction. In addition, through framing disparities within the classroom as related to broader issues of perceived cultural disparities between Japanese and non-Japanese attitudes, the students suggest that they feel threatened by unfamiliar expectations that they view as extending beyond the four walls of the classroom. Murata (2011) argues that Japanese students' *'tanin no me'*, or awareness of how one is perceived by others, is influenced by cultural assumptions and values associated with the desire to maintain public image in accordance with the mother tongue culture. In the above cases (Excerpts 8 and 9) the students viewed correcting peers, even though capable of doing so, as conflicting with Japanese classroom practices and consequently resisted participation. Drawing on Abe (2002, 2004), Murata (2011) suggests that *seken*, described as 'the web of human relationships in the local community and the concern of those involved to maintain a positive public image', restrains students behaviour and the desire to avoid being perceived as different or distinct from other students (p. 14).

The orientation of English language education in Japan is characterised by Liddicoat (2007) as prioritising Japanese nationalistic perspectives rather than developing intercultural perspectives. Liddicoat argues that the Japanese government language policy views the acquisition of English as a tool for internationally articulating Japaneseness as opposed to a means of mediating Japanese perspectives with those of

other countries (p. 41). In other words, English is not regarded as a tool for developing a deeper understanding of non-Japanese cultures, but as a method by which Japanese society can communicate national identity to people who do not speak the Japanese language. The implication being here that English language education within Japan is implemented under a larger context in which the articulation of Japaneseness is prioritised. To some extent this position fails to acknowledge that English language education in Japan is diverse in that students often study at both public and private institutions, with native-speaker teachers and curriculum materials frequently crossing over. In short, student exposure to English is influenced not only by government language policy but also by other key factors, namely that teachers and curriculum are not always determined or monitored by government policy.

Within the context of this thesis it is not possible to comprehensively evaluate the students' individual worldviews. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that what appeared to be occurring is that the students at times viewed Japanese identities, and in particular their awareness of peers, as being challenged by expectations associated with L2 error correction practices as implemented by their teacher. To express defiance, many of the students can be seen to demonstrate alliance with their peers through the most basic and non-threatening of strategies - non-participation. For the students, expressing group solidarity and shared social purpose appears to have been more important than identifying with the teacher's version of the 'good student' identity.

8.3 Us and Them: Teacher Correction Hits a Foreign Note

The following classroom exchanges are excerpts where the teacher directly corrected the Japanese students' verbal contributions to speaking activities or homework tasks. Several students elected to comment on these points during retrospective interviews and specifically noted that the teacher's approach to correction differed from Japanese classroom correction as managed by Japanese teachers. Referencing what they viewed as being differences between the Japanese and non-Japanese ways of doing things, student feedback highlighted what they viewed as being incongruity in teacher/student values and classroom practices. For example, the students expressed concern that the teacher was intent on finding error with their work and was deliberately targeting less competent members of the class when asking questions, a practice they cited as being inconsistent with the practices and assumptions of the standard Japanese classroom. Noting these unfamiliar classroom practices, the students expressed reluctance to take part in L2 activities and registered their resistance in ways that were not immediately obvious to the teacher. For example, students appeared distracted, communicated in low voices with peers, and displayed a lack of interest through behaviours such as leisurely looking through their pencil cases. One result of such actions evidenced breakdown in communication and the assumption, held by the teacher, that students lack of participation was the result of limited English proficiency. In the following classroom exchange, Excerpt 10, the teacher begins the lesson by moving among the students in order to check if students have completed the homework task from the previous week.

EXCERPT 10 [Classroom excerpt: Teacher (T) moves around the classroom checking homework and pauses to look at students Iori (I), Hikari (H) and Yuki's (Y) workbooks.].

1T: ((T walks around classroom checking homework which is placed in front of students)) did you do your homework? (2) ((stops in front of I))

2I: ((I looks up at T and nods to indicate 'Yes'))

3T: ((T takes out pen and corrects I's workbook)) (9) OK (.) it's all very good (2) except for one ((points at workbook))

4I: (3) ahh ahh:: ((I recognises error))

5T: ((T mimics I's reaction)) ahh ahh ((T moves on to next student (H) and picks up book)) (7) ((T writes correction in H's workbook))

6H   (10) ((glances up at T))

7T: (2) ((T returns workbook to H)) OK (.) good (3) ((moves to next student)) did you do your homework? ((looks at Y))

8Y: (5) ((Y quickly makes a correction in her workbook and hands it to the teacher))

9T: ((T leans over desk to correct Y's workbook)) (7) this should be an <u>I</u> (2) this should be ((directs Y's attention to workbook)) <u>good</u> ((moves on to next student))

In turns 1 and 7 the teacher seeks verbal confirmation from the students that they have completed the homework activity asking the question: *'Did you do your homework?'*. The teacher then either picks up the students workbooks or leans over the desk for a closer examination of the homework. At these points, the students can be observed talking with peers, looking around the classroom, and occasionally glancing up at the teacher. The teacher selects two students' workbooks for closer observation and

proceeds to make corrections and indicate that in both cases, an error has been made: *'It's all very good except for one'* (turn 3) and *'this should be an "I'* (turn 9). In turn 4, the student, Iori, recognises her error and communicates that she has understood what appears to be an oversight, *'Ahh ahh'* (I see). In turn 5 the teacher mimics this response and appears to restore the student's face by confirming that the error was a relatively minor lapse that he assumes the student is aware of. While the teacher's corrective feedback and verbal mimicking did not appear to be intended to threaten face, retrospective comments offered by the student Iori, suggest disparities in teacher/student views of this exchange and highlights what is held to be a resulting negative impact on student face. During retrospective interviews Iori commented *'Nihonjin no sensei wa machigae o sagasanai. Kono sensei wa machigae o mitsuketai dake. Watashi wa shukudai o yattekite ikutsuka machigae ga atte sensei wa watashinokoto o kurasu minna no maede bakani shita'* (Japanese teachers don't look for mistakes. This teacher just wanted to find mistakes. I did the homework and I made a few mistakes. The teacher made fun of me in front of the whole class.).

The feedback illustrates that Iori assumes the teacher's approach to correction is motivated in part by the desire to identify student errors. The loss of face is intensified by the assumption that the teacher's mimicking of her response is not intended to minimise the threat to face, but rather to publicly embarrass her in front of her classmates. This is puzzling for her for the reason that from Iori's perspective, she has fulfilled her student obligations by doing the homework task. Whether or not her answers are correct does not appear to be the issue and consequently the teacher's approach to correction is viewed as being inappropriate and humiliating. In order to

validate her position, Iori states that the public correction practices employed by the teacher are inconsistent with how her Japanese teachers approach students and the process of correction, *'Nihonjin no sensei wa machigae o sagasanai'* (Japanese teachers don't look for mistakes.). The implication that the student favours the approach to instruction she associates with Japanese teaching methods aligns her with her Japanese identities and suggests her resistance to the non-Japanese teacher's approach which she finds threatening.

Objecting to the correction strategies employed by the teacher as being incompatible with, and by implication inferior to, Japanese correction strategies, Iori again takes the opportunity to reinforce her position through commenting on the teacher's correction of a classmate's work. When the student answers incorrectly, Iori comments *'sensei wa wazato wakaranai hito o sasu Nihonjin no sensei wa wakatteru hito o erabu, gaikoku no sensei wa wakaranai hito o mitsukeru mitaina'* (The teacher deliberately points to someone who doesn't understand. Japanese teachers choose someone who understands. It's like foreign teachers find someone who doesn't know.). The teacher's selection process is characterised as being a *'wazato'* (deliberate) strategy to identify a student thought to be unable of correctly answering. Framed by the feedback as constituting a fundamental difference between Japanese and non-Japanese teachers, Iori assumes that the Japanese teacher will seek to identify a capable student *'wakatteru hito'* (someone who understands) while a non-Japanese teacher will deliberately select those who do not understand *'wakaranai hito o sasu'.* Iori's feedback suggests that she has interpreted the teacher's correction strategies as an indication that Japanese teachers as a whole, place a higher value on avoiding threats to face than do their non-Japanese counterparts. Iori

sheds further light on how she perceives the teacher's role when she goes on to state *'sensei wa minna no nooto o mite wakatteru hito o eranda houga iito omou'* (I think the teacher should look at everyone's notebooks and then choose a person who does know.). In other words, Iori believes that the teacher should identify a student capable of responding correctly and then invite that student to contribute an answer. This position was also expressed in feedback contributed by student Ami when reflecting on a moment when a classmate was unable to answer a question correctly: *'Kawaisou tteiuka wakaranai tte itterunoni wazato sasukara nanka wazato kotae o kaite nai hito wakaranai hito o wazato sasukara dakarakotae wakatteru hito saseba iinoni'* (I felt sorry for her. She said she didn't understand but he deliberately chose her. It's like he deliberately chose someone who didn't have the answer written or someone who didn't understand. It would be best if he chose someone who understood.).

The assumption that less competent members of the class were being deliberately targeted and embarrassed was implied in retrospective comments made by student Kaho. Following the nomination of a classmate who was unable to answer a question, Kaho commented: *'Moshi nihonjin no sensei ga sashita hito ga wakaranakattara sono shitsumon wa tobasuka tsugi no hito ni mawasu'* (If by chance the person our Japanese teacher chose didn't know (the answer) then the teacher would skip the question or ask the next person.). Presumably, in contrast with what she interprets as being the non-Japanese teacher's approach, Kaho maintains that Japanese teachers will nominate a student capable of responding correctly and in doing so, will presumably avoid potential imposition or loss of face to a student who lacks confidence or competence with the material. In the event that a student is unable to answer, Kaho implies that it is standard

practice for a Japanese teacher to skip the individual or redirect the question to a different member of the class. In line with Kaho's observations, classroom recordings did in fact demonstrate that the non-Japanese teacher typically responded to student errors not by skipping or redirecting the student, but through techniques such as offering additional instruction or by inviting contributions from other class members. Moreover, the teacher sought confirmation that an understanding of the material had been reached before proceeding with learning activities. However, the teacher's intentions, while evidently unclear to Kaho, were not to threaten or humiliate the students, but rather to facilitate comprehension as evidenced in the teacher's comment *'If a student doesn't understand I am going to try different approaches until he gets it. I don't want kids leaving the class feeling confused.'*

As demonstrated in the above retrospective feedback, student criticism of classroom practices tended to specifically outline how Japanese teachers conducted classes or interacted with students in order to validate arguments. Students' reference to an idealised image of the Japanese classroom and the desire for Japanese teaching practices to be upheld suggested that the students may have felt their Japanese identity within the context of the L2 classroom to be under threat. While student opinions inevitably diverge, for some of the students the threat to face associated with unfamiliar teaching practices was expressed through the resistance to L2 classroom teaching strategies employed by the teacher, during English activities. The following classroom excerpt illustrates a student's resistance to teacher positioning, borne out in part in silence, and more strongly registered in the frustration expressed during the retrospective interview. In the excerpt student Akari is asked to read the words she has been able to construct

working with the letters from a larger word.

EXCERPT 11 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) nominates Akari (A) to answer a word search activity while the class watches on in silence.].

1T: ((T writes student Akari's name on the whiteboard)) how many words did you

get? ((Looks at A))

2A: (5) ((looks down at notebook counting words)) seven ((looks up at T))

3T: (7) ((T nods approval and walks over to A's desk. She turns to classmates on

left and right. T looks down at A's word list)) (3) OK (2) ((points at A's

workbook)) this is <u>not</u> a word (1) this is an abbreviation (2) *korewa kotobajanai*

(1) hontowa futatsu no kotoba (2) P is <u>physical</u> (1) E is <u>education</u> (2) <u>physical</u>

<u>education</u> (.) but PE (.) is NOT a word (.) OK

'This isn't a word, this is really two words'

4A: (3) ((A looks up at T and nods))

5T: ((T points at next word on A's word list) Ice is OK (3) ((T points at next word))

<u>what's that?</u> ((T shrugs, and makes a quizzical expression))

6A: (3) ((A tilts head to side to indicate uncertainty))

7T: (2) ((T points at word again)) what's that? (3)

8A: (3) ((quiet voice)) sit

9T: <u>sit</u> ((T looks puzzled)) (2) how do you spell sit? (.) <u>S-I-T</u> (.) so that's no: (.) no

good (1) ((T points at word on list)) this is okay (2) ((points at word)) what's

that?(.) actus? (1) <u>what's actus</u>? ((T throws arms up in animated gesture to

show his confusion)) (2) I don't know (1) ((laughing)) you're just making

words up (1)

10A: (3) ((A looks up at T then looks down at desk))

11T: (3) now someone with some REAL words please ((T looks around to identify

next student))

In the initial stages of the exchange (turn 1 through 3) the teacher asks the student to indicate how many words she has identified and nods his approval when Akari announces her total of seven. Akari's total, higher than that of two students asked before her, meets with a positive teacher response and thereby implies that he is pleased with her performance. As opposed to moving on to the next student, the teacher then begins moving towards Akari's desk which suggests that he is not just taking her word for it, but would like to confirm the number of words. Akari appears to be nervous as she turns towards students seated on first her left and then her right and says something inaudible. The students watch on in silence as the teacher, standing directly in front of Akari, leans forward and immediately points out an error, *'This is not a word.'* In turn 3 the teacher then appears to make an effort to lessen this threat by providing an explanation in Japanese when he stated that *'korewa kotobajanai hontowa futatsu no kotoba'* (This isn't a word, this is really two words.) The potential threat to Akari's face is further evident in turn 5 when the teacher notes that the next word on her list is permissible, *'Ice is OK*.' The respite for Akari is only to be momentary as the teacher again detects and announces an error at a volume audible to the entire class, *'What's that?'* (turn 5). The threat to Akari's face is heightened by the teacher's perplexed tone of voice and exaggerated quizzical expression. Responding with silence and tilting her head in order to express uncertainty, Akari does not try to explain her answer, but rather attempts to

317

defuse the situation and the threat to her face by petitioning the teacher for assistance (turn 6). Rather than providing this assistance, the teacher further threatens Akari's face in turn 7 when he repeats the question *'What's that?'* and thereby indicates that he requires an explanation. Once again the teacher's puzzled demeanour amplifies the threat to Akari's face as it indicates that the answer is not only incorrect, but that the teacher is at a loss as to what the student has intended to communicate and cannot progress without clarification. In turn 8, perhaps recognising that she can no longer avoid a response, Akari is left with no other option but to respond and in a small voice announces that the intended word is *'sit.'* In turn 9, the teacher does not appear to be aware of or concerned about Akari's loss of face and proceeds to explain that her spelling is incorrect and therefore the answer is not acceptable. While the next work on Akari's list is correct, the teacher only briefly mentions this *'this is okay',* before immediately announcing the next error on her list. As if to illustrate his confusion, the teacher reads the word aloud and in doing so appears to be inviting Akari's classmates to share in what he finds to be humourous at Akari's expense, *'What's that? actus? What's actus? I don't know'* (turn 9). Akari's loss of face and humiliation is complete when the teacher, as if by way of affirming the difficulty he is faced with, dramatically throws his arms up in exasperation while stating, *'You're just making words up'* after which he looks for someone who has *'now someone with some real words please.'*

When reflecting on this classroom exchange during retrospection, Akari indicated the depth of her frustration when commenting *'kono sensei hontoni kirai!'* (I really hate this teacher!). Akari, perhaps reacting to the loss of face that results from the embarrassment she is forced to endure in the presence of classmates, provides insight into the potential

318

repercussions of the above exchange on her attitude towards English activities when she further comments *'Eigo o benkyo shitakunai'* (I don't want to study English.) The comment demonstrates Akari's resistance not only to the teacher, but goes on to fortify this by means of indicating, more generally, that she does not want to study English. Providing insight into her interpretation of the exchange Akari comments *'futsuni ienakatta no kana to omotta, nihonjin gakusei wakattenai'* (I wondered why he couldn't just tell me usually. He doesn't understand Japanese students.). This highlights Akari's discomfort with the teacher's line of approach and brings into focus his non-Japanese status within the classroom. From Akari's perspective, it appears to be this non-Japanese status which is the reason that the teacher does not react in a *'futsu'* (usual) manner and is unable to understand Japanese students and classroom practices. Akari's reference to the teacher's non-Japanese status implies there is a cultural gap within the classroom that distances students from the English language activities. In a sense, by focusing on cultural disparities, Akari is able to protect herself from the public loss of face she has endured by implying that it is the teacher who has failed to understand the students. In other words, by drawing on her Japanese identity as a means of rationalising the teacher's confrontational approach Akari is able to distance herself from the loss of face that occurs as a result of the exchange.

8.4 Japaneseness: Positive Teacher Feedback Following Error Correction

A final area of cultural disparity highlighted in student retrospective feedback as being inconsistent with Japanese classroom practices and the source of teacher/student friction was the way in which the teacher offered positive reinforcement following error

319

correction. Student feedback directly noted disparities between Japanese/non-Japanese teaching practices once again bringing into focus the teacher's non-Japanese status. Alignment to a Japanese identity was evoked through student feedback which revealed that positive teacher feedback following error correction threatened students' face and met with student resistance. While the teacher did not intend or realise the impact, his positive reinforcement following corrections was cited as being demeaning, with feedback characterised by Akari's comments *'nanka yoku imi ga wakaranaishi'* (I didn't really know what he meant by it) and *'mou ochikonjyau'* (I felt down) suggested her sense of confusion at the pairing of correction with positive feedback was illustrated during retrospective feedback. Reflecting on a point during which the teacher corrected her answer and then commented, *'Wrong answer but you tried. Good job'*, Hikari commented: *'Hen datta to omou, watashi ga machigatta toki sensei wa good job to itta, okashikatta, minna wa watashinokoto o mita'* (I thought that was weird. When I made a mistake the teacher said good job. It was strange. Everyone looked at me.). Rather than interpreting the teacher's positive feedback as an effort to lessen the threat towards her face, Hikari suggests that it resulted in increased peer attention and by implication, results in greater awareness of the original error. Hikari's feedback suggests that she rejects the teacher's positive feedback and any face enhancing objectives that it may carry as meaningless.

Providing insight into his line of reasoning regarding praise the teacher stated, *'Many times the students are afraid of making mistakes. Basically, I deal with this by letting them know that I believe any effort is a good effort. Even if they did make a mistake I would still praise them for trying. Kids love praise.'* The teacher's comments suggest

that he assumes that the students will inherently recognise and respond to praise. It is evident that the teacher attaches a high value to positive feedback as a means of lessening the potential threat to the students face associated with errors. The implication being here that this can help students deal with their fear of making mistakes as the love for praise will compensate for the potential loss of face associated with error correction. Expanding on his approach to positive reinforcement the teacher explained that, *'After they (the students) are done you say, 'good job, that was really good' and encourage them. You praise them so that they look forward to that, to doing it next time.'*

While the teacher's positive intentions are no doubt genuine, they are unfortunately misunderstood by the student Sayaka who suggests the feedback is inappropriate and embarrassing. The student's line of reasoning is explained when she comments *'Jibunga machigaete tadashii yatsu o itte kuretakara iito omou kedo yoku dekita tte iuwanai hou ga ii to omou sore wa ijiwaru dato omou sensei ga sassa to kotaereba ii'* (When I made a mistake the teacher said the correct (sentence.). I think this is good, but I didn't think he should say good job. I think that's mean. He should just hurry up and give the answer.). As opposed to positive feedback following error correction, the student would prefer that the teacher simply provide the correct response. In this way, the loss of face she associates with her incorrect answer can be interactionally managed. On the contrary, the teacher would at times praise effort but would then solicit student contributions in order to identify the correct answer. This in turn appeared to result in student frustration. For example, when praised for her effort following the correction of a mistake student Marin commented *'shippaishita homete hoshikunai yokei hazukashii'* (I messed–up. I didn't want the teacher to praise me. It's even more embarrassing.).

321

Criticism of the teacher's tendency to follow-up on corrections with positive feedback was echoed by student Risa who after being corrected for incorrectly answering 'Mr' remarked, *"Mr.' tte atteru to omotteta kara are nande machigatterun daro to omotte ah machigattetanda nanka bikkurishita chotto good job ja nai yo ne'* (I thought that 'Mr.' was correct. I was wondering why it was wrong, ahh, I was wrong. I was a little surprised. The teacher said 'Good job' but it wasn't a good job.). The teacher's approach to error correction was noted by students and this criticism served to align the students with Japanese identities which served as a platform from which they questioned the teacher's teaching competence. Typically, this was achieved by comparing the non-Japanese teacher and the way he used positive feedback following correction, with the strategies employed by the more highly regarded Japanese teachers. For example, Akari commented: *'Imi wakaranakatta hendana to omotta sensei wa yatterukoto ga wakatteru nokana'* (I didn't understand. I thought it was weird. Does the teacher know what he's doing?) and *'nihonjin no sensei wa kotae o shitterushi setsumei mo dekiru'* (Japanese teachers know the answers and can explain.). In this way, the student's feedback reinforced an awareness of Japanese identity alignment and the assumption that this was not compatible with the practices employed by the non-Japanese teacher.

Student resistance to the teacher's tendency to offer positive feedback following error correction revealed a gap in the teacher and students' interpretation of motivations. From the students' perspective, positive feedback not only failed to restore lost face, but appears to have inadvertently heightened the threat to face by drawing classroom attention to errors. This was highlighted in feedback offered by a student Sayaka, in which she commented: *'Sore ga gaikoku no yarikata nanokamo shirenaikedo, watashi*

322

ni tottemo, kurasu no darenitottemo imiga wakaranai' (It might be the foreign way but it doesn't make sense to me or any other student in this class.). When the teacher follows correction with the comment *'Good job'* another student, Marin, expressed the view that *'sensei wa machigae o mitsuketa ato ni yokuyatta tte homenai houga ii kotae ga tadashii toki ni dake yokuyatta tte itta houga ii watashi wa nandemo tadashiku kotaerareru youna sugoi seito jyanaikara homerareru hitsuyou ga nai'* (The teacher shouldn't say good job after finding a mistake. He should only say good job when the answer is correct. It's not like I'm a great student who answers everything correctly so I don't deserve to be praised.). The feedback suggests that Marin, rather than desiring positive teacher feedback in this situation, does not wish to be aligned with a 'good student' identity particularly as she does not feel she deserves this status. Ellwood's (2008) examination of classroom identity found that students resisted or rejected student identities they associated with roles that enforced positioning they did not wish to align to. Ellwood noted that students, while appearing to align with the role of 'good student', indexed resistance to aspects of the classroom through criticism of classes and teachers during interviews. This is true of the current study in which students tended to align with teacher expectations during classroom activities, yet revealed resistance to imposed identities that they viewed as inappropriate during retrospection.

The following two excerpts from the English learning activities illustrate the teacher's positive feedback following correction. The teacher's intention to inspire a sense of accomplishment through the acknowledgement of student effort as opposed to the accuracy of one's contribution assumes culturally shared values that the students question during the retrospective feedback which follows.

EXCERPT 12 [Classroom excerpt: Students refer to a series of illustrations in the textbook from which they are instructed to construct regular plural nouns. The teacher (T) nominates students including Satoko (S) and Hikari (H) to provide responses. When Hikari is unable to answer the teacher assists her and concludes by praising her contribution.].

1T: ((Holds textbook towards students and points to indicate a series of illustrations)) one ((T holds up one finger)) (.) one brush (2) <u>four</u> ((holds up four fingers)) (1) I have (.) four <u>brushes</u> ((points at second illustration)) (3) your turn ((nods towards Satoko))

2S: ((looks at textbook)) (2) I have (.) five watches ((S looks up at T))

3T: ((T nods in agreement)) <u>great</u> (2) alright (2) five watches ((looks around at students)) and (.) number 3 (2) who can do number three? (5) Hikari ((T gestures towards H))

4H: ((looks at textbook)) (5) I have (.) ((small voice)) two glass ((looks up at T))

5T: ((walks over to H)) (3) two glass:: (3) ((points at textbook illustration)) five watch<u>es</u> (2) two gla::ss:: ((T looks at H))

6H: (4) ((H looks down at book and remains silent))

7T: ((T moves hand up and down indicating rhythm of syllables)) five watch<u>es</u> (3) ((T taps hand on desk to demonstrate syllable pattern)) two gla:::<u>sses</u>

8H: ((H glances up at teacher before looking down at textbook)) (3) glasses

9T: OK (.) two glasses (2) <u>very good</u> (.) next (.) number 4

The excerpt begins with the teacher modeling the plural noun form which is the focus of the activity, *'four brushes'* after which he directs a student to answer question 2 (turn 1). By modeling the required form the teacher is reducing the possibility of students losing face by answering incorrectly when responding to questions in front of peers. In this way, the teacher appears to be aiming to establish a classroom environment in which students are confident that they can take part without loss of face. In turn 2, student Satoko's correct response suggests that the preliminary modeling has been successful and the teacher quickly responds by affirming that the answer is accurate: *'great'* (turn 3). The teacher then looks around the classroom in order to nominate a student while asking *'who can do number three?'* After a brief pause during which none of the students volunteer to take part, the teacher nominates Hikari thereby suggesting that he considers her capable of responding correctly.

The class watches on as Hikari initially pauses before quietly offering a response, *'I have two glass'* (turn 4). Rather than correcting the answer, the teacher avoids threatening Hikari's face by attempting to guide her towards a correct response. In doing so the teacher repeats the student's response *'two glass',* followed by the correct response provided by her classmate, Satoko, in the previous turn *'five watches.'* From the teacher's perspective, it appears that this approach is intended to uphold Hikari's face in that it gives her the opportunity to arrive at the correct response and thus demonstrates to her classmates that the teacher believes she is capable of providing the correct response. During interviews the teacher commented, *'I like to guide the student towards the answer when I can. If it is just a 'Yes' or 'No' from me the kids are going to feel nervous and less likely to try.'* When Hikari remains silent (turn 6) the teacher again

seeks to reduce the threat to her face when he reasserts his confidence in her ability to identify the answer through repeating the previous student's response, *'five watches'* while tapping the desk to indicate the rhythm of the plural form. After Hikari remains silent, the teacher elects to provide the answer, *'two glasses.'* Hikari, who appears uncomfortable when she briefly glances up at the teacher and then looks down at the desk, repeats the plural form *'glasses'*. The teacher, aware of Hikari's discomfort, repeats the correct response in turn 9 and tries to avoid any further loss of face by praising her effort *'very good'*. During retrospection Hikari provided insight into her interpretation of the exchange commenting that *'Watashino nihonjin no senseitachi wa souiu koto o shinai kono sensei wa takusan no machigae o mitsukeru sorekara 'very good' tte iu machigae o mitsukete kara very good tte iunowa futsujyanai kimochi yoku nai'* (My Japanese teachers don't do things like that. This teacher finds a lot of mistakes and then he says 'very good'. It's not usual to find mistakes and then say 'very good'. It's not a good feeling.). The feedback suggests that the loss of face and embarrassment Hikari feels is closely associated with being praised following an incorrect classroom contribution. From Hikari's perspective, the timing of the teacher's positive feedback renders it meaningless and even demeaning as it has come after a classroom correction that has publicly revealed she was unable to answer the question. Moreover, Hikari's classmate had been capable of responding to the prior question with what appeared to be relative ease and Hikari had been specifically nominated by the teacher based on the assumption that she would be capable of responding as required. For these reasons, the positive reinforcement offered by the teacher, while appearing to be spontaneous and somewhat perfunctory in that the teacher then quickly moves on to the next question, was perceived by the student as being situationally inappropriate and therefore may

have compounded the loss of face. Providing insight into her expectations, Hikari's reference to Japanese teaching practices suggests that she believes this to represent a distinct boundary between the Japanese way and the non-Japanese way of teaching and engaging students.

The teacher's positive reinforcement, while perhaps intended as an offer of redress for the potential encroachment that may result from public correction, has effectively increased rather than alleviated the imposition. For this reason, a lack of cultural uniformity between the discursive function of positive feedback as recognised and internalised by the participants and the non-Japanese teacher may have complicated the mutual management of face. Student resistance to the teacher's positive feedback following error correction is once again evidenced in the following excerpt during which students take part in an activity in which they are given an answer and asked to identify the appropriate question.

EXCERPT 13 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks students Ami (A) and Mimi (M) to identify the questions to a series of answers.].

1T: ((T holds up workbook and moves to centre of classroom)) number 1 (.) how do you spell pen? (2) is the *shitsumonne (1) kotae wa* (.) answer is p-e-n (.) how do you spell pen? (.)   P- E-N (.) ((T points to questions in workbook)) number 2? ((T looks at students and nods in order to invite volunteers to answer question 2))

'How do you spell pen? This is the question. The answer is P-E-N. How do you

spell pen? P-E-N. Number 2'

2P: (14) ((class remains silent as students look down at desk, workbook, or look through pencil cases. Some whispering between students can be heard))

3T: ((teacher taps on workbook)) what's number 2? (2) answer is <u>pencil</u> (1) <u>question *wa*</u>   (3) ((looks directly at A and nods to invite response)) 'What's the question?'

4A: (4) ((refers to workbook and reads in a quiet voice)) how do you (.) spell pencil? ((looks at T))

5T: no (1) ((A looks down at desk)) good try though (1) <u>different question</u> (.) <u>different question </u>(3) but it's a good try though (.) good try (.) so let's have a look (nods in direction of M))

6M: (2) ((looks at T and tilts head to indicate uncertainty))

7T: (2) try ((nods at M)

The exchange begins with the teacher modeling a correct response in which he attempts to address any possible confusion by directly indicating which part of the response constitutes the *shitsumon* (question) and which part is the *kotae* (answer). In doing so, the teacher projects his own face, namely his status as the teaching authority, through suggesting that students may be confused by having to identify the question as opposed to the answer. This line of approach, through which the teacher assumes a degree of ambiguity and provides L1 guidance, preempts potential threat to the students' face and therefore encourages classroom participation. The projection of face is not endorsed by the students who maintain an extended silence when encouraged to attempt number 2. In turn 3, the teacher again invites student contributions when he repeats the question,

'What's number two?' before going on to reiterate what the expectations of the task are by identifying the answer *'answer is pencil'* and pointing out that it is the question that needs to be identified *'question wa'* (What's the question?) After being nominated to respond, Ami (turn 4) responds *'How do you spell pencil?'* and the teacher reacts definitively and quickly indicating that the response is incorrect, *'No'*. The loss of face on Ami's part is evident as she looks away from the teacher and down at her desk. The teacher, perhaps cognisant of Ami's loss of face, attempts to reduce this threat by emphasising her effort and making it clear to the class that this is highly valued, *'but it's a good try though, good try'*. The teacher's positive acknowledgement of Ami's effort does not appear to replace the discomfort she feels, but rather aligns her with a capable student identity that she reveals during retrospection as being humiliating: *'nn homete morattemo sensei ni kouinshou o motanakatta imi naishi, ochikonjyau, kouiukoto o surunowa sensei toshite ikenai to omou, Nihon no yarikata jyanai'* (Well, even though the teacher offered praise it didn't impress me. It's meaningless and I felt down. I think it's wrong for the teacher to do this. It's not the Japanese way of doing things.).

Ami's retrospective feedback is defensive and agitated as she emphasises that teacher positive feedback is not going to change the fact that she does not have a good impression of him. By way of explanation, Ami implies that the positive feedback, rather than motivating her, was viewed by her as being critical and left her feeling despondent. In concluding, Ami's view of the teacher's approach as being *'ikenai'* (wrong) and opposed to the *'Nihon no yarikata'* (Japanese way) draws attention to his non-Japanese status which she implies is culturally incompatible with the Japanese students. This student's retrospective feedback suggests that she feels there is a gap in

what the teacher and students believe is acceptable and standard classroom interaction. While variation is inevitable, failure to recognise potential disparities in the role and timing of positive feedback left the above student feeling *'imi nai'* (it is meaningless). Moreover, the student's explicit reference to feeling *'ochikonjyau'* (down/ depressed) suggests that her interpretation of the exchange may threaten her willingness to engage in classroom communication activities and potentially inhibit her ability to take risks when nominated by the teacher to contribute. In this sense, contrary to teacher intentions, positive reinforcements appears to compound the loss of face and impact on the students' feelings toward the teacher as indicated in Ami's comment, *'kouinshou o motanakatta'* (It didn't impress me.).

The above excerpts suggest that the students and teacher recognise certain norms of interaction as consistent with the Japanese English language teaching classroom however these expectations are not always congruent. Perceptions of cross-cultural disparities are at times rationalised by the students through reference to how the teacher's approach to feedback fails to adhere to Japanese classroom practices and in particular, contradicts the way their Japanese teachers negotiate correction. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the students reacted enthusiastically to positive teacher feedback when this followed a successful classroom contribution as was indicated in the following comment by Iori: *'Machigae nakute sensei ga<u>yokuyatta</u> tte hometatoki <u>sugoku ureshikatta</u> o yokudekitanndana tte kanji'* (When I didn't make a mistake and the teacher praised me and said 'Good job' I felt really happy. It's like 'Wow, I did a good job'.). Expressing a similar point of view student Sayaka stated: *'Kotaetara senseini 'yokuyatta' tte homerareta. sugoku ii kimochini natta. Sensei ga nanimo*

machigae o mitsukenakatta kara hottoshita' (When I answered the teacher praised me and said 'good job'. I felt great. The teacher didn't find any mistakes so that was a relief.). This feedback suggests that the participants interpreted the appropriateness and sincerity of teacher positive feedback based on whether or not it was associated with what they considered to be classroom success or failure. In addition to positive feedback, when the teacher offered no response, the students appeared to view his silence as equating to an affirmation of accuracy and thereby a positive evaluation. The students' ability to avoid error, coupled with the public affirmation of accuracy expressed through what they take to be teacher positive feedback, resulted in a sense of accomplishment and publicly aligns the student with a competent student identity.

8.5 Overview of Implications: Views of Japanese/Non-Japanese Discrepancy

What has emerged from this analysis of retrospective data and classroom excerpts is the difficulty of separating identity and facework in interaction where language and identity constitute part of the subject matter (Joseph, 2013). Student perceptions regarding differences in both verbal/non-verbal communicative strategies and cultural identity between themselves and the teacher resulted in complex exchanges involving the management of face. Data suggests that the students share a linguistic and cultural identity which they appear to maintain and possibly strengthen through narratives which draw attention to face threats posed by the unfamiliar L2 practices and/or classroom expectations encountered when interacting with the teacher. By framing the teacher as the cultural 'other' retrospective insights suggested that the Japanese students were distinctly aware of their Japanese identities and felt that specific features of the

'Japanese way' of doing things within the classroom were essentially different from the non-Japanese teacher's approach. Student opinion highlighted that what was identified by Sayaka as the teacher's *'nihonrashikunai'* (not the Japanese way) approach to instruction increased student attention to the differences associated with 'Japanese' and 'non-Japanese' identities and made it difficult to fulfill course objectives including:

- To foster cultural awareness through developing English communication skills.
- To develop cultural respect and to show respect at all times through interactions and communication with others (see section 1.8 for list of course objectives).

The students' assumption that Japanese distinctiveness was under threat and needed to be protected, may suggest friction between constructs of nationalism and internationalisation. Retrospective feedback implied that Japanese identities were viewed by the students as being associated with Japanese culture and values that the teacher could not, for reason of his non-Japanese status, be expected to understand. This line of reasoning appears to have aided the students in managing loss of face as it allowed them to make sense of unfamiliar practices employed by the teacher. Three particular practices, namely student involvement in peer error correction, teacher correction strategies, and teacher positive feedback following error correction, were highlighted by students as being associated with potential loss of student face. Expectations of alignment with these practices during L2 activities may have contributed to student assumptions of conflicting Japanese/non-Japanese identities and prompted participants to seek shelter by assuming cultural otherness. In particular, student comments suggested that the above practices had an alienating effect on

students for the reason that they interfered with their ability to align with Japanese classroom practices and present themselves as competent and participating members of the class. In response, the students challenged the appropriateness of these unfamiliar classroom practices during retrospection primarily through describing the Japanese way of doing things. In this way, a unified 'we-Japanese' identity was closely associated with resistance to classroom influences that were viewed as being non-Japanese.

Student feedback illustrated that the unfamiliar practices cited above were not only viewed as potentially threatening but also were thought to challenge the unity of the student group. For example, reflecting on the practice of having students actively take part in correcting classmates' errors student Iori stated that *'Nihonjin no sensei wa watashitachi o chi-mu no youni tsukuru kedo kono sensei wa hitorini saseru'* (Japanese teachers make us work as a team but this teacher makes me feel like I'm alone.). Sayaka spoke of her desire for the teacher to assume an approach that was *'motto nihonjin ni awasete hoshii'* (more suitable for Japanese) while Marin stated *'minna jyugouchuu kyousoushiteru kimochini naritakunai kara guruupu de benkyou surunoga suki'* (we like to work as a group because we don't like to feel that we are competing during lessons.). For the students, the assumption of cultural discrepancy combined with frustration resulting from unfamiliar practices within the language classroom may have intensified the desire to align with Japanese identities and encourage resistance to a perceived foreign threat. These attitudes raise questions as to how the Japanese students' understanding of *kokusaika* (internationalisation) both influences and is influenced by English activities taught by non-Japanese teachers.

In order to protect national identity from foreign influence a number of researchers have argued, as we suggest above, that English language curriculum within Japan, rather than facilitating the promotion of internationalisation, is geared towards instilling a sense of national identity (see Gottlieb, 2005; Hashimoto, 2009, 2011; Liddicoat, 200; McVeigh, 2004b). In other words, *nihonjinron* is conceived as a nationalistic agenda paradoxically being pursued within the classroom under the pretext of internationalisation. Liddicoat (2007) explains Japan's view of *kokusaika* as being motivated by nationalistic motives which focus on English as an instrument for promoting Japanese identity on an international platform. In order to advance a distinctive ideological conceptualisation of Japanese identity consistent with the *nihonjinron* theories of Japaneseness, Liddicoat argues that English education policy is orientated towards promoting intercultural understanding of Japanese culture (p. 41). Liddicoat maintains that English communication ability is regarded as vital for expressing Japanese thoughts and values, and is therefore motivated by a desire to protect rather than expand cultural boundaries.

Concurring with this position, Kawai (2007) argues that English language ability is promoted by the Japanese government as an instrument of internationalisation and serves Japan's national interests as a means by which Japanese people can communicate Japanese culture, values and history to the global community (p. 49). The use of the term *kokusaika*, described by Hashimoto (2009:22) as 'the promotion of "Japaneseness" in the international community' is explained as a position that expresses openness to the world outside Japan in order to protect and promote Japan's uniqueness and national culture. On this argument, the English language represents a means by which the Japanese community can maintain identity when interacting on a global scale by

articulating a Japanese worldview.

Kawai (2007) in contrast maintains that English is promoted as a neutral tool of communication detached from cultural and historical contexts. This de-culturalised status effectively removes the sense of threat to Japanese identity associated with the prominent and ever-increasing position that English assumes in Japanese education and everyday life. Nevertheless, Kawai argues that the 'public discourse differs from the governmental discourse insofar as English is portrayed not only as a tool but also as a cultural force in accordance with the essentialist view of language' (p. 49). The researcher argues that English is viewed as representing the cultures of other nations frequently perceived as being more powerful and influential than Japanese culture. The contentious link between Japanese identity and an international identity is underlined by McVeigh's (2002) argument that *kokusaika* is essentially a cover for nationalism. Given that explicit nationalism is neither acceptable nor fashionable on the world stage, McVeigh maintains that internationalism serves as a cover for such sentiments by disguising the dividing and essentialising of people into national groups behind terms such as 'cross-cultural understanding' and 'world peace'. In other words, the construction of a strong Japanese identity is developed through promoting a view of 'non-Japaneseness' which highlights a distinction between Japan and the outside world. In the current study, the students' criticism of the teacher during retrospection suggests that some students regarded their Japanese identity as something which had to be protected from the intrusion of the outside world. Hashimoto's (2011) examination of English activities at the elementary school level in Japan offers insights into the students' mindset through an examination of English language policy and curriculum

implementation. According to Hashimoto:

> Japan's identity has been carefully constructed within geographical and historical boundaries, and the Japanese government is actively seeking to maintain this identity, or seeking to promote Japanese culture and traditions on Japanese terms, by undermining the position of English and refusing to accept the language as a core part of its identity.
>
> (Hashimoto, 2011:181)

This tension between globalisation and a national identity is addressed by Kobayashi (2011) who comments that 'the modern Japanese educational context, which appears to be heading in the direction of globalisation and multiculturalism, never fails to offer conditions that foster Japanese youth's sense of Japaneseness' (p. 10). In the same vein, Takayama (2008) suggests that 'Japan's cultural marginality relative to the West's has created among many Japanese a pressing need to reaffirm their own cultural uniqueness against the dominant western cultural force and, more specifically, against American cultural encroachment' (p. 24). With these issues impacting the young student of English, the task of preparing Japanese students to linguistically meet new challenges in English, while at the same time preserving a sense of national identity, represents a significant challenge for educators.

Kokusaika presents a confusing picture to young Japanese people. On the one hand, internationalisation is presented as modern, dynamic, and inspiring, while on the other, it is associated with external pressure to move in an 'un-Japanese' direction. The picture

is further confused by the nature of the provision of English education in Japan. The Japanese version of internationalisation makes a clear distinction between Japan and a vaguely defined outside world and the role of the English language within this framework is to serve as both a means of understanding this outside world and as its most visible representation. The role of English as a means of communicating Japanese identity is noted by Liddicoat (2007) who argues, as we have indicated, that 'English language communication is constructed as a necessity for representing Japanese thoughts and values in an international area in which Japanese is not a language of international communication' (p. 37). Reflecting on the view of English policy as divisive, Yoshino (2002) goes so far as to suggest that due to the attention to a discourse of nationalism, English teachers have focused on comparing Japan with Anglo-Saxon English speaking countries and 'have become the reproducers and transmitters of discourses of cultural difference' (p. 142).

Accordingly, and on these arguments, one of the questions to be asked is how English teaching practices can empower students to embrace global identities while recognising the Japanese identities that they bring to the classroom. This is particularly relevant when studying English, as its global status may on some level be perceived by students as working to suppress their native Japanese language and culture. Moreover, although English symbolises a vague and generally non-Japanese world but within Japanese classrooms English is clearly tied to specific Anglo-American cultural norms. Consequently, for students the English language classroom can potentially be both an inclusive and an exclusive environment. If students feel threatened, data suggests that this may impact on willingness to engage in classroom oral activities, reduce ability to

take risks, and suggest negative impressions of the teacher. Awareness of these issues requires teacher skill and sensitivity in order to avoid perpetuating a rhetoric that assumes Japanese society and language are fundamentally incompatible with non-Japanese cultures. Moreover, students need to be encouraged to recognise that national identity does not have to equate to the rejection of perceived foreign influences. In other words, students and teachers alike need to be taught that successful international communication and cooperation can be achieved through the understanding and expression of both separateness and difference. These issues are discussed further in Chapter 11 *'Pedagogical Implications'*.

Chapter 9: Teacher Use of Japanese in the English Classroom

9.1 Overview: Use of L1 Japanese in the L2 English Classroom

Chapter 9 examines the students' management of face and identity alignment at points during English activities when the teacher employed the L1 Japanese to instruct the class. Retrospective feedback draws attention to the students' attentiveness to how the L1 Japanese was being used by the teacher, and importantly for the following discussion, how this made them feel and act within the classroom. Of interest here is that while retrospective feedback indicated that the use of Japanese at times assisted students in their comprehension of the teacher's instructions and lesson content, feedback also revealed that the students at times felt threatened by the teacher's use of the L1. Among other matters, student objections to the use of Japanese appeared to be associated with the assumption that Japanese, when spoken by the teacher, was a critical response to

their classroom performance.

Students' feedback illustrated objections to what was felt to be the implication that they lacked L2 competence, lacked motivation, or had failed to display appropriate levels of effort during English activities. Accordingly, students expressed concerns that the teacher was underestimating their L2 English proficiency as indicated in retrospective feedback contributed by student Ami: *'Eigo wa sonnani muzukashikunai noni sensei ga nihongoni yakusuto watashitachi o baka dato omotte irundana tte omoete sukoshi kuyashikatta'* (It was kind of frustrating because the English wasn't that difficult, but when the teacher translates into Japanese I feel like he must think we are stupid.). Notably, student retrospective feedback highlighted that the teacher's use of Japanese during learning activities did not always serve to clarify content in the way in which the teacher intended or believed it did. In particular, retrospective feedback called attention to communicative ambiguity stemming from the illocutionary force of; (a) the teacher's Japanese lexical choices, and (b) unfamiliar use of sentence-final particles when interacting with the class. Although unintended by the teacher, this ambiguity was prevalent and appeared at times to compromise the students' management of face and ability to align with and enact desired identities.

Retrospective feedback suggested that what was felt by students to be the non-standard force of the teacher's Japanese was inconsistent with the communicative strategies they associated with the role of the teacher within the context of the classroom. For example, providing insight into her interpretation of the teacher's use of Japanese student Iori remarked that *'sensei toshiteno hanashikata ga wakattenai kara nihongo o tsukawanai*

houga iito omou' (I think it would be best for him not to use Japanese because he doesn't know how teachers are supposed to talk.). The ramifications are significant as students at times indicated feeling alienated, humiliated and even confused by the teacher's unfamiliar use of Japanese, particularly when appropriate levels of formality were not achieved. Importantly, while the teacher's use of the L1 was at times threatening for students, it appeared that the teacher was unaware of this threat to the students' management of face and consequently did not view student displays of subtle resistance as being related to his use of Japanese. On the contrary, teacher feedback implied that he assumed that his use of the Japanese language was a means by which he was able to build rapport with the class as it encouraged the students to acknowledge him as being a *'teacher'* as opposed to a *'foreign teacher'*.

In what follows, observations by the teacher on his L1 use acquired through questionnaire feedback are viewed in order to better understand the teacher's beliefs and practices associated with the role of the L1 during English learning activities. This discussion is followed by an overview of the ways in which the teacher could be seen employing Japanese during learning activities: namely, by means of code-switching. The discussion here focuses on revealing the attitudes of the teacher and students towards the patterns, functions, factors and influence of the L1. An outline of student attitudes towards the L1 as used by the teacher is followed by the presentation of classroom excerpts and student feedback through attention to the management of face in relation to key themes including the illocutionary force of the teacher's Japanese lexical choices and use of sentence-final particles.

9.2 Teacher View of L1 Use within the L2 Classroom

For L2 teachers working with students who share a homogenous L1, the decision as to whether or not to use the L1 may be a personal choice motivated by factors such as social and cultural norms, institution policy, L2 proficiency of students, course objectives, the teacher's proficiency in the students' L1, and of course, the orientation of the teacher in terms of beliefs regarding L1 use. Mattioli (2004) suggests that 'most teachers tend to have opinions about native language use, depending largely on the way in which they have been trained and, in some cases, on their own language education' (p. 21). In regard to our study, the teacher provided insight into his own experiences when he stated that: *'As a kid I was never interested in foreign languages. My real learning only started after coming to Japan when I found I actually needed to speak Japanese to get by. The places I did my learning were supermarkets, bus stops, taxis. Mixing with Japanese people doing daily things.'*

The teacher commented that he views Japanese as a means of overcoming student comprehension difficulties when alternative approaches to facilitating understanding have been exhausted: *'I try to explain in three or four different ways and demonstrate, but if they still don't understand then I explain in Japanese.'* This position finds support in Krieger's (2005) work with Japanese students where the author argues that when students share a common language 'the teacher can exploit the linguistic homogeneity of the students as a valuable resource' (p. 14). Reflecting on the second language classroom environment in which students come from different linguistic backgrounds, Krieger suggests that an English-only approach to instruction gains credibility not so

341

much in that it enhances second language acquisition, but in that it offers fairness and neutrality within the multilingual classroom. In addition to serving as a back-up plan as suggested in the above comment, the teacher implied that he felt his ability to use the L1 may have provided the students with a positive example of a language student, and therefore given them confidence in their own ability to achieve L2 communicative competence: *'The kids can see that I speak Japanese. I enjoy speaking Japanese. I think it gives them confidence. It shows them that they can learn a different language.'* This would appear to imply that in addition to serving pedagogical purposes, the teacher views his capacity to use Japanese as positively influencing student attitudes to L2 acquisition in the sense that it can be perceived as providing students with a positive model of a successful second language student. In other words, by employing Japanese the teacher may feel he is able to adopt a stance of empathy or solidarity towards the students through connecting as a fellow student. Suggesting that he felt students appeared to be more comfortable when addressed in Japanese the teacher remarked: *'Obviously when you're speaking to them in their own language they're more relaxed.'* Arguably, the teacher's use of Japanese may also suggest to the students that he respects and values the students' mother tongue.

Reflecting on his use of Japanese within the L2 classroom, the teacher suggested that he viewed the L1 as a transitory measure to facilitating student comprehension: *'It's like a bridge for the kids. Gradually I can reduce the time I speak Japanese but it's always good to know it's there when I need to help them understand.'* This would appear to imply that a controlled functional use of the L1 is viewed by the teacher as a temporary measure for rendering and enabling the L2 comprehensible. Offering support for this

position, Butzcamm (2003) argues that 'with growing proficiency in the foreign language, the use of the mother tongue becomes largely redundant and the FL will stand on its own two feet' (p. 36). There is a significant body of research that argues that the L1 may indeed serve as a practical and efficient teaching tool particularly when instructing students at lower levels of proficiency. One example of such a study is that of Alegria de la Colina and Del Pilar Garcia Mayo's (2009) description of observations of EFL university students participating in collaborative activities which highlighting that the L1 functioned as a cognitive tool by which students' could access L2 forms, focus attention, retain semantic meaning and created new meaning in the L2. In addition, evidence has suggested that the L1 may assist L2 teachers in concrete ways such as in comparing and contrasting L1 and L2 forms, explaining complex structures, clarifying and testing comprehension, classroom management, and establishing a supportive classroom environment (see Atkinson, 1987; Brown, 2009; Cook, 2001; Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney, 2008; Schweers, 1999). Observing that Chinese students and teachers responded positively to the use of the L1, Tang (2002) remarks that the 'limited and judicious use of the mother tongue in the English classroom does not reduce students' exposure to English, but rather can assist in the teaching and learning process' (p. 41). Along these lines, it has been argued that the L1 can be employed in the L2 classroom as a tool to reduce affective filters and therein make the L2 and the classroom environment more comprehensible for students (Meyer, 2008; Norman, 2008). In addition, if the teacher is able to use both the L1 and L2 languages, they may be able to recognise, anticipate and correct the L1 assumptions by comparing the two languages (Brown, 2009).

The teacher in this study took part in a questionnaire with the intention of gaining a more detailed understanding of his attitudes to L1 use and perceptions of how he practically employed the L1 within the L2 classroom (see Appendix C). In addition to shedding some light on the teacher's opinions regarding student/teacher L1 use during English activities, this questionnaire data provides a degree of insight into the amount of time the teacher felt he spoke Japanese and the specific functions this use of the L1 was intended to serve. Observations by the teacher indicate that he felt he was judiciously using the students' L1 and determined when and where to use the L1 by taking into consideration the L2 proficiency levels of the students. These observations support the notion that L1 use is employed by the teacher for specific and well-intentioned reasons, associated, in his view, with providing scaffolding and building rapport. Classroom excerpts in which the teacher's use of Japanese can be observed, together with student retrospective feedback regarding these specific moments, provide insight into the students' interpretations of the teacher's L1 use. Of interest here is that differences regarding interpretations of the same events reveal a gap in perceptions of how L1 use was intended by the teacher and how it appears to have been interpreted by the students.

The teacher noted that while he used Japanese sparingly to communicate with his students, he strongly believed that there were functions for which Japanese should be used. Asked to provide estimates to designate how often he spoke Japanese in specific situations, the teacher indicated that he routinely employed Japanese in order to:

- Translate key words/ grammar.
- Ask questions to check comprehension.

- Teach vocabulary or grammar.

- Speed-up instruction.

- Explain task requirements.

- Communicate with students outside of class time such as before or after class.

- To joke with students.

While the teacher believed he employed Japanese for a range of purposes, he indicated that he did not feel that the students should use Japanese. Shedding light on his views, the teacher explained that he felt the more students used English in the classroom the better they would be at communicating in the L2. According to the teacher, his expectations regarding the use of English/Japanese in the classroom were made clear to the students throughout the course. In addition, in order to promote greater use of the L2 the teacher noted that he regularly spent class time working through or discussing communicative strategies that would help students to communicate English. Suggesting that the teacher's objectives regarding student L1 use were not being met, the teacher noted that while the students rarely used Japanese to communicate with him during class activities, when working with partners or groups he felt that they tended to switch to Japanese on a frequent basis.

The teacher indicated that he felt his use of Japanese fluctuated from class to class and was determined by factors such as student English proficiency levels, age, lesson content and in particular, time restrictions. In regard to issues of time, Wilkerson (2008) found that given the time required to develop L2 proficiency, five Spanish college instructors felt that the use of the L1 as a means of teaching the L2 could 'save time,

demonstrate authority, and reduce ambiguity' (p. 315). This line of reasoning is supported by Cook (2001) who maintains that the teacher's L1 use is appropriate for task clarification and can assist in promoting effective learning. Similar to the specific uses of Japanese noted by the teacher, research has found that common applications of the L1 used by teachers include purposes such as conserving time, classroom management, avoiding confusion, and communicating key vocabulary and structures (Cook, 2001; Kim & Elder, 2008; Macaro, 2001; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002). In regard to the teacher's willingness to use the L1 and estimations of the students L2 proficiency, Chavez (2006) argues that the L1 is commonly employed by teachers to accommodate the needs of students with low levels of L2 proficiency. In our study, the teacher indicated that lower levels of student L2 proficiency equated to a greater use of the L1 within the classroom with the objective being to compensate for L2 gaps, build student/teacher rapport, and manage the students.

9.3 Code-Switching

Classroom recordings illustrated that when instructing the students the teacher would code-switch both isolated words or short phrases and whole clauses. Code-switching, the alternating use of two or more languages, has been defined in a number of ways. Gumperz (1982) refers to code-switching as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (p. 59). Another approach is suggested by Cook (2001) who defines code-switching as the process of 'going from one language to the other in mid-speech when both speakers know the same languages' (p. 83). Woolard (2004) explains

346

code-switching as 'an individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange' (p. 73) while Hughes et al. (2006) propose that code-switching is the 'use of complete sentences, phrases, and borrowed words from another language' (p. 8). As defined by Lightbown (2001), code-switching is 'the systematic alternating use of two languages or language varieties within a single conversation or utterance' (p. 598). While definitions clearly vary, code-switching requires the speaker to draw from two or more languages and therefore we can assume that the speaker has the capacity to choose the words or phrases they will use in either language. For this reason code-switching differs from other language interaction phenomena such as lexical borrowing which is the result of lack of lexical terms in the speaker's repertoire. In other words, a speaker who code-switches is assumed to have an adequate variety of lexical terms and phrases that enables one to shift codes freely in different circumstances and for different reasons.

The difficulty in classifying code-switching in a clear-cut way derives from the very nature of code-switching itself, which, rather than being made up of unitary and clearly identifiable phenomena appears rather to be some sort of 'continuum'. This is a debated issue in the literature, and some scholars have highlighted how code-switching is a 'fuzzy-edged concept' (Gardner-Chloros, 1995). Gardner-Chloros points out that 'the conventional view of code switching implies that speakers make binary choices, operating in one code or the other at any given time, when in fact code switching overlaps with other kinds of bilingual mixture, and the boundaries between them are difficult to establish' (p. 70). According to Muysken (2000), the three main processes through which code-switching is performed are: the insertion of material (lexical or

entire constituents) from one language into the structure of another language, the alternation between structures from different languages and the congruent lexicalisation of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure. Similarly, Poplack's (1980) typological framework identifies three different types of switching: namely tag, intersentential and intrasentential switching. Tag-switching refers to the insertion of a tag phrase from one language into an utterance from another language. As tags are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, the assumption is that they can readily be inserted at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules. Intersentential switching occurs at a clause or sentence boundary where each clause or sentence is in one language or another, while intrasentential switching takes place within the clause or sentence and is considered to be the most complex form of switching. Intrasentential, found within utterances, appears to involve the greatest syntactic risk since the switching between languages occurs within the clause or sentence boundaries. According to Poplack, intrasentential switching may be avoided by all but the most fluent bilinguals. For the purpose of the following discussion, code-switching is used as a broad cover term which refers to the alternate use of the target language and the native language. We adopt this rather liberal definition of code-switching for the reason that the nature of the code-switching phenomenon is not our sole interest, as we are more concerned with how the teacher's functional use of code-switching during English activities impacted on the students' management of face and alignment with desired identities. We present examples of switches of isolated words, short phrases and whole clauses, however we focus our attention primarily on the students' pragmatic interpretation of exchanges involving code-switching.

During interviews, the teacher reflected on his use of both Japanese and English during learning activities remarking: *'I can move from English to Japanese without really thinking about it which helps keep things moving. It makes it more interesting for the kids because they understand what's going on. You get a feel for what the kids won't understand and I can translate before this becomes a problem.'* In addition, it appears that the teacher's use of code-switching was not isolated to the classroom as he noted that he regularly uses both Japanese and English in daily communication at home: *'At home it is a mash-up of English and Japanese. Mixing the languages is completely natural for me. Daily life'*. Classroom recordings illustrated that whereas single word code-switching often appeared to be spontaneous and comfortable for the teacher, the points during which he translated whole clauses from English to Japanese tended to be time consuming and awkward as the teacher paused frequently and would often appear to struggle as he phrased and then re-phrased several variations of the target structures. For the teacher, translation is one of many functions accomplished by code-switching and often reformulation is used instead of literal translation. Classroom recordings demonstrated that the teacher primarily translated whole clauses when explaining grammatical structures, items of vocabulary, or Japanese translations of short dialogues from the textbook. Below are two classroom excerpts which illustrate the code-switching practices as employed by the teacher during the English learning activities.

EXCERPT 13 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher instructs students to open their textbooks in order to carry out a review of content from a previous lesson]

1	let's look at the textbook (2) ((holds up book)) we are doing (2) <u>page 10</u>
2	(2) we're going to review page 10 (1) and then continue (1) <u>OK</u> (5)
3	page 10 *wa senshuu yatta kedo* (1) we're going to do *sukoshi*
4	*fukushuu ne* (1) and then we will continue to page 11 (1) OK (6) (students open textbooks)
	'We did page 10 last week so we will do a short review and then we will continue to page 11'
5	OK (1) OK ((looks at class)) (2) please listen and repeat (1) OK

In this excerpt, the teacher instructs the students in English to open their books, and as way of explanation states that, *'we're going to review page 10, and then continue'* (lines 1 and 2). What follows is a period of student inactivity during which a number of students can be seen looking around at peers and down at their desks, suggesting a degree of uncertainty as to what they are expected to do. After a short pause, the teacher responds to the students' indecision by providing additional instruction in Japanese, *'page 10 wa senshuu yatta kedo sukoshi fukushuu ne'* (we did page 10 last week but we will do a short review). This additional information communicated in Japanese appears to resolve the indecision as the participants can be seen turning to the correct page without delay. In addition, the teacher's use of Japanese in lines 3 and 4 not only serves to reiterate what students are expected to do, *open to page 10*, but also expands upon the initial English instruction by potentially clearing-up any ambiguity through directly acknowledging that this is work that has previously been covered in class, *'senshuu'* (last week). In this way the teacher provides greater detail by explaining that the task is

intended to serve as a *'sukoshi fukushuu'* (short review). The students, now with what appears to be a clearer understanding of why they are being directed to turn to a completed activity in their textbooks, come across as being confident that they have not misinterpreted the teacher's instructions.

In comparison to the relative ease with which the teacher appeared to shift between Japanese and English in the above example, points during which he directly code-switched longer sections lesson material were punctuated by frequent pausing and rephrasing. Prior to the following excerpt the teacher had the students read the following dialogue from the textbook aloud:

A: Let's go to the movies on Thursday.

B: I can't. How about Friday?

A: Friday? I'm busy. How about Saturday?

B: I'm free on Saturday. What time?

A: Let's meet at 10 o'clock in the morning.

B: OK. See you then.

When the students finished reading the above dialogue, the teacher proceeded to ask: *'Imi wakaru?* Do you understand?' The students did not reply and an uncomfortably long silence of approximately 10 seconds followed during which the students could be seen looking down at their desks as they appeared to be avoiding eye contact with the teacher and each other. Assuming that silence was an indication that the students had been unable to comprehend the material, the teacher then responded to the extended

classroom silence by translating the dialogue into Japanese.

EXCERPT 14 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher translates part of the above dialogue following a period of student silence.].

1.((Teacher looks around at students)) *'imi wakaru? do you understand?* (10) ((student

2.silence)) Sunday is (2) *nichiyoubi* (1) *nichiyoubi* ((looks at students)) (3) *kaimono*

3.*ikou (2) kaimono ikou* (1) *ka* (1) *ikimashou ne* (1) let's go (1) *ikimashou* (.) *ne* (2)

4.((looks at students)) let's go shopping on Sunday (2) so shopping *kaimono ikimashou*

5.(1) *ka* ((looks at students)) OK? (…) I can't (1) how about Sunday? (.) I can't (.)

6.*watashi wa muri* (2) *ikanai* (2) yeah? (1) *watashi wa ikanai* (.) yeah? (.) how about

7.Monday? *wa (2) getsuyoubi (2) getsuyoubi iku* (3) *getsuyoubi ikimasu (4) getsuyoubi*

8.*ikanai* (2) *ne* ((looks at students)) OK?

In this excerpt, typical of many points during the learning activities, the teacher initially attempts to confirm student comprehension by asking '*Imi wakaru?* Do you understand?' Based on the ensuing silence, the teacher appears to assume that the students are not confident with the material, and accordingly elects to translate parts of the dialogue. While translating into Japanese the teacher can be seen frequently pausing to look in the direction of the students as if seeking to establish whether they have effectively understood his halting and seemingly tentative translation. For example, when translating '*Let's go'* (lines 3 and 4) the teacher gives the impression he is uncertain of the appropriate L1 form as he elects to present the students with several alternatives in which the conjugation of the verb '*iku'* (to go) is varied. The teacher

352

initially employs the volitional affirmative plain form *'ikou'* which expresses intention before briefly pausing and adding the question denominator *'ka'*. Once again the teacher subsequently rephrases to employ the polite volitional form *'ikimashou'* and then, appearing to have settled on this conjugation of the verb, goes on to repeat this form with the additional *'ne'* which asks or shows agreement and reflection at the end of the phrase and thereby implies that he is satisfied. In line 5 the teacher again adds the question denominator *'ka'* and subsequently looks up at the students as if to ascertain if his Japanese translations have shed light on the exchange by asking *'OK?'*. Once again, the teacher appears uncertain of the accuracy of the initial translation and introduces a second option, *'ikanai'* (I won't go), the negative plain form of the verb 'to go' (iku) (line 5). This approach is repeated in lines 6 and 7 during which the teacher initially translates *'I can't'* as *'ikanai'* (I won't go), as opposed to what it should be, *'ikenai'* (I can't go). With the addition of *'muri'* (impossible) the result is that the incorrect conjugation of the required verb form as *'muri ikanani'* conveys the nuance, *'Impossible, I won't go!'* and comes across as defiant and combative.

The strength of the nuance, *'Impossible, I won't go!'* is likely to be confusing and misleading for the students as it comes across as being inappropriately confrontational, particularly as the nuance conveyed by the original text is a desire to inform and negotiate a mutually convenient option for both parties. Appearing uncertain with the accuracy of his translation the teacher repeats *'watashi wa ikanai'* (I won't go) before seeking confirmation from the students by asking *'yeah?'* The invitation for students to confirm understanding is rendered rhetorical when the teacher quickly moves ahead with the translation. In lines 7 and 8 the teacher again appears uncertain as to how to

translate *'How about Monday?'* and once again proceeds to base his translation on the verb *'iku'* (to go). The teacher begins by using the affirmative plain form, *'iku'*, however after a brief pause then changes to the polite *'ikimasu'* before then transitioning to the negative plain form *'ikanai'*. Transitioning from the plain form *'iku'* used in casual language, to the *'-masu form'* or 'polite form' and then back to the plain negative indicates that the teacher is uncertain as to how best to convey the intended meaning. After offering this selection of translations the teacher then turns to the students in order to confirm if they have understood, 'OK?' and interjects with the particle *'ne'* (line 8) which, when communicated with weak stress, serves as an uncertain particle of confirmation. The examination now turns to the students' reactions to the teacher's L1 use as revealed through retrospective feedback and classroom excerpts.

9.4 Student Attitudes towards the Teacher's Use of Japanese

Students' attitudes towards the teacher's use of Japanese within the classroom as illustrated through retrospective feedback highlights that the students, irrespective of their young age, are complex, multilayered beings who attach great significance to the role of the L1 and the cultural and social elements it embodies. As noted, the teacher's interview feedback and questionnaire data suggests that a primary motivation for his use of Japanese during L2 activities was the intention to supplement L2 instruction with what he hoped to be comprehensible L1 input. In this way he aimed to build a learning environment in which students were willing and able to participate. In his own words: *'I want the kids to be able to understand because it gets them involved. If they understand then they start to join in.'* In line with teacher intentions, retrospective feedback offered

354

by students Hikari and Akari suggested that they felt that the L1 support offered by the teacher throughout the L2 learning activities was at times viewed as an effective measure by which to build comprehension. For example, Hikari commented: *'Unn sonohouga jibundemo wakarushi eigo bakkari yori wa unto kantan un imimo wakarukara oboeyasui toiuka wakariyasui to omou'* (Well, that way I could even understand by myself. It's much easier than when it is only in English. Well I could understand the meaning as well so it's easier for me to remember, or rather, I think it's easier to understand.). Hikari went on to explain that: *'Un Eigobakkari dato jibunde rikaidekinakattari suru tokoroga arukara'* (Yeah, if it's only in English, then there are some parts that I can't understand on my own.). This view were shared by student Akari who commented that, *'Nihongo de ittekureruto tasukaru* (It helps me when he says it in Japanese) and *'Nihongo wa wakariyasui. Eigo ga anmari wakaranai kara'* (Japanese is easier to understand for me because I don't really understand English.).

The students' view that their comprehension was aided by the inclusion of Japanese was illustrated during English activities such as can be seen in the following excerpt during which Japanese was employed by the teacher after students failed to respond as expected to an instruction to begin a task. In the following, the students did not begin to write as instructed to and glanced around at peers in what appeared to be an attempt to confirm precisely what they were expected to do. When the teacher restated the instructions in Japanese the students could be seen immediately beginning the task as instructed.

EXCERPT 15 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher directs students to complete an

activity in their workbooks. Students remain silent and appear uncertain as they look around at peers trying to identify expectations. The teacher provides a brief Japanese translation after which students soon commence the task.].

1T: when you finish reading (2) I want you to write your answers in the <u>boxes</u> (6) in your <u>workbooks</u> ((T turns and writes 'Activity 5' on the whiteboard))

2S: ((Student silence)) 5 ((students look around and begin to whisper among themselves))

3T: ((T looks around in the direction of several students)) write your answers in the box (2) ((points at whiteboard to indicate activity)) *kotae o waku no naka ni kaite* ((holds up workbook)) (4) *waku no naka ni kaite*

        'write your answers in the box - write your answers in the box'

4S: ((students begin writing))

When students were unable to identify the task requirements and begin the activity as directed, the teacher responded by repeating the instruction (turn 3). In contrast with turn 1, this time, the teacher significantly reduces the L2 demands placed on the students by focusing specifically on the key directional content *'write your answer in the box'*. When this once again fails to generate the desired student action, the teacher provides a Japanese translation of the instruction, *'kotae o waku no naka ni kaite'* (write your answer in the box). From the teacher's perspective, the outcome is both rapid and successful as the students can be seen taking up their pencils and filling out the designated area. Student attitudes regarding teacher L1 support were revealed in comments such as Akari and Sayaka's feedback: '*Nihongode setsumei shite morau to*

ichiou wakaru' (when the teacher explains in Japanese I can kind of understand) and

'Nihongo de kekkou kuwashiku setsumei shitekurereba tabun wakaru to omoundakedo'

(If he gave a detailed explanation in Japanese I think I would have understood.).

These comments suggest that the L1 was recognised by students as providing clarity, and by implication, reduced the threat to participants' face by enabling students to progress with activities. This positive student reaction is supported by a growing body of evidence which argues that judicious L1 use keeps students motivated, uses class time more efficiently and creates a more congenial atmosphere than a strictly English-only classroom (Critchley, 1999; Nation, 2003). For example, Burden's (2001) investigation of attitudes towards L1 use found that both students and teachers viewed the L1 as an important tool in explaining new vocabulary, giving instruction, talking about tests, grammar instruction, checking for understanding and relaxing the students. While the term 'judicious' is frequently used in literature when referring to L1 use, the term is far from absolute and does not in itself offer any form of definitive guidelines. 'Judicious' alone does not identify specific purposes or acceptable percentages of class time which one can commit to the L1 before crossing the line. By the same token, the term 'judicious' is arguably ideal in the sense that it aptly describes the work of the teacher in that it implies that the unique features of the class and students will ultimately inform decisions made regarding the purpose for which the mother tongue is employed.

In the current observation, what is important to note is that while the use of Japanese tended to be positively received as a means of facilitating comprehension, retrospective feedback from students specifically identified some elements of the teacher's Japanese

use as inappropriate and uncomfortable. The resulting threat to student face was evident in the forcefulness of student feedback such as Iori's comment, *'Nihongo de itte hoshikunai, yada kitsui, tsuyosugiru'* (I don't want him to say it in Japanese, I don't like it. It feels harsh, too strong.). Reflecting on the teacher's use of Japanese, student Marin commented that it made her feel that she was being negatively appraised by the teacher: *'Eigo de dekinai to omotteru'* (He thought I couldn't do this in English.). Marin went on to explain commenting, *'Nande daro, nanka nanka un ne nan nanka yada yone, nihongo ga kitsui'* (I wonder why? Well, well, umm, well there's just something about it I don't like. His Japanese is harsh.). This sentiment was expressed more strongly by Ami who noted, *'Tsuyosugiru Eigo wakaranai to omotteru sokomade baka janaishi tsuyosugiru'* (It's too harsh. He thinks I don't understand English. Well I'm not quite that stupid. It's too strong.). The retrospective views of students bring into focus the threat to face and highlight the potential difficulties students encounter when attempting to align with a competent student identity given that the teacher's use of Japanese is associated with the assumption of comprehension difficulties. In this sense, while Japanese was viewed by the students' on the one hand as aiding comprehension, students also indicated feeling that L1 support was affronting as it was associated with a negative teacher appraisal of the student and, though unintended by the teacher, was employed with illocutionary force viewed as being threatening. Classroom recordings illustrate that the students at times reacted to the teacher's use of Japanese, when interpreted as being threatening, through electing not to participate and openly criticising the teacher during retrospective interviews for being *'mezurashii'* (unusual), *'kitsui'* (harsh) and *'tsuyosugiru'* (excessively strong). The following discussion examines student reactions to moments during which the teacher employed Japanese based on the assumption that students had

been unable to understand instruction provided in English.

9.5 Analysis and Discussion: Teacher Use of Japanese and the Assumption of Student Comprehension Difficulties

While interview comments illustrate that the teacher's use of Japanese during English activities was associated with perceptions of content difficulty and limitations in student L2 competence, student retrospective feedback illustrated that this concern was often unfounded and that the teacher regularly underestimated the students' L2 ability. This gap regarding teacher perceptions of student comprehension and the need for L1 assistance suggests that interpretations of student needs and the resulting instructional decisions taken in order to intervene or facilitate learning, may be based on little more than intuition. In such, it appears that the teacher's assessments of comprehension and the decision to employ the L1 were not always supported by evidence or an accurate reading of the situation.

The first two data excerpts relate to student loss of face resulting from exchanges during which the teacher assumes that the students have failed to comprehend the instructional content of activities. Accordingly, the teacher elects to intervene by providing L1 assistance. Of relevance here is that seemingly irrespective of the students' attempts to claim face through demonstrating comprehension of the English content, they are effectively powerless to contest the teacher's assessment that the lesson content is beyond their L2 capabilities. In the first excerpt the teacher interjects in Japanese when the students remain unresponsive when asked to contribute their interpretations on the

target phrase *'Have a snack'*.

EXCERPT 16 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) uses Japanese to explain the target structure *'Have a snack'* after students (S) do not respond to his requests for confirmation of comprehension.].

9.   OK (1) number one (.) have a <u>snack</u> (4) what's the meaning? (5)

10.   ((T looks around class)) *dou iu imi?*

        (what does it mean?)

3   have a <u>snack</u> (2) *dou iu imi* (3) ((S silence)) anybody

        'what does it mean?'

4   ((T looks at S)) (5) don't know? (3) ((T walks around classroom)) <u>*taberu*</u> (3)

        ((T gestures eating))

        'to eat'

5   *snakku taberu (2) ne* ((T looks around at students))

        'to eat a snack, right!'

6   snack is *snakku* (3) *aru* (2) to have (2) to eat (1) *taberu* (2) now you understand

        ((T looks around the classroom)) (2) Let's move on ((T points to textbook))

After introducing the target structure, *'Have a snack'* (line 1) the teacher moves to involve the students by inviting them to contribute their interpretations, *'What's the meaning?',* and thereby implicitly conveys that he assumes the students have understood the phrase. When the students are unresponsive the teacher appears to make an effort to lessen the threat to face in line 2 by looking around the class while asking

the question again, however this time, in Japanese, *'Dou iu imi?'* (What does it mean?). The students once again remain silent, which perhaps prompts the teacher (line 3) to repeat the target structure *'Have a snack'* and follow this directly with an invitation for students to suggest the meaning *'dou iu imi?'* (What does it mean?). When students fail to respond, the teacher's discomfort is apparent as he becomes mildly agitated when asking, *'Anybody?'*. Student silence projects a potential threat to the teacher's face as it impugns his ability to engage the class as desired. Changing his approach, the teacher appears to interpret the lack of responsiveness as equating to a lack of comprehension and modifies his tone of voice when asking *'Don't know?'* (line 4). Seemingly interpreting the ensuing silence as affirmation that students are uncertain, the teacher seeks to reduce the threat to the students' face by directly providing a Japanese translation of the verb *'taberu'* (to eat). In line 5 the teacher follows this by repeating the verb phrase *'snakku taberu ne'* (To eat a snack, right!).

In line 5 the use of the sentence final particle *ne* functions to seek assent, confirmation or reconfirmation from the students, thereby implying that the teacher assumes the request for agreement to be perfunctory. Hasegawa (2010) explains that *ne* is employed when 'the speaker assumes that s/he and the addressee have the same status regarding the knowledge of or belief about the piece of information being conveyed' (p. 73). The particle *ne* reflects the teacher's attitude towards the proposition, that is that as a result of the use of the L1, the students are now expected to understand the meaning of *'have a snack'*. In line 6 the teacher goes on to once again explain each of the components of the sentence by stating that: 'snack is *snakku, aru* to have, to eat *taberu*' after which he concludes by stating *'now you understand'*. Appearing confident that his Japanese

translation has cleared-up any questions the students might have, the teacher does not seek to confirm student understanding or provide any opportunities for questions, but instead announces that he intends to *'move on'*. In this way it is clear that the teacher feels that he has provided sufficient information and projects his claim for face not by seeking ratification, but by presuming that he has achieved his objective.

While the teacher assumed that the students did not understand the target phrase, retrospective feedback provided by student Marin offers an explanation: *'Kuyashikatta wakatteru tte iitakatta kantan dattakara kikanakatta noni sensei wa watashitachi o baka dato omotteiru Eigode iu 'snack' wa nihongo de 'sunakku' tte iukara hotondo onaji dashi, yokeini iyaninatta'* (I felt frustrated. I wanted to say we get it. We didn't ask for help because it was easy but the teacher thinks we are stupid. It was even worse because the English word 'snack' is basically the same in Japanese, *'sunakku'*.). Marin's comment illustrates that she regards the L1 support as being unsolicited and unnecessary, yet appears uncertain as to how to communicate to the teacher that she has understood the phrase. After registering feeling *'kuyashikatta'* (frustration), Marin's indicates that she wanted to say *'wakatteru tte iitakatta'* (I wanted to say we get it.). *Iru*, after a verb in the *te*[10] form is often colloquially shortened to just 'ru' so this is actually the present progressive *'wakatte iru'* which literally can be translated as 'I am understanding'. This expresses the idea that the information being communicated by the teacher has been

---

[10] The ~ te form of a Japanese verb is is the form which ends in *te* or *de*. It does not indicate tense by itself and is used to string together sequences of verbs. It is formed by changing the - *a* of the perfective aspect form to - *e*. For example, the *te* form of *tsukau* (use), is *tsukatte*, and the *te* form of *yomu*, (read), is *yonde*.

understood by Marin long in advance of him telling her. Manita and Blagdon (2010:24) describe it as coming across as rude as the nuance conveyed is that 'It isn't necessary for you to say that- I want you to stop talking about it'. While Marin is not addressing the teacher directly her language choices nevertheless demonstrate the depth of her frustration.

Marin's assumption that the teacher views her and her classmates as being *'baka'* (stupid) brings into focus the threat to face that the teacher's use of the L1 represents in this exchange. Perhaps feeling unable to align herself with a competent student identity, Marin resents that the teacher assumes that she does not understand the lesson content despite it being within her territory. In framing her response, Marin indicates her objection to the unfavourable teacher positioning through pointing out that the content was *'kantan'* (easy) and emphasises that *'Eigode iu 'snack' wa nihongo de 'sunakku' tte iukara hotondo onaji dashi'* (the English word 'snack' is basically the same in Japanese, *'sunakku'*.).[11] The following classroom excerpt (Excerpt 17) provides a further example of a point during English activities when the teacher presumes that students have not been able to understand lesson content and elects to intervene in Japanese.

EXCERPT 17 [Classroom excerpt: Students (S) repeat a dialogue from the textbook after the teacher. After completing the task the teacher (T) translates the dialogue.].

---

[11] The Japanese word *'sunakku'* is a commonly used loan word that has been integrated into Japanese everyday language. Loan words from English are written in katakana and thereby tend to be closely matched to their original derivatives.

1T: Ok (3) so one more time (2) please <u>listen</u> and <u>repeat</u> (4) let's go to the movies on Thursday ((looks in direction of Ss and cups hand to ear (listen) and then moves hand as if speaking (repeat)))

2S: (4) ((Ss look around at classmates)) let's go to the movies on Thursday

3T: (2) ((nods several times to indicate Ss have correctly followed instructions)) I can't (1) how about Friday?

4S: (2) ((Ss look at T or textbooks)) I can't (1) how about Friday?

5T: (2) ((nods approval)) sorry (.) I'm busy (.) is Saturday OK?

6S: (2) sorry (.) I'm busy (.) is Saturday OK?

7T: (3) ((nods)) no (.) what about <u>Sunday?</u>

8S: (2) no (.) what about <u>Sunday?</u>

9T: (1) sure

10S: (1) sure

11T: (.) sounds good

12S: (.) sounds good

13T: (3) ((T points at textbook)) all right (2) from the start (1) let's go to the movies on Thursday ((looks at Ss)) (2) *imi wakaru* ((Ss look down appearing to avoid eye contact)) (3) do you understand? ((T moves around classroom))

14S: (7) ((several Ss whisper together))

15T: Let me explain (2) so (.) Thursday is *mokuyoubi (2) mokuyoubi (…) de* (1) *tsugi wa* (2) *eiga* (1) *eiga* (1) movie *ne*
'Next is *eiga, eiga*. This is movie, right!'

16S: ((students quietly whisper with classmates))

17T: (3) *iku?* (1) *ikanai?* (1) *iku deshou* ((nods and raises thumb)) (1) next

'Going? Not going? Going right!'

18S: ((students quietly whisper with classmates))

From turns 1 through 12, the students take part in a group chorus reading in which they repeat scripted dialogue first read by the teacher line by line. In turn 1, the teacher begins by directing the class to *'listen and repeat'* whilst at the same time cupping his hand to his ear (listen) and then moving his hand as if speaking (repeat). The students briefly pause and can be seen looking around at classmates, after which they hesitatingly begin to repeat the first part of the exchange *'let's go to the movies on Thursday'*. Perhaps recognising the students' hesitation, the teacher nods several times to confirm that the students have correctly understood the task expectations before continuing to read from the dialogue. In turn 4 it is apparent that the students are more confident as they repeat *'I can't how about Friday?'* without first looking in the direction of classmates for confirmation. While repeating the remainder of the dialogue, the volume of the students' collective repetition increases and students can be seen looking in the direction of the teacher as they competently repeat the exchange. Following the group drill, the teacher shifts the focus of the activity to an examination of meaning (turn 13) and directs the students' attention to the first phrase in the exchange, *'Let's go to the movies on Thursday imi wakaru?'* (Do you understand?). The teacher uses the unconjugated verb form *wakaru* (understand) which implies familiarity with the students while at the same time reinforcing his status as the authority within the classroom, and consequently, the person who has the level of authority to ask questions. After once again asking in English, *'Do you understand?'* (turn 13) there is a lengthy pause of approximately 7 seconds during which the students can be seen uncomfortably

365

looking around at classmates. The extended wait implicitly reminds the students that the only person with the power to end this impasse is the teacher. In this way, then, the potential threat to the students face is ever present in that the students, many of whom can be seen avoiding eye contact with the teacher, are liable to be individually nominated to respond to the question.

In turn 15, the teacher appears to have assumed that the students are struggling with the meaning of the exchange and makes an effort to lessen the threat to face by initiating a basic translation, *'Let me explain, so, Thursday is mokuyoubi.'* The teacher continues by stating *'tsugi wa eiga, eiga*, movie *ne'* (Next is *eiga, eiga*. This is movie, right!).   As seen in Excerpt 14, the teacher then goes on to conjugate the verb *'to go'* using the affirmative plain form *'iku'* before transitioning to the negative plain form *'ikanai'*, and then the presumptive polite *'iku deshou'* (Going? Not going? Going right!). This time, the teacher follows by nodding his head and raising his thumb while indicating it is time to move on: *'next'*. In this way, the teacher conveys to the class that he assumes his Japanese translation has bridged the gaps in comprehension, and confident that this does not require confirmation, has decided to proceed with the translation. At this point (turn 18) several students can be seen turning towards peers and whispering amongst themselves. There is a sense of student vulnerability and powerlessness in turns 16 and 18 when the students seen to be quietly whispering with classmates, appear reluctant or unable to identify acceptable response strategies to directly express themselves. The subtle act of turning to peers, and therefore away from the teacher, suggests that the students are united by their confusion. As Ellwood (2008) points out, 'resistive acts are often manifested through a flaunting of the conventions of "good student" physical

behaviour' (p. 545). The whispering serves as a mild resistive act in that it implies that the students have taken issue with some element of the translation or approach the teacher has taken. Shedding light on her interpretation of the exchange during retrospection, Fuuka commented, *'Minna rikai shiteta noni sensei ga yakushite nanka iyadatta, nanimo wakattenai to omotteru mitai, shuu no youbi nante youchien no toki ni narattanoni shikamo sensei no yakushikata wa yokumo nakatta. 'Go' o nihongo de dou ieba iinoka wakaranakatta no'* (We all understood but the teacher translated. I didn't like this. It's like he thinks that we don't understand anything. I learnt the days of the week in kindergarten. His translation wasn't even good either! He didn't know how to say 'go' in Japanese.).

Fuuka's feedback suggests that, ironically, it may actually be the use of Japanese that unintentionally contributes to silencing students as it provides students with no alternative but to align with an unfavourable identity, which in turn assumes comprehension difficulties. Fuuka's reaction underscores that what the teacher views as the use of the L1 to facilitate student comprehension was in fact counterproductive as it was interpreted by Fuuka, and perhaps her classmates, as an indication that her L2 competence was being underestimated. As in the previous excerpt, the teacher's assumption that the students did not understand what appears to be relatively straightforward lesson content, is a positioning Fuuka rejects during retrospection. The threat to the student's face may be heightened by the fact that she appears to be uncertain as to how to communicate to the teacher that she has understood the dialogue and does not require a translation. Without having conveyed her comprehension, Fuuka must quietly accept the teacher's evaluation that she requires L1 support in order to

understand the content. Signaling her objection to the assumption that she and her classmates are unable to understand the dialogue, Fuuka not only refers to disliking the teacher's approach *'nanka iyadatta',* but also implies that the teacher is out of touch as he does not realise that learning the days of the week is content applicable to the level of *'youchien'* (kindergarten). Indeed, it is very common for kindergartens in Japan to have English language activities as part of their curriculum. Moreover, programs frequently rely heavily on singing and chanting activities with the 'Days of the Week' song being a tried and tested favourite. The loss of face on Fuuka's part is expressed when she challenges the teacher's authority and right to be taken seriously by questioning the integrity of the translation '*Sensei wa itsumo 'go' o nihongo de douieba iinoka nayamukara sensei no yakushikata mo yoku nakattashi'* (His translation wasn't even good because he can never decide how to say 'go' in Japanese.). This line of approach, through which Fuuka implies criticism of the teacher's performance through challenging his ability to accurately use Japanese, is indicative of Fuuka's unhappiness with the teacher, and accordingly may be taken as evidence of Fuuka's interpreting of the above exchange as threatening her, and her classmates face.

9.6 Discursive Force of the Teacher's Japanese Intervention

Student retrospective feedback illustrated that a threat to the management of face which surfaced as representing a concern to the participants related directly to the discursive force of the teacher's use of Japanese. While interview data suggests that it was unlikely that the teacher deliberately intended to use Japanese in a threatening manner, the reality was that limitations in his Japanese at times unintentionally resulted in cross-cultural

pragmatic disparity and contributed to the students' frustration with the teacher and associated participation in English activities. A case in point being student Sayaka's comment that: *'Nanka sensei ga nihongo de hanasuto sugoku okottayouni kikoeru kara kowai'* (It's kind of scary when the teacher speaks Japanese because he comes across as being angry) and Kaho's point that *'sensei ga motto yasashii hanashikata de nihongo o hanasu youni shittara motto sanka suru kamoshirenai'* (If the teacher tried to say things in a softer way when he speaks Japanese I would probably join in more.). As a point of entry, I begin with a comment from the teacher which serves to shed light on his views regarding L1 use and how he felt it contributed to student attitudes and participation during an English lesson:

You can really see the kids were comfortable with the lesson and could discuss the questions. I used more Japanese today and I think this was the difference because it gets everyone involved. Especially the students who aren't perhaps as strong can understand. You can see it in their faces. They're more excited about joining in. Definitely not as nervous.

The feedback illustrates that the teacher views his use of Japanese as a critical factor contributing to the students' willingness and ability to *'get involved'*. The implication being here that the use of Japanese contributes to the interactional achievement of face and plays a role in saving face, particularly for those students regarded as being the less competent members of the class. While the Japanese students show a certain degree of accommodation towards the limitations in the Japanese language competence of the non-Japanese teacher, retrospection illustrates that they were closely oriented towards

369

Japanese norms of classroom interaction. Thus, while the teacher may have interpreted the interaction as positive, these perceptions diverged at times from the opinions of the students who were oriented towards the discursive accomplishment of place (see Haugh, 2005), and thereby towards Japanese interactional norms. Student feedback isolated two particular aspects of the teacher's use of Japanese as deviating from Japanese pragmatic norms and posing an ongoing threat to the negotiation of face: lexical choices and sentence final particles. This concern is particularly noteworthy in that while some of the students specifically referred to the teacher's use of Japanese as facilitating comprehension, the same students nevertheless indicated feeling threatened and indicated that, as a result, they preferred the teacher to use the L2 as the language of instruction. For example, student Risa comments *'Nihongo wa chotto Eigo ga wakaranai kara, wakaranai toki wa kekko aru karademo Eigo no toki sensei wa motto nanka yasashii'* (Japanese is kind of (helpful for me) because I don't understand English. (Japanese is helpful) because there are quite a few times I can't understand. But I kind of think the teacher is kinder when he speaks English.).

In the following analysis I explore acts of student resistance to the teacher's use of the L1, and explore how pragmatic factors influencing the teacher's use of Japanese impacted on student identity construction and at times left students feeling alienated, undervalued, unable to claim autonomy and on occasion silenced. For example, one of the students, Miu, noted feeling it necessary to avoid potential loss of face by taking on a non-participatory role and avoiding situations that may have resulted in individual teacher attention in Japanese *'Shizuka deite medatanai youni surunoga ichiban anzen, sousureba sensei wa nihongo de setsumei shiyouto shinaikara'* (It's safer to stay quiet

370

and not draw attention to yourself because then the teacher won't start explaining things in Japanese.). At the same time, comments such as Iori's remark that *'sanka shitai kedo sorewa sensei ga ijiwaru na koto o iukamoshirenaito shinpai shinaideiinonara'* (I wanted to join in but only if I didn't have to worry about the teacher saying something mean) highlights a desire to be engaged in classroom activities without having to defend against threats to face associated with use of the L1.

The tone of the student feedback stands in stark contrast to views expressed by the teacher such as his comment that: *'Sometimes I see Japanese as the only way to really connect with students. I don't think that it's ideal for teaching, but it can be the key to getting the kids to take the first step. I mean that Japanese breaks down barriers.'* The student's insights into their own attitudes and perceptions of the teacher's L1 use are discussed in relation to the following five short classroom excerpts (Excerpt 19-23). These excerpts are dealt with in two sub-categories. The former set which examines the teacher's discursive force as revealed through L1 lexical choices, and the latter set which attends to discursive force as indicated through the teacher's use of Japanese particles. Both categories illustrate cross-cultural pragmatic failure that results from the teacher's inability to recognise and produce situationally appropriate language. The excerpts suggest that it is both culturally influenced patterns of language behaviour and limitations in the teacher's command of Japanese that unintentionally threaten the students' ability to claim face.

9.6.1 Discursive Force as Indexed through Teacher's Japanese Lexical Choices

The first excerpts, taken from points during learning activities identified during retrospective interviews, shed light on the teacher's pragmatic digressions and the resulting threat to the students face. Associated with transfer of expressions from the L1, these points are of significance as it is clear that the teacher was not aware of alienating or offending the students. The resulting pragmalinguistic failure (see section 3.3) illustrates the potential for misunderstanding that can result from culturally influenced differences in the encoding of pragmatic force. The first two excerpts (Excerpts 19 and 20) demonstrate the participants' resistance to classroom activities as evidenced through non-participation. In the opening excerpt the teacher attempts to encourage the students to partake in a word search task by emphasising that the vocabulary required is within their L2 range of competence.

EXCERPT 18 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks students to contribute to a word search activity. After student silence is interpreted as reluctance to participate the teacher emphasises that he views the task demands as being within the students L2 competence range.].

((T moves to the centre of the classroom and looks around at students)) come on you guys (2) come on (4) you know these words (2) these are EASY WORDS (.) you should try (1) eat *wakaru deshou* (2) *shitteru* (1) ten *wakaru deshou* (1) *wakaranai* (2) ten *wakaru* yeah (.) ten *wakaru* (.) *shitteru* (1) ate (.) *wakaru* (1) *shitteru* ate (.) I ate pizza (.) *shitteru* (1) *tabeta* (1) yeah eat (1) read (1) *yomu* (1) *shitteru* (3) *wakaru* … you know these words (2) *wakatta* (1) TRY ((walks around the classroom))

372

In the above excerpt, the teacher begins by moving to the centre of the classroom and reminds the students that he assumes that they have a responsibility to become involved, when he states, *'come on you guys, come on'*. This approach may be seen as involving a threat to the students face as it implies insufficient student participation by both admonishing the students lack of effort while at the same time entreating the students to become involved. From the teacher's approach it appears that he is interpreting his face, namely the place he stands as a competent teacher able to encourage student participation, as being threatened by the lack of student input. The teacher projects a claim for face as a competent teacher by confidently asserting his knowledge of what the student are capable of in the L2, *'you know these words'*, a claim which is apparent from his forthright demeanour throughout the excerpt. This line of approach also projects a threat towards the students' face through not only directly stating that the content is known to the students, but also that they are viewed by the teacher as being *'easy words'*. The implication being here that the lack of student involvement is viewed by the teacher as unacceptable as there is no legitimate reason for the students not to take part. As a way of demonstration the teacher goes on to list a number of specific words from the activity that he assumes the students are aware of, *'eat'*, *'ten'*, *'ate' 'read'* and punctuates this list with the Japanese verbs *'wakaru'* (to understand) and *'shitteru'* (to know) which strengthen his claims that the students are expected to participate. Articulating her reaction to this exchange during retrospective feedback, student Iori takes issue with the teacher's motivation and ability to communicate in Japanese.

Sensei wa tada ninkimono ni naritai dato omoukedo, 'anata kore shitteruyo!' 'kore wakaruyo!' to sensei ga kurikaeshi itteta toki, sugoku kimazuku kanjita. Zutto

'anata kore wakaruyo!' 'Kore shitteruyo!' to sakendetara daremo sensei o suki ni

naranai. 'Damatte!' tte iitakatta. Kekka teki ni dounaru to omotteru?

(I think that the teacher just wants to be popular but I felt really uncomfortable when he kept saying 'You know this! 'You understand this!' No one is going to like him when he keeps shouting 'You know this! 'You understand this!' I wanted to say 'Shut-up'. What does he expect?).

Questioning the teacher's motivations, Iori becomes visibly agitated as she indicates that she believes the teacher is motivated by a desire to *'ninkimono ni naritai'* (be popular) and points out in no uncertain terms that she *'sugoku kimazuku kanjita'* (felt really uncomfortable). In making this direct criticism of what she perceives to be the teacher's objectives, Iori enacts her role as a student and thereby draws attention to the teacher's failure to meet his role as teacher. Iori's reference to the teacher's desire for popularity serves to subtly bring into focus her concern that the teacher prioritises his popularity over the more serious business of teaching. This line of questioning threatens the teacher's professional credibility as if his role within the classroom is not to teach, then it is no longer clear what role he serves. In addition, drawing attention to what she views as being the futility of this goal, Iori goes on to directly state that: *Zutto 'anata kore wakaruyo!' 'Kore shitteruyo!' to sakendetara daremo sensei o suki ni naranai* (No one is going to like him when he keeps shouting 'You know this! 'You understand this!'). Nevertheless, Iori makes a point of following-up on her criticism of the teacher by making clear that while she is not happy and would ideally like to tell the teacher to *'Damatte!'* (Shut-up), she will not react verbally *'mochiron, sensei ni 'damare' towa*

iwanai' (Of course I wouldn't really tell the teacher to 'Shut-up'). Iori does indicate that she is *'kaiwa ni hairou tomo shinai'* (not going to join in (with the activities)). Iori's feedback suggests that she both enacts face saving and marks her opposition during the English activity by refusing to take part in the way the teacher expects.

While the classroom recording illustrates that the teacher was in fact not shouting at the students, Iori's feedback serves as a poignant reminder that the student is involved in a process of negotiation and renegotiation of face based on developing perceptions of evolving factors and influences. In this sense, the threat to face Iori associates with the teacher's use of the L1, namely repetition of the phrase *'kore wakaruyo!' 'kore shitteruyo!'*(You understand this! You know this!) highlights that the L1, while perceived by the teacher as a tool for generating participation, can unintentionally provoke a defensive student reaction that brings about resistance to participation. Moreover, Iori's negative response appears to be shared by a number of her peers who could be seen expressing subtle forms of resistance such as appearing uninterested, yawning and slouching on desks.

What is of importance to note here is that in the above excerpt the teacher does not use any Japanese word or structure that stands out as being overtly offensive. As such, it appears that a combination of factors may have contributed to the threat to student face culminating in a critical student appraisal. Firstly, the teacher's positioning of the students as neglecting to act in the manner he expects, *'come on, come on, you know these words, these are easy words, you should try'* implies that the students have failed to align themselves with what the teacher regards as a 'good student' identity. The

students are effectively being chastised for failing to contribute in line with their expected role.

As Iori suggests, of greater consequence is the repetitive use of the Japanese verbs *'shitteru'* and *'wakaru'* which she describes as the teacher *'sakendetara'* (shouting). The Japanese verb *shitteru* is translated in English as 'to learn/ to know/ to find out' and the verb *wakaru* as 'to be clear/ to be understood/ to understand' (Manita and Blagdon, 2010:21). While both are commonly used in spoken Japanese and appear very similar, they are different words and need to be carefully differentiated. Manita and Blagdon describe *shitteru* as expressing something that the speaker wasn't conscious of entering his consciousness from outside, while *wakaru* expresses logically understanding something that the speaker is conscious of. While the teacher appears to use the verbs, *wakaru* and *shitteru* in the above excerpt interchangeably, Lee (2006:196) points out that they are not in fact interchangeable, rather they are dictated by the individual's territory of information. Lee explains that if the speaker does not have access to the hearer's territory of information, it is safer to avoid imposition and threat to face through the form *shitteru* (to know). In contrast, if the speaker assumes the hearer to be aware of the information being communicated then *wakaru* (to understand) in an interrogative sentence structure is the appropriate form (p. 201). As the teacher does not appear to follow a discernible pattern when using the verb forms in the above excerpt, it is possible that the students may have found it difficult to identify expectations which is directly implied in Iori's frustrated response: *'Damatte!' tte iitakatta'* (I wanted to say 'Shut-up'.).

Although unintentional, the teacher's departure from standard Japanese discursive forms appears to influences the students' ability to uphold face in line with cultural and classroom expectations. As LoCastro (2003:231) notes, 'grammatical errors made by a NNS may be forgiven, attributed to a low proficiency in the target language. However, pragmatic failure is less frequently explained away.' Iori's frustration is evidenced in her comment that she would like to tell the teacher to *'damatte!'* (Shut-up). This would constitute an inconceivable breach in student/teacher rank relations as noted by Iori who goes on to point out that she would of course never speak to the teacher in this way: *'Mochiron, sensei ni 'damare' towa iwanai'* (Of course I wouldn't really tell the teacher to 'Shut-up'). Nevertheless, the implication that Iori would even contemplate such a reaction highlights the depth of her irritation. In addition, her reaction implies that she has not made special allowances for digressions in the pragmatic force of the teacher's Japanese based on his non-Japanese status or views of his Japanese aptitude.

In the following excerpt the teacher's use of Japanese is once again cited in retrospective feedback as straying from assumed norms and thereby threatens the student's face. This exchange occurs when the teacher moves amongst students checking responses to a homework activity.

EXCERPT 19 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) moves around the class and asks students, Marin (M) and Risa (R) whether they have done their homework.].

1T: Homework everyone ((T moves to centre of classroom)) (2) books (4) ((T

        moves over to M's desk)) homework (2) did you do your homework? ((T looks

down at M's workbook))

2R: ((M looks up at teacher)) (2) unn:: yes ((M points down at her homework))

3T: (3) ((glances at M's work)) good job (2) ((T moves to next student R))

        <u>homework</u> (3) did you do your homework? ((looks down at R's workbook))

4R: (2) ((R slowly looks up at T nervously)) (2) *ee::::* (2) *wakaranakatta* ((R looks

        down at desk) 'I didn't understand'

5T: (2) ((T mimics R's tone of voice)) *wakaranakatta?* (2) ((R smiles)) *nande?*

        ((R looks stunned and then looks down at desk))

        'You didn't understand. Why?'

6R: (5) ((R looks away from T in direction of classmates))

7T: ((T looks at R and shrugs)) (2) *wakaranakatta?* (2) ((looks at R)) *nande?*

8R: (3) ((R looks in direction of peers and laughs))

9T: (2) ((teacher shrugs and moves away while shaking his head))

The teacher begins by initially stating in turn 1 that he will be checking homework and announces *'books'* as an indication that he expects the students to have their workbooks open and to be prepared. The atmosphere is mildly intimidating as the teacher moves directly over to student Marin's desk and by doing so implies that he requires evidence of completion from the students. After confirming that Marin has completed the task and praising her *'good job'*, the teacher immediately moves over to Risa who is seated next to Marin, and asks her to confirm whether she has completed the homework activity: *'Did you do your homework?'*. In turn 4, Risa appears nervous as she slowly raises her eyes to meet the teacher's before pausing, and then indicating that she did not understand *'wakaranakatta'*. Perhaps concerned as to what the teacher's reaction will be,

the student then breaks eye contact with the teacher and looks down at her desk. By announcing that she has not understood the homework, *'wakaranakatta'* (I didn't understand it), as opposed to *'yaranakatta'* (I didn't do it), Risa is projecting a claim for face in the sense that while unable to complete the task, she has nonetheless attempted to do the homework activity. This is made clear, and thereby her loss of face is foregrounded when Risa, upon viewing this excerpt states: *'Yarou to shitenai to ittawakejanai, sensei wa watashi ga nanimo shinakatta mitai na kanji de itta kara hazukashikatta'* (It's not like I said I didn't try. I felt embarrassed because the teacher made it sound like I didn't do anything.). Risa's insight into how the teacher's reaction involves a threat to face in that impugns her ability to demonstrate the effort she has put into the task, brings into focus the fact that she appears to have no recourse other than to quietly accept this critical teacher evaluation (turns 6 and 8).

The teacher blocks Risa's claim for face in turn 5 by mockingly challenging the credibility of her justification for not having completed the task through mimicking her claim of not having understood, *'wakaranakatta?* (You didn't understand?). The teacher's mimicking tone of voice and joking manner appear to be intended to generate a humorous reaction, however the threat to Risa's face is evident when the teacher follows-up by indicating that he would like an explanation *'nande?'* (Why?). Risa's stunned facial expression, concomitant body language, and refocusing of her gaze away from the teacher and down at her desk expose her discomfort with the situation. The teacher's line of questioning implies criticism of Risa's effort through suggesting, in the presence of her peers, that the task should have been within her L2 capabilities. As he does not appear to regard the task as being inappropriately complex, the teacher

379

arguably feels justified in pressing the student for an explanation which he does again in turn 7 asks *'wakaranakatta? nande?'*. Perhaps threatened by the teacher's continued attention, the public nature of the exchange and the fact that the teacher appears to be intent on obtaining some kind of account, Risa appears to be at a loss as to how to respond. She registers her embarrassment and subtle resistance to the teacher's demand for an explanation, by turning in the direction of her peers, smiling and laughing (turn 8). In contrast to Risa's attempt to diffuse the situation, the teacher appears to become agitated by the student's attempt to laugh at the situation and makes the point that he is not impressed by shrugging as if confused, and then moving away from the student while shaking his head.

While Risa eventually laughs at the situation, it is also clear that she has lost face through this incident, as her inability to finish the task has been interpreted as a lack of effort, which her feedback suggests that she finds not only humiliating, but also intimidating: *'Kowai to omotta, mou chotto yasashiku oshieta hou ga ii kana, yasashiku shite hoshii'* (I thought he was scary. I think it would be better if he taught us in a kinder way. I want him to be kind.). The force of the Japanese appears to have impacted on the student's view of the teacher, however her disapproval is tempered by criticism punctuated with the doubt marker, *'kana'*. The use of the *kana* form implies the student's uncertainty regarding the factual status of her suggestion and consequently frames her approach as critical, without directly going so far as to state that the teacher's *'less-kind'* approach to instruction is incorrect. The mitigated criticism denotes a reluctance to criticise the teacher by framing her thoughts merely as constituting a suggestion and thereby does not directly challenge the status of the teacher.

Nevertheless, this mild form of resistance illustrates Risa's desire to evade an imposed identity she views as being associated with a poor student performance.

9.6.2 Discursive Force: Teacher's Use of Japanese Interactional Particles

The second area of examination to emerge from students' feedback regarding the discursive force of Japanese as employed by the teacher relates to the use of Japanese interactional particles. The subsequent excerpts (Excerpts 21 through 23) illustrate how sociopragmatic failure (see section 3.3) occurs when the teacher's use of particles diverges from the students' expectations pertaining to the context of the classroom and respective teacher/student roles. Classroom recordings demonstrate that the particles *ne, yo* and *deshou* were indeed frequently, almost habitually, added to the end of sentences by the teacher irrespective of whether he was communicating in English or Japanese. In defense of the teacher's use of particles, it should be noted that omitting sentence-final expressions that are in many cases considered obligatory in interactions, makes utterances less interactive (Katagiri, 2007). Nevertheless, of relevance here is that the teacher's use of Japanese particles, while appearing to be random, was identified in student retrospective feedback with the loss of face. While this was clearly unintended, the use of Japanese enacted through interaction by the teacher at times failed to meet the assumptions and expectations students associated with interactional achievement of face, and as a result, had a bearing on student attitudes and classroom participation. In the first excerpt the students take part in a pair-work exchange with the teacher during which the teacher points out classroom objects and asks the students to name the objects: *'What is this?'*

EXCERPT 20 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) points at classroom objects and asks the student, Marin (M), to name the objects. When the teacher points to an exposed beam in the classroom the student is unable to identify the English word.].

1T: ((T points to clock)) what is this?

2M: (2) ((looks up at T)) it's a clock ((glances in the direction of classmates))

3T: (2) ((T nods to indicate response is correct. T points to bookcase)) what is this?

4M: (3) it's a bookcase

5T: ((T nods. T looks around classroom)) (5) points to exposed beam in classroom ceiling)) what is this?

6M: (4) ((M remains silent and looks over at classmates))

7T: ((T points to exposed beam and looks at M)) what is this?

8M: ((M looks at T)) (3) wood

9T: no (2) what's this? ((T points up in the direction of the beam))

10M: (5) ((M looks down at desk and in quiet voice)) tree

11T: no (2) what is this? ((points at beam)) (2) because everything is wood *ne* (2) it's not wood *deshou* (1) not tree *deshou* (2) it is wood (.) *kedo* ((points towards door)) it's a door *deshou* (1) so what is this (2) what is this? *ne* (2) do you know? (3) you don't know *ne* this is a beam *deshou* (1) b-e-a-m *ne*

12M: ((M quietly nods to indicate comprehension. T turns away and M shrugs in the direction of her classmates.))

The student begins by responding without difficulty to the teacher's first two questions

(turns 1 through 4) and is able to identify both the clock and the bookcase quickly. The teacher, appearing to look for a more challenging classroom object, takes several seconds in turn 5 to identify the object for the subsequent question and decides on what appears to be a particularly obscure choice of classroom object, an exposed ceiling beam. When the student, softly spoken and appearing uncertain, answers *'wood'* the teacher rejects the response by stating *'no'* (turn 9), and then, making no apparent effort to lessen the threat to Marin's face, once again responds *'no'* in turn 11 when Marin suggests *'tree'* as a potential answer. The threat to Marin's face is evident from her discomfort as she speaks in a quiet and uncertain voice while looking away from the teacher and down at the desk (turn 10). The threat to Marin's face is amplified by the way in which the teacher not only directly rejects her attempted answers with a straightforward *'no'* (turns 9 and 11), but then proceeds to explain why *wood* and *tree* do not qualify as being correct while using Japanese particles in a way that suggests this information should be self-evident: *'It's not wood deshou, not tree deshou,* it is wood *kedo* it's a door *deshou'* (turn 11).

While the teacher's animated movements and tone of voice suggest that he is trying to stimulate the students' interest by introducing new vocabulary that they are unaware of, retrospective feedback illustrated that Marin felt agitated following the exchange. Targeting the obscurity of the teacher's question, Marin makes the point: *'Nihongo de nanikamo wakaranai noni sensei ga 'beam deshou!' tte iu toki no iikata ga kirai douyatte eigo de wakarette iuno?'* (I didn't even know what it is in Japanese. I didn't like the way he said 'It's beam, right!' How does he expect me to know in English?). Marin went on to further express suspicions as to the teacher's motivations and thereby

implying the potential threat to students face in the following remark: *'Nanka muzukashii shitsumon nantonaku muzukashii no tamani dashitaino mitaina machigaete hoshii kana'* (Well, it was a difficult question. It was kind of like he sometimes wanted to give us a difficult question. Maybe he wanted us to make a mistake.).

In this excerpt, the threat to the student's face may have been increased by the teacher's excessive use of interactional particles *'deshou'* and *'ne'* as they imply the teacher's line of reasoning is not only clear, but should also be evident to the students. The teacher's frequent use of *ne* and *yo* delineate boundaries between the teacher and students in terms of both classroom status and subject knowledge. The sentence final particle *ne* can be regarded as a particle of confirmation and shared knowledge and therefore presupposing that information falls within the addressee's, in this case the student's territory (see Janes, 2000; Kamio, 1994). Consequently, seemingly irrespective of whether the students have understood the teacher's explanation, they may feel compelled to indicate comprehension. The assumption here being that the students and teacher not only share, but also agree on information pertaining to how wood, tree and beam are differentiated. While student Marin appears to quietly accept this explanation (turn 12) she takes the opportunity after the teacher turns away from her to markedly shrug. The expression of confusion is communicated exclusively to her peers and illustrates that maintaining a clear distinction between face in interaction with the teacher is regarded as distinct from the face and identity projected with peers.

Confusion regarding the teacher's use of Japanese sentence-final particles and the suggestion that the use of *yo, ne* and *deshou* was not only unconventional, but also

represented a threat to face was also implied in student Akari's comment: *'Senseiga yoku nihongo o hanasutoki 'deshou' toka 'ne' toka 'yo'- tte itte hanashikata ga kitsuku kanjiru'* (When the teacher speaks Japanese he often says *'deshou', 'ne'* and *'yo'* and it feels harsh.). The selection of interactional particles, recognised as playing a pivotal role in spoken Japanese, irrespective of whether intentional or unintentional, register the teacher's attitude to the content and the student (see Hasegawa, 2010). The teacher's use of particles not only threatens face by suggesting that the instructional content should be comprehensible, but also plays a role in the construction of student identities in that it forces students to align with an identity that meets the teacher's expectations rather than the students' needs. For example, as the particle *ne* indicates that the teacher's analysis falls into both teacher and students' territory, the students may find it uncomfortable to express comprehension difficulties or even to seek teacher assistance, as is implied in Akari's feedback: *'Sensei wa 'deshou' toka 'ne' o tsukatte kotaewa akiraka kanoyouni hanasu kara wakaranakutemo sensei ni kikenai to omou'* (I don't feel like I can tell the teacher if I don't understand because he makes it sound like it should be obvious when he says *'deshou' and 'ne'*.).

In effect, students are being told that they should catch on, and therefore to request additional teacher instruction would be to publicly indicate that they had failed to perform or to acquire a grasp of the task or vocabulary as expected by the teacher. This is supported by classroom recordings which highlight that the students played the role of the 'good student' when interacting with the teacher and could be seen nodding in agreement. When the teacher turned away, however, face threat was evident in the student's body language such as overt gestures including the shrugging of shoulders,

and the more discreet whispering between classmates. The following excerpt once again illustrates a case during which the teacher's use of Japanese particles was viewed by students as impeding their ability to manage face. In this example, the teacher reviews the present continuous verb form after which students are guided through text based practice drills.

EXCERPT 21 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) reviews the present continuous verb form after which students are guided through text based practice drills.].

So here we have ((pointing at textbook)) (2) have a snack (1) *deshou* (.) exercise *ne* (1) etcetera (1) so number one *ne* (1) have a snack *ne* (1) *snakku taberu ne* (1) *otoko dakara* he *deshou* (1) he is have a snack *janakutte* (1) *suru toki ni wa* (.) ING *ne* (.) ING *yo* (1) he is having (.) having a snack *taberu tabeteru* (1) number two (.) *futari deshou* (1) they (.) *toriaezu* listen carefully (.) *kore yo*!

So here we have, 'Have a snack', right 'Exercise' right, etcetera. So number one OK, 'Have a snack' right! 'Have a snack' right! He's male, so it's he, right! It's not, 'He is have a snack.' When it's at the time (we add) ING right! ING right! 'He is having, having a snack.' Eat, eating. Number two. There are two (people) right! (Therefore it's) they! For now listen carefully to this! To this right!

The teacher initially projects his status as an authoritative and knowledgeable teacher by assertively explaining the grammatical focus of the exercise in Japanese and punctuating his comments with the sentence-final particles *yo, ne* and *deshou*. Japanese

is used by the teacher to direct the students' attention to the verb form *'taberu'* (to have/ to eat) and to the appropriate pronoun required *'otoko dakara* 'he' *deshou'* (He's male so we use 'he'). The teacher proceeds by providing an example of an incorrect response *'he is have a snack janakutte'* (It's not, 'He is have a snack.'), after which he goes on to explain in Japanese that 'ING' is used *'suru toki ni wa'* (when it's at the time). The teacher concludes by demonstrating the required response *'He is having, having a snack.'* It is important to note that immediately following the teacher's explanation, the students are able to smoothly and correctly complete a spoken task using the present continuous verb form. While the ease with which the students completed the task suggests that the instruction was indeed clear and beneficial in terms of achieving the teaching/learning objectives and facilitating student participation, it is interesting to note that student Miu, although able to complete the task, felt negatively about this exchange. Specifically, Miu commented that the discursive force of the teacher's explanation was threatening and, by implication, overshadowed student feelings of accomplishment at having successfully partaken in the classroom drill. In Miu's words, *'Sensei no nihongowa totemo tsuyokute 'nantoka deshou' mitaina kanjide senseiwa kizuite inainoka yoku wakatteinai noka yokuwakaranai kedo nanka okotte irukanoyouni kikoeru 'nantoka ne' toka 'nantoka deshou' unn souiu kotoba'* (The teacher's Japanese is very strong, kind of like 'It's this, right!' I don't know if he doesn't realise or he doesn't know, but it sounds like he's angry or something. Like when he says, 'It's this! It's this, right!' Words like that.).

The Japanese particles *ne* and *yo* appear primarily in spoken Japanese and convey the speaker's position towards the content of the information being communicated as well

as the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer. While *ne* suggests that interlocutors share common knowledge and agreement, *yo* implies that the addressee may not be aware of some information. Izuhara (2003) explains *ne* and *yo* as serving to persuade the addressee to accept the same cognitive state as that of the speaker, however points out that this is achieved in different ways. Izuhara (2003) explains that *yo* has three kinds of usages: (1) to appeal to the listener's perception/recognition and persuade him/her to take an action, (2) to try to correct the listener's perception/recognition, and (3) to urge the listener to accept the speaker's perception/recognition. In all cases, *yo* is employed to modify the addressee's cognition through asserting the speaker's own position. This can be seen in the following examples in which the content remains unaltered:

- *Kore wa muzukashii desu* (This is difficult.).
- *Ne: Kore wa muzukashii desu ne* (This is difficult, isn't it?).
- *Yo: Kore wa muzukashii desu yo* (This is difficult, I'm telling you.).

While sentence-final particles cannot always be defined outside their specific discursive event and context, both Izuhara (2003) and Janes (2000) emphasise that *yo* is used to express a strong conviction about something, and for this reason can come across as being confrontational and should accordingly be carefully employed. In the above excerpt, the use of the particle *yo* intimates authority and a confidence that the position the speaker (in this case the teacher) asserts will bring about compliance from the student.

While the frequency of the teacher's use of particles is on one level consistent with spoken Japanese[12], the issue for the students appears to be his selection and application of particles when interacting with students. Referred to by Maynard (1990) as verbal social packaging, Janes (2000) maintains that particles demonstrate 'the speaker's involvement in the conversation and his/her concern for and sensitivity towards the needs of the hearer' (p. 1824). As way of explanation, Janes found that the use of Japanese particles varied according to the motivation for style shift and the attitude the speaker wished to convey during interaction. For example, a speaker may elect to give the interlocutor options by using the interactional particle *ne* while at other times seeking distance by using the sentence-final particle *yo* which functions as an intensifier. Moreover, Janes examination of Japanese particle choices found that style shifts motivated by negative politeness were characterised by particles that provided the interlocutor with options, while at other times style shifts appeared to be 'motivated by a conflict between the preferred style and the particle chosen' (p. 1824). In other words, particles were associated with style shifts such as creating attitudinal distance or expressing empathy. On the basis of these findings Janes hypothesises that for the student of Japanese, understanding particles will facilitate one's ability to interpret speaker attitudes, express attitudes appropriately, and avoid cross-cultural misunderstanding (p. 1850).

In the retrospective feedback above, it appears that Miu is inclined to believe that the illocutionary force of the teacher's Japanese is unintentional: *'kizuite inainoka yoku wakatteinai noka yokuwakaranai'* (I don't know if he doesn't realise or he doesn't

---

[12] Maynard (1990) found that in a total of 400 Japanese utterances taken from conversations that 61.75% ended in final particles which contributed to the verbal social packaging (p.104).

know.). Nonetheless, this does not lessen the loss of face she feels or the criticism she levels at the teacher, as she must still deal with the fact that his Japanese comes across as *'nanka okotte irukanoyouni kikoeru'* (it sounds like he's angry or something). The perception of the teacher as being angry, combined with the assumption that comprehension will be achieved as implied by the use of Japanese particles by the teacher places the student in a vulnerable and awkward position. While Katagiri (2007) points out that Japanese sentence-final particles contribute to dialogue coordination, it appears that for Miu, the teacher's unfamiliar use of particles threatened her face in that it left her feeling reluctant to express comprehension difficulties and therefore less able to request solutions when seeking to negotiate comprehension challenges that occur during English activities. For this reason, Miu's ability to manage face is threatened by the teacher's failure to uphold social distance and what is interpreted as neglect for the rights of the listener by demanding alignment through his choice of particles.

What is important to note here is that the intentional and skilled manipulation of particles is a tool by which Japanese speakers convey meaning, and therefore this same tool when incorrectly applied can align students with identities that they may find objectionable. The use of particles can function to emphasise inferiority and reduce the students' ability to voice their own opinions by assuming or demanding compliance. While we can surmise that the conventional use of particles by the Japanese students embodies assumptions as to status, formality, power and distance, the non-Japanese teacher's tendency to use particles interchangeably and seemingly randomly in both English and Japanese contributed to conveying inappropriate linguistic force. The teacher's use of the particles *ne* and *deshou* are once again noted by participants after

viewing the following classroom exchange during retrospection.

EXCERPT 22 [Classroom excerpt: Students (S) take turns asking each other how certain words from the textbook are spelt. Mimi (M) asks Ami (A) how to spell 'watch'. The teacher (T) intervenes when Ami is unable to answer.].

1M: ((Turns to A)) how do you spell watch? ((looks at T))

2A: (4) ((A smiles and tilts head to indicate she doesn't know))

3T: (5) ((T looks at students)) <u>watch</u> (2) *dakara saki* (.) ABC *hatsuon yatta ne* (2) because *moshi* (.) ABC *hatsuon zenbu oboeteru* (1) *nandemo kakeru* (.) you can write any word *deshou* (1) so watch *ne* (.) watch (.) w *ne* (.) alright listen *ne* (.) watch *ne* (.) W *deshou (..) wakatta* ((A looks down at desk))

'How do you spell watch? That's why we just worked through the pronunciation of the alphabet. Because if you remember the pronunciation of the letters in the alphabet, you can write anything right! You can write any word! So for 'watch', 'watch' right! There is a W right! Alright listen! Watch right! There's a W right! Got it!'

Once again, the interactional style conveyed by the teacher's use of particles threatens the student's face as it assumes that the content should be comprehensible and implies that the class has been incapable of grasping this. The use of particles *ne* and *deshou* punctuate the teacher's explanation and convey that the teacher believes that his cognitive stance regarding pronunciation will be shared by the students. Commenting

on this exchange during retrospection a participant, Ami, questioned the teacher's use of particles: *'Nande deshou deshou iuno? Nanka hazukashikatta, machigaechatta kara iya datta'* (Why does he say 'deshou' 'deshou' (Right! Right!) I was kind of embarrassed. I made a mistake so I felt bad.). Here the use of *deshou* functions on a discursive level to reinforce the notion that the teacher and students are inherently unequal and that the teacher is the holder of knowledge. The power imbalance threatens the students' face in that the students, while required to take on an active and vocal classroom role, are addressed in a way that makes participation difficult.

The tone of the instruction implies that the teacher is disciplining the students for some kind of indiscretion rather than providing supplementary instruction, as is noted in Ami's feeling *'hazukashikatta'* (embarrassed) and *'iya datta'* (bad). Shedding light on the loss of face she associates with the teacher's intervention, Ami further comments, *'iikata wa kibishii to omou'* (I felt the way he said it was harsh.). The teacher's use of Japanese exposes a gap between his intentions to establish a supportive classroom environment, and the atmosphere that is manifested as a result of unintended L1 force brought about by the use of interactional particles. The loss of student face is all the more difficult for the teacher to address as the following interview comment suggests that he assumes the students feel empowered and respected. In the teacher's own words: *'It's important being respectful to the student, not looking down on the student or saying 'I'm the teacher! You're the students!' but saying that we're two people. Let's communicate on an equal even plane.'* The position expressed by the teacher underscores his desire to communicate on an *'even plane'* and perhaps avoid more traditional teacher/student delineations of rank and role. Nevertheless, Ami's feedback

identifies the illocutionary force of the teacher's L1 usage as obscuring this objective. In addition, it is important to note that the teacher did not feel that his L1 use impacted his relationship with the students: *'They know that I can speak Japanese so I don't think it's really an issue to them. I think these days most kids kind of expect you to speak Japanese almost because a lot of foreigners do speak Japanese now. I don't think it changes how they view me as the teacher.'*

While the teacher's observations regarding the Japanese proficiency of non-Japanese residents within Japan does appear to reflect the current climate, Janes (2000) cautions that 'negotiating interpersonal grammar such as the choice of style is problematic for the non-native speakers of Japanese' (p. 1824). The point being that there is the potential for inappropriate particle use to unintentionally convey attitudes of the speaker that can result in cross-cultural misunderstanding and thereby act to threaten face. While the teacher may not have viewed his use of Japanese as registering a specific attitude, student feedback suggests that it represented sociopragmatic failure that distanced students. It appears that the over-use or inappropriate use of the sentence-final particles *ne, yo* and *deshou* were interpreted negatively by the students and made it difficult for students and teacher to '*communicate on an equal, even plane'*. This is succinctly summed-up in the feedback of student Kaho who commented: *'Jibun to shite wa senseiga eigo o hanasutokino houga sukide, nanka sensei ga nihongode shaberuto tsuyoku kikoeru'* (I actually prefer it when the teacher speaks English. Well, because his Japanese sounds harsh.). The students' characterisation of the teacher's Japanese as *'tsuyoku kikoeru'* (sounds harsh) underscores limitations in his ability to modify his Japanese use in line with student expectations of classroom discourse. The

cross-cultural conflict pertaining to inappropriate discursive force, while likely an indication of the teacher's Japanese limitations rather than a deliberate attempt to offend, appears irrelevant to the students as the damage is felt to be the same. While student feedback indicated that comprehension was aided by the teacher's L1 support, they noted that they would rather the teacher instruct in English. Mirroring Kaho's comment, a sense of mixed feelings regarding the use of the L1 was reflected in feedback such as Sayaka's remark that: *'Nihongo o hanasu to kowakunatchau, wakaranai mama demo iikara eigo de hanashite hoshii'* (I get scared when he speaks Japanese. I would prefer the teacher to speak in English even if I still don't understand.). This feedback implies that the students would rather forgo L1 support and face comprehension difficulties than have to interact, or be exposed to the threat to face associated with the teacher's use of Japanese.

9.7 Erroneous Use of Japanese and Avoidance of Comprehension Checks

The focus of the third area of teacher L1 use and the potential threat to the student's face centres on the impact of erroneous or ambiguous Japanese and student alignment with positive identities. In light of the interview data, I argue that the erroneous use of Japanese, while seemingly unknown to the teacher, at times threatened some students' ability to display their competence during English activities. As a result, students were at times unable to claim recognition as competent and engaged members of the classroom as the teacher assumed that they had failed to understand content or to comply with instruction. Moreover, a tendency to rely on silence, a trait identified in Nakane's (2003) research into Japanese students' silence and politeness orientations,

394

leads to a positioning by the teacher that appears more stereotypical than accurate. Drawing attention to the difficulties and potential loss of face associated with incorrect use of the L1 by the teacher, student Ami commented: *'Nante itterundaro tte wakannai toki kekkou atte rikaisurunoni kekkou jikan kakaru'* (What's he saying? There were quite a few times I didn't understand. It took quite a long time for me to catch on.). In this way student feedback illustrated that contrary to the teacher's assessment, the teacher's inaccurate use of Japanese was a key factor interfering with students' comprehension and at times undermined participant confidence and ability to engage in speaking tasks.

The following excerpt (Excerpt 24) illustrates how the student's reluctance to seek clarification when negotiating the teacher's ambiguous Japanese instructions resulted in a less competent identity being assigned, as the teacher assumed failure to comprehend L2 content and more importantly, reluctance to comply with instruction. In this way, the student's desire to avoid threatening the teacher's face by concealing confusion effectively upheld the teacher's face at the expense of his own desire to maintain face and align with a competent student identity. Furthermore, what appeared to be a lack of engagement resulted in the teacher aligning the student directly involved with a less capable and even defiant identity as implied in the comment: *'I think it's an attitude issue. You have to want to join in but in some cases it doesn't feel like the kids are here because they want to be. There are those who want to talk and join in. It makes a big difference.'* Within the following excerpt, the student Fuyuki appears hesitant to speak out and seek confirmation when the teacher's Japanese instructions fail to accurately express the task requirements.

EXCERPT 23 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) attempts to ask Fuyuki (F) to select a number from between 1 and 20 in order to fill out a bingo grid. Fuyuki appears to be confused by the teacher's use of '*dotchi demo iiyo'* which implies the choice is to be made between either the number 1 or the number 20, as opposed to between 1 and 20.].

1 T: ((T looks at F's book)) choose a number between 1 and 20 (1) *ichi kara nijuu made (2) dotchi demo iiyo*

'From 1 to 20, either is fine'

2F: (5) ((F looks at T and tilts head to indicate confusion))

3T: (3) ((T leans over and points at F's book)) <u>between 1 and 20</u> (1) *ichi kara (.) nijuu made (1)* <u>*dotchi demo iiyo*</u>

'From 1 to 20, either is fine'

4F: (3) ((F looks at T and tilts head)

5T: (3) ((T appears frustrated)) Write it <u>here</u> ((points at area on book))

6F: (6) ((F looks down, does not write))

7T: (2) <u>*hayaku shite*</u>

'Do it quickly'

8 ((F's classmates can be seen whispering))

The teacher commences the exchange by instructing Fuyuki in turn 1 to *'choose a number between 1 and 20'* and immediately follows-up by providing a L1 translation of the required task. The potential threat to face is evident when Fuyuki, a student who did not often speak up in class, appears confused as he looks up at the teacher while tilting

his head to convey his uncertainty (turns 2 and 4). Head tilting and silence, while strategies commonly employed by Japanese students in order to register uncertainty and appeal for assistance, go unnoticed by the teacher who appears irritated as he increases the threat to Fuyuki's face by waiting for a short period before forcefully repeating the same instruction *'between 1 and 20. Ichi kara nijuu made, dotchi demo iiyo'* (From 1 to 20, either (number) is fine.) (turn 3). The threat to Fuyuki's face is again escalated when the teacher, appearing frustrated by Fuyuki's lack of responsiveness, reacts by pointing at the area in the workbook where Fuyuki is expected to write the number while stating, *'write it here'* (turn 5). When this fails to bring about the desired response, the teacher, whose tone of voice betrays his impatience, orders Fuyuki to complete the task *'hayaku shite'* (Do it quickly!). The force of the demand implies that the teacher assumes Fuyuki has been deliberately avoiding participation and therefore feels it appropriate to align Fuyuki with a negative, non participatory identity in front of his peers. In turn 8, indexing criticism of the teacher's approach several students can be observed whispering about the exchange in an act that implies solidarity with Fuyuki.

During retrospection, one of Fuyuki's classmates, Ami, elected to voice her opposition to the teacher's negative appraisal of her classmate and support for Fuyuki stating:

Okashii! Dotchiga ii tte itteru kara Fuyuki-kun ga wakaranakatta to omou, nanka nanika kara nanika no aida de dorega ii tte kikebaii kedo, kore ka kore dotchi dato nanka hitotsu dake mitaina (1) demo kono naka kara ttemo ittakara yoku wakaranai, Fuyuki kun wakaranakatta kana, kawaisou datta.

(This is strange! I think that Fuyuki didn't understand because (the teacher) asked, 'Which one?' (1 of 2 options). Well, it would be fine if (the teacher) asked, 'which one (3 or more) between this point and this point?' but if it's which one, this or this, well, it's like he (had to) choose one. But (the teacher) also said between (1 and 20) so it was difficult to understand. I don't think Fuyuki understood. I felt sorry for him.).

Ami's feedback highlights the L2 ambiguity of the teacher's instruction and contradicts the implication that Fuyuki's lack of responsiveness represented inadequate effort or commitment. What is important to note is that the fellow student, while perhaps feeling powerless to support Fuyuki at the time of the activity, defends him vigorously during the retrospective interview. Ami points out that the threat to Fuyuki's face is born from confusion stemming from the teacher's incorrect use of the Japanese expression *dotchi* (which one of two alternatives) as opposed to *dore* (which one of three or more alternatives). Unfortunately, Fuyuki appears to feel he has no recourse but to accept the negative teacher evaluation even though this represents an incorrect non-compliant positioning. Ami recognises Fuyuki's loss of face and goes on record during retrospection as sympathising with his predicament when she states: *'Kawaisou datta'* (I felt sorry for him.).

While the teacher's basic command of Japanese provides Fuyuki with an option for seeking confirmation in Japanese, retrospection suggests that students may have viewed this as potentially escalating the threat to face. An active concern for the students appears to relate to their identity within the group and a desire not to hold back peers, as

is illustrated by student Kaho who commented: *'Susumi ga osokunaru kara shitsumon surunowa yokunai tada kiiterudake no hou ga ii'* (It's not good to ask questions because it slows everyone down. It's best to just listen.). The implication being here that an individual request for clarification may draw attention away from the lesson and impede class progress. These findings echo feedback discussed by Murata (2011) in which Japanese students were found to experience greater difficulty than British students when giving opinions and asking questions. Murata noted that while Japanese students recognised asking questions or giving opinions as important, factors such as attention to maintaining public image and consideration for lesson flow and peers were more highly prioritised. Moreover, Murata notes that Japanese students interpret asking questions as depriving 'fellow students of the opportunity to listen to lectures or receive the maximum information available within a designated period' (p. 15). This position is consistent with Aspinall's (2006) research findings which maintain that one of the primary factors constraining Japanese students in class is an egalitarian approach to education cited as a barrier to fostering able students, as well as inhibiting students with learning difficulties. The basic argument here being that Japanese students consider group needs above those of the individual. While variation in how the group and individual needs are prioritised is inevitable, what is apparent in the above feedback is that student Kaho was concerned that seeking the teacher's assistance would interfere with the progress of her classmates.

The suggestion that students felt requests for individual clarification impinged on classmates' access to the teacher were consistent with the current study as is highlighted in student Sayaka's comment *'Yoku wakaranakatta jyugyou no susumi o osokushitaku*

naikara nanimo kikitakunakatta nanka watashi wa senseiga ittehoshii koto o iwanakucha ikenai kimochini natta, mattaku imiga wakaranakatta' (I didn't really understand. I didn't want to slow the lesson down so I didn't want to ask anything. I felt like I had to say what the teacher wanted me to say. I didn't have a clue.). This feedback implies that the students do not wish to challenge their legitimacy within the group by contradicting acts associated with a 'good classmate' identity. The students may have avoided requests for individualised attention and elected to hide comprehension difficulties rather than inconvenience peers or acquire a negative teacher appraisal. In this sense, the teacher's attempts to encourage students to speak and seek clarification may also have inadvertently alienated those students who are more comfortable retaining a low profile and avoiding teacher attention. The desire to evade excessive teacher attention, even if this resulted in diminished comprehension, was evidenced in Sayaka's comment, *'minna imiga wakaranai tokiwa tada unazukudakede nanimo shitsumon shiyouto shinai de tada unazuku dake'* (Everyone just nods and doesn't ask any questions when we don't understand. Even if you don't understand you just nod.). In this way, the students may have aligned with a 'good student' identity as recognised by the students while maintaining face by displaying behaviours they assumed the teacher associated with comprehension.

The above excerpts illustrate that the teacher's assumption that the use of the L1 enables students to overcome comprehension difficulties may at times force students to play an 'enlightened role', one that does not accurately reflect their status in relation to classroom content. Moreover, sensitivity to the teacher's face may at times make it difficult for students to seek clarification, particularly when the teacher is

communicating in the L1 and assumes comprehension has been facilitated. In these cases, to indicate confusion would be to imply teacher failure and to challenge his confident and seasoned demeanour. Students' apprehension towards seeking additional teacher support when uncertain reinforced how students were acutely conscious of avoiding individualised teacher attention within the L2 classroom. Participants' self-preservation of face appeared to be closely associated with identifying with the group, even if that meant reconciling oneself to less than perfect comprehension. For example, asked whether she considered asking the teacher for assistance when uncertain of task requirements a participant, Akari, commented: *'Omowanai nanka hanashi ga mendokusai kara oki ku natchaisou zenbu eigode iette te iwaresou nn sonna kanji suru'* (I don't think about it because it would be a pain explaining. It would probably become a big thing. He would probably tell me to say it all in English. Yeah, it feels like that.). These attitudes and beliefs point to the students' desire to avoid imposition and to preserve face, even if this potentially leads to a negative teacher evaluation.

9.8 Teacher as Holder of Knowledge: Withholding Linguistic Support

A final area of interest that arises from student retrospective feedback regarding the teacher's use of Japanese is the implication that Japanese support was at times being withheld. In other words, as the teacher has a degree of proficiency in Japanese, it was not always clear to the students why he was at times willing to provide L1 support, and yet at other times appeared reluctant to offer L1 instruction that could have facilitated student comprehension. Student feedback highlighted that the teacher's tendency to control and dictate the flow of information within the classroom frequently positioned

the students as being dependent on the irregular Japanese support. The view that the teacher was at times unnecessarily withholding L1 support was referred to in retrospective feedback such as Akari's comment: *'Wakaranainara senseiga mou oshiete hoshii itsumademo kiite naide'* (If I don't know, then I want the teacher to explain, not go on forever asking questions), and Iori's view that, *'zutto kiiteru yori itte kureta houga raku dato omou* (Rather than continually asking I think it's easier to just tell us.). Student Miu implied that this was not only deliberate, but also was something that the teacher took pleasure from: *'Sensei wa tada ijiwaru surutameni nihongo o tsukatte inai youni kanjiru. Minna wakaranaikara watashi tachi o tsukatte asonde iru mitai. Watashitachi wa sensei ga nihongo de hanaseba kantan datte wakaru'* (I feel like the teacher doesn't use Japanese just to be mean to us. It feels like he is playing with us because he knows we don't understand. We know it would be easy for him to say it in Japanese.). Within the classroom speech community environment, Chavez (2007) notes that 'teacher talk' tends to dominate 'student talk' both in quantity and in quality. The teacher can claim special speaking rights and students 'adhere to or at least notice as preferred certain language-use practices' (p. 163). The above student comments suggest that the teacher's ability to withhold or grant comprehension reinforced the teacher/student power imbalance through accentuating the vulnerability of the students.

In other words, supported by the order of status and role within the classroom, it appeared that the teacher's position allowed him to dictate what is communicated to students through a seemingly arbitrary approach to L1 support. It appears that from the perspective of the students, the teacher needs to carefully consider when and what amount of Japanese (if any) to use. Speaking to this issue, Schweers (1999) and Tang's

(2002) investigations of student and teacher attitudes towards the mother tongue offer persuasive evidence for the judicious incorporation of the L1 as a teaching tool. Schweers (1999) found that the vast majority of students and teachers surveyed at a Puerto Rican university felt that Spanish should be used in English classes. Reasons cited included that the L1 helped to explain difficult concepts, provided additional input, established teacher/student rapport, and reduced the affront of the language being imposed upon students. Underscoring affective benefits of L1 use, Schweers suggests that 'recognising and welcoming their own language into the classroom as an expression of their own culture could be one way of dispelling negative attitudes toward English and increasing receptivity to learning the language' (p. 8).

Withholding of L1 support was cited by participants as being confusing as it did not appear to conform to a conventional interaction order. Furthermore, the threat to the students' face may have been amplified by a lack of L2 discursive strategies by which students could actively seek comprehension when L1 support was not offered. As Sayaka commented, *'Jibun de wakaru hodo eigo o hanasenai kara tada sokode suwatte matsu shika nai'* (I just had to sit there and wait because I don't speak enough English to find out on my own.). These student's views appear to be supported by Scott and de la Fuente's (2008) observation that students not permitted to use the L1 during grammar peer activities displayed reduced and fragmented levels of interaction. The researchers theorised that when students were 'forbidden to use the L1, their two languages compete, causing frustration and cognitive strain' (p. 110). As the teacher was viewed as being capable of speaking Japanese, participant feedback suggested that it was assumed L1 support would be offered when students experienced comprehension

difficulties. As a result, when support was not forthcoming students at times expressed frustration at what was characterised by student Hikari as the teacher being *'ijiwaru dake nande Eigo dake nano'* (He is just mean. Why only English?).

In the following exchange (Excerpt 25) the teacher withholds L1 support when a student is unable to determine what is required.

EXCERPT 24 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) nominates students to read the short dialogue. Miu (M) appears confused and consults Risa (R) who is sitting next to her.].

1T: number 1 ((T points at himself)) (.) number 2 ((points at M)) (.) number 3 ((points at R))

2 M: ((M quietly consults R while looking at her textbook))

3 T: ((T moves over to M)) you are ((points at M's textbook)) yeah (1) you are here ((points at textbook)) this girl (.) OK

4 M: (5) ((M turns to R and quietly converses while pointing at her textbook))

5 T: ((begins to read role from textbook)) all right (.) let's go to the museum on Friday ((looks at M and gestures with hand for her to continue reading))

6 M: (2) I can't (.) how about Saturday? ((small voice)) (5) ((M looks up at T and appears anxious))

7 T: ((Teacher moves over to M)) that's you ((points at M's textbook))

8 M: (2) *koko?* ((M looks up at T while pointing at text))
        'Here?'

9 T: <u>no</u> (.) you are this woman *ne* (1) I'm number 1 ((T indicates himself)) (2) <u>you</u> are number two ((points at M)) (.) and you are number 3 ((teacher points at R) '

10R: (2) ((R reads from textbook)) I'm sorry (.) I'm busy (1) is Sunday OK?

11M: ((inaudible))

12T: (3) ((teacher laughs)) no no no (1) try again

13M: ((M consults R))

The excerpt illustrates a number of key points in that it highlights the student's difficulty in understanding task requirements, the teacher's failure to clarify this misunderstanding and the student's reliance on peer support. In turn 1 the teacher nominates students to take part in a small group reading task. The student, Miu, uncertain as to the role she is to read, consults a classmate sitting next to her while pointing at the dialogue in her textbook (turn 2). In turn 3 the teacher who is in close physical proximity, intervenes by reaffirming the role she is to read, *'Yeah, you are here, this girl Ok'*. However, the teacher's explanation has clearly not abated Miu's uncertainty, and she once again quickly seeks clarification from her classmate in turn 4. In turn 5, the teacher, assuming that Miu and her classmate Risa have been sufficiently informed and are capable of taking part, initiates the exchange by interjecting *'all right'*. In turn 6, while still appearing uncertain, Miu, appearing anxious, attempts to identify and read her part rather than hold up progression of the activity. After reading (turn 6) and omitting part of the exchange, Miu's face is threatened as an uncomfortable silence envelopes the classroom (turn 6). Her loss of face is compounded when the teacher moves forward in turn 7 and points at Miu's textbook, *'that's you'* indicating that she is yet to finish reading her role and is by implication, responsible for the holdup.

In turn 8, Miu, reacting to the loss of face that results from the teacher's implication that she should understand the requirements, looks up directly at the teacher and strives to address the situation through requesting confirmation in her native language. Miu uses the Japanese demonstrative pronoun *'koko'* (here?) while pointing at her textbook dialogue in order to pinpoint the precise area she is to read[13]. Miu elects to frame the request by omitting the copula *desu* and question denominator *ka*. Miu's zero particle option comes across as informal when interacting with the teacher and implies her frustration at what she appears to regard as a lack of clarity regarding task requirements. Described as sociolinguistic speech-level markers, the *desu/masu* and plain form are chiefly used in clause-final positions. The *desu* is used in nominal endings while the *masu* is used in verbal endings (see Maynard, 1991). In contrast, the plain form is regarded as an informal speech-level marker. The *desu/masu* and plain forms index the speaker's affective attitudes towards the addressee such as stance on formality and is dependent on static contextual features such as social status or age (Niyekawa, 1991). In addition to static contextual features, researchers examining naturally occurring interaction have illustrated how use of these forms are employed by native speakers of Japanese to address dynamic features including interpersonal distance and interlocutor's attitudes so as to pragmatically articulate a choice of stances as interaction unfolds (Cook, 1999; Okamoto, 1998).

Miu's omission of the copula *desu* and question denominator *ka* implies that she views

---

[13] Japanese demonstratives are formed using *'ko'*, *'so'* and *'a'* The Japanese interrogative *'do'* is included in this family. This group can be used to refer to visible reference points and abstract concepts (Manita & Blagdon, 2010).

the co-occurring contextual features of the exchange, both static and dynamic, as failing to provide sufficient direction for her to take part in the exchange in the manner she would like. In addition, it registers as a sign to her peers and the teacher that she is irritated by the lack of clear direction, and consequently does not feel the necessity to endorse the teacher's face, as would be consistent with his status as authority within the classroom. In this way Miu indexes her stance and manages her public loss of face by making her peers aware that she cannot follow the teacher's directions, and that she believes the fault to lie with the teacher's insufficient description of task requirements. This line of approach implies criticism of the teacher's performance and is evidence of Miu's interpreting of the above interaction as threatening her face.

Reflecting on this exchange, Miu commented: *'Ano Eigo de wakaranai toki wakaru youni shite hoshii Nihongo nara wakaru'* (Well, when I don't understand in English, I want the teacher to make it clear for me. If it's in Japanese I can understand.). The student went on to explain: *'Shippai shitatoki minna ga mitetakara sugoku hazukashikatta. Sensei ga chanto setsumei shite kurenakattakara'* (When I made a mistake everyone was watching me so I was really embarrassed. It was because the teacher didn't explain clearly.). Miu's expectation that the teacher will explain in greater detail is consistent with research findings which suggest that within Japanese schools the role of the teacher is to transmit knowledge, while the student receiving knowledge without question (Nakane, 2006; Yoneyama, 1999). It appears that from Miu's perspective, as the teacher has frequently and publicly engaged the students in Japanese at other points during learning activities, it is not clear why he has not provided the same support at this time, *'Sensei ga sonokininatta toki ni dake nihongo o hanasunowa*

fukouhei dato omou' (I don't think it's fair the way the teacher uses Japanese only when he feels like it.). Not only is her face threatened by the teacher's refusal to provide L1 direction, but the obligatory *ne* (turn 9) *'you are this woman ne'* functions to seek assent and assumes that she should be aware of the information and capable of understanding the direction that has been provided. In turn 12, the teacher begins to laugh when the student once again fails to understand the direction. Miu, having lost face through this incident, reacts by indicating her resistance through again seeking student rather than teacher assistance when she visibly turns to Risa and begins talking.

This example suggests that from the students' perspective, the teacher has the ability to grant comprehension of lesson content, and therefore not to do so may at times be viewed as wasting valuable class time and constituting an unnecessary threat to students face. Irrespective of whether or not holding back information is a justifiable teaching technique, what is clear is that at times the students found the teacher's refusal to convey relevant subject matter difficult to rationalise. The teacher's ability to choose whether or not to withhold the L1 thus involves a threat to the students' face in that it impugned their ability to engage in activities and to control their own participation. Ultimately, this brings into focus the power imbalance within the classroom and the status of the students who, unable to voice their concerns with the teacher, must take a 'wait and see' approach.

9.9 Overview of Implications of L1 Use within the L2 Classroom

While the need for L2 input in acquisition is well documented, what is less clear are the

potential roles, if any, the L1 is to serve. Debate as to whether or not to use the students' native language within the L2 classroom continues to generate considerable interest and controversy in the field of second language acquisition. Traditionally, anti-L1 attitudes have tended to dominate teaching pedagogy with researchers promoting an L2 only policy, based on the argument that increased exposure to the L2 coupled with opportunities to practice facilitates the process of language acquisition. Some main arguments against using the L1 include concern regarding the uncontrolled and unprincipled use of the L1, the view of the L2 as an illegitimate means of communication, reduced L2 input, and limited chances to negotiate meaning in the target language. Moreover, Crichton (2009) suggests that teacher failure to interact with students through the target language may devalue the importance of language learning for students as it sends 'a strong implicit message about the teacher's attitude to the value of speaking the language' (p. 19).

While research has tended to categorise positions on L1 use anywhere from complete avoidance through to comprehensive acceptance, there has been growing support for a middle-ground position which argues that judicious use of the L1 can have benefits such as lowering the affective filter, making input more comprehensible, connecting with the students' identity, and creating better understand of tasks to ensure successful task completion (Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 1999, 2001; Duff & Polio, 1990; Levine, 2003; Polio & Duff, 1994; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002; Wilkerson, 2008). Advancing an increased role for the L1, Cook (2001) has argued that the L1 and the L2 coexist collaboratively in the student and, consequently, the L2 student should be viewed as a multi-competent language user as opposed to a deficient

L2 user, when compared to native speakers. Butzkamm (2003:37) maintains 'the evidence that is available calls monolingual approaches into question and opens up new paths in teaching methodology and materials production' that embrace the use of the mother tongue within the language classroom. Adding further support to a potential role for the L1, Levine (2003) argues that appropriate use of the L1 assists in making L2 input more salient and thereby facilitated intake of the second language (p. 356).

Macaro (2001:535) suggests three positions to make sense of various stated beliefs regarding the teacher's use of the students' L1. *The Virtual Position* states that the classroom is the virtual target country and consequently the aim of the classroom is the total, or near-total, exclusion of the L1. *The Maximal Position* forwards the belief that because there is no pedagogical value in L1 use, teachers try to employ the L2 maximally as the language of instruction. *The Optimal Position* suggests that some aspects of learning may actually be enhanced by the use of the L1. It is this *Optimal Position* which speaks to a fundamental shift in attitudes towards the L1 as a tool for instruction as researchers and educators scramble to identify how to effectively harness the L1 in order to bring about positive learning outcomes. While a definitive answer has not been, and is unlikely to be, universally embraced, there are nevertheless key questions which warrant extensive exploration within the research community and consideration by educators within the classroom. One such key question that needs to be answered may no longer be whether the L1 plays a role, but rather what this role might be. This leads us to a number of important questions not only in regard to pedagogical implications, but also in relation to the impact of teacher L1 use on the management of face and alignment with desired identities.

410

Throughout the period of observation, classroom activities illustrated what can be termed typical use of the L1 by the teacher in that it served specific functions such as facilitating comprehension, managing time and explaining activities. Data illustrated that the teacher's use of Japanese was closely associated with negative perceptions of student L2 competence. The teacher viewed the L1 as facilitating comprehension, encouraging participation, and establishing a psychological comfort zone for students. In contrast, the students objected to the teacher's power to choose whether or not to provide L1 support, erroneous use of the L1, and inappropriate management of linguistic force and social aspects of the use of the L1. Issues of access surfaced as a threat to students face particularly when students felt they were being denied access to L1 support for reasons that were not obvious.

To conclude, this chapter illustrates on a small scale how the students reacted to the non-Japanese teacher's use of Japanese by means of examining retrospective comments and classroom data. Data sources underscore the complexity of L1 use and illustrate that discussion needs to be broadened beyond questions relating to pedagogical issues such as the recommended role and frequency of the L1 in L2 acquisition. Cross-cultural concerns, particularly where the native speaking teacher is employing the students' L1, need to be considered in order to explore the potential implications regarding the management of face and the enactment of identities. Within the context of this thesis, the non-Japanese teacher's use of Japanese, while well intentioned, on occasion created a dilemma for students, who resisted, rejected, and at times aligned with identities imposed by the teacher. Data analysis underscored that many of the identities imposed

411

by the teacher were in conflict with those identities sought by students, in turn contributing to ongoing tensions in the management of face. Janes (2000) notes that 'by being able to interpret the attitudes of the speaker, and convey appropriate attitudes of oneself, the foreign student of Japanese may be able to function more sensitively in interpersonal relationships and avoid some instances of cross-cultural misunderstanding' (p. 1850). In addition, the above discussion suggests that sensitivity to the interactional implications of the L1 need be carefully considered by the L2 teacher particularly in cases where L1 proficiency is limited. As formal teacher training in the L1 may be limited, an accurate awareness of one's L1 competency is an important concern for teachers.

Chapter 10: The Right to Silence: Silence as an Act of Identity

10.1 Overview: Classroom Silence

Chapter 10 examines the students' management of face and identity alignment as revealed through acts of student silence, instances of which were frequently observed during the English language activities. Throughout the recorded classes, the students' silence, particularly at points when invited by the teacher to contribute responses, appeared to be a source of frustration for the teacher who could be observed admonishing the students or directing the 'offending' student to work more quickly. In this way, teacher intervention during periods of student silence suggested that a lack of student verbal involvement during learning activities was critically interpreted as constituting poor student performance associated with student failure to participate in

the way the teacher expected or desired. Classroom recordings contextualised through participants' feedback suggested that communication breakdown was at times associated with; (a) misunderstandings based on differences in teacher/student tolerance of silence, (b) assumptions regarding the role of silence, and (c) interpretations of what constituted silence. Among other things, interview comments illustrated that student silence was critically viewed by the teacher as being associated with insufficient student motivation, a lack of interest in English activities, a poor attitude, limited L2 competence and a lack of confidence. Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2005) note that the act of interpreting silence is to be expected given that the assumption is that it carries a message relevant to the interaction.

> When people perceive silence (i.e., when an interlocutor is unexpectedly physically, informationally and/or participatorily silent), people typically try to interpret the silence. This is because the silence is perceived to be relevant, with a communicative import that needs to be figured out. So people try to work out if there was an informative intent (i.e., does the silence have a pragmatic meaning, such as 'I disagree with you' or 'I'm angry with you') and if so, what it was, and whether or not the 'silent' person was deliberately trying to communicate this.
>
> (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2005:57-58)

At the same time, the researchers warn that perceptions of silence are determined by the individual's expectations and consequently it is necessary to examine the 'conventions/norms associated with the communicative event as to who is permitted to speak, and when' (p. 57). In regard to the teacher's negative interpretation of silence

413

within the current study, the misinterpretation of the messages being conveyed by students resulted in misunderstanding. The potential threat to student face is implied by Jaworski and Sachdev (2004) who stress that within the classroom silence is, rightly or wrongly, often associated with perceived academic abilities. The assumption being here that student silence is a cover for academic limitations. In this sense, while silence is recognised as a powerful communicative tool, Jaworski and Sachdev (2004) highlight that within communication in general, 'silence is construed negatively while talk is construed positively' (p. 231). In the following analysis student feedback highlighted how teacher and student expectations regarding talk and silence can affect the management of face and alignment with identities. This is of importance given that retrospective comments underscored that the students recognised that they were being negatively evaluated by the teacher for employing silence in a way they describe as being appropriate classroom behaviour.

In contrast with the teacher's critical view of student silence, classroom recordings illustrated that the students appeared to recognise silence as being an interactive, expressive and acceptable form of communication. The argument that Japanese society has a high tolerance for silence and that silence serves a diverse array of communicative functions has been well documented (see Biggs, 1994, 1998, 1999; Liu, 2002; Nakane, 2005, 2006; Wong, 2003, 2010). Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that in our study, student retrospective feedback illustrated that teacher classroom intervention which directly or indirectly implied that silence was unacceptable, appeared difficult for students to reconcile with their expectations of classroom behaviour. For example, responding to the teacher's intervention during silence student Marin commented:

'Uchiga nanimo itte naito sensei wa yarou to shiteinaindana tte omoundatte wakaru demo soujyanai' (I know that when I don't say anything the teacher thinks I'm not trying. But that's not right.).

In the following analysis it becomes clear that the teacher's tendency to paint a picture of the Japanese students as unwilling or academically challenged, based on negative perceptions of silence, represents what appears to be a failure to acknowledge the non-verbal communication strategies employed by the students. The students' insights into what they were thinking during points of classroom silence underscore that silence represents a complex and diverse communication tool influenced by a range of contextual and socio-cultural factors. Specifically, student feedback suggested that the absence of talk was not viewed by students as the absence of communication. In other words, the students' feedback illustrated that silence was viewed as a communicative tool with particular objectives that were generally overlooked, or misinterpreted by the teacher.

In order to better understand the teacher/student tensions associated with silence, this chapter analyses specific points of classroom silence and discusses these through close attention to the students' retrospective feedback, features of the situation in which silence occurs, and the teacher's interview comments. Relevant to the following analysis is the divergence between the students' and their non-Japanese teacher's interpretations of; (a) what constituted silence, and (b) the appropriateness of silence within the context of the communicative L2 classroom. The chapter begins with an overview of silence in communication which leads to the presentation of a working

definition of silence employed throughout this chapter. Student retrospective comments draw attention to four distinct functions of silence which are discussed in turn through student retrospective insights; (a) silence and fear of failure, (b) silence and L2 limitations, (c) silence and *aizuchi* (backchannel) communication strategies, and (d) silence and processing time. These four functions are contextualised through the analysis of silence during classroom activities. While these functions are interconnected, they are individually discussed as these key functions of silence provide insights into critical aspects of the students' negotiation of face and the enactment of identities within the classroom. The multilayered nature of identity as revealed through student silence underscores how students routinely construct and enact new selves which are not always recognised by the teacher. In this sense, silence exposes cross-cultural disparities in the management of face and illustrates how the students attempted to employ patterns of language behaviour in line with what they felt to be classroom norms, even when aware that many of the identities enacted through silence were either not recognised or were rejected by the classroom teacher.

10.2 Silence in Communication

Early characterisations of conversational silence as outlined by Johannesen (1974) make the point that with any meaningful silence we have to assume that some thought processes are involved. To elaborate, Jaworski (1993) indicates that silence (about something) occurs, and is perceived as significant and meaningful, when talk (about something) is expected by the hearer and/or intentionally withheld by the speaker. Johannesen (1974) details 20 meanings of the forms and functions of silence in

416

'purposive, everyday, interpersonal communication' as:

> (1) The person lacks sufficient information to talk on the topic. (2) The person feels no sense of urgency about talking. (3) The person is carefully pondering exactly what to say next. (4) The silence may simply reflect the person's normal rate of thinking. (5) The person is avoiding discussion of a controversial or sensitive issue out of fear. (6) The silence expresses agreement. (7) The silence expresse[s] disagreement. (8) The person is doubtful or indecisive. (9) The person is bored. (10) The person is uncertain of someone else's meaning. (11) The person is in awe, or raptly attentive, or emotionally overcome. (12) The person is snooty or impolite. (13) The person's silence is a means of punishing others, of annihilating others symbolically by excluding them from verbal communication. (14) The person's silence marks a characteristic personality disturbance. (15) The person feels inarticulate despite a desire to communicate; perhaps the topic lends itself more to intuitive sensing than to verbal discussion. (16) The person's silence reflects concern for not saying anything to hurt another person. (17) The person is daydreaming or preoccupied with other matters. (18) The person uses silence to enhance his own isolation, independence, and sense of self-uniqueness. (19) The silence marks sulking anger. (20) The person's silence reflects empathic exchange, the companionship of shared mood or insights.
>
> (Johannesen, 1974:29)

Linking silence with concepts such as isolation, indecisiveness and even personality disturbance, Johannesen (1974) creates the impression that silence is strongly viewed in

certain cultures and societies as a form of anti-social behaviour. Challenging this position, research in recent years has moved beyond the assumption that silence impedes interaction, and has provided compelling evidence that people from different cultures have different ways of valuing and using silence as a tool for communication in varied situations (Jaworski, 2005; Jaworski & Sachdev, 2004; Sifianou, 1992, 1995, 1997). In short, research has suggested that silence during interaction can both positively and negatively impact on communication (Tannen, 1985). Further, the communicative role of silence has been the focus of growing attention as a result of the increasing acceptance that differing social and cultural conventions and expectations impact upon perceptions of silence, pragmatic interpretations, and evaluative reactions. For example, challenging the assumption that silence is fundamentally negative, Sifianou (1992, 1995, 1997) explores the relationship between silence and politeness in terms of Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) universal politeness theory and observes that politeness is not the only motivation for engaging silence. Sifianou (1995) argues that 'the value attached to silence is a situational and cultural variable, so it is unjustified to attribute the highest degree of politeness to silence universally' (p. 97). Accordingly, we can assume that situational and cultural contexts influence the language patterns employed and different cultures retain different standards, values and expectations which serve to influence their views on the significance of silence. Within Brown and Levinson's framework, silence is accorded the status of the fifth major super strategy 'Don't do the FTA' which is characterised as the most polite form of linguistic behaviour. Nevertheless, Sifianou notes that silence can potentially be face-saving or face-threatening depending on the circumstances of its occurrence. In addition, Sifianou (1995) suggests that silence can constitute a positive, negative, or off-record politeness

strategy depending on the situation. For example, as a negative politeness strategy in a classroom context, one may employ silence in order to avoid imposing on a classmate who appears deep in thought. In differing circumstances, one may demonstrate rapport with a peer (positive politeness) through remaining silent and granting the individual control of the floor in order to express himself. In addition the researcher likens silence to an off-record politeness strategy by highlighting the natural ambiguity and indirectness such as in the response to an embarrassing question.

Sifianou's (1992, 1995, 1997) observations, in particular the point that situational and cultural variables inform the communicative intentions of silence, is supported by a growing body of research which has demonstrated that silence takes many forms and that consequently, any single interpretation across or within languages and cultures is likely to be misleading. This potential for misunderstanding and misinterpretation is highlighted by Kurzon (1997) who advises that the 'interpretation of silence must be culture-specific in that each society tolerates a different length of silence in conversation' (p. 23). In intercultural interaction, Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2005) point out that complications can arise in the analyses of silence for the reason that 'differing conventions and expectations at the group level may impact upon people's perceptions of silence, pragmatic interpretations and evaluative reactions at the individual level' (p. 58). Spencer-Oatey and Xing note that mismatches in expectations can result in subjective feelings of 'uncomfortable silence' and may 'lead people to feel they have been 'forced' into silence or have not been 'allowed' to be silent' (p. 55). Using discourse data and follow-up interview comments from two Chinese-British business meetings, the researchers found that differing reactions to talk and non-talk affected the meetings

with interactional consequences resulting from mismatches in expectations. For example, the Chinese delegation leader reported feeling offended when what he viewed as being the interpreter's interruption prevented him from giving a return speech. Spencer-Oatey and Xing note that 'the Chinese leader was ''forced' to be informationally silent in terms of the return speech' however the British participants were unaware that he felt silenced. On the contrary, the British Chairman reported that the Chinese delegation members appeared more casual than in the past and less concerned about meeting protocols including return speeches (p. 69).

Supporting the position that 'silence has many faces' Jaworski (1993:24) emphasises that silence should not be characterised as simply the absence of talk. On the contrary, Jaworski argues that a multitude of meanings and functions are served by interactive silence in different cultural contexts and in all of life's interpersonal communicative situations. Embracing a position that views interaction as structured as much by silence as it is by speech, Jaworski (2005) notes that since Tannen and Saville-Troike's (1985) publication, the examination of silence has gained mainstream status as researchers probe issues such as disparity in the use and interpretations of silence in interaction (p. 1). The diverse manifestations of silence draw attention to the different ways in which talk and silence are juxtaposed both intentionally and unintentionally, and consequently Jaworski and Sachdev (2004) stress that 'talk and silence are not absolute categories with clear boundaries' (p. 231). This point is raised by Spencer-Oatey (2005) who argues the need to address the complexity of silence through multiple perspectives in order to account for various manifestations, expectations and subjective feelings. Specifically, the researcher suggests attention to the manifestations of silence,

contextual influences on silence, pragmatic interpretations of silence and evaluative reactions to silence (p. 56). The interest in how silence plays a communicative role in daily life and how it works in different areas of human communication in various social and cross-cultural contexts continues to generate increasing interest within the research community. This rise in interest is well summed-up in the following comment by Jaworski (2005):

> It used to be customary to write about silence beginning with a bit of a lament that it was a 'neglected' or 'undervalued' area of sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and other related disciplines. This is no longer necessary nor possible.

(Jaworski, 2005:1)

10.3 Silence: The Japanese Classroom and Japanese Language

Interest in cultural variation in the communicative functions of silence in daily life draws attention to potential differences in socio-cultural attitudes towards the role of silence in communication. These attitudes, influenced by an array of socio-cultural factors, are integral to understanding how silence is employed and interpreted in order to achieve specific communicative goals. Moreover, understanding socio-cultural attitudes towards the communicative functions of silence may provide insights into both what is said, and what is left unsaid during cross-cultural communication. Emphasising that silence in cross-cultural interaction is not only context-dependent but also carries socio-culturally defined uses, Nakane (2005) makes the point that it is necessary to understand how language proficiency and culture-specific communicative styles

contribute to silence in cross-cultural communication (p. 96).

In an examination of three Japanese students participation during university tutorials, Nakane (2005) observes that silence had a subtle effect on misunderstanding or miscommunication such as when Japanese students were nominated to participate. Nomination was found to trigger further silence which lecturers at times mistakenly interpreted as a missed opportunity or request for support. Responding to the Japanese students' silence, non-Japanese peers or the lecturers were found to take over the floor from the Japanese students which effectively silenced the Japanese students (p. 94). In addition, examining silence and politeness in intercultural communication in university seminars, Nakane (2006) found that Japanese university students employed silence with far greater frequency than did Australian students. Similarly, Wong (2003), comparing Japanese and British respondents, found that the Japanese overwhelmingly agreed that silence was an important means of expressing themselves. Suggesting that there is a fundamental difference in perceptions of silence and communication, Wong states that 'saying nothing as a form of self-expression is particularly prevalent amongst Japanese' (p. 131). The implication being that silence is in fact, an interactive exchange, and therefore cannot be interpreted as the absence of communication. Taking a position that suggests that the silence orientations of Japanese are influenced by cultural and social perceptions of appropriateness rather than representing a feature of the linguistic system, Murata (1994) found that Japanese students were more likely to remain silent and less inclined to initiate interruptions than English speakers when interacting not only in Japanese, but also in English. The implication from the above being that Japanese silence reflects a high socio-cultural value attached to nonverbal communication and the

economy of language use.

Shedding light on disparities regarding interpretations of silence as viewed from the perspective of students, Kato's (2001) examination of cultural differences in learning styles between Australian exchange students in Japan and their Japanese counterparts in Australia found that both groups recognised Japanese students as tending to remain silent in class. Interestingly however, while Australian students interpreted Japanese student silence as an indication of immaturity associated with perceived failure to express opinions, the Japanese students viewed the Australian students' verbosity as a sign of immaturity as students 'always express clearly what they want' (p. 63). The researcher's conclusion being that the participants do not share common socio-cultural premises from which interpretations of silence emerge. Similarly, the potential for misunderstanding and the misjudging of the communicative intentions informing silence has been documented between students and teachers. A point in case being research drawing on data collected from interviews with non-Japanese teachers working with Japanese students which found that silent student responses were frequently perceived by the teachers as interfering with learning and resulted in an unfavorable evaluative reaction (Nakane, 2005). A similar association between student silence and an unfavorable teacher appraisal is highlighted by Nakane's 2006 research which found that Japanese student silence was interpreted by Australian lecturers as 'a negative indicator of academic competence in Australian university education' (p. 1831). A challenge to this argument can be found in Wong's (2003) questionnaire survey which found that Japanese students at times employed silence when they, in fact, wished to be nominated to speak in formal situations such as the classroom. The implication being

that the Japanese teacher would recognise and respond to this use of silence through inviting student participation. Suggesting that there was indeed a degree of misunderstanding in relation to student silence and the desire to participate, student Kaho commented: *'Unn hitorini kiitahouga ii to omoimasu minnani kikuto unto ie ano ienai mawarinohito o kizukatte ienakunacchaukara itte to iwareruto futsuni ieru kara'* (Well, I think it's best if the teacher asks one student. If he asks everyone, well, you can't answer. You can't answer because you think about all the others around you. If you're told to answer you can answer usually.). Kaho went on to explain that she felt *'itte tte sasaretahouga sumuuzuni ieru'* (it would be smoother if (the teacher) chose someone to answer.). In addition, Wong found that Japanese students at times elected to remain silent when they felt their opinions contradicted a generally held opinion (p. 135). These views of the communicative functions and interpretations of silence expose the potential for misunderstanding to result from diverging socio-cultural frameworks.

10.4 Silence: A working Definition

In regard to the discussion of silence, a key issue within pragmatics is whether silence, as the absence of sound, is intended to convey a message. In the following analysis, I examine silence during English activities with attention to illuminating the Japanese students' perspectives. Specifically, I argue that classroom silence is viewed by the students not only as acceptable classroom behaviour, but also as an interactive communication strategy which functions in a diverse range of ways to both maintain the students face, and to uphold the face of the teacher. The ensuing discussion maintains that socio-cultural factors influence both the uses and interpretations of silence within

the classroom, however, it does not intend to suggest that 'Western' and 'Asian' cultures are categorically opposed in their respective views of silence. Speaking to this issue, Nakane (2005), while acknowledging that different cultures have different ways of valuing and using silence as a tool of communication in varied situations, makes the important point that 'rather than dichotomising East and West in their orientations to silence and talk, it is important to explain what variables are in play to what degree and why in the negotiation of participation' (p. 95). Concurring with Nakane, the following analysis seeks to understand silence in terms of the variables that are in play through closely examining the immediate factors that influence interaction within the specific classroom context in which it occurs and as interpreted by the participants.

In the following analysis, we use the term 'interactive silence' to refer to the Japanese students' intentional and/or unintentional use of silence as a non-verbal means of communication. Kurzon's (1995:65) *unintentional* vs. *intentional* silence model differentiates between 'I can't tell you (because I don't know)' responses and 'I will not tell you (because I don't want to)' or 'I must/may not respond' (because I do not have permission). According to Kurzon, intentional silence represents a deliberate strategy to save face while unintentional silence results from anxiety, embarrassment or panic. In other words, intentional silence serves as a conscious decision or refusal to interact, while unintentional silence is an indication of one's inability to communicate or inhibitions that psychologically prevent verbal interaction.

'Intentional' vs. 'Unintentional' Silence

— 'Unintentional' silence	'I cannot respond'
	(lack of knowledge, incomprehension,
	inhibition)
— 'Intentional' silence (internal)	'I will not respond'
	(lack of willingness)
— 'Intentional' silence (external)	'I must/may not respond'
	(coercion, lack of permission)

(Kurzon, 1995:65)

Importantly, Kurzon (2007), drawing on Berger (2004), notes that while 'there appears to be a clear distinction between intentional and unintentional silence …there may be transitional cases between the two extremes' (p. 1677). For example, within the current examination students indicated that silence was at times associated with comprehension difficulties (unintentional silence), however later shifted to a more intentional strategy when, even after students were able to comprehend material, they elected to remain silent rather than verbally contribute to the English activity being conducted. Through focusing on the students' use of and interpretation of silence, the following analysis of student feedback identifies a number of functions facilitated by the use of silence during the English activities.

10.5 Teacher Interpretation of and Response to Student Silence

For teachers, student silence can be ambiguous and potentially discomforting as it raises questions such as: *'Do the students understand?', 'How can I tell if learning is taking*

place?' and *'How can I involve the students?'* In the current study, interview feedback, viewed in combination with classroom interaction, suggests that from the teacher's perspective, when a student was silent this was critically viewed as interfering with the flow of learning activities and the student's capacity to achieve positive learning outcomes. In the teacher's own words: *'It's the kids' responsibility to participate and embrace a positive attitude. Staying quiet doesn't get through the lesson and it certainly doesn't lead to what I would consider satisfactory learning.'* The implication being here that student silence was interpreted as being non-participatory behaviour associated with a negative student attitude and substandard learning outcomes.

Suggesting that there are two culturally informed motivations for the Japanese students' silence, the teacher refers to what he assumes to be the students' desire to avoid mistakes, and a lack of interest in participating: *'I think it is a Japanese cultural thing. Basically if you don't say anything you can't make a mistake. Students wait for another student to answer because it's safer. Then there are those students who stay silent because they can't be bothered. No interest in being in class or what they are going to learn. You get this a lot but usually with the older kids.'* The teacher begins by suggesting that silence is a Japanese cultural manifestation which he critically associates with fear of failure and avoidance of participation. The implication being here that silence is employed primarily as a means of avoiding threat to face associated with classroom participation. This critical feedback carries the implication that the silent student is presumed to be liable to make a mistake, and consequently, is perhaps lacking in confidence and/or L2 aptitude. This teacher's position finds support in Nakane's 2006 examination of student silence which argues that the avoidance of talk by Japanese

427

students within the classroom functions to reduce the threat to one's face. Essentially, if the student elects to avoid a verbal contribution, then the student is able to control and ultimately avert any possibility that his contribution may be incorrect. The teacher's interpretation of silence appears to be consistent with Murata's (2011) research findings which highlight that one of the primary factors constraining Japanese students in class is the priority attached to accuracy. Murata hypothesises that this attention to accuracy is the result of the priority attached to the acquirement of factual knowledge within the Japanese education system.

Arguably of greater consequence to the students, the teacher in our study identifies a second motivation for student silence as being what he assumes to be an intentional lack of interest and/or motivation. This negative interpretation of the students' silence implies that seemingly irrespective of the students' actual communicative intent, the silent student will be negatively evaluated as exhibiting deliberatively non-participatory behaviour. Suggesting a potential gap regarding interpretations of student classroom participation, Nakane's (2006) examination of Japanese student silence in Australian universities concluded that 'The ideologies and theories of education in Australia encourage student centred classroom practice. Classroom participation is often given weight as part of assessment, and active participation may be considered as engagement and willingness to learn' (p. 1819). Drawing attention to non-Japanese teachers' critical interpretations of silence, Nakane, while noting variance in response strategies, cites silence as being viewed as a potential barrier, and that 'unless the 'barrier' is broken by either the student or the lecturer, the negative consequences of silence will remain' (p. 1830). The teacher in our study, noting his opposition to student silences throughout

classroom activities, further stated: *'I put time into getting the kids talking. It is not a good situation when the class is silent. They have to speak English if they are going to learn.'* With the focus of learning activities on eliciting verbal contributions, it appears that the periods of silence that punctuated classes may have challenged the teacher's face claims as they were interpreted as interfering with his ability to engage the class, reduced his capacity to confirm student comprehension, and impeded lesson progression. This feedback reflects findings in Nakane's (2006) examination of Japanese student silence in Australian universities which found that the participating Australian lecturers regarded silence as a threat to face, with silence viewed as a practice to be avoided.

While it is easy to stand back and be critical of teachers and the work they do, it is worth keeping in mind that student silence may present a valid obstacle for the teacher, particularly as teachers are often faced with lesson time constraints and the need to progress through their curriculum. The potential quandary teachers may face is illustrated by Tsui (1996) who argues that 'although one should avoid making the sweeping generalisations that talking equals learning, and forcing students to participate when they are not ready, one cannot deny that participation is very important in language learning' (p. 145). For the non-Japanese English teacher employed at an *eikaiwa* (English conversation school), it is assumed that the teacher will create opportunities for students to verbally interact in English. The teacher's ability to engage students in level appropriate English conversation tasks is the primary objective, and the criteria by which employers and teachers often measure success. According to Nakane's (2005) examination of silence, one of the problems with Japanese student silence is that it can be difficult for the teacher to determine if silence is the 'result of linguistic

problems and/or cognitive processing time, lack of comprehension, or an indirect signal of lack of confidence or lack of ideas' (p. 94). In our study, as the teacher assumed silence was a negative behaviour his reaction was to intervene in order to encourage verbal participation, or alternatively, to move on with the lesson:

I try to get them (students) to join in, but if they are having trouble or are too shy then I just move on to the next student otherwise you end up doing nothing for a long time. You've got to move on. Other students who do know the answers and want to join in are waiting.

The teacher notes a desire to avoid silence, viewed as being a waste of time, in order to progress with the lesson. It appears that the teacher's position is influenced by the assumption that there are students who *'know the answers'* and *'want to join in'* who will share the teacher's feelings. The implication being here that the unresponsive student has been aligned with a negative identity and the teacher does not feel it necessary to perform facework in order to minimise imposition or loss of face when progressing with the lesson. The teacher's feedback suggests that student silence is viewed as a behaviour students will recognise as being inappropriate within the classroom, and should be encouraged to avoid. Throughout English activities the teacher tended to reject silence, and his intervention often appeared forceful and authoritative in tone. This highlighted the power imbalance between teacher and student for as Pavlidou (2001) notes, while the teacher can ignore a student who desires to partake, 'a student could not simply remain silent if selected by the teacher as the next speaker, at least not without severe consequences' (p. 107). Accordingly, Pavlidou

suggests that teachers appear inclined to neglect their students' negative face wants and place a greater emphasis on the positive face wants of their students. The following classroom excerpt illustrates a point during English activities when the teacher intervened following student silence. This except demonstrates the approach typically employed by the teacher throughout activities. The teacher would invite students to respond and then would wait. In the event that there were no volunteers, the teacher would directly nominate a member of the class to take part.

EXCERPT 25 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) invites the students (S) to volunteer answers to a question from the textbook. When the students remain silent after several invitations to participate the teacher responds by nominating student Rika (R) to answer.].

1 T: when do you exercise? ((T looks around at students gesturing with hands))

2 S: (5) ((student silence))

3 T: when? (4) ((T looks around at students and shrugs)) in the morning?

4 S: (4) ((student silence))

5 T: ((T shrugs)) in the morning? ((T looks around at students))

6 S: (6) ((student silence))

7 T: when do you exercise? ((T points directly at R))

8 R: (3) ((R looks up at T)) in the morning

When seeking student contributions to the opening question *'when do you exercise?'* (turn 1) the teacher initially encourages the class to self-select by looking around at the

students while gesturing with his hands (upward palm with fingers curling inward) as if to beckon a response. The ensuing student silence (turn 2) appears to be interpreted by the teacher as student reluctance to engage in the activity and he responds by again soliciting voluntary student participation. This time, however, the teacher assumes a more serious countenance and harsher tone of voice as he shrugs, appearing frustrated, while looking around at the students (turn 3). At the same time, the teacher displays concern for the students' face through responding to the potential that the initial question has not been understood by the class. In order to facilitate comprehension, the teacher simplifies the original question and in doing so draws attention to the key information required, *'When?'*. The teacher, perhaps assuming that the students silence indicates a lack of ability to answer the question and a fear of making a mistake in front of peers, further reduces the potential threat to face by modeling a possible response, *'In the morning?'* (turn 3). When the teacher's additional support is repeated (turn 5) and again fails to elicit a student response (turns 4 and 6), the teacher appears agitated and alters his approach by repeating the initial question and directly gesturing towards one of the students (turn 7). The teacher's nomination of Rika is non-negotiable and it is clear that a response is expected. Rika, when nominated to answer, pauses briefly before responding correctly and seemingly without hesitation, *'In the morning'* (turn 8).

During an interview following the class the teacher's comment, *'You don't have to be afraid of making mistakes, I want the kids to be able to be relaxed',* highlighted his desire for greater student verbal participation and what appears to be the assumption that fear was a contributing factor that prevented students from achieving what the teacher regarded as an acceptable level of participation. This view finds support in

Aspinall's (2006) examination of Japanese adolescents and adults in learning environments where he argues that societal and cultural influences may hinder effective English language teaching and learning of communicative English skills. Among other things, Aspinall suggests that the idea that there is one 'correct' answer or way to respond to the teacher's question interferes with students' willingness to express themselves freely and therefore, may inhibit the development of communication skills.

From the teacher's feedback it appears that student silence was viewed as a face-saving strategy which reflected the students' tendency to avoid the risks associated with potential public failure. In other words, the task was not necessarily viewed as being beyond the students L2 competence. The implication here being that the students who remained silent and did not participate during speaking tasks were negatively viewed as failing to meet expectations associated with a 'good student' performance. As noted, the students' failure to verbally engage in speaking tasks frequently resulted in teacher intervention intended to transform classroom behaviour in order to increase student participation. Nakane (2005) makes the point that the study of Asian students' silence has tended to focus on exploring why students are silent, and how 'this "problem" of lack of participation can be alleviated' (p. 76). The researcher makes the point that as students' silence has typically been attributed to socio-cultural factors, the basic premise behind this reasoning and approach to intervention is the assumption that Japanese student silence is a classroom behaviour that is non-desirable and should be corrected. In terms of student identity this has significant implications as a focus on bringing about cultural adaption represents the forced alignment with an identity not necessarily valued or desired by Japanese students. In addition, the teacher may form an evaluative

judgment of the 'silent student' based on the degree to which he aligns himself with a role that demands a reduced and restricted range of applications of interactive silence in favour of increased verbal participation.

10.6 Classroom Silence from the Students' Perspective

Student retrospective insights following classroom English activities illustrate how the teacher's assumptions that student silence was the deliberate avoidance of talk was rejected by the students as being both unmerited and inaccurate. In addition, classroom recordings and retrospective reflections on these recordings illustrated that the Japanese students' viewed silence as a normative classroom non-verbal form of communication. As a result, the teacher's implication that silence violated appropriate student behaviour appears to have been a threat to the students face, as was illustrated in the following comments offered by students Iori and Sayaka: *'Sensei wa nanika itte hoshii to omotterutte wakarukara puressha o kanjiru'* (I felt pressure because I knew that the teacher wanted me to say something) and *'nanika kotaenai to sensei wa watashi ga isshoukemmei yatterutte omotte kurenai tte wakaru'* (I know that I have to answer otherwise the teacher won't think I'm doing my best.). These comments suggest that the teacher's intervention during periods of silence, supported by his position of authority within the classroom, threatened the students face as they felt pressure to align with unfamiliar identities and embrace patterns of language use that were at times uncomfortable. Jaworski and Sachdev's (1998) examination of classroom silence argues that student silence is associated with the institutionalised power imbalance that exists between teachers and pupils. The argument being here that the teacher maintains control

of discourse and speaking rights, and has the authority to nominate students to speak or demand silence. The researchers found that students regarded silence as being more important for learning than teachers did, and that teacher 'expectations for students to be verbally more active in the classroom may be a potential source of anxiety and conflict for some students' (p. 284). Within our study, the issue of control surfaces in feedback such as student Marin's comment: *'Nanimo iitakunai toki demo nanika iwanakya ikenai tte kanjiru, sentaku nanka naishi, nanka chotto mukatsuichau'* (It feels like I have to say something even when I don't want to. I don't really have a choice. It actually makes me feel a little frustrated.). Marin's feedback suggests that teacher intervention during silence threatened students' face and may have inadvertently perpetuated classroom silence by increasing acts of student resistance to the tasks. Moreover, the feedback implies that teacher intervention unintentionally imposed on freedom and directly challenged the positive value students wanted to claim by implying that the students were engaged in inappropriate classroom behaviour. The impact on identity is significant in that the teacher's intervention during silence intimated that the students would not be recognised as 'good students' unless they avoided the use of silence in favor of a vocal classroom role.

In addition, student feedback such as Risa's comment *'nanimo ittenai houga kiraku de ii'* (I felt more comfortable not saying anything) implied that at times silence may have been favoured by the students, and by implication, recognised by students as aligned with standard classroom behaviour. Moreover, although negatively interpreted by the teacher, student silence did not appear to represent resistance to classroom practices introduced by the teacher. On the contrary, Akari's comment *'kikinagara dousurebaiika*

kangaeteta' (I was listening and thinking about what to do) and *'watashi toshitewa sugoku ganbattetandakedo sensei wa kizuite kurenakatta to omou'* (I really was doing my best but I don't think the teacher realised) indicate that she was actively engaged in the task yet felt that this was not recognised by the teacher.

Student retrospection implies that while silence was in fact at times a precursor to comprehension difficulties, as assumed by the teacher, this was far from being the case in all circumstances. In contrast, students' retrospective feedback indicated that during silent periods they were typically on task and actively thinking about lesson content and/or frequently formulating oral responses. At other moments, students indicated that they had in fact believed that they had communicated a response through silence, however felt that the teacher had not recognised, not permitted, or had misunderstood the intended message. This gap in the use and interpretation of silence impacted on the negotiation of face as the students' face claims did not always appear to be appraised in line with their intentions or assumptions. The following four functions identified within students' retrospective interviews are the focus of the following analysis as they generate insights into silence orientations and the negotiation of face and enactment of identity from the students' perspective.

- Silence and fear of failure: Student fear of responding incorrectly.
- Silence and L2 limitations: Silence as a response to limitations in English response options.
- Silence and *aizuchi* (backchannel) communication strategies: Non-verbal and verbal communication cues employed by students that were not recognised by the

teacher.

- Silence and processing time: Variation in teacher/student assumptions regarding the amount of time required for processing lesson content.

These four functions of silence, discussed one by one in the subsequent section, suggest that while silence communicates information, this message does not always correspond to the interpretation rendered by the teacher. The students' silence raises issues of cross-cultural pragmatic discrepancies that focus attention on the students' views regarding their right to silence in the construction of identities. This is particularly relevant as a number of the identities revealed through silence are not recognised or are even disallowed by the teacher during English activities. Within the following analysis not all of the silences observed during classroom learning activities were intentional or strategic. In addition, it was not always possible, even with the aid of retrospection, to determine the students' intentions during periods of silence. While students' motivations for silence differed according to factors such as the task and levels of English proficiency, the teacher did not have access to this information and therefore intervened in a way he intuitively felt to be appropriate. The result being that the students, at times viewed by the teacher to be non-participatory, were often silenced rather than silent.

10.7 Classroom Silence and Fear of Failure

Teacher interview data suggested that the Japanese students' silence during learning activities constituted a cultural predisposition towards protecting face through risk

avoidance and non-participation. To some extent this position was supported by retrospective feedback during which students identified concern that making mistakes in the presence of the teacher and peers would result in teacher alignment with a 'bad student' identity. For example, student Ami commented, *'minna no maede machigaeru noga kowakatta kara amari nanimo iitaku nakatta'* (I didn't really want to say anything because I was afraid of making a mistake in front of everyone) and Miu stated: *'Shitsumon wa rikai dekita kedo machigaeru noga kowakatta kara nanimo iwanakatta'* (I could understand the question but I was afraid of making a mistake so I didn't say anything.). These comments suggest that silence, at times, may have been employed as an intentional strategy to avoid loss of face that the students appeared to assume would follow an errant classroom contribution. In the ensuing analysis, three classroom excerpts which illustrate functions of student silence and the relationship to student fear of failure are discussed through attention to the students' retrospective comments. The first excerpt illustrates a point during which the students silence follows the classroom teacher's request for voluntary student contributions to an activity.

EXCERPT 26 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks the students (S) to volunteer responses to an activity which focuses on the pronunciation of short vowel sounds. Following an extended period of silence the teacher nominates student Hikari (H) to respond.].

1 T: ((T holds up textbook and points to target activity)) OK (.) we're looking at short vowels (.) what's a short vowel? ((T looks at S))

2 S: (5) ((Ss look around at each other silently))

3 T: ((T shrugs)) anybody? ((T looks around at Ss))

4 S: (7) ((S silence))

5 T: ((T points in the direction of students to invite volunteers)) (3) what's a vowel?

((S can be seen looking down at desks, tilting their heads and whispering)) (3)

(2) anybody? ((T shrugs shoulders)

6S: (5) ((Ss look at each other and whisper))

7T: ((T moves over to H) don't know? (4) ((H remains silent and tilts head)) ((T

shrugs and points to Ss on H's left)) do you guys know? (2) what's a vowel?

8S: (3) ((S silence))

9T: ((T looks at Ss)) *boin* (1) in Japanese we say *boin*

'Vowel. In Japanese we say *boin*'

The teacher commences by gesturing towards the textbook while verbally directing the

students to the activity by announcing *'we're looking at short vowels',* after which he

invites the students to contribute information by asking *'what's a short vowel?'* (turn 1).

The teacher appears to interpret the students' lack of a verbal response (turn 2) as a

threat to his face as is implied by his perplexed facial expression and concomitant shrug

of his shoulders. Having initially failed to encourage the students to participate in the

activity in the way he intends, the teacher elects to directly invite contributions (turn 3).

Through reinforcing that *'anybody?'* is welcome to contribute, the teacher appears to be

lessening the threat to the students face by affirming that it is the answer to the question

he seeks, and that he is not concerned as to who elects to provide this information.

Moreover, the teacher makes an effort to lessen the threat to the students face by

modifying his tone of voice so that he appears to be pleading for contributions, without

which he will be unable to progress with the activity. The teacher's face is threatened when the students are again unresponsive and continue to remain silent (turn 4), then quietly whisper among themselves (turn 5).

In turn 7, the teacher alters his approach by focusing his attention on an individual student, Hikari, to whom he directly asks, *'don't know?'*. Appearing to interpret Hikari's tilting of her head as confirmation that she does in fact not know the answer, the teacher appears frustrated as he shrugs his shoulders, and then proceeds to redirect his attention to a small group of students seated close by: *'Do you guys know? What's a vowel?'* It is interesting to note that research into Japanese silence and speech (see Nakane, 2005; Nakane, 2006) suggests that Japanese students orient towards negative politeness in classroom interaction, a factor which can result in more extensive use of silence following nomination. According to Nakane (2006) the 'avoidance of voluntary participation can be a way of maintaining positive face of the self' (p. 1831). In turn 9, the teacher appears to assume that the students' silence is affirmation that they are unaware of what a vowel is and, as a result, he proceeds to provide the answer in Japanese: *'boin'* (vowel).

When viewing this classroom exchange retrospectively, student Hikari commented, *'Jibun kara kotaeyou to omotta, nantonaku iukoto wakattetakedo jishin ga nakute kowakatta'* (I thought about answering myself. I kind of knew what to say but I didn't really have any confidence. I was scared.). This feedback suggests that Hikari may have wanted to respond, yet felt that an incorrect response could potentially result in a loss of face. These feelings of doubt correspond with Nakane's (2006) findings that 'fear of

face loss is partly due to perceptions of one's own insufficient language proficiency' (p. 1817). In addition, suggesting that there is a difference in cultural perceptions of classroom participation, Cutrone (2009) argues that the notion that language learning requires aggressive students to individually volunteer is a reflection of Western ethnocentrism (p. 60). While Cutrone's implication that Western cultures share definitive behaviours is a limited view of Western socio-cultural diversity, it does raise an interesting point regarding the potential variation in general expectations of student performance within the classroom. Hikari's above comment implies that she second guesses herself, and that this doubt effectively determines her course of action. That being so, she refrains from responding. Arguably what is of greater significance is that when weighed against the benefits she associates with a correct classroom response, Hikari's decision to stay silent suggests that the advantages do not compensate for the potential loss of face she associates with an unsuccessful classroom contribution. The loss of face Hikari associates with an incorrect response has implications in that it inhibits her from voluntarily engaging in the activity.

Concern that an incorrect English contribution may undermine rather than enhance her face implies that her fear of failure, even during tasks that may not appear to be of high evaluative significance, is a concern for the student. Nakane (2006) suggests that Japanese students draw on silence as a self face-saving strategy as opposed to a politeness strategy intended to save the addressee's face. The researcher's hypothesis that the disparities in interpretations of the threat associated with classroom contributions may be the result of differences in educational practices and ideology. Essentially the central claim being that Japanese students are taught to value correctness

of the end product over the process of learning (p. 1819). For example, Nakane argues that within the Australian university context critical thinking is valued and 'expressing critical views or disagreement with classmates or the lecturer is regarded as a sign of engagement and enthusiasm in learning as well as a way of showing academic competence' (p. 1821). In the context of the above excerpt it appears that the Japanese students attempt to align with what they view as being a 'good student' identity by embracing silence as a means of reducing risk to face. In contrast, the teacher's repeated attempts to encourage the students to participate indicate that he values student initiated contributions and accordingly, associates participation with a 'good student' identity. In the next classroom excerpt students are asked to respond to questions using visual aid from their textbooks. When the class remains silent the teacher assumes that there is a problem with comprehension.

EXCERPT 27 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks a question and invites students (S) to volunteer responses. When the class remains silent the teacher nominates Marin (M).].

1 T: ((T glances at textbook and then at Ss)) OK (1) number 2 (1) what's the answer? (2)

2 S: (4) ((Ss look down at textbooks in silence))

3 T: ((T looks around at Ss and raises shoulders)) anybody?

4 S: (5) ((S silence))

5 T: (2) ((T points towards M nominating her)) what's the answer?

6 M: ((M looks up nervously from her textbook as if to confirm she has been

442

nominated. The T nods to confirm she has been nominated.)) (6) I have (3) five

watch ((looks down at textbook))

7 T: ((T leans forward)) watch (2) what? (2) five (.) *nani* watch::: (1) five ((T looks

at M and gestures with hand for her to continue))

8 M: (5) ((M speaks quietly)) watches

9 T: watches (1) good (1) how do you spell watches? (1) W-A-T-C-H-E-S *ne*

The students can be seen reacting to the teacher's request for volunteers in turn 1 by avoiding eye contact and looking down at their desks and textbooks. The lack of participation threatens the teacher's face as it interferes with his ability to proceed with the activity. In response, the teacher indicates in turn 3 that he would like a student, *'anybody'*, to take the initiative and contribute which leads to a lengthy and uncomfortable silence (turn 4). As in excerpt 26, the question being asked is one to which the teacher knows the answer and therefore potentially represents a threat to the students' face. By seeking a volunteered response from the students, the teacher is testing both their knowledge of the content and their ability to exhibit classroom behaviour that he himself values. This being the students' willingness to take a risk by electing to participate and contribute a response while their classmates watch on. In the teacher's own words, *'I appreciate when the kids are willing to speak out and have a try.'* From the Japanese students' perspective, declining the invitation to participate does not appear to be discourteous and potentially carries the benefit of avoiding unwanted attention and thereby mitigating a potential threat to face. The silence is eventually checked when the teacher gestures towards student Marin (turn 5), and thereby effectively obliges her to respond. The threat to Marin's face is evident when she

443

sheepishly looks up from her book to confirm if she has been nominated. When the teacher offers confirmation through a nod of his head, Marin proceeds to answer the question in a quiet and seemingly apprehensive voice. The threat to Marin's face associated with the public format of the response is compounded when she is corrected for omitting the plural form in her response: *'I have five watch'* (turn 6). The loss of face is protracted when the teacher draws class attention to Marin's error, and attempts to encourage Marin to self-correct by repeating *'five'* followed by the Japanese word *'nani'* (what). The teacher then repeats Marin's response *'watch:::'* and this time, draws out the final *'ch'* sound in order to indicate to the student that this is where the error has occurred (turn 7).

Reflecting on this classroom exchange retrospectively, Marin commented: *'Hokani kotaega wakaruhito irudaroukara jibunwa bakadato omowaretakunai, kurasu no hitotachi minnaga wakatteite jibundakega wakaranaitoki jibunga bakada tte kanjiru'* (There are going to be students who know so I don't want to look like I'm stupid. I feel stupid when everyone else in the class knows and I'm the only one who doesn't get it.). Marin's feedback suggests that an incorrect response is viewed as having implications in terms of not only relational aspects of identity, but also in how she perceives herself. In other words, silence appears to result from Marin's desire not to be thought of as being stupid *'bakadato omowaretakunai'* and also not wanting to feel stupid *'bakada tte kanjiru'*. Marin's response implies that the classroom exchange represents a threat to her face in that it potentially exposes her L2 limitations in a situation where she assumes there will be members of the class with the ability to provide an accurate response. This implies that the students feel their performance within class is being evaluated and

compared with that of their classmates. As Cutrone (2009) notes, the Japanese school system places substantial emphasis on the evaluation paradigm and therefore surmises that fear of failure associated with evaluation may explain Japanese students' reluctance to speak. This feedback is consistent with the feelings of embarrassment experienced in the following classroom exchange during which students are instructed to construct sentences using a series of pictures and vocabulary cues. The students once again remain silent even after being encouraged by the teacher to provide responses.

EXCERPT 28 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) instructs Risa (R) to construct a sentence using vocabulary and grammatical structures from the textbook.].

1T: ((T points at R)) can you use (.) does?

2R: (2) ((T gestures with hands for R to begin)) she does (.) game ((looks up at teacher shyly))

3T: ((T cocks head to side)) hmm:: (1) she does game (1) a little strange

4R: (3) ((R looks down and points at specific area in textbook to confirm question)) *kore?*

        'Is it this?'

5T: ((T looks at R then down at textbook)) yes you can use that (.) that's OK

6R: (4) ((silence))

7T: *nandemoii* but (1) *bunpou machigaenaide* (2) she <u>does game</u> is a little strange (.) *ne*

        'Anything is fine, but don't make a mistake with the grammar. She does game is a little strange, right!'

8R: (27) ((silence))

9T: I'll give you a hint (2) ((turns to another student)) what sports do you like?

The student, Risa, begins by relatively quickly responding to the teacher's request to use *'does'* in a sentence (turn 2) and in doing so makes a claim for face by demonstrating to the teacher and her classmates that she has understood the classroom material and is confident in her ability to accurately respond. At the same time, Risa's uncertainty, and thereby the potential threat to her face, is revealed when she sheepishly proceeds to look up at the teacher and waits for him to confirm the accuracy of her response (turn 2). The threat to her face is heightened when the teacher responds in turn 3 by cocking his head in confusion while quizzically repeating the student's response and remarking that *'she does game (is) a little strange'*. In this brief moment the teacher blocks Risa's face claims and in front of the class effectively undermines her efforts to align with a good student identity. The way in which the teacher is projecting a threat to Risa's face through repeating and ultimately rejecting her response is evident in turn 4 where Risa appears somewhat frustrated when she asks for confirmation that she is referring to the correct area of the textbook: *'kore?'* (Is it this?). Her discomfort is also apparent in the way in which she cuts off her line of gaze with the teacher.

Risa's direct attempt to confirm the task requirements comes across as an expression of being frustrated and implying that the error has in fact resulted from a lack of information from the teacher regarding the specific nature of the task. The way in which Risa is projecting a threat to the teacher's face through the manner in which she seeks clarification is evident in turn 5 where the teacher appears somewhat stunned before

446

looking down at the textbook and acknowledging that *'yes, you can use that'*. What may be lost on the teacher however is the way in which Risa has framed her question *'kore?'* (Is it this?). Risa's omission of the copula *desu* and the question particle *ka* is described by Manita and Blagdon (2010) as being direct and conveying a sense of arrogance. The *desu/masu* form is employed when talking to a person of a superior status such as a teacher to express formality while the plain form is used when interacting with someone close to show informality (Matsumoto and Okamoto, 2003). Niyekawa (1991) identifies that the *desu/masu* form is used when 'speaking to a stranger, a non-intimate equal, or an out-group member, as well as to someone older or higher in status than oneself' (p. 40). In contrast, Niyekawa describes the plain form as employed 'only within the family and among intimate equals as the style of 'intimacy,' or in speaking to someone clearly younger or lower in status within a hierarchical group as the style of 'condescension'' (p. 39). Consequently, while the copula+*ka* may be omitted in colloquial speech between 'equals', it fails to invoke normative constraints on student behaviour and recognition of teacher rank within the classroom. Risa's discursive challenge to the teacher's face embodied in the implication that she has not been provided with significant task information, provides her with an avenue to restore face. Risa is able to index to her peers her resistance to the negative teacher positioning without necessarily letting on to the teacher. As well as functioning as a mild form of resistance, this serves to establish solidarity with peers who are included as the 'in-group' witnesses to her irritation.

In turn 6, Risa, apparently still uncertain, withdraws until the teacher intervenes in turn 7 by indicating that Risa is free to answer as she sees fit, *'nandemoii'* (anything is fine), however clarifies that she should not make a mistake with her grammar *'bunpou*

447

machigaenaide'. The teacher's L1 intervention while intended as support comes across as a warning. The threat to Risa's face is further heightened when the teacher, as an added word of caution, restates that the previous attempt was a *'little strange ne'* (little strange right!). This comment appears to effectively silence Risa as it appears to undermine her confidence and draws her attention to the possibility that she may again make an error or publicly say something *'a little strange'*. The mixed message implies that while the student is encouraged to construct her own response, she should be wary of making grammatical errors as she will be evaluated according to accuracy. The threat to Risa's face is evident in the protracted and uncomfortable silence which follows in turn 8, before the teacher eventually intervenes in turn 9. During retrospection Risa commented, *'Dousurebaii? Sugoku nagaku tomadotteta, arewa hazukashikatta, nanka machigattara doushiyou tte omou, sugoku kowaku kanjiru, tasuke o matteta'* (What should I do? It was a really long pause. Ahh, that was embarrassing. I kind of felt like what will I do if I made a mistake? It makes me feel really scared I was waiting for help.). It appears that Risa'a loss of face lies in the mismatch between teacher/student interpretations of the magnitude of classroom error and is compounded by the discursive force of the teacher's Japanese intervention. Risa's silence appears motivated by the desire to protect her positive face and 'includes the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired' (Brown & Levinson, 1987:62). In this sense her silence could be interpreted as a politeness strategy of 'Don't do the FTA'.

The excerpt illustrates not only Risa's struggle to understand the task, but also the teacher's failure to provide a level of information and to instill sufficient confidence for the student to risk participation as evidenced in the comment *'dousurebaii?'* (Ah! What

should I do?). Risa's desire to avoid failure represents an attempt to align with a 'good student' identity by responding correctly and through participating when requested by the teacher. When her initial response is unsuccessful, Risa appears to respond by assuming the teacher will take control of the situation as implied in her retrospective comment *'tasuke o matteta'* (I was waiting for help). In this sense her silence does not appear to indicate an inability to respond, but rather the assumption that the teacher is obliged to provide corrective feedback. This strategy is arguably a reasonable course of action when considered within the context of Japanese classroom hierarchy which acknowledges the teacher's role as being that of expert informer (Nakane, 2006). The demands of the communication classroom format appear to motivate students to seek anonymity through silence. Commenting on pragmatic failure attributable to the disparities of politeness orientations, Nakane (2006) suggests that 'academic achievement seems to be sacrificed to some degree by Japanese students for the sake of facesaving' (p. 1820).

Even when directly nominated by the teacher in front of peers, silence may be engaged as an 'off-record' politeness strategy in order to avoid the threat to face associated with an incorrect contribution. In this way silence may be interpreted by students as empowering in that it provides an accessible means by which students can independently manage face. By withholding comment, students can avoid unfavorable alignment associated with a potentially negative comparison with classmates or a failure to succeed at a supposedly achievable L2 level. It is interesting to note that student feedback, such as the following comment by Kaho, indicated that during silence she had been able to comprehend task requirements and had also identified a possible discursive

response, *'kono tokimo watashiwa kotaega wakatteta kotaerarenai wakedewa nakatta'* (At this time I also knew what the answer was. It wasn't that I couldn't answer.). While this use of silence is by no means limited to Japanese students, the message conveyed in the students' silence suggests that the risk of failure is seen to outweigh the potential benefits to face that may result from a positive teacher evaluation.

10.8 Silence and L2 Limitations

Students' retrospective feedback suggests that while associated with the management of face, silence was not always motivated by fear of failure. Reflections on classroom activities implied that silence was regularly employed by students in order to protect face when students felt that limitations in their L2 competence may negatively impact on how they were evaluated by the teacher. In addition, classroom excerpts illustrated that silence was employed by students in response to discursive situations in which students felt that the options presented during an activity did not accurately allow them to express themselves. For example, students at times remained silent in situations when the teacher simplified or reduced the response options available to them such as when responding to the question *'Can you play the piano?'*. Instructed to answer either *'Yes, I can'*, or *'No, I can't'* the students at times elected to remain silent if the response options were not an accurate representation of how they assessed their ability. Irrespective of whether the teacher's approach was determined by lesson content or intended to reduce the difficulty of tasks, the students did not appear to view 'just any answer' as satisfactory if it was not specifically what they wanted to say. In other words, although aware of the priority the teacher attached to vocal participation during

450

activities, students resisted aligning with the teacher's notion of a 'good student' identity if it failed to meet with the identities they valued and desired to enact. The following two classroom excerpts (Excerpts 29 and 30) demonstrate the students' strategic use of silence and student reflections on these points.

EXCERPT 29 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks Marin (M) to indicate if she can count from 1 to 100.].

1 T: ((T question is directed to M)) can you count from 1 to 100?

2 M: ((M looks up at the ceiling and remains silent)) (5) *tochu made*

         'Up until a certain point'

3 T: can you count from 1 to 100? (1) <u>yes or no</u>?

4 M: (6) ((silence))

5 T: ((T gestures for student to respond moving hands in circular motion))

6 M: (5) no ((looks up at T then away))

7 T: ((question is directed to different student)) can <u>you</u> count from 1 to 100?

In turn 1, the teacher begins by asking student Marin: *'can you count from 1 to 100?'* Marin pauses, looks upwards as she appears to be contemplating her response before responding in Japanese, *'tochu made'* (up to a certain point). The response, as a reflection on how she judges her ability to carry out the task, allows Marin to maintain face in that it indicates that she is partly capable of counting to 100. In addition, this response offers protection from threat to face by illustrating that Marin has her doubts regarding her ability and, as a consequence, is unlikely to be asked by the teacher to

demonstrate if she can in fact back up her claims. The partial confirmation of competence permits Marin to maintain Japanese behavioural conventions by understating her ability and thereby aligning herself with peers through exhibiting reserved confidence. At the same time, Marin claims credibility as a 'good student' by appealing for teacher approval by stressing she has a degree of competence. In turn 3, Marin's face claims are blocked by the teacher who rejects her response strategy through directly repeating the initial question and then indicating that he requires a definitive *'Yes or No'* response. The *'Yes* or *No'* requirement threatens Marin's face as it not only implies that she will be judged as being capable or incapable, but also puts her in a position where she has to declare her capability in the presence of peers. The threat to Marin's face is evident in the ensuing silence during which Marin looks around at peers as if confused by the teacher's demand for an answer (turn 4) before airing on the side of caution and responding, *'No'* (turn 6). Her frustration is apparent in the way she cuts off her line of gaze from the teacher. Rather than claim face through responding in the affirmative, Marin resists aligning with a competent student identity and elects to abandon her face claims. During retrospection Marin provided insights into her thoughts regarding the exchange and the limitations in possible response strategies commenting that: *'Shitsumon no imiwa rikaidekitakedo douyatte kotaereba iinoka wakaranakatta sentakushini tadashiimonoga nakatta senseiwa 'Yes' ka 'No' ka kiite itakedo, 'Yes' demo 'No' demo nakatta'* (I could understand the question but didn't know how to answer. There were no choices that were right. Although the teacher was asking 'Yes' or 'No' the answer was neither 'Yes' nor 'No'.). The teacher's insistence that Marin directly and publicly indicate whether she is capable of carrying out the task may have infringed on classroom expectations that tend to side with self-deprecation. Limited to either a

definitive *'Yes or No'*, Marin points out that she has understood the question yet cannot comfortably respond and consequently elects to respond through silence. The teacher may regard a one word answer, *'Yes or No'*, as a simple and undemanding request, however from the students' perspective it seems unreasonable as it denies the student the opportunity to truthfully state her ability to perform the task and to have this accepted. In this sense, the imposed limitations impede Marin's face claims as she is prevented from discursively contributing to the activity in an accurate and meaningful way.

Throughout retrospection, student feedback illustrated that silence was a communicative strategy at times employed when freedom to respond was limited, or when the correct form of response could not be identified. This is important for the reason that while the teacher suggested that silence was motivated by fear of failure, a number of students expressed a desire to verbally engage and noted feeling disappointed when unable to align with a positive identity as competent and contributing members of the class. For example, student Ami reacted to a point during which she was unable to answer a teacher initiated question in the way she wanted to as follows: *'Wakatte itakedo kantanna kotobaga omoitsukanakattakara nanimo ienakute gakkari shita. Wakatteitakara senseinimo watashiwa wakatteiruto shitte moraitakatta'* (Well, I understood but I couldn't think of an easy word and couldn't say anything so I was kind of disappointed. Well, I understood so I wanted the teacher to know that I understood.). Ami assumes that her failure to verbally respond is likely to be interpreted by the teacher as an inability to understand the question yet feels powerless to address this loss of face. Similarly, the loss of face student Akari associates with not being able to

respond as she would like to is highlighted in her frustration when she comments: *'Watashiwa kotaetai to omotte ita watashiwa kotaega nanika wakatte itakedo hontouni douyatte setsumeisureba iika wakaranakatta sugoku irairashita'* (I felt like I wanted to answer. I knew what it was, but I really didn't know how to explain it. I felt really frustrated.). These comments in turn suggest that the students felt that they did not have the L2 linguistic proficiency required to respond accurately or identify possible discursive alternatives. Without effective discursive strategies to express themselves, the students were unable to seek teacher support and therefore watched on in silence, assuming that their lack of participation was being interpreted as a lack of comprehension.

The teacher's rejection of student silence, recognised by students as an acceptable and interactive form of expression, appeared to deviate from classroom practices the students believed to be standard and thereby, at times threatened face and the configuration of the students' identities. Classroom silence was cited by the teacher as interfering with learning, and therefore, viewed as a classroom behaviour that needed to be discouraged. It is worth noting that while students suggested that silence was an appropriate classroom strategy for avoiding loss of face, they nevertheless expressed frustration and disappointment particularly when L2 limitations forced them to abandon an attempt at a verbal contribution. This is evident in the following exchange during which a student is asked to read from her textbook and proceeds to abandon her attempt.

EXCERPT 30 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks Sayaka (S) to read a short dialogue from the textbook.].

1 T: OK ((T points at textbook)) so:: (.) let's look at the next part (1) number one ((moves over to S and points at reading activity from her textbook)) can you read? (1) what does (.) <u>this</u> say?

2 S: (3) lu:: (4) ((S looks at text))

3 T: *yomemasuka? (2) yomenai?*

        'Can you read it? Can't read it?'

4 R: (5) ((S looks at textbook))

5 T: ((T moves to next student)) (2) can you read it? *(.) yomemasuka?*

In turn 1, the teacher moves over to the student, Sayaka, and asks her to read from the textbook as the class watches on in silence. Sayaka, under pressure to perform, initiates a response, however appears confused and falls silent (turn 2). Sayaka's loss of face is compounded when the teacher directly inquires in Japanese if she can or cannot read the passage, *'Yomemasuka? Yomenai?'*. Sayaka's silence leads the teacher to assume that she cannot read the passage and consequently the teacher elects to progress by redirecting his question to another student who later goes on to read. Reflecting on this exchange during retrospection, Sayaka commented: *'hontowa sukoshi yomerukedo tochude tomacchattakara sugoku zannen datta'* (I could actually read a little but I stopped midway so I was really disappointed.). An examination of Japanese students' attitudes towards classroom tasks and activities conducted by Dwyer and Heller-Murphy (1996:51) in their ESL classrooms in the UK found that while students were frustrated by not speaking in class, they were not uncomfortable with it. Dwyer and Heller-Murphy identified a gap in teacher/student perceptions of silence stating that

'the students in these classes are on the whole satisfied - it is the teachers who are not.' On the basis of their observations they go on to suggest that 'One learning style to which teachers may need to adapt is silence in the speaking class.' In the above feedback, Sayaka's loss of face occurs because she has not been able to contribute to the task and claim face in line with her intentions or how she perceives her level of ability. While she is clearly disappointed, perhaps the most critical point is that she is compelled to accept a negative teacher evaluation and watch as the teacher elects to seek out a member of the class considered more capable or responding.

10.9 What? But I was Answering! *Aizuchi:* Backchannels

During retrospective feedback, students highlighted that they were frustrated when rebuked by the teacher for failing to verbally contribute to learning activities especially when they indicated that they had in fact communicated responses. This gap in student and teacher perceptions of silence as a tool to communicate versus silence as the absence of communication, revealed different interpretations and attitudes pertaining to the Japanese speakers' extensive use of *aizuchi* (backchannels). The term *aizuchi* is derived from the rhythmic hammering of blacksmith and apprentice as they forge a sword blade. Interjecting *aizuchi* serves to maintain the rhythm of an exchange by confirming the interest and involvement of the listener, and thereby encourages the speaker to continue. *Aizuchi*, verbal and non-verbal, are pervasive in their occurrence within Japanese and have an extensive variety of expressions (see Kita and Ide, 2007; Maynard, 1989; Horiguchi, 1997, Miyata and Nishisawa, 2007). In terms of formal characteristics, there is little agreement regarding the operational definition of *aizuchi*

among researchers. Reaching a consensus is complicated by the fact that some researchers characterise *aizuchi* as linguistic behaviour (Iwasaki, 1997) while others include non-verbal behaviours such as nodding, smiling, and eye movement (Kogure, 2007). In addition repetitions, clarifications, paraphrases, sentence completions and laughter can also be identified as *aizuchi* from their functions in the interaction.

A primary complication in classifying *aizuchi* is that one or more features frequently occur simultaneously (Maynard, 1986), for example, non-verbal expressions such as the frequently seen nodding movement often occur with verbal forms of *aizuchi* (Kita & Ide, 2007). A useful model for understanding *aizuchi* is offered by Iwasaki (1997) who outlines three types of *aizuchi* as: nonlexical, phrasal, and substantive. Non-lexical *aizuchi* refer to a closed set of short sounds with little or no referential meaning such as *ee*, *soo*, *aa*. Phrasal *aizuchi* are expressions with meaning, such as *naruhodo* and *uso*, and substantive *aizuchi* are an open class of expressions with full referential content (p. 666). According to Iwasaki's categories, non-lexical backchannels tend to be treated as continuers while phrasal and substantive backchannels are interpreted as reactive backchannels. Similarly Horiguchi (1997) classifies *aizuchi* into three types: 1) a fixed set of short expressions called *aizuchi-shi* which include *hai*, *ee, hoo*, *fuun*, *hee, soo desu ne, naruhodo,* and *honto*; 2) a repetition; and 3) a short reformulation of the preceding utterance.

While interpretations differ, it is nevertheless accepted that *aizuchi* serve a range of communicative functions, frequently occur in Japanese communication, and take on a number of forms. During interaction in Japanese, *aizuchi* perform as supportive

behaviours with which a listener can engage in functions such as responding to questions, shifting topics or demonstrating support for the speaker. Bound by social factors the role of *aizuchi*, frequently expressed through short responses and/or movement of the eyes and head, signal to the speaker to continue his/her talk through a variety of forms that serve multiple functions (Cutrone, 2005, 2011; Maynard, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1993, 1997). In regard to functions Maynard (1993) suggests six primary categories: 1) continuer; 2) display of understanding of content; 3) support and empathy toward the speaker; 4) agreement; 5) strong emotional response; and 6) minor additions, corrections, or requests for information. These functional categories of *aizuchi* closely reflect those proposed by Horiguchi (1988) which are to: 1) display of listening; 2) display of understanding; 3) display of agreement; 4) display of disagreement; and 5) expression of emotion. Moreover, the vast majority of these *aizuchi* actually take place during the primary speaker's speech which, with the exclusion of non-verbal *aizuchi*, creates simultaneous speech (Hayashi 1988, 1991; Maynard 1990, 1997). These *aizuchi* are multifunctional in the sense that a form can have more than one meaning depending on the context. For example, a display of understanding of content could be vocalic forms such as *hai* (yes) or repetitions of part of the speaker's utterance. Moreover in Japanese, *aizuchi* have a social function as they express an emotional or attitudinal stance toward the speakers' utterance (Richards 1982).

While the interpretation of functions differs, what appears to be clearer is the frequency with which Japanese speakers employ *aizuchi* which Mizutani (1988) lists as being approximately 15 to 20 times per minute on average. Furthermore, it has been shown

that about 30% of the backchannels in Japanese are initiated by the speaker's head movement (Maynard, 1987, 1990, 1997). Cross-cultural comparisons have illustrated that the frequency of backchannels in Japanese conversation is significantly higher than in American English (Maynard, 1993), British English (Cutrone, 2005), Australian and Canadian English (Ike, 2010). In addition, Maynard (1986, 1990) makes the point that comparisons of (L1 and L2) Japanese speakers' backchannel behaviour with that of native speakers of English demonstrates that whether speaking English or Japanese, Japanese tend to backchannel more frequently than L1 English speakers. These findings are supported by Ike's (2010) examination of narrative-style dyadic conversations produced by proficient Japanese English speakers. A total of 1065 backchannel instances were identified and examined for frequency, types, and discourse contexts of backchannels in Japanese English are examined. Ike reported that Japanese English speakers used almost twice as many backchannels as Australian English speakers for the same amount of information, producing approximately one backchannel every 6.5 words in comparison to Australian English speakers 12.7 words. While Cutrone (2011) emphasises that research examining backchannels as they relate to politeness and face theory is still in its infancy (p.56), the high level of interest in the frequency, form, function, and timing of *aizuchi* reflects a strong consensus that *aizuchi* represent an important communicative tool for Japanese speakers. Ike (2010) goes further in claiming that *aizuchi* backchannel behaviour 'is a distinctive feature of Japanese English which should be properly recognised by Japanese speakers of English and speakers of other varieties of English in order to have successful cross-cultural communication' (p.205).

For the purpose of this analysis, *aizuchi* refer to the brief verbal and nonverbal responses and/or reactions that a listener gives to the primary speaker during interaction (Cutrone, 2011:53). A backchannel is defined as follows:

1. A backchannel is a short vocal and/or non-vocal utterance by the listener to the content of another interlocutor's speech. Head movements such as nodding and head shakes are included as long as such movements display one of the backchannel functions. That is, the head movement does not contradict what the speaker is saying, nor answer any particular question.

2. A backchannel does not require the floor. That is, it does not initiate the direction of conversation.

3. Acknowledgement of a backchannel is optional.

4. Main functions of backchannels are categorised as continuer, acknowledgement, agreement, judgment, and emotional reaction.

(Ike, 2010:206)

Recognising a*izuchi* as a unique and important feature of Japanese communication, the following analysis explores the students' use of a*izuchi*, both verbal and non-verbal, and the students' reaction to the teacher's implication that a*izuchi* equated to silence. *Aizuchi* are discussed with attention to the intended communicative functions and how pragmatic conflict threatens the management of face and impacts on the enactment of identity. Student feedback underscores that the Japanese students' use of a variety of non-verbal cues as a channel of communication to express listenership during learning activities. Comments such as Iori's remark *'Nande watashi ga kotaeteiru tokini shikato*

shitetanoka wakannai' (I don't know why (the teacher) ignored me when I was answering) suggests that the students expected these cues would be clear to the teacher. The teacher's failure to acknowledge a*izuchi* as a form of student participation threatened the students face and resulted in the rejection of attempts to align with a 'good student' identity; in other words, students were positioned as failing to behave in accordance with a normative classroom identity as defined by the teacher. The students' use of backchannel responses, more common in Japanese than in English, resulted in a situation in which students felt that their projected claims for face as engaged and responsive students were being blocked by the teacher's insistence on verbal participation.

Students expressed a perceptible sense of frustration at being aligned with negative identities such as being less capable, non-participatory, uncooperative and reticent. The rejection of these identities and the desire to be positioned in line with how they perceived their performance was evident in feedback such as student Ami's comment, *'Itsumono youni 'Un' tte itterukanji datta, imiwakaranai, hanasanaito kotaedato mitomete kurenai'* (It's like we were saying 'Unn' (nod to indicate 'Yes') like we usually do. I don't get it. He won't accept an answer unless it's spoken.). Similarly, identifying a difference in teacher/student expectations regarding an appropriate classroom response Iori commented, *'futsuni unazuiteitakedo senseiwa 'OK' to kotaete hoshikatta'* (I was nodding usually but the teacher wanted me to answer 'OK'.). The implications are significant in that the teacher's prioritising of verbal interaction resulted in the loss of student face. In addition, the students' recognition that *aizuchi* represented a discouraged form of communication within the L2 classroom fuelled acts of classroom

resistance expressed through student avoidance of participation and body language. In contrast with the teacher, the students did not differentiate between *aizuchi* and spoken language when communicating meaning and appeared to find this distinction a threat to their standard forms of communication. In other words, strategies employed when interacting in Japanese appeared to be transferred to communication activities in the L2 (see Cutrone, 2005; Maynard, 1986).

The following two classroom excerpts, examined with the aid of students' retrospective feedback, illustrate the gap between teacher and student perceptions of *aizuchi* as an acceptable form of classroom participation. The first excerpt (Excerpt 31) is a continuation of Excerpt 29 and traces an exchange during which students are asked in turn to indicate if they can count from 1 to 100:

EXCERPT 31 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks Kaho (K) to indicate if she can count from 1 to 100.].

1 T: ((T looks in the direction of K)) can you count from 1 to 100?

2 K: (2) *unn* ((K nods))

3 T: (5) ((T looks at K waiting)) can you? ((K glances up at T))

4 K: ((K nods to indicate yes))

5 T: (6) ((T looks at K and takes step forward)) yes or no ((T looks around at other Ss))

6 K: (2) *unn* (2) yes ((K looks down at desk))

7 T: ((T folds arms)) (2) do you understand the question (1) *ima no shitsumon*

wakarimashitaka?

'Did you understand this question?'

8 K: ((K looks up at T)) (1) yes

Throughout the exchange, the teacher's approach implies that he will only accept a verbal response from the student as a legitimate indication as to whether she can count from one to one hundred. Moreover, his verbal insistence that Kaho respond and the progressively frustrated tone and body language by which he seeks to draw out her participation implies that the exchange represent a threat to his face. The teacher's ability to effectively manage the exchange in order to bring about the desired level of participation appears to be compromised by his lack of awareness of, and reluctance to acknowledge *aizuchi*. The outcome is an uncomfortable period of extended silence as the teacher elects to wait for verbal confirmation (turns 3 and 5). Commenting directly on the use of *aizuchi* the teacher remarked, *'I want the students to actually say something and not just make sounds or nod. That's not an answer. It doesn't tell me anything. I expect an answer.'* What appears to be the rejection of *aizuchi* as an interactional strategy restricts the students' ability to demonstrate their classroom participation through *aizuchi*. In the above excerpt, the negative teacher response to *aizuchi* appears to be confusing for Kaho particularly as she has clearly indicated her ability to perform the task, not once but three times, through nodding and responding *unn* (turns 2, 4 and 6). During retrospection the student commented, *'Are kowakatta, kotaetetanoni onaji shitsumon o nankai mo kiitekita'* (That was scary. I was answering but the teacher kept asking the same question.).

The feeling that the teacher has not acknowledged what Kaho appears to view as an acceptable and clear response is also expressed by student Risa who notes her concern that the teacher has failed to acknowledge the tilting of her head as a form of communication, *'Yappari jibun no ban ni natte kotaeteiru toki wa sugoku kinchou suru, kubi kashigete wakaranai koto o tsutaeyouto shita kedo sensei kizukanakatta mitai'* (Well, when it's my turn, at the time I'm answering I felt really nervous. I tilted my head to show him (the teacher) that I didn't know but the teacher didn't seem to realise.). The students' frustration finds support in classroom silence research conducted by Nakane (2006) where the author points out that communication within the Japanese classroom does not rely on students providing verbal confirmation to indicate learning goals have been achieved. In the above feedback, the teacher's view that student communication through making '*sounds or nodd(ing)'* does not constitute a response as it fails to communicate relevant information such as whether comprehension has been achieved, illustrates the potential for the teacher to unintentionally threaten student face and the possibility for communication breakdown in cross-cultural exchanges. For example, Maynard's (1987) analyses of the frequency and functions of speaker and listener nods in Japanese found that nods are used to emphasise the message, to show clause boundaries, and to signal turn-end or turn-claim. Similarly, Szatrowski's (2000) analyses of the relationship between nods, gaze and verbal backchannels found that these behaviours are interrelated and that the 'addressed recipient was most likely to respond with an *aizuchi* plus a head nod(s) when the speaker gazed directly at her and nodded' (p. 287).

The tendency for L2 speakers of Japanese to misinterpret the functions of *aizuchi* is

illustrated by Ishida (2005), who reported that Australian students of Japanese were able to correctly interpret the *aizuchi 'ee'* when used to express understanding or continuation, however frequently misinterpreted the function of '*ee'* when used for agreement, politeness or formality. In the above case it appears that the teacher's misinterpretation of student nodding and the verbal response *'unn',* an expression of agreement, results in an unfavorable assessment of her participation. During the exchange the student, her face likely threatened by the teacher's frustrated demeanor and irritated tone of voice, attempts to diffuse the threat by aligning with the teacher's expectations and offering the verbal response *'Yes'* after first responding *'unn'* in turn 6. Rather than diffusing the threat to face, the teacher appears to interpret Kaho's coaxed participation (turn 6) as rudeness and responds by challenging the accuracy of her response in turn 7 '*do you understand the question ima no shitsumon wakarimashitaka?'* By questioning whether the student has understood this question the teacher threatens Kaho's face by implying that he does not value her response as representing a true indication of whether she can in fact, count to one hundred. The suggestion being made here is that the teacher assumes that Kaho simply wishes to bring an end to the exchange in the easiest way possible by responding in the way she assumes the teacher wants her to.

Analysis of classroom recordings suggests that during learning activities the teacher reacted to students' non-verbal communication strategies through blocking *aizuchi* until students proffered oral responses. In the following classroom exchange the student is asked by the teacher to confirm whether she has understood classroom material. The teacher waits for a verbal response.

465

EXCERPT 32 [Classroom Extract: The teacher (T) asks Miu (M) to indicate whether she has understood.].

1 T: ((T refers to textbook)) he plays games (1) do you understand?

2 M: (4) ((M looks at T and nods to indicate comprehension))

3 T: (3) ((T looks at M and slowly questions)) <u>do:: you understand?</u>

4 M: (6) ((M looks up at T and nods to indicate comprehension))

5 T: (2) ((T appears frustrated)) OK? (1) OK?

6 M: ((M looks up at T and tilts her head to the side)) (5) OK ((quietly))

In turns 2 and 4 the student, Miu, looks directly at the teacher and nods to indicate that she has understood the lesson content. Miu's face is threatened when the teacher does not acknowledge her non-verbal confirmation and then, lowering the tone of his voice, proceeds to slowly restate the question *'do you understand?'* (turn 3). The repetition implies that only a verbal indication of comprehension will be acknowledged. In turn 4, Miu does not appear to recognise the repeated request for comprehension as a rejection of her initial non-verbal confirmation, and once again responds by *unazuiteru* (nodding). From Miu's perspective it appears that she has responded in accordance with standard classroom practices however in turn 5, the teacher's serious countenance represent a potential threat to her face as he communicates his displeasure when demanding, *'OK? OK?'*. Miu's discomfort is apparent as she reacts to the loss of face through tilting her head to the side in an expression of confusion, before timidly submitting to the teacher's demands when she quietly responds *'OK'* (turn 6). This excerpt suggests that

irrespective of the student's assumption that she had appropriately confirmed her comprehension through *unazuiteru* (nodding), her non-verbal participation appears to be interpreted not only as discourteous, but also as complicating efforts to confirm her comprehension and to progress with the lesson. During retrospection Miu commented as follows: *'Futsuni unn to yutteru no ni nanka 'OK' tte yuttekara wakattekureta ikinari ikinari yutte yutte mitai na kanji dakara 'OK' tte itta kikarete unazuiterundakedo sensei wa 'OK' tte mata kaeshite hoshii'* (We were saying *'Unn'* (YES) usually but it was only when we said 'OK' that he understood. All of sudden he was like, 'Say it, say it'' So we said OK. When he asks 'OK?' we were nodding, but the teacher wants us to answer 'OK'.).

The feedback exposes Miu's confusion at being aligned with a negative identity as she has fulfilled her role and acted in accordance with what in her view is *'futsuu'* (usual) classroom behaviour. Referring specifically to her *'unazuiteru'* (nodding) and supporting verbal *aizuchi*, Miu indicates that she has offered confirmation *'unn to yutteru'* (I responded 'uh-huh'). The teacher's demand for verbal confirmation is interpreted as being *'ikinari'* (sudden) and therefore threatening and confronting. Iwasaki (1997) emphasises that 'Many non-lexical backchannels (e.g., *nn, ee, hai)* are used as an affirmative answer token (i.e., "yes") and inherently carry a property of the second pair-part' (p. 667). Iwasaki highlights that non-lexical *aizuchi* function as an affirmative answer token and consequently the floor-holding speaker, in this case the teacher, is expected to continue without directly responding to it (p. 667). The above excerpt illustrates the power imbalance embodied in what Miu refers to as the teacher's demand *'yutte yutte mitai'* (It was like he was telling us to 'Say it, say it'). While *'yutte*

467

yutte' (say it, say it) were not the precise words the teacher employed, this was how the exchange was interpreted by Miu, who may have felt she had no option but to respond in accordance with these demands. Accordingly, the teacher's call for oral confirmation imposes restrictions on Miu's freedom to interact in the way she is accustomed to within the classroom. In other words, the student's use of non-verbal *aizuchi* was, in the teacher's view, not an acceptable form of student participation.

An issue raised in feedback contributed by student Fuuka was not only the teacher's rejection of *aizuchi*, but also his failure to recognise that students were also employing *aizuchi* in order to uphold the teacher's face. For example, following an extended period of classroom silence during which the teacher could be seen attempting to encourage students to contribute responses, Fuuka commented: *'Nanika hannou shiteagenaito na mitaini omotte unazukuka, kubi kashigeruka nanka jesuchaa shinai to tte iuka shinai to, dounaruno? mitai na kanji, sensei ga komacchattari suru kana mitaina'* (I felt like I had to give some kind of response, maybe nod my head, or tilt my head or some kind of gesture or something. If I don't, well it's kind of like what will happen? I thought that it might be a problem for the teacher.). The feedback suggests that Fuuka recognises student non-participation as generating a potential threat to the teacher's face. Fuuka expresses her concern that this might put the teacher in a difficult position commenting that *'komacchattari suru kana mitaina'* (I thought that it might be a problem for the teacher.). In order to uphold the teacher's face, Fuuka engages verbal and non-verbal *aizuchi* which appears to be consistent with the view that the Japanese use of backchannelling behaviour functions to maintain harmony in conversations (Maynard, 1997). While this may be a universal purpose of backchannels, the fact that they were

468

not recognised or perceived negatively by the teacher in certain situations seems to suggest a fundamental difference from the way Japanese students view them. Fuuka's feedback illustrates that she views *'unazuku'* (to nod in assent) and *'kubi kashigeru'* (to tilt one's head to the side to demonstrate uncertainty) or responding through *'jesuchaa'* (gesture) as constituting an appropriate means of upholding the teacher's face through illustrating active participation. For example, reflecting on a different moment during English activities when she intended to communicate her difficulty in understanding lesson content Fuuka commented *'Mm kubi o kashigeru de mm tte kanji'* (Um, I tilted my head (to show I didn't understand). Kind of like this (*demonstrates movement.*). In this sense, it is through *aizuchi* that Fuuka fills the void signaling attention and understanding even though she may not understand the content (see Maynard: 1993). In other words, it appears that *aizuchi* plays a key role in signaling support and empathy towards the speaker however, *aizuchi* can only be truly effective if the intentions are evident to the interlocutors (see Cutrone, 2005).

Throughout learning activities, classroom recordings evidenced that students, who were not always verbally participating, actively employed *aizuchi* strategies which Kita and Ide (2007) refer to as 'extremely frequent' behaviours in Japanese interaction. As Kita and Ide (2007) point out, the coordination of nods and short responses in Japanese can contribute to a positive social bond between interlocutors. In this way it appears that the students have presented themselves in the language classroom through the use of *aizuchi* as a means of establishing what they view as being normative classroom roles in line with Japanese communication practices. This was either not recognised or disallowed by the teacher resulting in a challenge to the students' face and rejection of

469

both students' attempts to embrace Japanese communicative strategies and their ability to align with a 'good student' identity.

10.10 Student Silence and Processing Time

The final area of silence related identity to emerge from student retrospective feedback as important to the management of student face concerns disparity between teacher/student interpretations of processing time. Specifically, students highlighted conflicting assumptions as to what constituted a reasonable allocation of time for processing information prior to the student verbally responding. Classroom recordings demonstrated that during periods of student silence the teacher frequently instructed students in both Japanese and English to work quickly, 'come-on, *hayaku*, quickly'. This was of consequence as students directly noted that untimely teacher intervention interfered with their capacity to respond to questions as desired and triggered silence – the very behaviour it was intended to correct. Student feedback conveyed objections to being rushed, and criticised the teacher's assumption that time spent in thought indicated a lack of competence or willingness to participate, *'sensei ni sonnani isogaseraretakunai'* (I didn't want the teacher to hurry me so much), 'zutto asetteru kanji datta' (The whole time I felt rushed) and *'jikanga naitoki dousureba iino?'* (What am I going to do when I don't have time?). This conflicting view towards the appropriate allocation of time represents a threat to identity construction and enactment for a number of reasons. For one, the teacher's rejection of silence was perceived by students as a criticism of what they felt to be normative classroom roles. It also exposed the power differential that exists between the teacher and students and prevented

470

students from aligning with the performance of a 'good student'.

Classroom recordings evidenced that student silence occurred primarily at the margins of speakers' turns - from the end of the teacher's turn and the onset of the student's part. These switching pauses were response time gaps during which the teacher's frequent directives to work *'quickly'* and *'come on'* appeared to cause students to panic and threatened the management of face as it implied the students were not sufficiently engaged in the English activities. The following examination of three classroom excerpts (Excerpts 33, 34 and 35) explores the silence that develops from inconsistencies in teacher/student perceptions of time management in regard to response times. The classroom excerpts illustrate that the teacher assumes that silence represents student inability and reticence, which consequently results in a negative teacher appraisal. Students, while seemingly powerless to reject this critical alignment during classroom activities, were nevertheless conscious of the teacher's acts of positioning and voiced their frustration during retrospective interviews. In the first classroom excerpt the teacher admonishes students when they take longer than he expects to contribute their answers to a homework task.

EXCERPT 33 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks Kaho (K) and Iori (I) their answers to a homework activity. The task requires students to suggest long English word and to identify the number of letters the words contain. These words are later used in a word search activity.].

1T: ((T gestures towards K)) what's the word? (4) quickly

471

2 K: (2) ((K glances up at T and then at her workbook)) challenge

3 T: ((T nods)) challenge ((T points at I and gestures for her to answer))

4 I: ((looks up at T)) (5) alphabet

5 T: alphabet (1) ((T turns towards K) how many letters are in challenge? (3) how many letters (1) C-H-A-L ((T gestures towards K. K looks at her workbook)) (2) ((T gestures towards I)) alphabet (.) how many?

6 K/I: (4) ((K and I refer to their workbooks))

7 T: how many letters in alphabet? (2) how many letters are in challenge? (4)   ((T points toward students with marker)) (3) <u>quickly</u>

8 K/I: (4) ((K and I write in their notebooks))

9T: ((teacher shakes marker in direction of students)) quick, quick, quick (2) <u>quick</u> (3)

10 K/I: (5) ((K and I continue writing))

11 T: ((T points at students with marker)) quick (10) which one wins (.) alphabet (.) or challenge? (1) which one is longer? ((T looks at students and shrugs his shoulders))

In turn 1, the teacher asks student, Kaho, to contribute a word to the classroom activity and after a brief pause, demands that Kaho respond *'quickly'*. The teacher's impatience implies that Kaho has taken an excessive amount of time. Kaho's loss of face is apparent from her surprised facial expression (turn 2) as she glances up at the teacher and then quickly looks down at her notebook before answering, *'challenge'*. The threat to Kaho's face may be partially reduced when the teacher confirms her response as being acceptable through nodding affirmation while repeating *'challenge'* (turn 3). The

teacher then quickly moves on to the next student, Iori, who interestingly takes approximately the same amount of time as Kaho does before responding *'alphabet'*. Once again the teacher accepts the response and repeats the word *'alphabet'* before quickly turning to Kaho, and then Iori, asking *'how many letters are in challenge?'* (turn 5). The threat to the students face is heightened in turns 7, 9 and 11 as the teacher implies that Kaho and Iori are taking too much time to complete the task of identifying the number of letters in *'alphabet'* and *'challenge'*. When the students fail to respond as required by the teacher, he continues to intervene by repetitively asking the students, *'How many?'* and demanding in an agitated tone that they work *'quickly'*. During this time, the students appear to be uncomfortable as they glance back and forth between themselves while referring to their books. The potential threat to the students' face does not appear to be a concern for the teacher whose exasperation with the pace of the responses is evident when he urgently demands, *'quick, quick quick quick'* (turn 9). The rapid fire teacher response is again followed up in turn 11 with a final demand for the students to be *'quick'*. The line of approach the teacher has taken suggests that he assumes the students are capable of carrying out the task of identifying how many letters are in each word within the time frame he allocates. What is important to note here is that precise time requirements are at no point explicitly outlined, and, consequently, the students are expected to embrace time restraints that are not revealed and recognise the need for urgency that is not obvious.

The threat to Kaho's face associated with the demands of working within a predetermined yet unknown timeframe is evidenced in the student's comment: *'Quick quick quick quick' tte iukara minna chotto asette minna ga 'eh eh' mitaini asetta sorede*

osokunatta' (When he says, 'Quick, quick, quick, quick' we were all kind of rushed and like 'Huh? What?' We panicked and it slowed me down.). Kaho, while appearing calm at the time, registered her confusion at the instruction to work *'quickly'* and appears to have found the teacher intervention an obstacle to her effective classroom participation. These comments were echoed by student Fuuka who after being directed by the teacher to work quickly, remarked: *'Asecchaimasu zutto, kotaeru maeni motto yukkuri kangaetai'* (The whole time I felt rushed, I wanted to take my time to think before I answered.). Reflecting on a further moment when instructed by the teacher to work quickly student Kaho states *'Chotto aseru kana chotto matte tte'* (I kind of panicked. Like hold on there.). This feedback suggest that what the students found to be the teacher's untimely and at times forceful intervention threatened face as it created apprehension and impacted on the students' ability to perform the task. In addition, it threatened the students' ability to present themselves in line with how they wish to be recognised by the teacher; intelligent, engaged, and able to respond when ready. In other words, the teacher's demand to work faster in the above excerpt and at other points appeared to result in the students' ability to express their thoughts being taken away.

The students' responses reflect those of the students discussed in Nakane's (2005) case study of Japanese students which found that student silence functioned as a politeness strategy, an indication of cognitive processing time, and a feature of the students' interactive style. Based on student feedback, Nakane hypothesises that pauses are due to gaps in socio-cultural norms associated with turn-taking such as normative rapidity of turn-taking or tolerance. The impact of timing and different levels of tolerance is evidenced in early research such as Rowe's (1974) demonstration that increasing the

wait-time after questioning in the classroom from 1 second to 3 to 5 seconds enhanced the quality of student participation. Moreover, an example of cultural divergence that is relevant to the current thesis is offered by Scollon and Scollon (1990) in relation to the differing norms regarding pausing at transitions observed in Athabaskan and English. Commenting on Athabaskan's slightly longer pauses between sentences than English speakers the researchers observe:

The length of pause that the Athabaskan takes while expecting to continue is just about the length of pause the English speaker takes in exchanging turns. If an Athabaskan has in mind a series of sentences to say, it is most likely that at the end of the first one the English speaker will think that he has finished because of the length of the pause and will begin speaking. The Athabaskan feels he has been interrupted and the English speaker feels the Athabaskan never makes sense, never says a whole coherent idea. Much of this misunderstanding is the result of something like a one half second difference in the timing of conversational pauses, but it can result in strong stereotypical responses to the opposite ethnic group.

(Scollon & Scollon, 1990:273)

Some 20 years ago, Graham (1993) examining the ways that business agreements are brokered in 10 countries based on observations of actual meetings, role-playing and interviews, found that the verbal bargaining behaviour of Americans and Japanese was quite similar with self-disclosure, commitment and questions forming the core of the negotiations. On the other hand, Graham noted differences in nonverbal behaviour. Of interest is that the number of conversational gaps of 10 seconds or longer recorded was

greater for the Japanese than the Americans with an average of 1.7 gaps per 30 minutes for the Americans compared to 2.5 for the Japanese. While this is relatively small, Graham notes that the length of gaps was often longer among the Japanese with pauses even lasting up to 40 seconds, while no silent periods of 25 seconds or more occurred in the American negotiations (p. 133). In addition, based on students' listening to playbacks of negotiations and their explanations regarding the interactional dynamics, Graham found that it appears that the Japanese created lulls deliberately as a forceful and compelling tactic, while the Americans often fell into silence without conscious intent, and their failure to speak up quickly was negatively viewed, by the Americans, as a sign of weakness.

In the current study the student's sense of frustration is expressed in comments such as *'eh eh mitaina'* (we're all like 'Huh? What?'), implied that the teacher's wait-time was different from what they were familiar with. Moreover, Akari's comment: *'minna kekko aseru'* (we are all kind of rushed/panicked) is framed in terms of a reaction to teacher intervention that the student implies is shared by the whole class *'minna'* (we). The implication here being that Akari is identifying bonds of solidarity she shares with her peers in challenging the speed enforced by the teacher's demand for more rapid student responses. While the length of pauses before responding is likely to differ according to the individual, the feedback nevertheless suggests that the student feels the need for greater wait-time prior to eliciting answers. In the second excerpt the students are asked to look around the classroom in order to identify objects that are *'long English words'*.

EXCERPT 34 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks the students (S) to identify

long English words for a word search activity.].

1 T: OK (.) what's a long English word? ((T looks around at Ss))

2 S: (17) ((Ss look at each other and around the classroom))

3 T: ((T looks around at Ss gesturing with hand to invite contributions)) what's a long English word?

4 S: (6) ((S look around the classroom))

5 T: ((T clicks ball point pen quickly and repeatedly)) come on (3) quick ((gestures with hands to show urgency))

6 S: (16) ((S look at each other and around the classroom))

7 T: ((T clicks ball point pen quickly and repeatedly)) quick (3) what's a long English word?

8 S: (10) ((S look around the classroom))

9 T: ((T clicks ball point pen quickly and repeatedly)) just say a word (.) anybody (1) say a word (1) what's a long English word? (.) quick (2) any word

In turn 1, the teacher's direction for the students to identify '*a long English word*' is followed by an extended pause during which the students can be seen looking at each other and around the classroom in what appears to be an attempt to identify a suitable item of vocabulary. In turn 3, the teacher appears to have decided sufficient time has passed and looks around at the students gesturing for a response while repeating the question, '*what's a long English word?*' The repeated question once again fails to stimulate a verbal student response (turn 4). During this time, the teacher's mounting frustration is evident in his impatient tone of voice and urgency conveyed in the body

language as he rapidly moves his hands while instructing the class to *'come on quick'* (turn 5). A sense of urgency and the inference that students are working below his expectations in terms of required time is further implied by the teacher's rapid and repetitive clicking of his ball-point pen. When the students remain silent the teacher again stresses that he expects participation to be *'quick'* (turns 7 and 9). The teacher's verbal interjections and rapid gestures imply that the students' failure to contribute a response is a reflection of insufficient participation rather than the difficulty of the task.

Providing insight into her interpretation of the above exchange and the threat to face she associates with the need to work more quickly Ami commented: *'Senseiga isoide to iutoki isoganaito to omou sensei ni sonnani isogaseraretakunai, kangaetetano, senseiga isoideto iutoki watashiwa asette nanika kangaenaito mitaina. Jikan kakaru'* (When the teacher says 'quickly', I feel that I have to hurry. I don't want the teacher to hurry me so much. I was thinking. When the teacher says, 'hurry', I feel rushed, like I've got to think of something. I'm going to take my time.). The feedback highlights that Ami, while not verbally contributing, was engaged in the activity and actively thinking of possible responses. The student implies that her ability to process the information is undercut, and therefore her face threatened, by the sense of urgency communicated through the teacher's verbal demands and impatient behaviour. While silence does not appear to have been a rejection of participation, the comment *'yukkuri kangaeru'* (I'm going to take my time) accentuates that the student is willing to resist teacher pressure to perform and may be using silence as a means of negotiating her own terms of engagement. It appears that she will engage when she feels ready even if this draws alignment with a negative identity. The desire for the teacher to not only allocate the

478

students more time, but to also take more time when instructing was noted by student Hikari who commented, *'Isogasete hoshikunai motto yukkuri shite hoshii'* (I didn't want to be hurried. I wanted the teacher to take his time.). In the final excerpt students are admonished when they fail to respond to the teacher's request for participation.

EXCERPT 35 [Classroom excerpt: The teacher (T) asks for a student (S) to identify the missing day from an incomplete sequence.].

1T: ((T reads from textbook)) Monday (.) Tuesday (.) Wednesday (.) Friday (.) Saturday (.) Sunday (.) Monday (2) ((T looks at S)) what's the missing day?

2S: (5) ((S silence))

3T: anybody? ((T looks around at Ss))

4S: (4) ((S silence))

5T: ((T tone of voice indicates frustration)) what's the missing day? (3)

6S: (3) ((S silence))

7T: lis::ten ((T cups his hand against his ear)) (2) Monday (.) Tuesday (.) Wednesday (.) Friday (.) Saturday (.) Sunday (.) Monday (3) ((T looks at Ss)) wake-up ((T stretches as if waking from sleep))

The excerpt highlights the teacher's mounting frustration communicated through his tone of voice, gestures and the suggestion that the students are unable to answer because they are for all intent and purposes asleep. While not literally asleep, the implication that the lack of participation is viewed as such by the teacher is essentially an indication that they are not mentally alert implies that the teacher has aligned the students an

479

underperforming identity. In doing so, the teacher is projecting a threat to the students face as it suggests questionable motivation and participation levels. When the class fails to respond the teacher initially encourages the students by indicating that they are free to contribute at will, *'anybody?'* (turn 3). When silence follows the teacher's tone of voice discloses his frustration as he repeats the initial question, *'what's the missing day?'* (turn 5). In turn 7 the teacher becomes rather animated and is visibly agitated as he projects a threat to the students face by admonishing them to *'listen'* and to *'wake-up'*. The rebuke suggests that the students' silence is interpreted as constituting a lack of attentiveness and is interpreted as face threatening by the teacher who struggles to have the students participate in the way in which he desires. What is important to note here is that the lack of a verbal response does not necessarily designate limitations in the students' abilities to comprehend or respond to the teacher's question as is indicated in Hikari's retrospective comment, *'nanyoubi nanokao kangaeteta. Senseiga mousukoshi nagaku matsunoga futsuu'* (I was thinking about what day it should be. It's usual for the teacher to wait a little longer.). From the student's perspective it appears that the lack of time allotted is not what she views as standard and threatens her face by impugning her ability to identify and respond as she would have liked to.

It is interesting to note that classroom recordings demonstrated that even following teacher intervention and demands for faster participation, the students did not appear to refrain from using verbal and non-verbal *aizuchi* or noticeably speed up their response times. In other words, it appears that the teacher's intervention did not achieve the desired shift in classroom behaviour in regard to the frequency and situations in which the students employed silence. In addition to potential teacher/student variance

regarding expectations surrounding the use of *aizuchi*, there may have been additional cultural factors which impacted on the Japanese students' tendency to employ silence. For example, Nakane (2005) notes that Japanese students can find themselves silenced during situations in which peers or the lecturer take over the floor from a designated speaker who requires time to organise a response. Nakane comments that 'once the floor is taken by others and the direction of talk is shifted, it can be difficult for Japanese students who are not familiar with voluntary participation in class to come back to the interaction without an explicit cue for participation' (p 94). Wong (2003) makes a similar observation in suggesting that when a Japanese keeps quiet in a seminar it does not mean that he has no opinion on the topic under discussion, but rather that he may be waiting to be nominated to speak. The sense of vulnerability associated with teacher/student power imbalance is highlighted by student feedback such as *'asecchaimasu zutto'* (the whole time I felt rushed) which implies that the panic the student experiences may possibly have obstructed her ability to rationally process and respond to the lesson material.

The implication that the teacher views the absence of student talk as the absence of meaningful interaction was evident in his visible agitation and the frequency and force of his discursive intervention. The threat to student face and the negative identity alignment associated with the teacher's intervention during periods of student silence, such as directive to work *'quickly',* was recognised by student Marin who notes *'kuikku toka sorewa tabun isoide datta youna kigasuru kara amari sekasanaide hoshii isoide tte iwareruto nanka 'yabai kangaenakya' 'yabai yabai' mitai na kanji'* (I think words such as 'quick' meant to hurry so I didn't want (the teacher) to hurry me too much. When I'm

481

told to hurry, I'm like 'Oh no! I have to think of something, Oh no!'). Indicating her desire to avoid being directed to work quickly Marin noted *'Hayaku tte iwarenaiyouni kotaeo ganbatte kangaeteta'* (I was doing my best to think of the answer so that I wouldn't be told to hurry.). Moreover, retrospective interviews suggested that the students resented being negatively positioned when they were on task and performing in a capacity consistent with how they viewed their classroom role. The cross-cultural disparity may have been intensified by the teacher's failure to recognise that the imposing of time restraints impacted on the students' ability to enact identities in line with their intentions. For example, Nakane (2006) found that student silence as a face-saving strategy is a standard practice within Japanese classrooms and therefore Japanese teachers do not appear to find silence as face-threatening as Australian lecturers do. This would suggest that from the Japanese students' perspective, the non-Japanese teacher's intervention during silence may have imposed a set of beliefs that were not necessarily shared.

10.11 Overview of Implications Resulting from Classroom Silence

Analysis of the above excerpts reveals that the students' intentions when using silence were not always consistent with the teacher's interpretations or expectations. Classroom excerpts and retrospective insight into these excerpts suggest that for the student, silence was highly valued and served different functions that were both meaningful and significant. In contrast, the teacher's reaction to student silence was primarily negative and revealed what appeared to be cross-cultural differences in the use and valuation of silence in communication. Seemingly unaware of the students' interactive intentions, the

teacher actively worked to prevent student silence and was openly critical of students who failed to orally engage in learning activities. Among other matters, from the teacher's perspective student silence was negatively associated with a poor attitude, lack of motivation, and limited L2 competence. Moreover, student silence was viewed as violating classroom standards, and therefore was strongly to be discouraged. The teacher's intervention employed to prevent silence threatened the students face as this publicised the teacher's dissatisfaction and placed pressure on students to embrace communicative practices that did not always feel appropriate or comfortable.

The conflict between the students' and the teacher's reaction to silence illustrates the potential interactional consequences of disparity in expectations. What is important to note here is that research has illustrated that within the Japanese classroom silence does not appear to be regarded as a threat to face or as obstructive behaviour (Nakane, 2006). On the contrary, Nakane asserts that silence represents a conventionalised politeness strategy, while Wong (2003) maintains that silence serves a diverse range of communicative functions and can therefore be difficult to interpret. For example, silence could indicate indifference, lack of enthusiasm, or avoidance yet at other times register respect, politeness, consent, or even a desire to be nominated to speak (p. 143). In the current study, the students' indicated feeling frustrated and confused when dealing with the teacher's critical interpretation of silence and frequent intervention. Similarly, the teacher's lack of familiarity with Japanese silence and *aizuchi* at times results in feelings of irritation when the students do not appear to participate in the way in which he expects. A case in point being that while students used silence as a strategy to uphold the teacher's face this was critically interpreted as being non-participatory behaviour.

483

Conflicting interpretations and reactions to silence may have been triggered by the interplay of different factors in addition to cultural norms. Teacher feedback underscored that silence was assumed to be prompted by the Japanese students' fear of failure and cultural reticence. While fear of failure was indeed cited by students as a cause of silence, it is important to note that silence was not regarded by students as being an inappropriate strategy for negotiating this fear. Student feedback highlighted that fear of failure was only one of several reasons for silence identified by the students. Student feedback suggests that for the Japanese students, the frequent application of *aizuchi* was standard practice and that there exists a greater tolerance for longer pauses and processing time in classes with Japanese teachers. It comes as no surprise that the students indicated feeling threatened and frustrated at points during learning activities where they were reprimanded for classroom behaviour and discourse practices they recognised as being standard within the Japanese classroom context. Suggestions for the pedagogical treatment of cross-cultural pragmatic features of silence are discussed in the following chapter.

PART 4

Chapter 11: Conclusions and Implications

Chapter 11 begins with an overview of the research process followed by a review of the key findings from the research study. The chapter then outlines a teacher professional development model designed around the five phases of*: Awareness, Knowledge Building, Critique, Action* and *Evaluation* (see Candlin et al., 1995; S. Candlin, 1997; O'Grady, 2011) with a fifth *Evaluation* phase included. Following this, and in the light of the outcomes of the study, the chapter turns to a discussion of culturally sensitive teaching strategies and draws attention to a number of potential implications in regard to the instruction of pragmatic forms within the classroom. Finally, the chapter considers the implications of the research set out in the thesis for L2 teachers and concludes with personal reflections.

11.1 The Research Process

The research presented in this thesis began as a relatively straightforward project to examine and evaluate Japanese students' management of face and identities during classroom communication with a non-Japanese teacher. The underlying premise here is that face serves as a window to one's public self-image and provides insights into cultural, social, and individual considerations that influence language use and behaviour (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). As such, there was a clear focus from the outset on examining classroom participation and gaining insight into the students' and teacher's views of this

participation. This was achieved through incorporating the students' reflections on their language use and their motivations underlying such use, based on the position that face is deeply personal and cannot be assigned or assumed without firsthand participant feedback (Haugh, 2005). In order to achieve this objective, it was decided to employ stimulated recall procedures with the aim being to prompt the participants to recall thoughts they had while participating in the L2 language activities, based on the premise that 'it is possible to observe internal processes in much the same way as one can observe external real-world events' (Gass & Mackey, 2000:1).

Through working directly with the students in the L1 Japanese, it was possible to gain reflective insight into how the students felt about L2 classroom interaction, such as their perceptions regarding relative role status, and how these perceptions potentially influenced their interaction with the teacher. In the evaluation of the classroom excerpts and student reflections on such excerpts, the analysis has also attempted to take into consideration the multi-dimensional construct of face as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978) in conjunction with theories of politeness and face proposed by Japanese scholarship (see section 5.8 for theoretical framework). The study maintains that Brown and Levinson's model, built around the constructs of positive and negative face, remains a powerful conceptual and analytic tool when used in combination with culturally appropriate descriptions of, in this case, Japanese culture, society and language. For this reason, based on the proposition that face can be understood both in terms of universalities and cultural specific dimensions, the classroom excerpts draw from theories of Japanese politeness as proposed by Hill et al.'s (1986) examination of volition and discernment, Haugh's (2005) theory of place in relation to Japanese society,

consisting of the dual concepts of the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction), Ide's (1989) theory of *wakimae* (discernment) politeness, and Matsumoto's (1988) theory of interdependence.

11.2 Findings

The thesis argues and seeks to illustrate that for students, L2 learning is a process of not only acquiring language vocabulary and grammatical forms, but can also be identified as a struggle to define where they fit within the culture and the social environment of the classroom, and moreover, how they relate to the teacher and to each other. For this reason, the L2 classroom, as a forum for identity construction, represents a challenge for students as they seek to align with identities they value, while at the same time resisting, or at times rejecting, positions they find untenable. One of the objectives of this study was to contribute data and analysis to the teaching of language as a multilingual endeavour. The classroom data combined with student and teacher reflections illustrates the interplay of dual language and culture in language learning. This orientation highlights that two or more linguistic and cultural systems are at play simultaneously in the learning of additional languages (see Garcia, 2009; Ortega, 2013, 2014). The thesis illustrates that the students engage in a complex process of forging and performing new identities as they adjust to what at times they identify as being the unfamiliar demands of the L2 learning environment. Moreover, the issues raised by this thesis suggest that it cannot be assumed that teachers, even by virtue of factors such as exposure to the L1 culture, teaching experience, proficiency in the students' L1, or good intentions, will automatically be able to predict and control how their use of language and behavioural

actions will be interpreted by students within the classroom.

Insights from students expressed during retrospective interviews highlight that the meanings attributed to the verbal and non-verbal communication strategies employed by the teacher are rooted in socio-cultural and individual affiliations of the students, ones which did not always align with the teacher's communicative intentions. Similarly, the data findings suggest that a number of ways in which the Japanese students employed culturally, socially and individually informed communicative strategies and behavioural actions were misinterpreted or at times even disallowed by the teacher. In short, the communicative strategies employed by both students and teacher, in order to demonstrate individual worth and to maintain socio-cultural appropriateness, were not always mutually recognised as such. Further, the classroom data illustrates that the Japanese students at times responded negatively towards those specific linguistic and non-linguistic features of the non-Japanese teacher's classroom interactions which they interpreted as being at odds with what they viewed as being Japanese classroom norms. Among other matters, this negative reaction was evident in the students' presentation of a critical attitude towards the teacher and their decision to at times avoid participation in the English language classroom activities.

Seen simply, these findings suggest that teacher failure to recognise the potential for variance in the production and interpretation of language by all participants within the language classroom can potentially lead to misunderstandings. Further, as these misunderstandings may not be evident to the teacher or to the students, the task of addressing how such misunderstanding may become potential sources of conflict may

go unrecognised by one of the parties, while at the same time representing a significant and ongoing concern for the other. Accordingly, for the teacher to fail to recognise and address such variance, whether intentional or unintentional, can constitute a missed opportunity to introduce students to socio-cultural and linguistic features of the L2 which may promote effective use and interpretation of both the native language and the target language. For this reason, the data and its analysis in this study underline the importance for both teacher and students to develop an awareness of factors which shape such values and beliefs, together with an understanding of how these various factors may influence the use and interpretation of both the native language and the target language.

11.3 Summary of Findings and Issues Raised

At the outset of this thesis, four broad guiding questions were posed to frame the research, and these questions are reproduced here:

- *What does classroom student/teacher interaction, and student reflections on that interaction as evidenced through the pragmatics of face, reveal about potential cross-cultural misunderstanding between the Japanese students communicative intentions as observed in verbal and non-verbal communication strategies, and the interpretations of such expressions as conceived by the teacher?*

- *What does classroom student/teacher interaction, and student reflections on that interaction as evidenced through the pragmatics of face, reveal about potential*

teacher misunderstanding of the identities Japanese students seek to align with, resist or reject during L2 learning activities?

- *What themes, framed by the Japanese students' retrospective feedback when viewing recordings of their participation, emerge as being patterns of shared student language, behaviour, and attitudes during the management of face?*

- *How can student/teacher misunderstanding of the verbal and non-verbal communication strategies employed by Japanese students be pedagogically addressed in a school-based teacher professional development program?*

Classroom recordings and student reflections on these recordings illustrate that while the teacher had the students' best intentions at heart, the verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies he employed during English learning activities at times unintentionally undermined his positive intentions by challenging what the students identified as constituting the behavioural norms governing the Japanese foreign language classroom. Importantly, here, interview feedback highlighted that the teacher appeared to be unaware of any friction or student frustration which might interfere with the conduct and process of classroom activities. On the contrary, the teacher generally expressed a high level of satisfaction with the class and the students' actions, and reflected positively on what he felt to be his ability to connect with, and to build rapport with the students. While data illustrated that the students' interpretations of classroom events at times differed from those of the teacher, the above questions have been explored and discussed in detail throughout the thesis, attending to four specific themes.

These themes being: peer collaboration - spontaneous collaboration between the Japanese students during learning activities; Japanese identities - students' resistance to L2 classroom practices deemed to conflict with what they held to be L1 standards; use of the L1 (Japanese) - students' reaction to the teacher's use of Japanese during learning activities; and student recourse to, and maintenance of, silence at moments within interaction. These themes are of particular interest as they reveal pervasive patterns of shared student language, behaviour, and attitudes during the L2 English activities.

In the analysis of these themes, a number of issues have arisen for discussion pertaining to teacher/student divergence in the interpretation of verbal and non-verbal communicative practices employed by the Japanese students and their non-Japanese teacher within the L2 English classroom. I provide below a summary of these findings followed by some questions that arise from the discussion.

11.3.1 Theme 1: Peer Collaboration

On a number of occasions throughout the period of observation the teacher negatively evaluated student collaboration as undesirable. The teacher indicated that he assumed that such collaboration reflected a lack of English competence and constituted inappropriate student classroom behaviour (see Chapter 7). Fundamental to this critical positioning by the teacher in relation to the students was the teacher's assumption that points during classroom interaction when students elected to collaborate were essentially moments during which a less competent student solicited answers to questions from a more competent peer. Moreover, as collaboration often occurred at

moments during which the teacher expected individual student contributions, that student initiating collaboration with peers as a response, was critically viewed by the teacher as seeking to avoid 'hard work', and thereby failing to perform in the way he expected of a competent student. In this way, collaboration between students was often seen by the teacher as violating what he felt to be normative classroom student roles and associated behaviours.

Retrospective feedback from the students illustrated that the students were indeed alert to the teacher's disapproval of collaboration and the resulting alignment with a negative identity. Nevertheless, the students appeared to be unwilling to change their communicative practices. The students registered their frustration at being faced with a negative teacher alignment towards them, and expressed resentment when the teacher placed restrictions on student classroom interaction by intervening during collaboration. Furthermore, student feedback suggested that the students did not have the opportunity, or the English proficiency, to challenge the teacher's negative alignment by explaining their views on collaboration and the functions it served. The only opportunity for students to directly address being aligned with a negative student performance appears to have been outside the classroom during retrospective interviews. Feedback here highlighted that not only were students being critically aligned with a 'bad student' performance for violating classroom protocol that they may not have recognised as such, but the students' capacity to interdependently seek solutions to comprehension difficulties through sourcing assistance from peers was significantly reduced.

Importantly, during retrospective interviews, students indicated that they viewed

collaboration as constituting an acceptable strategy for engaging in, and negotiating classroom tasks. For the students, collaboration was a means by which they could confirm assumptions, or seek assistance, before attempting the face threatening leap of venturing a classroom contribution in full view of their peers. In other words, for the students, seeking peer collaboration was an active process of engagement through which they might make sense of lesson content in a manner over which they could exercise control. In addition, the insights conveyed by the students emphasised that collaboration was typically not an indication of student comprehension difficulties, nor was collaboration intended to undermine the teacher's classroom role nor challenge his authority. Classroom recordings and student feedback highlighted that three key functions of student collaboration were in practice to:

- Compare and/or confirm responses to classroom tasks with peers.
- Solicit answers from peers in order to complete learning exercises.
- Compare/solicit/verify responses with peers in order to avoid failure.

As these functions of collaboration appeared to be viewed by the students as acceptable reasons to work together, the teacher's critical interpretation of collaboration and his frequent attempts to encourage individual participation threatened the students face by implying that students had thereby breached acceptable classroom practices. The primary implication being here that collaboration was critically associated with an inability to initiate an individual response.

As retrospective feedback suggested that the Japanese students did not regard soliciting

answers from peers as being inappropriate, it is unsurprising that the students did not avoid the dissemination of information, or conceal from the teacher when they were the recipient of such information. On the contrary, it appears that for the students, collaboration provided a means by which they might negotiate potential challenges associated with the L2 activities, maintained group unity, and achieved legitimacy through upholding student roles. In this way, collaboration appears to have represented an identity associated with student interdependence and often preceded classroom participation. Repercussions arising from the management of face and identity claims, that stem from these findings, draw attention to a number of important questions for teachers to consider:

- What are teachers' views on student collaboration in the L2 classroom?
- How do these views influence the teaching practices employed?
- What are students' views on student collaboration in the L2 classroom?
- How do these views influence student classroom behaviour?
- How do teacher/student perceptions regarding student collaboration differ?
- Are teachers aware of students' views regarding the situational appropriateness of individual/collaborative responses?
- Are students aware of teacher expectations regarding individual/collaborative responses?
- How can collaboration be effectively employed in learning activities to enhance participation and thereby achieve positive learning outcomes?

11.3.2 Theme 2: Japanese Identities

The analysis of classroom excerpts through the insights gained from student reflections highlighted the difficulty of separating identity and facework in interaction where language and identity constitute part of the subject matter. Student perceptions regarding differences in both verbal/non-verbal communicative strategies and cultural identity between themselves and the teacher suggested that the students share a linguistic and cultural identity which they maintained through narratives regarding face threats posed by interacting with the teacher, the cultural 'other'. The analysis of classroom excerpts highlighted areas of systematic variance between teacher and student attitudes in particular those pertaining to specific teaching practices which the students found to be 'un-Japanese' (see Chapter 8). Those student retrospective insights illustrated that three teaching practices were identified as being incompatible with standard Japanese classroom practices, namely:

- Student involvement in the correction of classmates' errors.
- Classroom correction strategies employed by the teacher.
- Positive feedback from the teacher following error correction.

For example, students noted that positive teacher feedback following an error, even though intended by the teacher as a form of encouragement, at times intensified students' feelings that their classroom contributions represented a significant risk to face (see Nakane, 2005). Students' comments illustrated that positive teacher feedback, when associated with error correction, worked to threaten student face, and met consequently with defensive student reactions. Furthermore, positive reinforcement following teacher

correction was identified by students as being to them uncomfortable and embarrassing. Consequently, we may conclude that positive reinforcement not only appeared to fail to restore lost face, as intended by the teacher, but may also have inadvertently heightened the threat to students' face by at times drawing additional attention to a given student's errors.

Retrospective data illustrated that students at times rationalised what they felt to be differences in instructional techniques employed by the teacher, by implying that these were culturally incompatible with Japanese classroom practices. Students at times exhibited displays of resistance to teacher alignment with what they suggested were 'non-Japanese' classroom practices through electing not to participate in learning activities. Furthermore, understated displays of resistance to seemingly unfamiliar teaching practices, such as those associated with error correction, were demonstrated through gesture and body language. These mild acts of resistance, while at times hidden from the teacher, were ways by which the students flaunted the conventions associated with 'good student' behaviour (Ellwood, 2008) and appeared to align with Japanese identities to which the teacher could not claim membership.

What is important to note is that a number of students were critical of the teacher and what they implied to be a challenge to their Japanese identity, through suggesting that the 'Japanese way' and the 'non-Japanese way' were intrinsically opposed in terms of teaching and learning practices. Somewhat surprisingly, research into English language policy in Japan, such as that conducted by Liddicoat (2007), suggests that feelings of cultural incongruity may be encouraged by Japanese language policy. Liddicoat argues

496

that planning policy 'has taken place within a broader educational policy of internationalization (kokusaika) (…) however, *kokusaika* is primarily conceived as an encounter between Japan and the English-speaking world' (pp. 35-36). The argument pursued is that *kokusaika* is 'clearly directed at communication with the economically and politically dominant English-speaking nations, rather than at communication across a broad geographical and linguistic spectrum' (p. 36). The concern is that this narrow view of *kokusaika* and focus on English to the exclusion of other languages is unlikely to moderate against 'Us' versus 'Them' rhetoric with one of the potential repercussions being that English education, rather than encouraging diversity and building a sense of global community, limits the scope of student exposure and thereby reinforces a sense of fundamental uniqueness (see Kubota, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003; Liddicoat, 2007). The repercussions regarding the management of face and identity alignment that surface from these findings draw attention to important questions for teachers such as:

● How can teachers be encouraged to critically contemplate what they may be doing to perpetrate a potentially divisive rhetoric within the L2 classroom?

● How can 'Us' versus 'Them' ideologies be approached by the teacher in a culturally sensitive manner?

● How can teachers promote and teach *kokusaika* internationalisation within the language classroom?

11.3.3 Theme 3: Teacher Use of the L1 (Japanese)

Analysis and interpretation of classroom discourse and student feedback on this

discourse illustrated that the non-Japanese teacher's use of Japanese was at times interpreted by the students as a threat to the management of face (see Chapter 9). Students noted that cross-cultural misapprehension of the illocutionary force of the teacher's utterances, his inappropriate use of Japanese particles, incorrect Japanese at times challenged their ability to claim face as capable and competent students. Feedback illustrated that a number of students recognised the teacher's positive intentions when employing Japanese, yet interpreted this use of the L1 as being critical of their classroom performance, and therefore unwelcome. The students expressed feeling frustrated by the teacher's use of Japanese as this was interpreted as an indication that the teacher assumed they were unable to comprehend lesson content when delivered in the L2. Moreover, discourse data highlighted that the students resented being viewed by the teacher as struggling with lesson content, particularly at points during learning activities when they felt tasks were within their L2 level of competence. A final point raised by student retrospection was the suggestion that L1 support was at times being deliberately withheld by the teacher for reasons that were not apparent to the students. In other words, the teacher's authority and ability to control the use and flow of Japanese support offered to the students within the classroom frequently positioned the students as being overly dependent on the teacher.

While the students noted that they had reservations about the teacher's use of Japanese, interview data highlighted that the teacher viewed his ability to utilise Japanese as a means by which he could achieve positive outcomes such as facilitating student comprehension of lesson content, confirming understanding, and making productive use of limited lesson time. In addition, the teacher indicated that he felt the L1 was a means

by which he could make students feel comfortable, develop rapport with the class, and demonstrate to the students that he is no different from Japanese teachers. This disparity in student/teacher views is of interest as there is a tendency to assume that students, particularly at lower proficiency levels, will need and welcome support in their native language (Chavez, 2006). Retrospective feedback illustrated that in our study this was not the case. While students noted that the L1 when employed by the teacher did at times aid comprehension, they nevertheless referred to the teacher's Japanese as being *'mezurashii'* (unusual), *'kitsui'* (harsh) and *'tsuyosugiru'* (excessively strong). One outcome of such reaction being that the teacher's L1 use at times impeded rather than encouraged student participation. In short, it appears that the potential benefits of increased understanding associated with the L1 were nullified by the unintended threats to face associated with what the students interpreted as being non-standard Japanese communicative practices. While the current discussion does not seek to address general issues surrounding L1 use in the L2 classroom, what is clear is that the L1 is an intrinsic part of the students' identities and its use by non-native speaker teachers needs to be approached with due consideration. For this reason, the gap in teacher/student interpretations of the value of the use of the mother tongue during learning activities, and the repercussions regarding the management of face and identity claims, draw attention to the important questions that teachers may be are encouraged to consider in in-service training and development such as:

- What are teachers' views on L1 use within the L2 classroom?
- How do these views influence teaching practices employed?
- What are students' views on L1 use within the L2 classroom?

- How do the beliefs underlying such views influence student classroom behaviour?

- Are teacher expectations regarding L1/L2 use made clear and acceptable to students?

- In the event that the teacher uses the L1, is the teacher's (in this case) Japanese proficiency at an appropriate level to proficiency to effectively communicate with students?

11.3.4 Theme 4: Student Silence

Classroom recordings and student reflections on these recordings suggested that Japanese students' recourse to silence, and the resulting discursive intervention of the teacher, represented an ongoing source of cross-cultural classroom misunderstanding. Points of disparity regarding silence at times threatened students' face as they indicated feeling compelled to speak, or else to endure a negative teacher evaluation. The data implies that while silent non-verbal communication corresponded to the Japanese students' cultural codes of acceptable L2 interaction, the non-Japanese teacher negatively viewed the absence of student speech as being associated with what he felt to be the students' fear of failure, their reticence, and/or their failure to comprehend lesson content. As the teacher viewed silence as an undesirable and unproductive student trait, it typically met with direct teacher intervention heralding negative evaluation of the students' L2 competence and degree of classroom participation. The loss of student face was revealed during retrospective interviews during which students indicated feeling threatened and frustrated when they were reprimanded for silence. This was particularly the case since students viewed silence as being a standard and acceptable behaviour

within the Japanese classroom context. As a result, during retrospective interviews a number of students rejected the teacher's assumption that periods of non-talk were an indication that they were failing to involve themselves in the teaching-learning process or were unable to accurately comprehend lesson content.

Classroom excerpts and student reflections on these excerpts illustrated that fear of failure was indeed cited by students as one of the causes of silence. Nonetheless, retrospection data suggests that silence did not appear to be regarded by students as being an inappropriate strategy for dealing with fear. In other words, silence appears to have been viewed by the students as an acceptable response to moments during English activities where they feared making an error. In addition, student feedback highlighted that periods of silence were at times associated with a lack of appropriate response options. For example, when a student, directed by the teacher to respond either 'Yes' or 'No', felt that a definitive response failed to adequately account for his status, she noted feeling uncertain as to how to accurately respond. In such cases silence appeared to follow. Finally, there appears to have been a gap in student/teacher assumptions as to what constituted an appropriate waiting period between the teacher asking a question and the student responding. The teacher appeared to assume a shorter processing time was required and as a result, when students failed to meet these unstated time demands, the assumption was that the student was unable or unwilling to respond. By contrast, students noted that there were moments at which they had comprehended content and were in the process of formulating responses when the teacher suddenly intervened and demanded participation. Overall, students appeared to favour a longer time to process and formulate responses prior to classroom participation by means of verbal response.

Finally, there appears to have been a gap in student/teacher perceptions of what actually constitutes silence. While non-talk was associated by the teacher with the absence of communication, student feedback demonstrated that communication was not always to be regarded as solely verbal. For example, students frequently employed *aizuchi* (backchannel) communication strategies and other gestures such as to *'unazuku'* (to nod in assent) and *'kubi kashigeru'* (to tilt one's head to illustrate confusion). While viewed by the students as appropriate means of active participation during classroom communication, these non-verbal cues employed by students were not always recognised or indeed, permitted by the teacher.

The data findings illustrate that a central problem lies in conflicting interpretations of not only the appropriateness of moments of silences, but what should essentially be considered silence. It appears that the students may not have always been able to employ silence in ways that they felt to be situationally appropriate. This was in part due to the teacher's expectations that the students would alter their communication patterns to reflect the classroom behavioural norms he valued. Accordingly, the students' insights into their interpretation of silence during L2 activities may raise important questions for teachers to consider when working with students in cross-cultural settings where different norms and assumptions regarding silence may apply. Such questions may include:

- What constitute teachers' views on silence within the L2 classroom?
- How do these views influence teaching practices employed?

- What constitute students' views on silence within the L2 classroom?

- How do such views influence student classroom behaviour?

- How do teacher/student views on silence differ?

- Are teacher expectations regarding silence made clear and agreeable to students?

- How can potential differences in interpretations of silence be addressed in an appropriate and transparent way?

- How can student awareness of cross-cultural pragmatic diversity regarding silence be encouraged?

Among other matters, key concerns may include what to teach and how this knowledge can be incorporated within curriculum in ways that respect that student beliefs, behaviours and values may not always reflect those norms the teacher associates with the use of the L2. Conceptually, these findings may provide insights into struggles that the students encounter and contend with as they attempt to manage face and enact identities while participating in L2 English activities taught by the non-Japanese teacher. Pedagogically, such findings illustrate the challenges that the students encounter as they strive to overcome L2 limitations and experience variation in L1/L2 pragmatic forms. For this reason, a primary conclusion to emerge from the study is the need to build teacher awareness of their actions in the classroom, verbally and non-verbally, and how these are being interpreted by students. This is the focus of the following teacher professional development model. Secondly, findings illustrate the need for students to be introduced to pragmatic features of the L1/L2 in order to build understanding of linguistic and non-linguistic signals presented, with attention being given to the specific socio-cultural features of the classroom context and its participants. Issues of pragmatic

competence are addressed through reference to culturally sensitive teaching strategies.

11.4 Student Structural Knowledge and Pragmatic Competence

The Japanese classroom, like any classroom, incorporates specific social and cultural notions of relative social status and membership which students are expected to acknowledge and maintain. While it is important to avoid oversimplifying through stereotypes, the thesis highlights points of verbal and non-verbal disparity as impacting on the students and teacher's ability to interpret communicative intentions, or express themselves as intended. These issues pose a challenge for the non-Japanese language teacher who must make decisions about not only what and how to teach, but also reflect on how instruction impacts on student face and the social and cultural identities performed within the learning environment. This thesis illustrates that a key feature of classroom-based instruction in pragmatics is the need to incorporate student input (see Ishihara and Cohen, 2010). The reason here is that in many cases pragmatic features of the L1 /L2 may not come to light unless varying perspectives are voiced. Further, as argued earlier, in order to provide meaningful pragmatic instruction it is critical that the teacher has an understanding of the socio-cultural practices associated with both the L1 and L2. This may be more challenging than it appears since such practices are often so engrained in L1 communicative practices that we may not even consciously recognise them (Archer et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, it appears that awareness of pragmatics and its principles does not achieve the attention in language teacher education programs that other areas of language do and

that pragmatically related instructional material and activities are underrepresented in instructional resources used in ESL and EFL settings (Archer et al., 2012; Ishihara and Cohen, 2010). Scholars have noted that the area of pragmatics and practical strategies for teaching pragmatics in the language classroom have not been adequately addressed by many TESL teacher preparation programs (Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Eslami-Rasekh, 2005; Ishihara, 2007; Ishihara and Cohen; 2010; Vásquez and Sharpless, 2009). An example of this is the results from a survey of approximately 100 MA-TESL programs around the United States (Vásquez and Sharpless, 2009) which found that while programs have specific courses dedicated to phonology and syntax, the majority do not have a course dedicated to pragmatics. The survey found that while many MA-TESL faculties expressed interest in exposing students to pragmatics, they had yet to determine where pragmatics should 'fit' in their curriculum. In many cases, the programs surveyed were found to address issues of pragmatics in a piecemeal fashion.

Language teachers require direct opportunities to update their pragmatic knowledge relevant to their specific teaching/learning contexts. Such knowledge can improve teachers' ability to identify, and to integrate appropriate pragmatic awareness raising activities into their L2 program and with the purpose of better preparing students to cope with real world encounters outside of the classroom. In addition, the findings from this thesis illustrate that openness to varying pragmatic interpretations consistent with sensitivities to various cultures and social groups needs to be encouraged in students. It is one contention of this thesis that teachers can sensitise students to expect cross-cultural differences when interacting with people from differing cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds. The thesis further illustrates that a lack of cross-cultural

pragmatic awareness can seriously impede one's ability to understand the intended communicative messages in situations when the language employed is by all accounts grammatically accurate and structurally comprehensible. By means of demonstrating an awareness of structural and pragmatic knowledge of the L1 and L2, and how these relate to the classroom and beyond the classroom context, the teacher can further demonstrate openness and respect towards the students' native tongue and culture. To achieve this, among other issues, this requires that the teacher becomes accustomed to how the L1 is potentially used in classroom contexts by students, and how such use may differ from what he believes to represent target language norms.

While it is important to avoid oversimplifying, or generalising from particular instances of classroom behaviour, we may discern recurring patterns of Japanese student verbal and nonverbal behaviour that provide insights into issues of face and identity pertinent to this thesis. Ishihara (2010), for example, maintains that it is essential that teachers 'know how to communicate to their students the importance of having pragmatic ability in the L2, how to direct students' attention to features of socio-cultural context, and how to elicit and assess students' pragmatic use of language' (p. 25). A critical issue which arises from students' feedback is that students may prefer their own social and cultural values to those of the target language, even when explicitly instructed to perform in a specific way. For example, student Kaho, reserves her right to collaborate with peers and indicates that she will continue to resist the teacher's request for individual work, stating, '*kotaega wakatteru tokiwa sonohitoni oshiete ageru*' (When I know the answer then I will tell the person being asked.). In other words, some students do not appear to want to alter their speech strategies even when aware that those strategies were not

always positively interpreted by the teacher. For this reason, we argue here that it is essential for language students to be made aware of pragmatic divergence and to be encouraged to recognise that variation exists both across cultures and within communities of native speakers, without however the student being forced to align with the L2 pragmatic expectations held by the teacher.

Accordingly, this study suggests that language students should be given opportunities within the classroom to develop the pragmatic linguistic tools and resources necessary to communicate and present themselves as they intend to within the target language. These should include raising awareness of the potential for miscommunication when students elect not to embrace L2 pragmatic norms particularly in situations when failure to do so may negatively impact on the speaker's ability to present himself in accord with his intentions. While the teacher has a responsibility to instruct students to use the target language in a situationally and culturally appropriate manner, students will always make personally relevant choices reflecting their own values and their own desires concerning self presentation in the target language.

Emphasising that all languages have pragmatic systems, Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) argue that there is no reason to delay attention to pragmatics within a second language teaching program. The researchers stress that while there is no single best approach to pragmatics instruction, there is the need for authentic language samples, and the need for input to precede student interpretation or production. Beyond exposure, explicit instruction in pragmatics is advocated as a way forward as students may not acquire the pragmatic features of the target language simply through

identification (see Archer et al., 2012). Instruction targeting pragmatic competence can be encouraged through awareness activities, contextually authentic output practice, and production in real-world communication tasks (Archer et al., 2012). For classroom pragmatic instruction to be successful, such researchers argue that it is essential that pragmatics forms a part of the language teacher's content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge base by means of programs such as that outlined above. Ishihara and Cohen (2010:23) suggest an explanatory approach to pragmatics instruction in order to provide students with perspective on language use in social and cultural contexts. These researchers maintain that in order to provide effective instruction in pragmatics, teachers require; (a) an awareness of diverse pragmatic norms in a speech community, (b) the ability to provide metapragmatic information about target language pragmatic norms, (c) the ability to develop and assess L2 students' pragmatic competence, (d) sensitivity to students' subjective and cultural being. Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) suggest that awareness raising activities can advantageously involve demonstrations in both L1 and L2 as cases of divergence are presented in a context in which students have control over the language. Cross-cultural discussion is advocated as an approach by which students can be encouraged to identify variance that exists between the cultural and pragmatic norms associated with the native language and the target language (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003) based on the position that the student has to notice the pragmatic information in the input and understand its function in the surrounding context (Tagashira et al., 2011). Teachers can then involve students in activities that prepare them for interaction outside of the classroom while at the same time giving them the confidence and the skills required to engage in activities within the classroom (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010).

11.5 Reconceptualising the Nature of Language Teaching and Learning: Teacher Professional Development

In our study, retrospective student comments highlight that we cannot assume patterns of language use, verbal and non-verbal, within the classroom will routinely be interpreted in the same way by Japanese students and their non-Japanese teachers. For this reason, the thesis underscores the importance of both teachers and students developing social and cultural knowledge relevant to the pragmatic choices associated with the L1 and L2 in order to manage face and enact identities. As a first step, it is hoped that through combining the teaching of culture and language, that the non-Japanese teacher can aspire to creating a classroom environment in which the target and native languages are equally valued. Specifically, the findings suggest that teachers need professional development opportunities to reconceptualise the nature of language teaching and learning, and their role within this process. In order to communicate effectively within the classroom, teachers require opportunities to reflect on how they are employing verbal and non-verbal communication strategies within the language classroom, and the potential impact their communicative practices may have on students. In addition, teachers require opportunities to build their awareness and knowledge of how students employ verbal and non-verbal communication strategies in their native tongue, particularly when these may differ from assumed L2 standards. We argue that exposure to pragmatic features of the L1 and L2 is a way to foster appreciation and awareness of one's own culture and tolerance of others. In addition, from a practical perspective, pragmatic awareness promotes teacher awareness of the ways things are

done within the classroom.

The findings of our study illustrate that for the language teacher working across cultures, it is important to be careful to avoid imposing cultural values, either on a conscious or unconscious level, on the student. This thesis warns of the problems associated with culturally stereotyping students as ethnocentric generalisations may interfere with teachers' ability to acknowledge and respond to the students as individuals. Offering a word of caution, McKay (2002) states that, 'An understanding of the local culture of learning should not be based on stereotypes, or a received view of culture, in which assertions are made about the traditional roles of teachers and students and approaches to learning, often in reference to western culture. Rather, it should depend on an examination of particular classrooms' (p. 129). Attention to social and cultural features of language use and behaviour may encourage teachers to avoid cultural stereotypes and promote a flexible approach to the management of face and the negotiation of identities. The need for attention to culture within the classroom is noted by Newton et al. (2010) who make the point that 'culture is no longer an invisible or incidental presence in language learning but instead is…a strand with equal status to that of language' (Newton et al., 2010:1). Concurring with this line or reason, we maintain that the teacher, through explicit awareness raising opportunities, can be aided in building knowledge helpful to mitigating potential cross-cultural communication failure such as those cases that came to light in this study. In this way, the informed teacher can build a bridge from the classroom to the real world through promoting student openness to different pragmatic interpretations consistent to sensitivities of various cultures and social groups.

By building teacher awareness of socio-cultural pragmatic diversity through a process that begins with awareness raising reflection and ultimately leads to action, we argue that teachers can transfer their knowledge of pragmatic differences into teaching practices employed within the language classroom. The goal is for teachers to be effectively equipped with knowledge and practical teaching skills by which to encourage students to examine the socio-cultural worlds of both the L1 and L2 beyond the classroom. The potential benefits for students are highlighted by Kawai (2007) who recommends a contextualised approach to English education in which students are helped to 'view the world critically, reflexively and multi-dimensionally' (p. 52). Further, Kawai makes the important point that English should empower rather than oppress students through providing opportunities to consider how they view English historically, politically, economically and culturally.

Stressing that classroom practices represent an opportunity to establish supportive classroom norms, Dörnyei (2007) advocates implementing a norm of tolerance in order to ensure that the classroom experience is directed towards motivating students through promoting acceptance and cohesiveness. The notion of acceptance which Dörnyei refers to is a non-evaluative and positive regard of others acknowledging that humans are both complex and imperfect, while cohesiveness is the result of acceptance, commitment to the task, and group pride (p. 721). Key to promoting acceptance and cohesiveness is the fostering of intermember relationships through building knowledge of the other person (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). Embracing culturally responsive teaching, Gay (2000) recommends harnessing cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles

of students to make learning more appropriate and effective. Defining features of culturally responsive teaching outlined by Gay are the following:

- It acknowledges the legitimacy of the cultural heritages of different ethnic groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes, and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum.

- It builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school experiences as well as between academic abstractions and lived socio-cultural realities.

- It uses a wide variety of instructional strategies that are connected to different learning styles.

- It teaches students to know and praise their own and each others' cultural heritages.

- It incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials in all the subjects and skills routinely taught in schools.

(Gay, 2000:29).

The need for teacher training in these fields is particularly important given that in Japan teachers of English are increasingly from a diverse array of cultural and social backgrounds, and those teachers employed by MEXT and in private *eikaiwa* (English conversation schools) are typically on short term contracts, lack formal teacher training and often have limited opportunities for professional development (Ohtani, 2010). As Hammond (2007) points out, these teachers 'have a unique opportunity to adapt their lessons and activities to be responsive to Japanese culture' and go deeper than superficial cultural comparisons (p. 41). Moreover, with the official inclusion of English as a compulsory subject in the elementary school curriculum for 5th and 6th grade

students, along with the nomination of Tokyo Japan to serve as the host city for the 2020 Olympic Games, the number of English teacher's employed in Japan is expected to increase. Accordingly, the need for non-Japanese language teachers to build awareness of what they are doing within the classroom, and how teaching practices and language use are being interpreted by students, has to be addressed in a methodical, meaningful, and economic manner. We argue that through adopting an analytical approach to understanding the socio-cultural features of language use, the teacher can be encouraged to be tolerant and open-minded when interacting with students from different cultures. The point being that English as an international language should be taught in a culturally sensitive manner by respecting the local culture of learning (McKay, 2002). For this reason, knowledge of socio-cultural divergence in cross-cultural interaction practices may assist the teacher to synthesise elements of different cultures, and thereby build an understanding of cultural differences that can be applied to teaching practices.

11.6 Professional Development Model

Drawing on the results of this thesis, we aim to outline here some detailed objectives for professional development for English language teachers based in Japan. For the second-language teacher, awareness of the identities students potentially claim can be supported through facework that is attentive to the social and cultural practices, beliefs, traditions, customs and values which contribute to expectations of all participants within the classroom. Such a goal demands considerable knowledge and experience of the practices employed and expected by the teacher and students within the context of the

classroom. Among other matters, this requires in turn that the language teacher be provided with opportunities to build knowledge of the socio-cultural features associated with use of the L1 and L2 within the classroom context. The objective of building knowledge is to promote teacher acceptance of potential differences and to encourage flexible and tolerant approaches to instruction in English learning activities. Through teacher action, it is hoped that students will be exposed to cultural diversity, and teachers can be encouraged to establish initiatives within their pedagogical practice to promote tolerance, understanding, and respect for cultural differences. At the same time, awareness of cultural values and societal characteristics associated with the target language is not tantamount to a call for the student to achieve an idealised native-like competence or conform to specific target language values. Rather, opportunities to compare and contrast L1 and L2 language usage serve as an important teaching/learning tool in the sense that teachers can be encouraged to actively explore potential areas of linguistic divergence, while developing acceptance of varying communicative practices and cultural paradigms.

Acknowledging the need for both practical and fiscally viable teacher development programs suitable for English language teachers from a diverse range of socio-cultural professional and educational backgrounds, we outline below a model for teacher professional development and classroom practice based on continuing reflection from authentic sites of engagement. The model follows a pedagogic and exploratory cycle of teaching and learning developed around the five phases of*: Awareness, Knowledge Building, Critique, Action* and *Evaluation* (see Candlin et al., 1995; S. Candlin, 1997; O'Grady, 2011) and employs data which focuses attention on real situations which are

familiar to teachers through making use of classroom video/audio recordings. Reflecting on first-hand experience using this model in clinical settings (Candlin & Candlin, 2013), highlight that rather than constituting just a process of skills training and modeling, this model 'can have profound effects on the improvement of professional practice, impacting positively on patient care, and on healthcare more generally (p.28)'. Moreover, drawing on innovative work in intercultural ESL contexts in the USA by Auerbach and Wallerstein (1984), Candlin and Candlin (2013) note that this model has also been drawn on by Candlin et al. (1995) for use in legal communication training, by S. Candlin (1997) for use in nurse education, and by O'Grady (2011) in the communications training of registrars and novice doctors. To complement this model, we include a fifth phase, that of *Evaluation,* which seeks participating teachers' evaluative insights into both the overall professional development seminar, and more specifically, into the appraisal of the classroom outcomes of the *Action* phase in terms of enhancing teacher professional judgment and performance within the classroom.

Designed to be simple and intuitive, this professional development program is intended to supplement teacher training process models, not replace them. With this objective, the model is intended to provide teachers with an application-oriented approach to building socio-cultural awareness, content knowledge and understanding of the classroom and students through reflecting on teaching beliefs and practices that may not always be apparent to the teacher on a conscious level. Moreover, the model aims to encourage teachers to observe and identify pragmatic features of the L1 and the L2 that can be introduced into English learning activities in order to build students pragmatic competence. Karavas-Doukas (1998) notes that effective teacher development programs

must inculcate in teachers the need to inquire and question existing practice. In other words, it should not be limited to the focus of the program, but encourage teachers to become reflective, to evolve and seek new understandings in order to bring about meaningful, effective, long term educational reform.

Reflective practice is understood as the process of learning through and from experience in order to gain new insights of self and/or practice, and frequently involves examining assumptions of everyday practice (see Boyd and Fales, 1983; Jarvis, 1992; Mezirow, 1981). Schön's (1983) '*The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*' identified ways in which professionals could become aware of their implicit knowledge and learn from their experience. This involves the practitioner being self-aware and critically evaluating their own responses to situations through reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. The former refers to the thinking we do while actually practicing, while the latter refers to reflection after the event where we review our experience, make sense of it and learn from it. In both types of reflection, practitioners seek to connect with their feelings and address relevant theory so as to construct new understandings to shape their action in the unfolding situation. While Schön's work has inspired many models of reflection and categories of reflective practice, it has also drawn criticism such as Eraut's (2004) concern that it lacks precision and clarity, and Ekebergh's (2007) argument that it is not possible to distance oneself from the lived situation in order to reflect in the moment. Nevertheless, Schön's work on reflective practice provides a useful understanding of the relationship between professional knowledge and professional practice. It is this focus on helping us make sense of our practice which we draw on in the following teacher professional development program.

The following program is designed to encourage teachers to reflect critically on the impact of their own background, assumptions, behaviour and language use on their teaching practices, while also attending to the possible impact of these practices on their students. The program aligns with Fook and Askeland's (2006) view that the focus of critical reflection should be on connecting individual identity and social context: 'Part of the power of critical reflection in opening up new perspectives and choices about practice may only be realized if the connections between individual thinking and identity, and dominant social beliefs are articulated and realized' (p. 53). The objective being for teachers to become more flexible through encouraging them to reflect on, and expand their range of strategic options for managing their verbal and non-verbal communication strategies and those of their students. Ultimately, the hope is that this knowledge will provide a basis from which teachers can be encouraged to adopt, modify, or where deemed appropriate, discontinue specific teaching practices in order to better meet students' needs.

The program focuses on delivery of professional development to teachers through a school-based strategy where teachers are learning with their colleagues. Acknowledging that teachers will inevitably have different needs, interests and requirements, voluntary participation is seen to influence the success of a program (Sandholtz, 2002). Robb (2000) notes that 'choice is necessary… choice is at the heart of making a commitment… it allows teachers who are sceptical about change to be observers and listeners and to talk to colleagues who are actively involved in professional learning before making a personal commitment' (p. 3). As the process is intended to be a cyclical

517

professional development program, it necessitates sufficient time and a supportive environment in order for teachers to comfortably and actively achieve critical awareness without concern that their teaching practices are being critically evaluated. Time demands will be unique to each institution and therefore timelines should be agreed upon by teaching staff and school management prior to the commencement of the program. The model is organised around teachers playing active roles by including authentic classroom data, use of reflective discussion, the modification of teaching approaches, developing new teaching approaches, lessons or assessments, and interaction among teachers about ways to improve their practice and develop learning activities. A key issue is how the program can successfully introduce innovation, and work together with teachers to implement it in their classrooms. The five phases of *Awareness, Knowledge*, *Critique, Action* and *Evaluation* presented below, each draw on the previous phase and leads to the next. The final phase produces data which can then be employed to begin a second interactive cycle of professional development.

The *Awareness phase* involves a deliberate examination of self, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours framed in reference to authentic classroom data in order to better understand practices. The awareness stage as employed by Candlin et al. (1995) in professional development programs for practicing lawyers, is initiated by asking the question: *'What do we know?'*. This approach argues that it is only when teachers become aware of their own tacitly held beliefs and their routinised practice that they can articulate their beliefs and use them to reflect on their teaching practices. Teachers take part in consciousness-raising tasks through the observation of authentic classroom data sources which have been audio/video-recorded and transcribed. During this process, the teachers

observe recordings of classroom activities in small focus groups with a neutral moderator controlling technical equipment and stimulating discussion when required. Teachers are encouraged to draw on personal experiential commentary relevant to the specific theme of the program during critical reflection. Themes which would be relevant to the current study are the four areas of student peer collaboration, characteristics of Japanese identities, use of the L1 (Japanese), occasions of student silence. Because of the potentially large scope of each of these themes, we recommend that each be considered as an independent area of examination and reduced to further subcategories for professional development seminars. For example, in the case of our data regarding the theme of student collaboration (Chapter 8), separate teacher development seminars would target the three key functions of collaboration exhibited by students during learning activities; (a) to compare and/or confirm responses to classroom tasks with peers, (b) to solicit answers from peers in order to complete learning exercises, and (c) to compare/solicit/verify responses with peers in order to avoid failure.

During the *Awareness phase*, critical reflection is seen as necessary for teachers to understand themselves as individuals and as professionals, and to make sense of their professional experiences. With reflection-in-action, teachers examine their experiences and responses as they occur in order to build new understandings to shape their action within the classroom (Schön, 1983). In Schön's words:

> The practitioner allows himself to experience surprise, puzzlement, or confusion in
> a situation which he finds uncertain or unique. He reflects on the phenomenon

before him, and on the prior understandings which have been implicit in his behaviour. He carries out an experiment which serves to generate both a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation.

(Schön, 1983:68)

Schön argues that the novice practitioner lacks *knowledge-in-action*, and therefore is inclined to be dependent on rules and procedures which are mechanically applied. In contrast, as professionals become more expert in their practice, they develop the skill of being able to monitor and adapt their practice simultaneously, perhaps even intuitively. Gebhard and Oprandy (1999) assert that '[t]he more we observe and develop our teaching, the freer we become to make our own informed teaching decisions' (p. 38). In addition, they point out that the more aware teachers become of their teaching practices, the more they can consider their beliefs about learning and teaching. Bailey et al. (2001) note that constant reflection plays a critical role in empowering teachers to raise their awareness to a level of metaconsciousness and a further level of critical awareness. The *Awareness phase* is central to the overall success of the model, and requires both adequate time and a supportive environment in order for teachers to critically examine self, beliefs and practices that surface during learning activities. Participant reflections are audio/video-recorded and key areas of discussion transcribed for further reference.

The *Knowledge phase* begins with the question: *'What do we need to learn?'* (Candlin et al., 1995). During this stage, transcriptions from the *Awareness phase*, or extended texts either in the form of classroom recordings or transcripts, are examined by the teachers. These extended examples of actual classroom interaction form the basis by

which to determine what needs to be learnt. Key areas can be explored through group exchange as discussed by the participants to enable a fuller and more focused discussion of what appears to the teachers to be occurring in the original audio/video-recorded and transcribed data excerpts examined during the *awareness phase*. In addition, where appropriate, group knowledge is to be supplemented by drawing on print resources such as papers in academic publications. Teachers are encouraged to identify specific questions they may have regarding what the students were thinking and doing. In this phase, the 'participants come to determine and adopt a common analytical language in terms of which the data in question can be described, interpreted and explained' (Candlin & Candlin, 2013:27).

In the *Critique phase* we turn to the question of: 'Why are matters as they are?' At this phase, we focus on developing an understanding of the students' perspectives regarding classroom interaction and behaviour. This phase of the discussion focuses on developing a better understanding of the reasons behind the particular performances in question, and how these may or may not relate to the situation-specific practices. In regards to our study, this phase invites discussion of pragmatic variation between the L1 and L2, in addition to classroom verbal and non-verbal practices. In the *Action phase*, teachers now draw on, and engage with their own recorded and transcribed data obtained from their own professional practice, addressing the questions: 'What can be done?' and 'What should be done?'. This is the phase in which theory is enacted, practiced, and realised through engaging, applying, exercising, realising, or practicing ideas. We are reminded here of the need for the objectives of a teacher development program to be specific and limited in order to maximise the benefits. Senge et al. (2000) note the need for initial

change proposals to be small, arguing that it will 'grow organically' (p. 273). As Candlin and Candlin (2013:27) point out, such personally relevant data, made suitably anonymous and with the ethical permissions of all involved, can then be recycled as input to the initial phases of any subsequent program. In this way, the model is a continuing and practice-generating cycle of description, interpretation and explanation aimed at enhancing teacher professional judgment and performance within the classroom.

As a complement to the above four phases, the program we outline includes an *Evaluation phase* designed with four specific evaluation goals in mind; (a) participant satisfaction, (b) gains in teacher knowledge, (c) changes in classroom practices, and (d) increases in student achievement/awareness in relation to the specific pragmatic areas of investigation. The participating teachers would take part in discussing these evaluative criteria, ('a', 'b') with 'c' and 'd' to be assessed by teachers by means of classroom observations through video/audio recordings. Recordings drawn from the *Action phase* provide in-depth qualitative data and are useful for teachers to reflect on their implementation of modifications to classroom practice.

Taken as a whole, in our view, such a professional development model introduces teachers to the socio-cultural dimensions of teaching and learning through providing opportunities to examine their own assumptions and how they impact classroom practice, as well as assisting them to examine how socio-cultural factors influence learning and student attitudes. Such an approach sheds light on potential variability in student/teacher expectations regarding values and beliefs. Yero (2002) compares

changing an old established belief to trying to open a window that has been painted shut. It requires a great deal of prying, poking and prodding before it will loosen and break free from the frame. This is a consequence of the comfort of established habit that provides consistency and stability in people's lives. Once the window is open, the teacher may change the way he elects to meet the needs of all students with culturally and linguistically different backgrounds and experiences.

The professional development model advocated here concurs with Lortie (1998) who, when revisiting some issues in his seminal work *School-teacher*, aptly commented 'that considerably more research is needed on teachers and their work' (p. 161). In order to encourage teachers to reflect on and interpret their teaching practices, a final characteristic of our approach to teacher professional development is the promotion of a nonjudgmental stance towards participants. In other words, participating teachers are encouraged to work collaboratively and are not subject to external supervision or evaluation. It is hoped that such a nonjudgmental stance may enable participating teachers to feel comfortable in interpreting, and where appropriate potentially reconstructing their approach to English activities through taking risks (Gebhard & Oprandy, 1999). In addition, in order to encourage meaningful discussion, teachers are encouraged to take a nonjudgmental stance towards each other in order that all teachers can express themselves openly in a collaborative and equal format. For effective collaborative learning to take place, the model outlined recognises that it is important to keep in mind that interpretations of optimal conditions will vary among teachers. For example, Sato and Kleinsasser (2004) report that Japanese EFL teachers tend to view professional development as an individual endeavor. The researchers argue that in

general, collaborative development is not pursued in Japanese teacher education programs. For this reason, we maintain that it is necessary for teachers to be made aware of the collaborative nature of the professional development model, and emphasise that this is viewed as being a way to transmit knowledge and skills.

11.7 A Model Professional Development Seminar

Drawing on the analysis of our research data, we identify the following key aims for professional development programs:

- To encourage teachers to reconceptualise the nature of language teaching and learning and their role.
- To raise teachers' awareness of the verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies they are employing in the classroom.
- To raise teachers' awareness of how their verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies are interpreted by Japanese students.
- To raise teachers' awareness of the verbal and non-verbal communicative strategies students are employing in the classroom.
- To sensitise teachers' to the need for explicit attention to pragmatic features of the L1/L2 and for them to be incorporated within learning activities.
- To generate an awareness and knowledge base from which teachers can develop learning activities and/or adjust their teaching practices in order to better meet their students' needs.

In our study, student feedback provides insight into pervasive patterns of language use, attitudes, and behaviours from which an image and appreciation of the Japanese students' conceptions of face as a construct of identity emerges. Taking these findings into account, achieving the above aims requires the teacher to be aware of key characteristics of the L2 classroom:

- Varying socio-cultural backgrounds of students and teachers.

- Potential for variance in cross-cultural negotiations of face.

- Potential for variance in the enactment of identities.

- Potential for variance in cross-cultural pragmatic meaning beyond the literal interpretation of what is said.

- Potential for variance in cross-cultural assumptions concerning standards of classroom appropriateness in regards to language use and behaviour.

- Potential for variance regarding the different roles played by teachers and students at different moments.

The analysis of the data explores cross-cultural pragmatic divergence seen from the perspective of the students' and their teacher as revealed through student identities and the pragmatics of face. These characteristics are realised and defined by the ways the teachers address key issues of communication:

- How face is negotiated during English learning activities.

- How students align with, and enact identities during English learning activities.

- How the pragmatics of the L2 may be expressed and addressed in English learning

activities.

- How the pragmatics of the L1 may be addressed and expressed in English learning activities.

Integral to these issues of classroom participation are a number of key areas which reveal specific moments during learning activities where the teacher's interpretations of classroom communication deviate from the students' communicative intentions. Similarly, data reveals points during activities where the students' interpretations of classroom communication deviate from the teacher's communicative intentions. Organised around recurring themes explored in our study, these four areas constitute the key areas of content for the professional development program as outlined above:

- Peer collaboration - spontaneous collaboration between the Japanese students during learning activities.

- Characteristics of Japanese identities - students' resistance to classroom practices that they felt to be inconsistent with what they considered to be familiar Japanese classroom behaviour or language use.

- Use of the L1 (Japanese) - students' reactions, both positive and/or negative, to the teacher's use of Japanese during learning activities.

- Recourse to, and maintenance of, silence - students' reflections on periods of extended silence and/or the teacher's intervention during these silent periods.

Seminars may choose to focus on one of the above four themes, or alternatively, attend to one of the sub-themes revealed as being sources of misunderstanding related to

verbal and/or non-verbal communicative styles. The model is equally applicable to examining critical moments that arise within the cross-cultural classroom that we have not directly raised within this study. Whatever the focus of the professional development seminar, we emphasise the need to follow a number of key pedagogic principles adopted from the professional development program outlined by Candlin et al., (1995:49):

- Seminars should work with authentic classroom data.

- Participating teachers should be encouraged to draw from real-life experiences within the classroom at all four phases of the model.

- The focus should be on the nature of the best practice.

- It should reflect both the teacher and the student perspectives.

- It should be cyclical in order to build a sustainable model for ongoing teacher development.

- It should be voluntary in terms of participation and collaboratively managed.

11.8 Example of Such a Model Seminar: Focus on Silence and *Aizuchi* (Backchannels)

Seminar Focus: *Aizuchi* (backchannels) communication strategies. This program is to be conducted in small groups of four to six teachers with participants made up of both Japanese and non-Japanese teachers.

Definition: *Aizuchi* (backchannels) communication strategies, verbal and non-verbal, are

pervasive in their occurrence within Japanese and have an extensive variety of expressions (Maynard, 1989; Horiguchi, 1997). *Aizuchi* serve a range of communicative functions, frequently occur in Japanese communication, and take on a number of forms. During interaction in Japanese, *aizuchi* perform as supportive behaviours with which a listener can engage in functions such as responding to questions, shifting topics or demonstrating support for the speaker. If the non-Japanese speaker is unaware of the prevalence and communicative function of verbal/non-verbal *aizuchi* in Japanese, points at which *aizuchi* are employed may not be recognised for the communicative function intended by the speaker. A similar use of backchannels, such as various functions of head movement, have been noted in the English produced by Japanese English speakers as a source of cross-cultural communicative misunderstanding (Ike, 2010).

Phase One: Awareness:

Input: It is at this phase that we would outline that interest in cultural variation in the communicative functions of *aizuchi* in daily life draws attention to potential differences in socio-cultural attitudes towards the functions and frequency of *aizuchi* employed in the Japanese language. In addition, we would point out that a similar use of *aizuchi* is observed in the English produced by Japanese English speakers. For example, various functions of head movement frequently observed in *aizuchi* appear to be employed by Japanese speakers of English (Ike, 2010; Maynard, 1987; Szatrowski, 2000, 2003). As a distinctive feature of Japanese English, we note that the backchannel behaviour needs to be properly examined in order to have successful cross-cultural communication.

We would note that attitudes, influenced by an array of socio-cultural factors, are integral to understanding how *aizuchi* are employed and interpreted in order to achieve specific communicative goals. Moreover, understanding socio-cultural attitudes towards the communicative functions of *aizuchi* may provide insights into both what is said, and what is left unsaid during cross-cultural communication. We would explain that *aizuchi* are a form of communication that may not be recognised or incorrectly identified by the non-Japanese teacher unfamiliar with Japanese language use. We would explain that *aizuchi* plays a key role in signaling support and empathy towards the speaker however, *aizuchi* can only be truly effective if the intentions are evident to the interlocutors (Cutrone, 2005).

In terms of its formal characteristics, we would note that non-verbal and verbal forms of *aizuchi* (such as the vertical head movement) can occur simultaneously (Kita & Ide, 2007) and that backchannels in Japanese are often initiated by the speaker's head movement (Maynard, 1987, 1990, 1997). We would point out that *aizuchi* when used in Japanese signal the current speaker to continue his turn and do not require him to respond (Iwasaki, 1997). We would suggest that a useful, but not the only, definition of a backchannel is as follows:

> 1. A backchannel is a short vocal and/or non-vocal utterance by the listener to the content of another interlocutor's speech. Head movements such as nodding and head shakes are included as long as such movements display one of the backchannel functions. That is, the head movement does not contradict what the speaker is saying, nor answer any particular question.

2. A backchannel does not require the floor. That is, it does not initiate the direction of conversation.

3. Acknowledgement of a backchannel is optional.

4. Main functions of backchannels are categorised as continuer, acknowledgement, agreement, judgment, and emotional reaction.

(Ike, 2010:206)

This would be followed by the presentation of short video-recorded classroom interaction excerpts. Presented with transcriptions, these recordings and texts would provide examples of the functional use of *aizuchi* as an interactional strategy within the language classroom. Possible examples of *aizuchi* could be the following.

Example text 1: Taken from Classroom Excerpt 31: The teacher (T) asks student Kaho (K) to indicate if she can count from 1 to 100.

1 T: ((T looks in the direction of K)) can you count from 1 to 100?

2 K: (2) *unn* ((K nods))

3 T: (5) ((T looks at K waiting)) can you? ((K glances up at T))

4 K: ((K nods to indicate yes))

5 T: (6) ((T looks at K and takes step forward)) yes or no ((T looks around at other Ss))

6 K: (2) *unn* (2) yes ((K looks down at desk))

7 T: ((T folds arms)) (2) do you understand the question (1) *ima no shitsumon wakarimashitaka?*

'Did you understand this question?'

8 K: ((K looks up at T)) (1) yes

Example text 2: Taken from Classroom Excerpt 32: The teacher (T) asks student Miu (M) to indicate whether she has understood.

1 T: ((T refers to textbook)) he plays games (1) do you understand?

2 M: (4) ((M looks at T and nods to indicate comprehension))

3 T: (3) ((T looks at M and slowly questions)) <u>do:: you understand?</u>

4 M: (6) ((M looks up at T and nods to indicate comprehension))

5 T: (2) ((T appears frustrated)) OK? (1) OK?

6 M: ((M looks up at T and tilts her head to the side)) (5) OK ((quietly))

Action: Here the teachers would be asked to reflect on the nature of *aizuchi* as viewed in the recordings. In addition, teachers would be asked to reflect on *aizuchi* as a strategy employed by Japanese speakers through reflecting on their teaching experience. They would be asked to discuss:

- What communicative functions do you feel these *aizuchi* are intended to serve in the recordings?

- How did the teacher react to the use of *aizuchi*?

- How do you feel about the teacher's response?

- Are these examples of *aizuchi* in the recordings what you would categorise as being standard occurrences within the classroom?

- Are these examples of *aizuchi* in the recordings what you would categorise as being standard occurrences outside of the classroom?

Phase Two: Knowledge

Input: At this stage, teachers would be presented with a more extended video recording of a classroom. To obtain these samples, teachers would be asked to record their own classes and identify and transcribe short samples of *aizuchi* use within classroom interaction. Teachers would be asked to identify particular uses of *aizuchi* by Japanese students within the recordings. It is at this stage that the teachers would be encouraged to view the area of examination through attention to the Japanese students' perspectives. To assist teachers in identifying and understanding *aizuchi* we would present potential classification and function frameworks. Alternatively, teachers would be welcomed to access journals or other publications to determine a relevant framework. It is in this phase, that the teachers determine and adopt a common analytical language in terms of which the data in question can be described and interpreted.

For example, we would present Horiguchi's (1997) framework which classifies *aizuchi* into three types: 1) a fixed set of short expressions called *aizuchi-shi*, such as *hai*, *ee, hoo*, *fuun*, *hee, soo desu ne, naruhodo,* and *honto*; 2) a repetition; and 3) a short reformulation of a part or all of the immediately preceding speaker's utterance. Secondly, we would present Iwasaki's (1997) model for understanding *aizuchi* which notes three types of *aizuchi* as: nonlexical, phrasal, and substantive. Non-lexical *aizuchi* refer to a closed set of short sounds with little or no referential meaning such as *ee*, *soo*, *aa*.

Phrasal *aizuchi* are expressions with meaning, such as *naruhodo* and *uso*, and substantive *aizuchi* are an open class of expressions with full referential content. Non-lexical *aizuchi* tend to be treated as continuers while phrasal and substantive backchannels are interpreted as reactive backchannels. In addition, teachers would be instructed to be aware of the use of non-verbal forms of *aizuchi* such as *unazuku* (to nod in assent) and *kubi kashigeru* (to tilt one's head to the side to demonstrate uncertainty) or other non-verbal *aizuchi* behaviours including smiling, and eye movement (Kogure, 2007). Finally, we would present Ike's (2010) framework for identifying and classifying *aizuchi* as practical means of identify three broad types:

- Vocal type - backchannel consists of a vocal utterance alone.
- Non-Vocal - backchannel consists of head movement alone.
- Vocal + Non-Vocal - backchannel consists of a vocal utterance accompanied by head movement.

In order to identify and categorise the functions of *aizuchi* the teachers would be directed towards Horiguchi's (1988) five functional categories: 1) display of listening; 2) display of understanding; 3) display of agreement; 4) display of disagreement; and 5) expression of emotion. In addition, teachers would be introduced to Maynard's (1993) six categories: 1) continuer; 2) display of understanding of content; 3) support and empathy toward the speaker; 4) agreement; 5) strong emotional response; and 6) minor additions, corrections, or requests for information. These categories are intended to help the teachers recognise that *aizuchi* serve a number of communicative functions. Teachers would be encouraged to employ a framework they felt appropriate, or

alternatively, to develop their own framework.

Teachers would be instructed to use their framework in order to identify examples of *aizuchi* as used by the students within their classroom recordings. Video-recordings of these examples would be presented to the group along with basic transcriptions. Here the teachers would be asked:

- To identify the use of *aizuchi* by students.

- To identify the frequency of particular types of *aizuchi* employed by students.

- To determine the communicative function of the *aizuchi* employed by students.

- To discuss whether the communicative function of the *aizuchi* employed by students was correctly interpreted by the teacher.

Phase Three: Critique

Here the purpose is to encourage the teachers to raise critical questions surrounding the use of *aizuchi* by students. Teachers would be asked to consider how *aizuchi* could potentially result in misunderstanding regarding communicative intent in cross-cultural situations. In addition, teachers would be asked to consider how students could be made aware of the potential for misunderstanding, and what action should be taken as a result.

Question to consider are:

- There is a danger that non-Japanese teachers, failing to recognise students' *aizuchi*

as a form of communication, may incorrectly assume that students are not participating in activities as expected.

- There is a danger of non-Japanese teachers misinterpreting the extended range of functions served by *aizuchi.*

- There is a danger that non-Japanese teachers' rejection of *aizuchi* and demands for verbal response strategies may be interpreted by students as a rejection of *aizuchi* as a valid, and important form of Japanese communication.

- Failure to acknowledge *aizuchi* may be viewed as imposing cultural values, either on a conscious or unconscious level, on the students.

- There is a danger of students assuming that the communicative intentions behind *aizuchi* will be evident to non-Japanese.

- There is a danger of students assuming that that their communicative intentions through the use of *aizuchi* have been correctly interpreted by a non-Japanese interlocutor.

Phase Four: Action

Here the purpose is to move the discussion to the practical level of teacher/student interaction within, and outside of the classroom. There are two main foci: Firstly, to implement modifications to teaching practices that have been identified as resulting in misunderstanding, and secondly, to make appropriate pedagogic inclusions or modifications to learning activities which address pragmatic features of the L1 and L2 regarding *aizuchi*. The objective here is to identify and introduce students to pragmatic aspects of the target and native languages regarding *aizuchi* through raising pragmatic

awareness, and creating opportunities to engage pragmatic features of the target language. In this way, both teachers and students can be encouraged to view the L1 and L2 through each other's cultural lens. In particular, the focus would be on:

- Exposing teachers to specific *aizuchi* and the communicative intent as viewed by the Japanese students as a way to foster appreciation and awareness of one's own culture and tolerance of others.

- Building students' awareness of the pragmatic features of Japanese *aizuchi* as a way to foster appreciation and awareness of one's own culture and tolerance of others.

- Identifying classroom activities so as to raise students' pragmatic awareness of L1 *aizuchi*.

- Building students' awareness of L2 backchannel options, verbal and non-verbal, which may provide students with the means to express themselves as intended within the L2.

- Provide students with opportunities to practice backchannels in a variety of interactive communication activities.

Phase Five: Evaluation

Here the purpose is to move the discussion to; (a) the overall effectiveness of the professional development seminar, and (b) the practical measures that have been implemented during the action phase. The *Evaluation phase* is designed with four specific evaluation targets; (a) participant satisfaction, (b) gains in teacher knowledge, (c) changes in classroom practices, and (d) increases in student achievement/awareness

in relation to the specific pragmatic areas of investigation.

Participant satisfaction and gains in teacher knowledge will be appraise through the analysis of data drawn from focus group discussion. The participating teachers will be asked to comment on:

- What have you learned in the teacher education program?
- Do you feel the development seminar was useful?
- What have you learned about *aizuchi*?
- Do you plan to make any changes to your teaching practices as a result of knowledge gained from the program?
- How do you feel that any changes you make will benefit your students?

Changes in classroom practices, and increase in student achievement/awareness in relation to the use of *aizuchi* and L2 backchannel strategies will be further appraised by the participating teachers by means of video/audio recordings of classroom observations. Recordings of classroom activities focusing on backchannels will provide in-depth qualitative data and will be valuable in enabling teachers to reflect on their implementation of classroom change. Teachers will be asked to discuss:

- How did students respond to pragmatic instruction regarding *aizuchi?*
- Were students able to recognise their use of L1 *aizuchi*?
- How did students perform on L2 backchannel activities?
- Were students open to adopting L2 backchannels?

- How do you feel student awareness of L2 backchannels impacts on the students' ability to employ L2 backchannels during English activities?

The proposed professional development seminar maintains that *aizuchi* behaviour is a distinctive feature of Japanese, and one which should be properly recognised by Japanese speakers of English and their teachers in order to increase the effectiveness of cross-cultural communication.

11.9 A Final Word: Approaching the Student

> Communication between speakers of different languages is fraught with difficulty, even between speakers who appear to know each other's languages well. We find that there are considerable cultural differences operating at all levels of behavior, verbal and non-verbal, and that these affect our ability to communicate.
>
> (Archer et al., 2012:225)

Generalisations cannot be made based on a limited analysis of two ESL classes instructed by the one teacher; nonetheless the findings in this study are reflective of my personal teaching experiences within Japan over the past 20 years. Years in the classroom have taught me that the potential for misunderstanding associated with differences in socio-cultural pragmatic verbal and non-verbal forms of communication requires careful reflection, and appropriate pedagogical intervention. This thesis advocates that the management of face in the classroom offers powerful insights into identities constructed and performed within the classroom. In addition, the relationship

between face and identity underscores the need for heightened reflection on classroom practices. Of importance here is that this reflection needs to be research-based and reliant on authentic classroom data and associated responses from participants involved.

The interactional negotiation of face speaks directly to students' basic desire to both avoid imposition and to be recognised as valuable members of the classroom. It is the responsibility of the teacher to initiate and establish positive and supportive classroom practices through working jointly with students in order to create a classroom that recognises the value that all participants bring. In this sense the classroom represents an opportunity for teachers to introduce students to linguistic and pragmatic features of the target language without stereotyping students or imposing a value system. As Byram (1997) points out:

> In an educational framework which aims to develop critical cultural awareness, relativisation of one's own and valuing of others' meanings, beliefs and behaviours does not happen without a reflective and analytical challenge to the ways in which they have been formed and the complex of social forces within which they are experienced.
>
> (Byram, 1997:35)

Our data suggests that the identity and face needs of students should be seen as inseparable from their linguistic needs. Within the context of the study the teacher was conscious of the students' face needs and appeared to be attentive to these needs in the choices he made and the activities he employed. It was through attentiveness to what he

assumed to be the students' face needs that the teacher identified students with identities; nonetheless, the teacher drew on and articulated identity categories which were imposed on students. For example, if a student was silent, she was aligned with a 'poor student' identity for resisting participation or lacking in L2 competence. In this manner, teacher imposed identity alignment threatens to undermine the student's views regarding his positive social value and may influence communicative strategies employed when carrying out facework in order to maintain, enhance, protect, and possibly restore losses to face.

This thesis has shed light on a group of Japanese students' interpretation of English activities underscoring how differing linguistic and cultural norms within the classroom can inadvertently alienate and silence such students. Although based on data and insights on that data gained from only a small number of students, this thesis draws attention to the value of examining the often neglected perspectives of younger students. The data drawn on in the thesis, and its arguments, suggests that as educators, we need to strive to empower our students through providing regular opportunities for students to express and share opinions in the course of reflecting on second language learning activities. In addition, this thesis highlights ways in which the development of reflective teaching practices is necessary in order to develop a deeper teacher awareness of what we expect of our students, and how this may align with or potentially contradict what students want for themselves.

As Boxer (2002:150) notes, 'In an age in which cross-cultural interaction is the norm not only across societies but also within them, different rules of speaking have the

potential to cause stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination against entire groups of people.' In reference to the cross-cultural classroom in which interpretations of normative roles and rank may differ, it is crucial that the teacher avoid deliberate or unintentional rejection of what may be unfamiliar classroom behaviour or language practices, as this can result in the alienation of students. Students can be encouraged not to fear assimilation if the teacher actively avoids imposing identities that are thought to pose a threat to the students' culture and values. Through teacher attention to cultural and linguistic diversity students can be encouraged to develop global identities that are not derived from a sense of having to protect one's culture.

With this in mind, a classroom built on respect and trust can be aspired to through conscious teacher attention to face and the identities that students both bring to and seek to develop through the acquisition of English. Through recognising and embracing the identities students seek to align to within the classroom, the teacher can communicate a powerful message that the acquisition of a second language does not in any way compete for space with attitudes and values associated with the mother tongue. Second language teaching and L2 acquisition should not be viewed by young students as diminishing or threatening their sense of Japanese identities, but on the contrary can serve to enhance their identities and possibilities they claim for the future. It is hoped that future research will examine students' voices with attention to building contextualised classroom interpretations through longitudinal investigations. With compulsory English curriculum at the elementary school level fully in play in Japan, the need for L2 teachers at schools and private language learning institutions within Japan is likely to increase. Through expanding teacher awareness of, and interest in

cross-cultural pragmatic features of language acquisition, it is hoped that we can better recognise and act in response to the needs of our students.

11.10 Final Thoughts: Personal Reflections

This research undertaking has engaged a large part of my life over the past years and has brought with it more challenges than I had ever anticipated. The insights offered are owed to the students and teacher whose feedback was candid and enlightening. Over the course of this investigation, I have been guided by my desire to give voice to the students' superb insights, yet found myself time and again feeling overwhelmed by the magnitude of the undertaking and questioning my ability to satisfy my original objectives. As this investigation unfolded, I questioned my ability to do justice to the depth of the students' retrospective feedback and the complex negotiation of face and student identities which emerged. A primary challenge was devising a coherent structure to accommodate these identities. As I delved further into each of the categories it became increasingly apparent that all four themes represented significant fields of examination unto themselves. Suffice to say that at no point during this whole process have I felt that I have come close to exhausting discussion of any of these four themes. On the contrary, as I reach the conclusion of this examination I find myself feeling that I am only now coming to terms with what it is I am trying to achieve and only now beginning to understand the identities revealed within the data. It perhaps goes without saying that there is so much more to be done.

One of the many matters I take away from this experience is a strong conviction that

identity and face, while distinct, are nevertheless interrelated and complimentary concepts that need to be incorporated within teacher education. As a teacher who was trained to focus on phonology, syntax and vocabulary, this represents a personal shift in the way I choose to view the acquisition of a second language. I can only hope that others may find this connection to be of similar use. Current research has revealed a number of exciting considerations which will no doubt keep me engaged for the foreseeable future. Foremost among these is gaining a deeper understanding not only of the identities students may resist, but the identities Japanese students desire to align with as they are introduced to English as a compulsory component of the elementary school curriculum. As Dörnyei (2007) points out, 'The language classroom is an inherently face-threatening environment because students are required to take continuous risks as they need to communicate using a severely restricted language code' (p. 723). In order to recognise, embrace and value cultural diversity, I find myself actively questioning the pedagogies and practices that I employ within the second language classroom. In addition, as a teacher, I feel compelled to question my assumptions and attitudes regarding classroom behaviour and communication strategies in order to better serve my students. The desire to improve the way language teaching and learning are approached is a challenge that educators continue to embrace, a challenge strongly motivated by our own varying experiences as students and recognition that learning a language is always complex, at times frustrating, often intimidating, yet ultimately rewarding endeavour. For many people the ability to control the target language can be life changing. The challenges faced by the student cannot be overlooked, for as Williams (1994) rightly points out:

543

The learning of a foreign language involves far more than simply learning skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being.

(Williams, 1994:77)

The study highlights that one of the aims for the teacher is to recognise how manifestations of culture, both differences and similarities, impact on the process of teaching and learning. For this reason it is not only important to teach the student about L2 pragmatic forms, but for the teacher to adapt his approach to teaching in order to establish compatibility with the students' culture and language in order to promote optimal learning. As teachers we have an obligation to acknowledge the legitimacy of face claims and the identities that students desire and enact as worthy to be acknowledged and supported. Through culturally responsive teaching, appropriate curriculum and learning activities should be developed in order to encourage student participation and build affective classroom bonds that observe and celebrate socio-cultural diversity and individuality. This thesis underscores that the second language teacher has an ongoing professional responsibility to examine what s/he is doing within the classroom and how this potentially impacts on students' classroom participation and language acquisition. While bearing in mind that every classroom has its own unique cast of characters with individual personalities and objectives, it is equally important to remember that these characters share expectations as to what is expected of them within the classroom. Bridging the divide between teacher and student is a key step towards empowering students through developing a reciprocal classroom climate of trust, support and respect.

In sum, this thesis suggests that face and identity are closely related and provide a powerful means by which we can explore the ways in which second language students choose to present themselves publicly, and how they wish to be seen by others. Just as communicative success in the target language cannot be guaranteed by a student's ability to memorise words and structures, neither should the teacher's success be determined by his capacity to provide instruction pertaining only to structural features of the second language. Simply teaching the lexico-grammar of a language does not guarantee that the teacher is effectively meeting the communicative needs of the student who will be required to use the second language in situationally appropriate ways in order to meet real-world communicative objectives. It is necessary for the teacher to reflect on teaching practices in order to manage student face and increase awareness of the identities with which students seek to align or disalign. Teacher attention to student identities and face needs can facilitate the construction of affective bonds and development of learning activities in which students can invest.

References

Alcón-Soler, E. (2005). Does instruction work for learning pragmatics in the EFL context? *System: An International Journal of Education and Technology and Applied Linguistics, 33*(3), 417-435.

Alcón-Soler, E., & Martínez-Flor, A. (Eds.) (2008). *Investigating pragmatics in foreign language learning, teaching and testing*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Alegria de la Colina, A., & Garcia Mayo, M. (2009). Oral interaction in task based EFL learning: The use of the L1 as a cognitive tool. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 47*(3), 325-345.

Al-Issa, A. (2003). Sociocultural transfer in L2 speech behaviors: Evidence and motivating factors. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27*, 581-601.

Antrim, N. M. (Ed.) (2007). *Seeking identity: Language in society.* Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Archer, D., Aijmer, K., & Wichmann, A. (2012). *Pragmatics: An advanced resource book.* London and New York: Routledge.

Arundale, R. B. (2006). Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework, and politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research, 2*(2), 193-216.

Arundale, R. B. (2009). Face as emergent in interpersonal communication: An alternative to Goffman. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, communication and social interaction* (pp. 33-54). London: Equinox.

Arundale, R. B. (2010). Constituting face in conversation: Face, facework, and interactional achievement. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(8), 2078-2105.

Aspinall, R. (2006). Using the paradigm of 'small cultures' to explain policy failure in the case of foreign language education in Japan. *Japan Forum, 18*(2), 255-274.

Astor, A. (2000). A qualified nonnative English-speaking teacher is second to none in the field. *TESOL Matters, 10*(2), 18-19.

Atkinson, D. (1987). The mother tongue in the classroom: A neglected resource? *ELT Journal, 41*(4), 241-247.

Atkinson, D. (2002). Toward a sociocognitive approach to second language acquisition. *Modern Language Journal, 86*(4), 525-545.

Auerbach, E. (1993). Reexamining English only in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 27*(1), 9-32.

Auerbach, E., & Wallerstein, N. (1987). *ESL for action: Problem-posing at work.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bachman, L. F. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. (1996). *Language testing in practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). Discourse in the novel (M. Holquist & C. Emerson, Trans.). In M. Holquist (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (pp. 259-422). Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). The problem of speech genres (V. McGee, Trans.). In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.), *Speech genres and other late essays* (pp. 60-102). Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Mahan-Taylor, R. (Eds.) (2003). *Teaching pragmatics.* Washington, DC: United States Department of State.

Bardovi-Harlig K., & Hartford, B. S. (Eds.) (2005). *Interlanguage pragmatics: Exploring institutional talk*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2003). Face and politeness: New (insights) for (old) concepts. *Journal of Pragma*tic*s, 35*(10-11), 1453-1469.

Bar-Hillel, Y. (1971). Out of the pragmatic wastebasket. *Linguistic Inquiry, 2*, 401-407.

Barnes, M. (2004). *The use of positioning theory in studying student participation in collaborative learning activities.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Melbourne.

Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics: Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Beebe, L. M., & Takahashi, T. (1989). Sociolinguistic variation in face-threatening speech acts: Chastisement and disagreement. In M. Eisenstein (Ed.), *The dynamic interlanguage* (pp. 199-218). New York: Plenum Press.

Befu, H. (1993). Nationalism and nihonjinron. In H. Befu (Ed.), *Cultural nationalism in East Asia: Representation and identity* (pp. 107-133). Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Befu, H. (2001). *Hegemony of homogeneity: An anthropological analysis of nihonjinron*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

Bennett, J. M., Bennett, M. J., & Allen, W. (2003). Developing intercultural competence in the language classroom. In D. L. Lange & R. M. Paige (Eds.), *Culture as the core: Perspectives on culture in second language learning* (pp. 237-270). Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.

Berger, C. R. (2004). Speechlessness: Causal attributions, emotional features and social

consequences. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 23*(2), 147-179.

Biggs, J. B. (1994). Asian learners through Western eyes: An astigmatic paradox. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Vocational Educational Research, 2*(2), 40-63.

Biggs, J. B. (1998). Learning from the Confucian heritage: So size doesn't matter? *International Journal of Educational Research, 29*, 723-738.

Biggs, J. B. (1999). What the student does: Teaching for enhanced learning. *Higher Education Research and Development, 18*(1), 57-75.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Borg, S. (2006). *Teacher cognition and language education: Research and practice.* London and New York: Continuum.

Borg, S. (2013). *Teacher research in language teaching: A critical analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bouchard, J. (2011). Pragmatic failures and language ideologies: Challenges in the Japanese EFL context. *Studies in Culture, 49*, 69-141.

Boxer, D. (2002). Discourse issues in cross-cultural pragmatics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 22*, 150-167.

Boyd, E. M., & Fales, A. W. (1983). Reflective learning: Key to learning from experience. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 23*(2), 99-117.

Britzman, D., Santiago-Valles, K., Jimenez-Munoz, G. & Lamash, L. (1993). Slips that show and tell: Fashioning multiculture as a problem of representation. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), *Race, identity and respresentation in education* (1st ed., pp. 188- 200). London and New York: Routledge.

Brown, H. D. (2007). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (5th ed.). White Plains, New York: Longman and Pearson Education.

Brown, I. B. (2007). The applicability of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness to Japanese: A review of the English literature. *Bulletin of Joetsu University of Education, 26*, 31-41.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1978). *Politeness. Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burden, P. (2001). When do native English speaking teachers and Japanese college students disagree about the use of Japanese in the English conversation classroom? *The Language Teacher, 25*(4), 5-9.

Butler, Y. G. (2004). What level of English proficiency do elementary school teachers need to attain in order to teach EFL? Case studies from Korea, Taiwan, and Japan. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(2), 245–278.

Butler, Y. G. (2007a). Foreign language education at elementary schools in Japan: Searching for solutions amidst growing diversification. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 8*(2), 129-147.

Butler, Y. G. (2007b). Factors associated with the notion that native speakers are the ideal language teachers: An examination of elementary school teachers in Japan. *JALT Journal, 29*(1), 7-40.

Butler, Y. G., & Iino, M. (2005). Current Japanese reforms in English language education: The 2003 "Action Plan." *Language Policy, 4*(1), 25-45.

Butzkamm, W. (2003). We only learn language once. The role of the mother tongue in FL classrooms: death of a dogma. *Language Learning Journal, 28*(1), 29-39.

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Byram. M. (2006). *Language teaching for intercultural citizenship: the European situation.* Paper presented at the NZALT Conference, University of Auckland.

Byram, M. (2012). Language awareness and (critical) cultural awareness - relationships, comparisons and contrasts. *Language Awareness, 21*(1-2), 5-13.

Byram. M., Gribkova, B., & Starkey, H. (2002). *Developing the intercultural dimension in language teaching: A practical introduction for teachers.* The Council of Europe. Retrieved from http://lrc.cornell.edu/director/intercultural.pdf

Byram. M., & Zarate, G. (1997). Defining and assessing intercultural competence: Some principles and proposals for the European context. *Language Teaching, 29*, 14-18.

Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin, 56*, 81-105.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1*, 1-47.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1981). A theoretical framework for communicative competence. In A. Palmer, P. Groot & G. Trosper (Eds.)*, The construct validation of tests of communicative competence: Including proceedings of a colloquium at TESOL 79* (pp. 31-36). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Candlin, C. N. (1987). Explaining moments of conflict in discourse. In R. Steele & T. Threadgold (Eds.), *Language Topics Vol. 2 Proceedings of the 1987 AILA Congress* (pp. 412-429). Sydney and Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Candlin, C. N. (1997). Editorial preface. In B, Gunnarsson, P. Linell & B. Nordberg

(Eds.), *The construction of professional discourse,* (pp. ix-xiv). London: Longman.

Candlin, C. N., & Lucas, J. (1986). Interpretations and explanations in discourse: Modes of 'advising' in family planning. In T. Ensink, A. van Essen & T. van derGeest (Eds.), *Discourse analysis and public life* (pp. 13-38). Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.

Candlin, C. N., Maley, Y., Koster, P., & Crichton, J. (1995). *Lawyer-client conferencing: Report to the Law Foundation of NSW*. Sydney, Law Foundation of NSW.

Candlin, S. (1997). Towards excellence in nursing: An analysis of the discourses of nurses and patients in the context of health assessments. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Linguistics & Modern English Language. University of Lancaster (UK).

Candlin, S., & Candlin, C. N. (2013). *Presencing* in the context of enhancing patient well-being in nursing care. In H. Hamilton & S. Chou (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language and health communication*. London: Routledge.

Chávez, M. (2006). Classroom-language use in teacher-led instruction and teachers' self-perceived roles. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 44*(1), 49-102.

Chávez, M. (2007). The orientation of learner language use in peer work: Teacher role, learner role and individual identity. *Language Teaching Research, 11*(2), 161-188.

Childs, M. (2005). The place of pragmatics in language learning. In D. Tatsuki (Ed.), *Pragmatics in language learning, theory and practice* (pp. 13-24). Tokyo: JALT Pragmatics SIG.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Christensen, C. P. (1992). Training for cross-cultural social work with immigrants, refugees, and minorities: A course model. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work, 8*(2), 79-97.

Clarke, D. (2001). Complementary accounts methodology. In D. Clarke (Ed.), *Perspectives on practice and meaning in mathematics and science classrooms* (pp. 13-32). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Press.

Coates, J. (1993). *Women, men and language: A sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language* (2nd ed.). London: Longman.

Cohen, A. D. (2004). Assessing speech acts in a second language. In B. Boxer & A. D. Cohen (Eds.), *Studying speaking to inform second language learning* (pp. 302-327). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Cohen, A. D. (2008). Teaching and assessing L2 pragmatics: What can we expect from learners? *Language Teaching, 41*(2), 215-237.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education* (5th ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Cook, H. (1999). Situational meanings of Japanese social deixis: The mixed use of the *masu* and plain forms. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 8*(1), 87-110.

Cook, H. (2006). Japanese politeness as an interactional achievement: Academic consultation sessions in Japanese universities. *Multilingua, 25*, 269-291.

Cook, H. (2008). Style shifts in Japanese academic consultations. In K. Jones & T. Ono (Eds.), *Style shifting in Japanese* (pp. 9-38). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cook, H. (2011). Are honorifics polite? Uses of referent honorifics in a Japanese committee meeting. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(15), 3655-3762.

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Cook, V. (2001). *Second language learning and language teaching*. London: Edward Arnold.

Coupland, N., Wiemann, J. M., & Giles, H. (1991). Talk as "problem" and communication as "miscommunication": An integrative analysis. In N. Coupland, H. Giles & J. M. Wiemann (Eds.), *Miscommunication and problematic talk* (pp. 1-17). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Crandall, J. (2000). Language teacher education. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 20*, 34-55.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Crichton, H. (2009). 'Value added' modern languages teaching in the classroom: An investigation into how teachers' use of classroom target language can aid pupils' communication skills. *Language Learning Journal, 37*(1), 19-34.

Critchley, M. P. (1999). Bilingual support in English classes in Japan: A survey of student opinions of L1 use by foreign teachers. *The Language Teacher, 23*(9), 10-13, 3

Crozet, C., & Liddicoat, A. J. (1999). The challenge of intercultural language teaching: Engaging with culture in the classroom. In J. Lo Bianco, A. J. Liddicoat & C. Crozet (Eds.), *Striving for the third place: Intercultural competence through language educatio*n (pp. 113-126). Canberra: Language Australia.

Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cutrone, P. (2005). A case study examining backchannels in conversations between

Japanese-British dyads. *Multilingua, 24*(3), 237-274.

Cutrone, P. (2009). Overcoming Japanese EFL learners' fear of speaking. *University of Reading Language Studies Working Papers, 1*, 55-63.

Cutrone, P. (2011). Politeness and face theory: A consideration of the backchannel style of Japanese L1/L2 speakers. *University of Reading Language Studies Working Papers, 3*(1), 51-57.

Davis, K. (1995). Qualitative theory and methods in applied linguistics research. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(3), 427-453.

Delamont, S. (1992). *Fieldwork in educational settings: Methods, pitfalls and perspectives*. London: Falmer Press.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Derry, S., Pea, R. D., Barron, B., Engle, R. A., Erickson, F., Goldman, R., Hall, R., Koschmann, T., Lemke, J., Sherin, M. G. & Sherin, B. L. (2010). Conducting video research in the learning sciences: Guidance on selection, analysis, technology, and ethics. *Journal of the Learning Sciences, 19*(1), 3-53.

Dewaele, J. M. (2008). Appropriateness in foreign language acquisition and use: Some theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 46*(3), 235-255.

Diaz-Rico, L. T., & Weed, K. Z. (2006). *The crosscultural, language, and academic development handbook* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Motivational strategies in the language classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., & Murphey, T. (2003). *Group dynamics in the language classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duff, P., & Polio, C. (1990). How much foreign language is there in the foreign language classroom? *Modern Language Journal, 74*(2), 154-166.

DuFon, M. A. (2002). Video recording in ethnographic SLA research: Some issues of validity in data collection. *Language, Learning and Technology, 6*(1), 40-59.

Dwyer, E., & Heller-Murphy, A. (1996). Japanese learners in speaking classes. *Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics, 7*, 46-55.

Dyson, A. H. (2005). Crafting the humble prose of living: Rethinking oral/written relations in the echoes of spoken word. *English Education, 37*(2), 149-164.

Ekebergh, M. (2007). Lifeworld-based reflection and learning: A contribution to the

reflective practice in nursing and nursing education. *Reflective Practice, 8*(3), 331-343.

Ellwood, C. (2008). Questions of classroom identity: What can be learned from codeswitching in classroom peer group talk? *Modern Language Journal, 92*(3), 538-557.

Eraut, M. (2004). The practice of reflection. *Learning in Health and Social Care, 3*(2), 47-52.

Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed., pp. 119-161). New York: Macmillan.

Ericsson, K. A., & Simon, H. A. (1993). *Protocol analysis: Verbal reports as data* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (1995). Child psychology and child pragmatics. In J. Verschueren, J. -O. Ostman, & J. Blommaert (Eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics: Manual* (pp. 227-234). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Eslami-Rasekh, Z. (2005). Raising the pragmatic awareness of language learners. *ELT Journal, 59*(3), 199-208.

Félix-Brasdefer, J. C. (2006). Linguistic politeness in Mexico: Refusal strategies among male speakers of Mexican Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics, 38*(12), 2158-2187.

Fennelly, M. (2007). Elementary school English: Approaching a new era. *Shikoku daigaku kiyo dai* [Shikoku University Bulletin]*,27*, 99-101.

Fook, J., & Askeland, G. (2006). The critical in critical reflection. In S. White, J. Fook & F. Gardner (Eds.), *Critical reflection in health and welfare.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Foster, P. (1998). A classroom perspective on the negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 1-23.

Foster, P., & Snyder Ohta, A. (2005). Negotiation for meaning and peer assistance in second language classrooms. *Applied Linguistics, 26*(3), 402-430.

Fujita-Round, S., & Maher, J. (2008). Language education policy in Japan. In S. May & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Language policy and political issues in education* (Vol. 1, pp. 393-405). New York: Springer.

Fukada, A., & Asato, N. (2004). Universal politeness theory: Application to the use of Japanese honorifics. *Journal of Pragmatics, 36*(11), 1991-2002.

Fukushima, S. (2000). *Requests and Culture: Politeness in British English and Japanese*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective.* Malden, MA: Wiley/Blackwell.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (1995). Code-switching in community, regional and national repertoires: The myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 68-90). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gass, S. M., & Houck, N. (1999). *Interlanguage refusals: A cross-cultural study of Japanese English*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gass, S. M., & Mackey, A. (2000). *Stimulated recall methodology in second language research*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, practice & research.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Gebhard, J. G., & Oprandy, R. (1999). *Language teaching awareness: A guide to exploring beliefs and practices.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. London and New York: Routledge.

Gee, J. P., & Handford, M. (Eds.) (2011). *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis.* London and New York: Routledge.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Gerholm, T. (2011). Children's development of facework practices - an emotional endeavor. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(13), 3099-3110

Geyer, N. (2008). *Discourse and politeness: Ambivalent face in Japanese.* London: Continuum.

Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes, 18*, 213-231.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual. Essays on face-to-face behaviour.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Goldman-Segall, R. (1998). *Points of viewing children's thinking: A digital ethnographer's journey.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gottlieb, N. (1994). Language and polities: The reversal of postwar script reform policy in Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies, 53*(4), 1175-1198.

Gottlieb, N. (2005). *Language and society in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graham, J. L. (1993). The Japanese negotiation style: Characteristics of a distinct approach. *Negotiation Journal, 9*(2), 123-140.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics 3: Speech acts* (pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.

Grundy, P. (2000). *Doing pragmatics* (2ⁿᵈ ed.). London, England: Edward Arnold.

Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 14*(2), 237- 257.

Guerrero, M. de., & Villamil, O. (2000). Activating the ZPD: Mutual scaffolding in L2 peer revision. *Modern Language Journal, 84*(1), 51-68.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hacking, I. (1986). Making up people. In T. C. Heller, M. Sosna & D. E. Wellbery (Eds.), *Reconstructing individualism: Autonomy, individuality, and the self in Western thought* (pp. 222-36). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Hagerman, C. (2009). English language policy and practice in Japan. *Osaka Jogakuin University, Departmental Bulletin Paper, 6*, 47-64.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity, community, culture, difference* (pp. 222-237). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hammond, C. (2007). Culturally responsive teaching in the Japanese classroom: A comparative analysis of cultural teaching and learning styles in Japan and the United States. *Journal of the Faculty of Economics, 17*, 41-50.

Harada, S. (1976). Honorifics. In Masayoshi Shibatani (Ed.), *Syntax and semantics. Japanese generative grammar.* (Vol.5, pp. 499-563). New York and Tokyo: Academic Press.

Harlow, L. L. (1990). Do they mean what they say? Sociopragmatic competence and second language learners. *Modern Language Journal, 74*(3), 328-351.

Harré, R. (1997). Forward to Aristotle: The case for a hybrid ontology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 27*(2/3), 173-191.

Hasegawa, Y. (2010). The sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo* in soliloquial Japanese. *Pragmatics, 20*(1), 71-89.

Hasegawa, Y. (2012). Against the social constructionist account of Japanese politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research, 8*, 245-268.

Hashimoto, K. (2009). Cultivating 'Japanese who can use English': Problems and contradictions in government policy. *Asian Studies Review, 33*(1), 21-43.

Hashimoto, K. (2011). Compulsory 'foreign language activities' in Japanese primary schools. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 12*(2), 167-184.

Hatori, R. (2005). A policy on language education in Japan: Beyond nationalism and linguicism. *Second Language Studies, 23*(2), 45-69.

Haugh, M. (2005). The importance of 'place' in Japanese politeness: Implications for cross-cultural and intercultural analyses. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 2*(1), 41-68.

Haugh, M. (2007). Emic conceptualisations of (im)politeness and face in Japanese:

Implications for the discursive negotiation of second language learner identities. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(4), 657-680.

Haugh, M. (2009). Face and interaction. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, communication and social interaction* (pp. 1-30). London: Equinox.

Haugh, M., & Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2010). Face in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(8), 2073-2077.

Haugh, M., & Hinze, C. (2003). A metalinguistic approach to deconstructing the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness' in Chinese, English and Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*(10/11), 1581-1611.

Hayashi, R. (1988). Simultaneous talk: From the perspective of floor management of English and Japanese speakers. *World Englishes, 7*(3), 269-288.

Hayashi, R. (1991). Floor structure of English and Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 16*(1), 1-30.

He, M., & Zhang, S.j. (2011). Re-conceptualizing the Chinese concept of face from a face-sensitive perspective: A case study of a modern Chinese TV drama. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(9), 2360 -2372.

Hill, B., Ide. S., Ikuta, S., Kawasaki, A., & T. Ogino. (1986). Universals of linguistic politeness: Quantitative evidence from Japanese and American English. *Journal of Pragmatics, 19*(3), 347-371.

Hinenoya, K., & Gatbonton, E. (2000). Ethnocentricism, cultural traits, beliefs, and English proficiency: A Japanese sample. *Modern Language Journal, 84*(2), 225-240.

Hinkel, E. (2001). Building awareness and practical skills to facilitate cross-cultural communication. In M. Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (pp. 443-458). Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Ho, D.Y.F. (1976). On the concept of face. *American Journal of Sociology, 81*(4), 867-884.

Hofstede, G. (1994) *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind, intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival*. London: Harper/Collins.

Horiguchi, S. (1988). *Komyunikeshon ni okeru kikite no gengo koudou* [Listeners' behavior in communication]. *Nihongokyoiku, 64*, 13-26. Tokyo: Nihongokyoikugakkai.

Horiguchi, S. (1997). *Nihongo kyooiku to kaiwa bunseki.* [Japanese language teaching and conversation analysis]. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers.

Hosoki, Y. (2011). English language education in Japan: Transitions and challenges. *Kokusai Kankeigaku Bulletin, 6*(1), 199-215.

Hu, H. (1944). The Chinese concepts of face. *American Anthropologist, 46*, 45-64.

Huang, Y. (2007). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, H. J. (1999). Cultivating the walled garden: English in Japan. *English Studies, 80*(6), 556-68.

Hughes, C., Shaunessy, E., & Brice, A. (2006). Code switching among bilingual and limited English proficient students: Possible indicators of giftedness. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted, 30*(1), 7-28.

Hymes, D. (1966). *On communicative competence*. Paper presented at the Research Planning Conference on Language Development among Disadvantage Children.

Ide, R. (1998). 'Sorry for your kindness': Japanese interactional ritual in public discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics, 29*(5), 509-529.

Ide, S. (1982). Japanese sociolinguistics: Politeness and women's language. *Lingua, 57*(2-4), 357-385.

Ide, S. (1989). Formal forms and discernment: Two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. *Multilingua, 2*(3), 223-248.

Ide, S. (2005). How and why honorifics can signify dignity and elegance. In T. Lakoff, & S. Ide (Eds.), *Broadening the horizons of linguistic politeness* (pp. 45-64). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ide, S., Hill, B., Carnes, Y., Ogino, T., & Kawasaki, A. (1992). The concept of politeness: An empirical study of American English and Japanese. In R. Watts, S. Ide & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Politeness in language. Studies in its history, theory and practice* (pp. 281-297). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ide, S., & Yoshida, M. (1999). Sociolinguistics: Honorifics and gender differences. In N. Tsujimura (Ed.), *The handbook of Japanese linguistics* (pp. 444-480). Oxford: Blackwell.

Iino, M. (1999). Issues of video recording in language studies. *Obirin Studies in Language and Literature, 39*, 65-85.

Ike, M. (1995). A historical review of English in Japan. *World Englishes, 14*(1), 3-12.

Ike, S. (2010). Backchannel: A feature of Japanese English. In A. Stoke (Ed.), *JALT 2009 Conference Proceedings.* Tokyo: JALT.

Ikuta, S. (1983). Speech level shift and conversational strategy in Japanese discourse. *Language Sciences, 5*(1), 37-53.

Imura, M. (2003). *Nihon no Eigo kyōiku nihyaku nen* [200 years of English education in Japan]. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Ishihara, N. (2007). Web-based curriculum for pragmatics instruction in Japanese as a foreign language: An explicit awareness-raising approach. *Language Awareness,*

16(1), 21-40.

Ishihara, N. (2010). Teachers' pragmatics: Knowledge, beliefs, and practice. In N. Ishihara & A. D. Cohen (Eds.), *Teaching and learning pragmatics: Where language and culture meet* (pp. 21-36). Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Ishihara, N., & Cohen, A. D. (2010). *Teaching and learning pragmatics: Where language and culture meet.* Harlow, England: Longman and Pearson Education.

Ishihara, N., & Tarone, E. (2009). Subjectivity and pragmatic choice in L2 Japanese: Emulating and resisting pragmatic norms. In N. Taguchi (Ed.), *Pragmatic competence in Japanese as a second language* (pp. 101-128). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ishiyama, O. (2009). A note on Matsumoto regarding Japanese verbs of giving and receiving. *Journal of Pragmatics, 41*(5), 1061-1065.

Iwasaki, S. (1997). The Northridge earthquake conversations: The floor structure and the 'loop' sequence in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 28*(6), 661-693.

Izuhara, E. (2003). *Shuujoshi 'yo', 'yone', 'ne' saikoo* [The sentence-final particles *yo*, *yone*, and *ne* revisited]. *The Journal of Aichi Gakuin University, 51*, 1-15.

Jacobs, J., Kawanaka, T., & Stigler, J. (1999). Integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of video data on classroom teaching. *International Journal of Educational Research, 31*, 717-724.

Janes, A. (2000). The interaction of style-shift and particle use in Japanese dialogue. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32*(12), 1823-1853.

Janney, R., & Arndt, H. (1993). Universality and relativity in cross-cultural politeness research: A historical perspective. *Multilingua, 12*(1), 13-50.

Jarvis, P. (1992). Reflective practice and nursing. *Nurse Education Today, 12*(3), 174-181.

Jaworski, A. (1993). *The power of silence: Social and pragmatic perspectives.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Jaworski, A. (2005). Introduction: Silence in institutional and intercultural contexts. *Multilingua, 24*(1-2), 1-6.

Jaworski, A., & Coupland, N. (Eds.) (1999). *The discourse reader.* London and New York: Routledge.

Jaworski, A., & Sachdev, I. (1998). Beliefs about silence in the classroom. *Language and Education, 12*(4), 273-292.

Jaworski, A., & Sachdev, I. (2004). Teachers' beliefs about students' talk and silence: Constructing academic success and failure through metapragmatic comments. In A.

Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Galasinski (Eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives* (pp. 227-244). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity.* (2ⁿᵈ ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Jeon, E., & Kaya, T. (2006). Effects of L2 instruction on interlanguage pragmatic development: A meta-analysis. In. J. Norris & L. Ortega (Eds.), *Synthesizing research on language learning and teaching* (pp. 165-211). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ji, S. (2000). 'Face' and polite verbal behaviors in Chinese culture. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32*(7), 1059-1062.

Johannesen, R. L. (1974). The functions of silence: A plea for communication research. *Western Speech, 38*, 25-35.

Jones, R. (2012). *Discourse analysis: A resource book for students.* London and New York: Routledge.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joseph, J. E. (2013). Identity work and face work across linguistic and cultural boundaries. *Journal of Politeness Research, 9*(1), 35-54.

Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, B. (1992). The second diaspora of English. In T. Machan & C. Scott (Eds.), *English in its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics* (pp. 230-252). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kalin, R., & Berry, J. W. (1994). Ethnic and multicultural attitudes. In J. W. Berry & J. A. Laponce (Eds.), *Ethnicity and culture in Canada: The research landscape* (pp. 293-321). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kamio, A. (1994). The theory of territory of information: The case of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 21*(1), 67-100.

Kang, K. -H. (2001). Korean's politeness strategies. *Korean Journal of Journalism and Communication Studies, Special English Edition 2001*, 7-27.

Kang, K. -H. (2002). Cross-cultural differences in face (*che-myun*) between Korea and the United States. Paper presented at 52ⁿᵈ Annual International Communication Association Conference, Seoul, Korea.

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education, 2*(4), 241-249.

Karavas-Doukas, K. (1998). Evaluating the implementation of educational innovations: Lessons from the past. In P. Rea-Dickins & K. P. Germaine (Eds.), *Managing evaluation and innovation in language teaching: Building bridges* (pp. 25-50). New York: Longman.

Kasper, G. (1992). Pragmatic transfer. *Second Language Research, 8*(3), 203-231.

Kasper, G. (1996). Introduction: Interlanguage pragmatics in SLA. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 18*(2), 145-148.

Kasper, G. (1997). The role of pragmatics in language teacher education. In K. Bardovi-Harlig & B. Hartford (Eds.), *Beyond methods: Components of second language education* (pp.113-136). New York: MacGraw-Hill.

Kasper, G. (1998). Interlanguage pragmatics. In H. Byrnes (Ed.), *Learning foreign and second languages: Perspectives in research and scholarship* (pp. 183-208). New York: The modern language association of America.

Kasper, G. (2000). Data collection in pragmatics research. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across cultures* (pp. 145-64). London and New York: Continuum.

Kasper, G. (2001). Four perspectives on L2 pragmatic development. *Applied Linguistics, 22*(4), 502-530.

Kasper, G., & Blum-Kulka, S. (Eds.) (1993). *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kasper, G., & Dahl, M. (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies of Second Language Acquisition, 13*(2), 215-247.

Kasper, G., & Roever, C. (2005). Pragmatics in second language learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language learning and teaching* (pp. 317-334). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kasper, G., & Rose, K. (1999). Pragmatics and SLA. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 19*, 81-104.

Kasper, G., & Rose, K. (2002). *Pragmatic development in a second language*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Kasper, G., & Schmidt, R. (1996). Developmental issues in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies of Second Language Acquisition, 18*(2), 149-169.

Katagiri, Y. (2007). Dialogue functions of Japanese sentence-final particles 'Yo' and 'Ne'. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(7), 1313-1323.

Kato, F. (2001). *Integrating learning strategies, time-management, anxiety-free learning in basic Japanese: An intervention study*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.

Kawai, Y. (2007). Japanese nationalism and the global spread of English: An analysis of Japanese governmental and public discourses on English. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 7*(1), 37-55.

Keyes, C. (2000). The early childhood teacher's voice in the research community. *International Journal of Early Years Education, 8*(1), 3-13.

Kim, S. H. O., & Elder, C. (2008). Target language use in foreign language classrooms: Practices and perceptions of native speaker teachers. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *21*(2), 167-185.

Kita, S., & Ide, S. (2007). Nodding, *aizuchi*, and final particles in Japanese conversation: how conversation reflects the ideology of communication and social relationships. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(7), 1242-1254.

Kobayashi, M. (2003). The role of peer support in ESL students' accomplishment of oral academic tasks. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 59*(3), 337-368.

Kobayashi, Y. (2000). *Japanese social influences on academic high school students' attitudes toward long-term English learning*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

Kobayashi, Y. (2011). Global Englishes and the discourse on Japaneseness. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 32*(1), 1-14.

Kogure, M. (2007). Nodding and smiling in silence during the loop sequence of backchannels in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(7), 1275-1289.

Koike, D., & Pearson, L. (2005). The effect of instruction and feedback in the development of pragmatic competence. *System, 33*(3), 481-501.

Koike, I., & Tanaka, H. (1995). English in foreign language education policy in Japan: Toward the twenty-first century. *World Englishes, 14*(1), 13-25.

Kondo, S. (2008). Effects on pragmatic development through awareness-raising instruction: Refusals by Japanese EFL learners. In E. Alcón & A. Martínez-Flor (Eds.), *Investigating pragmatics in foreign language learning, teaching and testing* (pp. 153-177). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Koyama, K., & Okamoto. M. (2010). Migrants, migrant workers, refugees and Japan's immigration policy. NGO report regarding the rights of non-Japanese nationals, minorities of foreign origins, and refugees in Japan prepared for the 76th United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination Session.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2003). Identity, role, and voice in cross-cultural (mis)-communication. In J. House, G. Kasper & S. Ross (Eds.), *Misunderstanding in social life: Discourse*

approaches to problematic talk (pp. 129-153). Harlow, England: Longman and Pearson Education.

Kramsch, C. (2004). Language, thought and culture. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 235-261). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Kramsch, C. (2009). Third culture and language education. In V. Cook & L. Wei (Eds.), *Contemporary applied linguistics* (pp. 233-254). London: Continuum.

Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition.* Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. D. (1985). *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman.

Krieger, D. (2005). Teaching ESL versus EFL: Principles and practices. *English Teaching Forum, 43*(2), 8-16.

Kubota, R. (1998). Ideologies of English in Japan. *World Englishes, 17*(3), 295-306.

Kubota, R. (1999). Japanese culture constructed by discourses: Implications for applied linguistic research and English language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(1), 9-35.

Kubota, R. (2002). Impact of globalization on language teaching in Japan. In D. Block & D. Cameron (Eds.), *Globalization and language teaching* (pp. 13-28). London and New York: Routledge.

Kubota, R. (2003). Critical teaching of Japanese culture. *Japanese Language and Literature, 37*(1), 67-87.

Kubota, R., & Lin, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Race, culture, and identity in second language education: Exploring critically engaged practice.* London and New York: Routledge.

Kumatoridani, T. (1999). Alternation and co-occurrence in Japanese thanks. *Journal of Pragmatics, 31*(5), 623-642.

Kurzon, D. (1995). The right of silence: A socio-pragmatic model of interpretation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 23*(1), 55-69.

Kurzon, D. (1997). *Discourse of silence*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kurzon, D. (2007). Towards a typology of silence. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(10), 1673-1688.

Kushima, C., & Nishihori, Y. (2006). Reconsidering the role of the ALT: Effective preparation for ALTs based on the questionnaire survey. *Annual Review of English Language Education in Japan Journal, 17*, 221-230.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing interviews.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns.* Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lazaraton, A. (2003). Evaluative criteria for qualitative research in applied linguistics: Whose criteria and whose research? *The Modern Language Journal, 87*(1), 1-12.

Lederach, J. P. (1995). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures.* Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Lee, C. D. (2001). Is October Brown Chinese? A cultural modeling activity system for underachieving students. *American Educational Research Journal*, *38*(1), 97-142.

Lee, K. (2006). Territory of information theory and emotive expressions in Japanese: A case observed in *shiranai* and *wakaranai*. In S. Suzuki (Ed.), *Emotive communication in Japanese* (pp. 191-207). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lee, E. (2008). The "other(ing)" costs of ESL: A Canadian case study. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication, 18*(1), 91-108.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Leech, G. (2005). Politeness: Is there an East-West divide? *Journal of Foreign Languages, 6,* 3-31.

LePage, R., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levine, G. S. (2003). Student and instructor beliefs and attitudes about target language use, first language use, and anxiety: Report of a questionnaire study. *Modern Language Journal, 87*(3), 343-364.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. C. (1988). Putting linguistics on a proper footing: Explorations in Goffman's concepts of participation. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (Eds.), *Goffman: Exploring the interaction order* (pp. 161-227). Oxford, England: Polity Press.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2002). Static and dynamic views of culture and intercultural language acquisition. *Babel*, *36*(3) 4-11, 37.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2004a). The conceptualisation of the cultural component of language teaching in Australian language-in-education policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 25*(4), 297-317.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2004b). Language planning for literacy. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 5*(1), 1-17.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2005). Teaching languages for intercultural communication. In D.

Cunningham & A. Hatoss (Eds.), *An international perspective on language policies, practices and proficiencies* (pp. 201-214). Belgrave: Editura Fundaţiei Academice AXIS & Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2007). Internationalising Japan: Nihonjinron and the intercultural in Japanese language-in-education policy. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 2*(1), 32-46.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2009). Communication as a culturally contexted practice: A view from intercultural communication. *Australian Journal of Linguistics, 29*(1), 115-133.

Liddicoat, A. J., Papademetre, L., Scarino, A., & Kohler, M. (2003). *Report on intercultural language learning.* Canberra: Department of Education Science and Training, Australian Government.

Lightbown, P. M. (2001). L2 Instruction: Time to teach. *TESOL Quarterly, 35*, 598-99.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Linehan, C., & McCarthy, J. (2000). Positioning in practice: Understanding participation in the social world. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 30*(4), 435-453.

Liu, J. (2001). Constructing Chinese faces in American classrooms. *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching, 11*, 1-18.

Liu, J. (2002). Negotiating silence in American classrooms: Three Chinese cases. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 2*(1), 37-54.

LoCastro, V. (2003). *An introduction to pragmatics: Social action for language teachers.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

LoCastro, V. (2012). *Pragmatics for language educators.* London and New York: Routledge.

Long, M. (1996). The role of the linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In W. Ritchie & T. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 413-468). San Diego: Academic Press.

Lortie, D. (1998). Unfinished work: Reflections on schoolteacher. In A. Hargreaves, A. Lieberman, M. Fullan & D. Hopkins (Eds.), *International handbook of educational Change* (pp. 145-162). Netherlands, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Lutz, F. (1981). Ethnography: The holistic approach to understanding schooling. In J.

Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), *Ethnography and language in educational settings. Advances in discourse processes* (pp. 51-63). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Macaro, E. (2001). Analysing student teachers' codeswitching in foreign language classrooms: Theories and decision making. *Modern Language Journal, 85*(4), 531-548.

MacGregor, L. (1997). The Eiken test: An investigation. *JALT Journal, 19*(1), 24-42.

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second language research: Methodology and design.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Mackey, A., Gass, S. M., & McDonough, K. (2000). How do learners perceive interactional feedback? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 22*(4), 471-497.

MacMartin, C., Wood, L., & Kroger, R. (2001). Facework. In W. Robinson & H. Giles (Eds.), *The New handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 221-237). Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.

Mahiri, J. (Ed.) (2004). *What they don't learn in schools: Literacy in the lives of urban youth.* New York: Peter Lang.

Manita, E., & Blagdon, J. (2010). *Japanese grammar in use: Practical grammar for English speakers.* Tokyo: Maria Shobo.

Manning, P. (1992). *Erving Goffman and modern sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mao, L. (1994). Beyond politeness theory: 'Face' revisited and renewed. *Journal of Pragmatics, 21*(5), 451-486.

Márquez Reiter, R. (2000). *Linguistic politeness in Britain and Uruguay: A contrastive study of requests and apologies*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Márquez Reiter, R. (2002). A contrastive study of conventional indirectness in Spanish: Evidence from peninsular and Uruguayan Spanish. *Pragmatics, 12*(2), 135-51.

Martin, S. (1988). *A reference grammar of Japanese.* Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle.

Martínez-Flor, A., & Usó-Juan, E. (2006). A comprehensive pedagogical framework to develop pragmatics in the foreign language classroom: The 6Rs approach. *Applied Language Learning, 16*(2), 39-64.

Matsumoto, Y. (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 12*(4), 403-426.

Matsumoto, Y. (1989). Politeness and conversational universals. *Multilingua, 8*(2), 207-221.

Matsumoto, Y. (2003). Reply to Pizziconi. *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*(10-11), 1471-1506.

Matsumoto, Y., & Okamoto, S. (2003). The construction of the Japanese language and

culture in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language. *Japanese Language and Literature, 37*(1), 27-48.

Matsuoka, R. (2010). Disregard of opportunity gap inequalities in policy debates over mandatory English education at public elementary schools in Japan. *Educational Perspectives, 43*(1-2), 46-51.

Mattioli, G. (2004). On native language and intrusion making do with words. *The English Teaching Forum, 42*(4), 20-25.

Maynard, S. K. (1986). On back-channel behaviour in Japanese and English casual conversation. *Linguistics, 24*(6), 1079-1108.

Maynard, S. K. (1987). Interactional functions of a nonverbal sign: Head movement in Japanese dyadic conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics, 11*(5), 589-606.

Maynard, S. K. (1989). *Japanese conversation: Self-contextualization through structure and interactional management.* Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Maynard, S. K. (1990). Conversation management in contrast: Listener response in Japanese and American English. *Journal of Pragmatics, 14*(3), 397-412.

Maynard, S. K. (1991). Pragmatics of discourse modality: A case of da and desu/masu forms in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics, 15*, 551-582.

Maynard, S. K. (1993). *Discourse modality: Subjectivity, emotion, and voice in the Japanese language.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Maynard, S. K. (1997). Analyzing interactional management in native/non-native English conversation: A case of listener response. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 35*(1), 37-60.

McConnell, D. (1996). Education for global integration in Japan: A case study of the JET program. *Human Organization, 55*(4), 446-57.

McConnell, D. (2000). *Importing diversity: Inside Japan's JET program.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

McKay, S. (2002). *Teaching English as an international language: Rethinking goals and approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McKenzie, R. M. (2010). *Social psychology of English as a global language.* Dordrecht and New York: Springer.

McVeigh, B. (2002). *Japanese higher education as myth*. New York and London: M.E. Sharpe.

McVeigh, B. (2004a). Foreign language instruction in Japanese higher education: The humanistic vision or nationalist utilitarianism? *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 3*(2), 211-227.

McVeigh, B. (2004b). *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and mystifying identity.*

Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2002). Language and identity. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 475-499). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Mercer, N. (1992). Culture, context and the construction of knowledge in the classroom. In P. Light & G. Butterworth (Eds.), *Context and cognition: Ways of learning and knowing* (pp. 28-46). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Merry, S. (1990). *Getting justice and getting even*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Meyer, H. (2008). The pedagogical implications of L1 use in the L2 classroom. *Maebashi Kyodai Gakuen College Ronsyu*, *8*, 147-159.

Mezirow, J. (1981). A critical theory of adult learning and education. *Adult Education, 32*(1), 3-24.

Miller, J. (2003) *Audible differences: ESL and social identity in schools*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2002a). *Eigo-ga tsukaeru nihonjin-no ikuseino-tameno senryaku koso: eigoryoku kokugoryoku zoushin puran* [Strategic plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities: Plan to improve Japanese citizens' English and Japanese abilities]. Retrieved from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology web site: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/020/sesaku/020702.htm

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2002b). *JET puroguramu kihon mondai kentoukai houkokusho gaiyou* [A summary report on the examination of fundamental issues regarding the JET Program]. Retrieved from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology web site: http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kokusai/culcon/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/06/13/133 6327_2_3.pdf

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2003). *Action plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities"*. Retrieved from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology web site: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/15/03/03033101/001.pdf.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2008). *Official curriculum guidelines for elementary schools: Chapter 4 foreign language activities.* Retrieved from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology web site: http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/eiyaku/gai.pdf

567

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2008). *Shogakko gakushushidouyoryo kaisetsu gaikokugokatsudo hen* [An introduction to foreign language activities in the new course of study for elementary schools]. Tokyo: Toyokan Publishing Company.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2011). *Five proposals and specific measures for developing proficiency in English for international communication* (Provisional translation). Retrieved from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology web site:

http://www.mext.go.jp/component/english/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2012/07/09/131970 7_1.pdf

Miyata, S., & Nishisawa, H. (2007). The acquisition of Japanese backchanneling behaviour: Observing the emergence of *aizuchi* in a Japanese boy. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(11), 1255-1274.

Mizutani, N. (1988). Aizuchiron. *Nihongogaku, 7*(12), 4-11.

Mori, J., & Zuengler, J. (2008). Conversation analysis and talk-in-interaction in the classroom. In M. Martin-Jones, A. de Mejia & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Discourse and education* (2nd ed., Vol. 3, pp. 15-26). New York: Springer.

Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating participation and identity in second language academic communities. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(4), 573-603.

Murata, K. (1994). Intrusive or co-operative? A cross-cultural study of interruption. *Journal of Pragmatics, 21*, 385-400.

Murata, K. (2011). Voices from the unvoiced: A comparative study of hidden values and attitudes in opinion-giving. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 11*(1), 6-25.

Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nakane, I. (2003). *Silence in Japanese-Australian classroom interaction: Perceptions and performance*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Nakane, I. (2005). Negotiating speech and silence in the classroom. *Multilingua, 24*(1-2), 75-100.

Nakane, I. (2006). Silence and politeness in intercultural communication in university seminars. *Journal of Pragmatics, 38*(11), 1811-1835.

Nation, P. (2003). The role of first language in foreign language learning. *The Asian EFL Journal, 5*(2), 1-8.

Neustupny, J., & Tanaka, S. (2004). English in Japan: An overview. In V. Makarova & T. Rodgers (Eds.), *English language teaching: The case of Japan* (pp. 11-28). Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Newton, J., Yates, E., Shearn, S., & Nowitzki, W. (2010). *An introduction to the concept of intercultural communicative language teaching and learning: A summary for teachers.* Wellington: New Zealand Ministry of Education.

Niyekawa, A. (1991). *Minimum essential politeness*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Norman, J. (2008). Benefits and drawbacks to L1 use in the L2 classroom. In K. Bradford Watts, T. Muller & M. Swanson (Eds.), *JALT 2007 Conference Proceedings. Challenging assumptions: Looking in, looking out* (pp. 691-701). Tokyo: JALT.

Norton Peirce, B. (1993). *Language learning, social identity, and immigrant women.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto, Canada.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(1), 9-31.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, England: Longman and Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 156-171). Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2006). Identity: Second language. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 502-507). Oxford, England: Elsevier.

Norton, B. (2010). Identity, literacy, and English-language learning. *TESL Canada Journals, 28*(1), 1-13.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2002). Identity and language learning. In R. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 115-123). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2004). Introduction. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (Eds.), *Critical pedagogy and language learning*, (pp. 1-17). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). State-of-the-Art article: Identity, language learning

and social change, *Language Teaching 44*(4), 412-446.

Nwoye, O. (1989). Linguistic politeness in Igbo. *Multilingua, 8*(2/3), 259-275.

Nwoye, O. (1992). Linguistic politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face. *Journal of Pragmatics, 18*(4), 309-328.

O'Driscoll, J. (1996). About face: A defence and elaboration of universal dualism. *Journal of Pragmatics, 25*(1), 1-32.

O'Grady, C. (2011). Teaching the communication of empathy in patient-centred medicine. In B. Hoekje & S. Tipton (Eds.), *English language and the medical profession: Instructing and assessing the communication skills of international physicians* (pp.43-72). Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Ohashi, J. (2003). Japanese culture specific face and politeness orientation: A pragmatic investigation of yoroshiku onegaishimasu. *Multilingua, 22*(3)*,* 257-274.

Ohtani, C. (2010). Problems in the assistant language teacher system and English activity at Japanese public elementary schools. *Educational Perspectives, 42*(1/2), 38-45.

Okamoto, S. (1998). The use and non-use of honorifics in sales talk in Kyoto and Osaka: Are they rude or friendly? *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, 7*, 141-157. Stanford, California: Center for the study of language and information.

Okuno, H. (2007). A critical discussion on the action plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities." *The Journal of Asia TEFL, 4*(4), 133-158.

Ortega, L. (2013). SLA for the 21st century: Disciplinary progress, transdisciplinary relevance, and the bi/multilingual turn. *Language Learning, 63*, 1-24.

Ortega, L. (2014). Ways forward for a bi/multilingual turn in SLA. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education* (pp. 32-53). London and New York: Routledge.

Park, Y. (2005). Culture as deficit: A critical discourse analysis of the concept of culture in contemporary social work discourse. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 32*(3), 11-33.

Parmenter, L. (1999). Constructing national identity in a changing world: Perspectives in Japanese education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 20*(4), 453-63.

Pavlenko, A. (2003). "I never knew I was bilingual": Reimagining identities in TESOL classes. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 2*(4), 251-268.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins & C. Davison (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 669-680). New York: Springer.

Pavlidou, T. S. (2001). Politeness in the classroom? Evidence from a Greek high school. In A. Bayraktaroglu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic politeness: The case of Greece and Turkey* (pp. 105-136). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Pizziconi, B. (2003). Re-examining politeness, face and the Japanese language. *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*(10-11), 1471-1506.

Placencia, M. E. (1992). Politeness in Ecuadorian Spanish and British English. *Language Learning Journal*, *6*, 80-82.

Placencia, M. E. (1996). Politeness in Ecuadorian Spanish. *Multilingua, 15*(1), 13-34.

Plaut, S. (2006). "I just don't get it": Teachers' and students' conceptions of confusion and implications for teaching and learning in the high school English classroom. *Curriculum Inquiry, 36*(4), 391-421.

Polio, C., & Duff, P. (1994). Teachers' language use in university foreign language classrooms: A qualitative analysis of English and target language alternation. *Modern Language Journal, 78*(3), 313-326.

Pomerantz, A. (2005). Using participants' video stimulated comments to complement analyses of interactional practices. In H. te Molder & J. Potter (Eds.), *Talk and Cognition: Discourse, mind and social interaction* (pp. 93-113). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Espanol: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics, 18*(7/8), 581-616.

Reesor, M. (2002). The bear and the honeycomb: A history of Japanese English language policy. *NUCBA Journal of Language, Culture and Communication, 4*(1), 42-52.

Rhodes, R. (1989). "We are going to there": Positive politeness in Ojibwa. *Multilingua, 8*, 249-258.

Richards, J. C. (1982). Communicative needs in foreign language. *JALT Journal, 4*(1), 1-16.

Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative inquiry in TESOL.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Riley, P. (2006). Self-expression and the negotiation of identity in a foreign language. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 16*(3), 295-318.

Rivers, D. J. (2010). Implicating the role of Japanese national identification: National vitality, community appeal and attitudes toward English language learning in context. *Studies in Linguistics and Language Teaching, 21*, 101-122.

Rivers, D. J. (2011a). Intercultural processes in accented English. *World Englishes, 30*(3), 375-391.

Rivers, D. J. (2011b). Politics without pedagogy: Questioning linguistic exclusion. *ELT Journal, 65*(2), 103-113.

Rivers, D. J. (2011c). Strategies and struggles in the ELT classroom: Language policy, learner autonomy and innovative practice. *Language Awareness, 20*(1), 31-43.

Robb, L. (2000). *Redefining staff development: A collaborative model for teachers and administrators.* Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.

Roberts, C. (1997). Transcribing talk: Issues of representation. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(1), 167-172.

Roberts, C., & Sarangi, S. (2005). Theme-oriented discourse analysis of medical encounters. *Medical Education, 39*(6), 632-640.

Robinson, M. (1992). Introspective methodology in interlanguage pragmatics research. In G. Kasper (Ed.), *Pragmatics of Japanese as native and target language* (pp. 27-82). Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.

Roever, C. (2005). *Testing ESL pragmatics: Development and validation of a web-based assessment battery.* Berlin: Peter Lang.

Rolin-Ianziti, J., & Brownlie, S. (2002). Teacher use of learners' native language in the foreign language Classroom. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, *58*(3), 402-426.

Rolin-Ianziti, J., & Varshney, R. (2008). Students' views regarding the use of the first language: An exploratory study in a tertiary context maximising target language use. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, *65*(2), 249-273.

Rose, K. (2005). On the effects of instruction in second language pragmatics. *System, 33*(3), 385-99.

Rose, K., & Kasper, G. (Eds.) (2001). *Pragmatics in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ros i Solé, C. (2003). Culture for beginners: A subjective and realistic approach for adult language learners. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 3*(2), 141-150.

Ross, S., & Kasper, G. (Eds.) (2013). *Assessing second language pragmatics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, J. (1997). Student communities in a culturally diverse school setting. Identity, representation and association. *Discourse, 18*(1), 37- 53.

Salomon, G. (1991). Transcending the qualitative-quantitative debate: The analytic and systemic approaches to educational research. *Educational Researcher, 20*(6), 10-18.

Sandholtz, J. H. (2002). Inservice training or professional development: Contrasting opportunities in a school/university partnership. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 18*, 815-830.

Sarangi, S., & Candlin, C. N. (Eds.) (2003). Categorization and explanation of risk: A discourse analytical perspective. *Health, Risk and Society, 5*(2), 115-128.

Sato, K., & Kleinsasser, R. C. (2004). Beliefs, practices, and interactions of teachers in a Japanese high school English department. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*, 797-816.

Saville-Troike, M. (1985). The place of silence in an integrated theory of communication. In D. Tannen & M. Saville-Troike (Eds.), *Perspectives on silence* (pp. 3-18). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Saville-Troike, M. (1996). The ethnography of communication. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language teaching* (pp. 351-382). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scarino, A. (2009). Assessing intercultural competence in language learning: Some issues and considerations. *Language Teaching, 42*(1), 67-80.

Schlenker, B. R., & Pontari, B. A. (2000). The strategic control of information: Impression management and self-presentation in daily life. In A. Tesser, R. B. Felson, & J. M. Suls (Eds.), *Psychological perspectives on self and identity* (pp. 199-232). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Schmidt, R. (1983). Interaction, acculturation, and the acquisition of communicative competence. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language acquisition* (pp. 137-174). Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Schneer, D. (2007). (Inter)nationalism and English textbooks endorsed by the Ministry of Education in Japan. *TESOL Quarterly, 41*(3), 600-607.

Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.

Schweers, C. W. (1999). Using L1 in the L2 classroom. *English Teaching Forum, 37*(2), 6-13.

Scollon, R. (1998). *Mediated discourse as social interaction: The study of news*

discourse. London: Longman.

Scollon, R. (1999). Mediated discourse and social interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 32*(1/2), 149-154.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In J. Richards & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and communication* (pp. 156-190). London: Longman.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1990). Athabaskan-English interethnic communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *Cultural communication and intercultural contact* (pp. 259-286). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1995[2001]). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach.* Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Scott, V. M., & de la Fuente, M. J. (2008). What's the problem? L2 learners' use of the L1 during consciousness-raising, form focused tasks. *The Modern Language Journal, 92*(1), 100-113.

Senge, P., Cambron-McCabe, N., Lucas, T., Smith, B., Dutton, J., & Kleiner, A. (2000). *Schools that learn: A fifth discipline fieldbook for educators, parents, and everyone who cares about education.* New York: Doubleday.

Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shimahara. N. K. (1979). *Adaptation and education in Japan*. New York: Praeger.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches.* London and New York: Routledge.

Shulman, L. S., & Shulman, J. H. (2004). How and what teachers learn: A shifting perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 36*(2), 257-271.

Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics, 17*(3), 356-382.

Sifianou, M. (1992). The use of diminutives in expressing politeness: Modern Greek versus English. *Journal of Pragmatics, 17*(22), 155-173.

Sifianou, M. (1995). Do we need to be silent to be extremely polite? Silence and FTAs. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 5*(1), 95-110.

Sifianou, M. (1997). Silence and politeness. In A. Jaworski (Ed.), *Silence: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 63–84). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sime, D. (2006). What do learners make of teachers' gestures in the language classroom? *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 44*(2), 211-230.

Skelton, T., & Allen, T. (1999). Culture and global change: An introduction. In T. Skelton T. & T. Allen (Eds.), *Culture and global change* (pp. 1-10). London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, R. C. (1998). The Palmer-Hornby contribution to English teaching in Japan. *International Journal of Lexicography, 11*(4), 269-291.

Smith, R. C. (2004). *An investigation into the roots of ELT, with a particular focus on the career and legacy of Harold E Palmer (1877-1949).* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2000). Rapport management: A framework for analysis. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across cultures* (pp. 11-46). London New York: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2002). Managing rapport in talk: Using rapport sensitive incidents to explore the motivational concerns underlying the management of relations. *Journal of Pragmatics, 34*(5), 529-545.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2005). (Im)Politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: Unpackaging their bases and interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research, 1*(1), 95-119.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(4), 639-656.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory* (2nd ed.). London & New York: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, H., & Franklin, P. (2009). *Intercultural interaction: A multidisciplinary approach to intercultural communication.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spencer-Oatey, H., & Xing, J. (2005). Managing talk and non-talk in intercultural interactions: Insights from two Chinese–British business meetings. *Multilingua, 24*(1/2), 55-74.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Streeck, J. (2002). Culture, meaning, and interpersonal communication. In M. L. Knapp & J. A. Daly (Eds.), *Handbook of interpersonal communication* (pp. 300-335). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and output in its development. In S. M. Gass & C. G. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 235-253). Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Szatrowski, P. (2000). Relation between gaze, head nodding and *aizuti* 'back channel'

at a Japanese company meeting. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, 26*, 283-294. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Szatrowski, P. (2003). Gaze, head-nodding and *aizuti* 'back channel utterances' in information presenting activities. In P. M. Clancy (Ed.), *Japanese/Korean linguistics, 11*, 119-132. Stanford, California: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Tagashira, K., Yamato, K., & Isoda, T. (2011). Japanese EFL learners' pragmatic awareness through the looking glass of motivational profiles. *JALT Journal, 33*, 5-26.

Taguchi, N. (2012). *Context, individual differences, and pragmatic competence.* Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Takahashi, T., & Beebe, L. M. (1987). The development of pragmatic competence by Japanese learners of English. *JALT Journal, 8*(2), 131-155.

Takano, S. (2005). Re-examining linguistic power: Strategic uses of directives by professional Japanese women in positions of authority and leadership. *Journal of Pragmatics, 37*, 633-666.

Takayama, K. (2008). Beyond orientalism in comparative education: Challenging the binary opposition between Japanese and American education. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 28*(1), 19-34.

Tang, J. (2002). Using L1 in the English classroom. *English Teaching Forum, 40*(1), 36-43.

Tang, K. C. C. (1993). Spontaneous collaborative learning: A new dimension in student learning experience? *Higher Education Research and Development, 12*(1), 115-130.

Tani, M. (2008). Raising the in-class participation of Asian students through a writing tool. *Higher Education Research and Development, 27*(4), 345-356.

Tannen, D. (1985). Silence: Anything but. In D. Tannen & M. Saville-Troike (Eds.), *Perspectives on silence* (pp. 93-111). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Tateyama, Y., & Kasper, G. (2008). Talking with a classroom guest: Opportunities for learning Japanese pragmatics. In E. Alcón & A. Martínez-Flor (Eds.), *Investigating pragmatics in foreign language learning, teaching, and testing* (pp. 45-71). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Taylor, C. (1991). *The malaise of modernity.* Concord, Ontario: Anansi.

Terkourafi, M. (2007). Toward a universal notion of face for a universal notion of cooperation. In I. Kecskes & L. Horn (Eds.), *Explorations in pragmatics: Linguistic,*

cognitive and intercultural aspects (pp. 313-344). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Theobald, M. (2008). Methodological issues arising from video stimulated recall with young children. *Australian Association for Research in Education.*

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics, 4*(2), 91-112.

Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Tobin, J. (1999). Method and meaning in comparative classroom ethnography. In R. Alexander, P. Broadfoot & D. Phillips (Eds.), *Learning from comparing: New directions in comparative educational research* (pp. 113-134). Oxford, England: Symposium Books.

Tracy, K. (1990). The many faces of facework. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 209-226). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Trappes-Lomax, H. (2004). Discourse analysis. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 133-164). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Tsuda, Y. (1990). *Eigo shihai no kozo* [The structure of English domination]. Tokyo: Daisan Shokan.

Tsui, A. B. M. (1996). Reticence and anxiety in second language learning. In K. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom* (pp. 145-167). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tsuido, K., Otani, M., & Davies, W. (2012). An analysis of assistant language teachers' perceptions of their working relationships with Japanese teachers of English. *Hiroshima Studies in Language and Language Education*, *15*, 49-64.

Tukahara, N. (2002). *The sociolinguistic situation of English in Japan. Revista de Sociolinguistica.*

Turnbull, M., & Arnett, K. (2002). Teachers' uses of the target and first languages in second and foreign language classrooms. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 22*, 204-218.

Usami, M. (2002). *Discourse politeness in Japanese conversation: Some implications for a universal theory of politeness.* Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

Ushioda, E. (2011). Motivating learners to speak as themselves. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning* (pp. 11-24). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Valdes, J. M. (1986). *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching.*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vásquez, C., & Sharpless, D. (2009). The role of pragmatics in the master's TESOL curriculum: Findings from a nationwide survey. *TESOL Quarterly, 43*(1)*,* 5-28.

Vázquez-Orta, I. (1995). A contrastive study of politeness phenomena in England and Spain. *Applied and Interdisciplinary Papers*, *267*, 11-36.

von Dietze, A., von Dietze, H., & Joyce, P. (2009). Researching the role of L1 (Japanese) in the English (EFL) classroom. *Interdisciplinary Educational Research Institute Journal, 5*, 35-52.

von Dietze, A., von Dietze, H., & Joyce, P. (2010). Inviting students to use their L1 in the EFL classroom. *Kinki University English Journal, 6*, 11-33.

Walsh, S. (2006). *Investigating classroom discourse.* London and New York: Routledge.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*(4), 575-592.

Watts, R. (2003). *Politeness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weaver, G. (1993). Understanding and coping with cross-cultural adjustment stress. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the intercultural experience* (pp. 137-168). Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werkhofer, K. (1992). Traditional and modern views: The social constitution and the power of politeness. In R. Watts, S. Ide & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Politeness in language* (2nd ed., pp. 155–199). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wertsch, J. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action.* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wetzel, P. J. (1994). Contemporary Japanese attitudes toward honorifics (keigo). *Language Variation and Change, 6*(2), 113-147.

Wilkerson, C. (2008). Instructors' use of English in the modern language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals, 41*(2), 310-320.

Williams, M. (1994). Motivation in foreign and second language learning: An interactive perspective. *Educational and Child Psychology, 11*, 77-84.

Wolcott, H. F. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Wong, N. (2003). The Communicative meanings and functions of silence: An analysis of cross cultural views. *Journal of Tagen Bunka, 3*, 125-146.

Wong, N. (2010). *Silent communication of Japanese society.* Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.

Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Woolard, K. A. (2004). Codeswitching. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 73-94). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Yero, J. (2002). *Teaching in mind: How teacher thinking shapes education.* Hamilton, Montana: MindFlight Publishing.

Yoneyama, S. (1999). *The Japanese high school: Silence and resistance.* London and New York: Routledge.

Yoshida, K., Kamiya, M., Kondo, S., & Tokiwa, R. (2000). *Heart to heart: Overcoming barriers in cross-cultural communication.* Tokyo: Macmillan Language House.

Yoshimi, D. (1999). The language of interdependence in Japanese vertical relationships. In J. Verschueren (Ed.), *Pragmatics in 1998. Selected Papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference* (Vol. 2, pp. 606-619). Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association.

Yoshino, K. (1992). *Cultural nationalism in contemporary Japan: A sociological enquiry.* London and New York: Routledge.

Yoshino, K. (2002). English and nationalism in Japan: The role of the intercultural-communication industry. In S. Wilson (Ed.), *Nation and nationalism in Japan* (pp. 135-145). London and New York: Routledge.

Yule, G. (1996). *The study of language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zimmerman, D. (1998). Discoursal identities and social identities. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in talk* (pp. 87-106). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION

Translations into English are given after each extract. Speakers' names have been anonymised. Each line, rather than each turn, is numbered on the left. The following transcription conventions were employed in the translation of stimulated recall data and classroom excerpts that appear in this thesis.

=	latching (no gap or no overlap between talk)
(0.0)	elapsed time in silence by seconds
(.)	micropause of less than 0.5 s
<u>word</u>	some form of stress (voice amplitude)
:	lengthening of a sound
.	falling terminal contour
,	continuing contour
?	rising contour
° °	speech noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk
CAPITALS	speech noticeably louder than the surrounding talk
-	abrupt cutoff
(*inaudible*)	inaudible speech
(( ))	non-verbal activity
Nihongo	Japanese speech is recorded in italics
'Japanese'	English translation

Adapted from the system developed by Jefferson (Wood & Kroger 2000:193)

In classroom Excerpts 1-35 Japanese speech is recorded in *italics* with the corresponding English translations identified in single quotation marks. In the case of retrospective interviews the original Japanese is recorded in *italics* with the English translation directly following in single brackets.

APPENDIX B: TEACHER INTERVIEWS

Teacher Interview: Japanese *face* and *identities* within the L2 classroom

Time of interview:
Date:
Place:

Questions:
1. In your view, what is the best way to learn English?
2. In your view, what is the best way to teach English?
3. What do you feel is important to remember when communicating with Japanese students?
4. What was the focus of tonight's lessons?
5. What do you generally find challenging about working with Japanese students at the primary school age?
6. Do you at times modify your behaviour or language when teaching Japanese primary school students?
7. How do you feel the Japanese students view you?
8. How do you feel the students would like to be viewed by you?
9. Do you feel that cross-cultural miscommunication either behavioural or linguistic surfaced during the lessons?
10. What strategies do you find helpful in dealing with miscommunication?
11. How did you feel about today's lessons?
12. Is there anything else you would like to add?
    (Changes/ additions to the interview questions will be made based on the interviewee's responses.).

Teacher Interview: Japanese *face* and *identities* within the L2 classroom

Time of interview:
Date:
Place:

Questions:
1. What was the focus of tonight's lessons?
2. How did you feel about the lessons?
3. Were there any points during tonight's lessons during which you were surprised by what the students said or did?
4. Were there any points during which you felt that cross-cultural miscommunication either behavioural or linguistic caused confusion? Please explain.
5. How did you respond to these situations of miscommunication and what was the result?
6. What, if anything, did you find challenging about tonight's lessons?
7. What do you feel worked well in tonight's lessons?
8. Is there anything else you would like to add?
   (Changes/ additions to the interview questions will be made based on the interviewee's responses.).

Teacher Interview: Japanese *face* and *identities* within the L2 classroom

Time of interview:
Date:
Place:

Questions:
1. How did you feel about tonight's lessons?
2. What was the focus of the lessons?
3. How did the students respond to the lesson content?
4. Do you think that there were any particular reasons for the success/difficulties you experienced during tonight's lessons?
5. How would you assess your Japanese ability?
6. Do you read and write Japanese?
7. Where did you learn Japanese?
8. Do you use Japanese at home?
9. How do you feel about using Japanese with students?
10. Do you feel that your use of Japanese when teaching impacts on the students' classroom performance?
11. Do you feel that student participation levels change at all when you use Japanese when teaching?
12. Could you describe specifically how you use Japanese when teaching?
13. Could you explain how you decide when to use Japanese?
14. Is there anything else you would like to add?
15. (Changes/ additions to the interview questions will be made based on the interviewee's responses.).

Teacher Interview: Japanese *face* and *identities* within the L2 classroom

Time of interview:
Date:
Place:

Questions:
1. How did you feel about tonight's lessons?
2. What was the focus of the lessons?
3. How did the students respond to the lesson content?
4. Were there any points during which you felt that cross-cultural miscommunication either behavioural or linguistic caused confusion?
5. If 'Yes', could you provide an example?
6. Is there anything you would like to change about the students' participation or involvement?
7. What do you feel that the reason for frequent student collaboration with classmates is?
8. What do you expect of your students during lessons?
9. What do you feel students expect of you as a teacher during lessons?
10. Is there anything else you would like to add?
11. (Changes/ additions to the interview questions will be made based on the interviewee's responses.).

APPENDIX C: TEACHER JAPANESE USE QUESTIONNAIRE

Teacher Japanese Use Questionnaire

Part 1. General information.

What is your approximate level of proficiency in spoken Japanese? Please circle the sentence that best applies to your Japanese proficiency level.

No Japanese

Beginner (some basic language ability)

Pre-Intermediate (about level 4 of Japanese proficiency test)

Intermediate (about level 3 of Japanese proficiency test)

Advanced (approximately level 1 of Japanese proficiency test)

Part 2. What are your opinions about the use of Japanese in the English classroom? For the following items (1–9), please mark the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (1- strongly disagree; 5- strongly agree).

1. I believe that the more English students use in the classroom, the better they will be at communicating in English.
2. I believe that there are situations in which the first language, Japanese, should be used in the classroom by students.
3. I believe that there are situations in which the first language, Japanese, should be

used in the classroom by the teacher.

4. I believe that only English should be used to learn about grammar and usage of English.

5. I believe that only English should be used to discuss administrative information.

6. I believe that the teacher should use English at all times in the classroom.

7. I believe that the students should use English the entire time they are in the classroom with both the teacher and fellow students, even when not working on a specific activity.

8. I believe that teacher use of the first language, Japanese, should be related to the English proficiency level of the students.

9. I believe that teacher use of the first language, Japanese, is appropriate for lower proficiency students.

Part 3. All responses you provide in this questionnaire pertain to the English classes being examined. For the following items (1–2), please choose: *at the beginning of the course; regularly throughout the course; never.*

1. I have made my expectations regarding the use of English/Japanese in the classroom explicit by discussing them with students.

2. I have spent class time working through or discussing communicative strategies that will help students communicate in English.

For the following items (1-5), please give an estimate, choose from: 0%–20%;

20%–40%; 40%–60%; 60%–80%; 80%–100%.

1. I use Japanese to communicate with my students about ….………. of the time in the classroom (select one; this includes time spent on activities and time spent in between activities).

2. My students use Japanese to communicate with me about ….………. of the time in the classroom (select one; this includes time spent on activities and time spent in between activities).

3. While students are working with partners or groups in my class, they switch to Japanese about ….………. of the time.

4. I feel that my students understand what I am saying in English about ….………. of the time.

5. When my students do not understand what I am saying in English, they request that I repeat or clarify about ….………. of the time.

Part 4. Use of Japanese during English language activities. For the following items, please provide an estimate to indicate how often you speak Japanese in these situations.

Situation	Frequency					
	Almost every class	**Most, but not every**	**Every two or three**	**About every fourth**	**About once or twice a**	**Almost never/ never**

		class	classes	class	semester	
To translate key words/ grammar						
To ask questions to check comprehension						
To compare Japanese and English (e.g. pronunciation)						
To teach vocabulary or grammar						
To expand on content (provide background information)						
To manage student behaviour						
To provide feedback (whole class/ individuals)						
To correct errors						
To joke with students						
To test language items						
To offer brief encouragement in short expressions such as *'gambatte'*						
To speed-up instruction						
To explain task requirements						
To praise students						

To explain administrative information such as announcements.					
To communicate with students outside of class time such as before or after class					

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire

APPENDIX D: STIMULATED RECALL PROCEDURE

Total time: approximately 50 minutes with recall activity to take between 30-40 minutes. Recall is to be carried out in Japanese.

Student enters room (The investigator will greet the participant and invite him to enter the classroom. The participant is offered a drink and told to take what she likes from a bowl of snacks placed on the desk.).

Step 1. Thank the student for attending and engage in free conversation (2 or 3 questions).
Say:
'Thank you for taking the time to come here today to help me with my research'. Appropriate questions include:
- *How did you come here today?*
- *Do you have any plans for this weekend?*
- *What are you planning to do this afternoon?*

Step 2. Provide a brief explanation of the purposes of the session. Explain and model recall procedure.
Say:
*'The reason I have asked for your help today is that I am trying to learn more about what students think about during English lessons. We are going to watch video-recorded segments of yesterday's English class on the computer. I am interested in what you were thinking about **at the time** when you were talking.*

*As you watch the recording, if you want to comment on what you were thinking **at the time**, click on pause. If I want to ask you about what you were thinking about I will click on pause. You can use the computer mouse to pause the recording at any point you would like to. If you do not wish to comment or have nothing you wish to say that is of course fine.'*

After providing instructions, the investigator will show the student where the pause icon is and model stopping the video and asking a question such as:
- *What were you thinking about at this moment?*

Have the participant try and click on the pause icon.

The investigator will ask if the student has any questions regarding the procedure. The student is then invited to ask any questions he has regarding the procedure and to seek clarification at any stage if uncertain.

Ask:
*'I'd like to know what you were thinking about **at the time**, not what you think about it **now**. Is that OK? Do you have any questions? Is it clear what you're going to do?*

Step 3. Conduct stimulated recall session

Investigator questions
● *What were you thinking about when you said that?*
● *Were you paying special attention to something just then? What was it?*
● *I see you're laughing/ looking confused/ saying something there. Can you tell me what made you ....?*

When the classroom exchange does not directly involve the participant the investigator will ask:

● *Can you remember what you were thinking about when he said that/those words?*
● *Was it interesting to you?*
● *Do you remember thinking about anything special when he was talking?*

Step 4. Explicit questions

● After recall session has been completed ask additional explicit questions that address research questions – 2 or 3 questions. Potential questions include:

- *Did you feel that there were times when the NS teacher and students misunderstood each other? What were they?*
- *Do you feel the same when you study English as when you study other subjects?*
- *Is there anything special about the English class?*
- *How do you feel about having a NS teacher conducting lessons?*
- *How would you compare teacher/ student communication when working with a NS*

teacher as opposed to a Japanese teacher?

- *Do you feel that there are any differences in how a Japanese teacher and NS teacher communicate with students? What are they?*
- *Do you feel that there are any differences in how a Japanese teacher and NS teacher conduct classes?*
- *Do you feel it is challenging for a NS teacher to work with Japanese learners? In what ways?*
- *What advice would you have for a NS teacher who is going to work with Japanese students for the first time?*

Step 5. Winding down phase - student feedback/ free conversation (1 or 2 questions).

Ask student if he has any questions or comments. Thank the student for his time and indicate how useful the student's contribution has been.

Ask: *'Well, I have no further questions. Is there anything you'd like to bring up, or ask about, before we finish? Was it interesting to you?'*

Say:
'Thank you for doing such a great job today. You have been a big help. I hope that you enjoyed yourself'.

Student leaves room (The investigator will guide the student outside of the classroom).

Notes:
- During 'Free Conversation' (Steps 1. and 5.), questions that invade the student's privacy are to be avoided.
- If the learner responds 'I don't know', the investigator will determine whether appropriate to paraphrase or move on. The investigator will not probe for a response.
- Refrain from giving feedback such as 'Good', 'That's right' as it suggests to the participant that a specific type of response is desirable.
- Respond to student comments through backchanelling using expressions such as 'I see' *(naruhodo)* and 'yes' *(hai)*.

APPENDIX E: RECALL CODING SHEET

Subject name: **Class:**

Date of class: **Date of recall:**

Transcript Excerpt	Stimulated Recall Prompt	Student Retrospection (Japanese)	English Translation

The left column of the coding sheet indicates the segment of classroom discourse that triggered the recall. The second column records (a) the recall prompt (if used), or (b) indicates if the question follows-on from the participant's prior retrospection. The third column lists a transcription of the participant's retrospective comments in Japanese, while the fourth column is an English translation of retrospective comments with absent and/or inferred words in brackets.

APPENDIX F: PARENT/CAREGIVER INFORMATION SHEET

Research Project: *The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning*

CHIEF RESEARCHER: Joshua Kidd

028-659 8860

Josh_kidd67@ybb.ne.jp

PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR: Professor Christopher N Candlin

christophercandlin@gmail.com

ASSOCIATE SUPERVISOR: Doctor Jill Murray

Jill.Murray@ling.mq.edu.au

The study is being conducted by Joshua Kidd. It will form the basis for a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher Candlin and Doctor Jill Murray. The study is a component of Joshua Kidd's study conducted through the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, Australia.

The purpose of this study is to examine how *face* (public self-image one claims) is manifested in Japanese elementary school students' interaction with a non-Japanese teacher. Students are invited to participate in the recording of 4 English lessons over a period of 4 weeks. In addition, students will be invited to participate in recall sessions during which they will be shown video-recorded interaction from the lesson and asked to shed light on their thoughts at the time. Recall sessions will be held at the school and directed by Joshua Kidd. A non-participating Japanese member of staff, Ms. Kobori, will observe all sessions.

Your child's participation in the study is completely voluntary. You are not under any obligation to consent. Your child may withdraw from the study at any time, or you may withdraw your child from the study with no explanations or consequences. Your child will be free to attend an alternative class offered at the same or different time slot. If you withdraw, all written and audio records of your child's participation including translations will be destroyed. If you choose to withdraw please inform Ms. Kobori

either by phone or in person. Your child's withdrawal from this study will in no way affect their academic standing or relationship with the school.

All aspects of this study, including the results will be strictly confidential. A report of the study may be submitted for publication but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report. I draw your attention to the fact that this project involves video/audio recordings of participants. Classroom recordings will be collected during weekly English activities on September 11th, 18^{th,} 25th and October 2nd. Participants able to volunteer for recall sessions will be asked to attend school to participate in an additional session to be audio-recorded on of the following dates: September 12th, 19th, 26th or October 3rd. Recall sessions will take approximately 40-50 minutes. Ms. Kobori will contact volunteers directly in order to decide a time that meets your scheduling needs.

Transcripts of recordings will be stored at the school in Joshua Kidd's office for up to 5 years, after which they will be destroyed. Recordings will be wiped after transcripts have been finalised. Recordings will not be made public. If you have any concerns about what has been recorded, you may access recordings of your child within the period of storage. In addition, when completed, you will be shown the transcriptions for use in the study and asked to confirm accuracy, and whether you consent to this information being used in the study. If you wish to review recordings at any other time, they can be accessed by contacting Joshua Kidd. A mutually convenient time to view recordings within the school facilities will be arranged.

When you have read the information, Joshua Kidd will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. Please contact the school directly if you would like your child to participate. At this time, please indicate if you wish to be contacted regarding additional questions and we will be happy to arrange a time.

<center>This information sheet is for you to keep.</center>

APPENDIX G: PARENT/ PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

(If you wish to participate please return the consent form to Ms. Kobori by 00/00/00)

Research Project: ***The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning***

I (*print name*)……………………………give consent to the participation of my child

(*print name*) ………………………………….in the research project described below.

TITLE OF THE PROJECT: ***The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning***

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Parent Information Sheet and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my child's involvement in the project with the researchers.

3. I have discussed participation in the project with my child and my child assents to their participation in the project.

4. I understand that my child's participation in this project is voluntary; a decision not to participate will in no way affect their academic standing or relationship with the school and they are free to withdraw with no explanations or consequences.

5. I understand that my child is welcome to study in another class at the equivalent level offered during the same or different time slot. I recognise that it is standard practice for students to change class times and/or days.

6. I understand that my child's involvement is strictly confidential and that no information about my child will be used in any way that reveals my child's identity.

7. I understand that video/audio recordings will be made as part of the study. These recordings will take place during scheduled English lessons to be conducted at the school on September 11th, 18^{th,} 25th and October 2nd.

8. I understand that I will be able to view a complete transcript of the recall session after it has been completed.

- Recall sessions are to be conducted at the school on September 12th, 19th, 26th or October 3rd at a time convenient for the participant.

  I would like my child to participate in a recall session.

  YES ☐   NO ☐

- I would like to receive feedback regarding my child's participation in the recorded classes and stimulated recall sessions.

  YES ☐   NO ☐

Participant's Name:
(block letters)
Participant's Signature:
Date:

Parent/Caregiver's Name:
(block letters)
Parent/Caregiver's Signature:
Date:

Investigator's Name:
(block letters)
Investigator's Signature:
Date:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may

contact the Ethics Review Committee through its Secretary (telephone +61 2 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX H: TEACHER INFORMATION SHEET

CHIEF RESEARCHER: Joshua Kidd

028-659 8860

Josh_kidd67@ybb.ne.jp

PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR: Professor Christopher N Candlin

christophercandlin@gmail.com

ASSOCIATE SUPERVISOR: Doctor Jill Murray

Jill.Murray@ling.mq.edu.au

Research Project: *The pragmatics of face as a means of revealing Japanese student identities in the context of classroom English language learning*

You are invited to participate in a study of Japanese *face* and *identities*. The study is being conducted by Joshua Kidd. It will form the basis for a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher Candlin and Doctor Jill Murray. The study is a component of Joshua Kidd's study conducted through the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, Sydney Australia.

The purpose of this study is to examine how *face* (social and cultural identity) is manifested in Japanese elementary school learners' interaction with a non-Japanese teacher. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to have classroom discourse over a period of 4 lessons video recorded. Classroom recordings will be collected during weekly English activities on September 11th, 18th, 25th and October 2nd . In addition, several students will be asked to participate in 40-50 minute recall sessions during which they will be shown video-recorded moments of English activities deemed communicatively challenging and asked to comment on their thoughts at the time of occurrence.

In addition to data collected through classroom recordings and stimulated recall, you will be asked to take part in a sequence of four one-on-one semi-structured interviews

and complete a questionnaire designed to gain insight into your use of Japanese during English activities. Taking the form of a professional conversation, each interview will be audio-taped and sections transcribed. You will be shown the specific areas transcribed for use in the study and asked to confirm accuracy and whether you consent to this information being used in the study. By using a semi-structured format, the interviews will be flexibly structured in order to follow up on ideas which may be raised. Interviews are structured to last approximately 20 minutes with the multiple interview format aimed at obtaining an account of your thoughts regarding aspects of the class and student participation. The progression of interviews is as follows:

- Interview 1: To develop a general understanding of the teacher's views of learner *face* and the *face* the teacher claims within the L2 classroom.
- Interviews 2 and 3: To focus on the teacher's thoughts and reflections in relation to the observed lesson. Additional questions may be added over the course of the investigation.
- Interview 4: Interviews 1 through 3 will have been analysed prior to the final interview. Areas that require further clarification will be identified and questions developed.

In order to gauge your views regarding the use of Japanese during English activities, you will be asked to consider your opinions regarding the use of Japanese during English activities and to indicate when, and for what purposes you used Japanese.

If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from further participation in the research at any time with no explanations or consequences. If you choose to withdraw please inform Ms. Kobori either by phone or in person. At this point you will be assigned to a different class for the duration of the study. Your withdrawal from this study will in no way affect your standing or relationship with the school or the researcher.

All aspects of this study, including the results, will be strictly confidential and only the researcher will have access to information about participants. A report of the study may be submitted for publication but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

Transcripts of recordings will be stored at the school in Joshua Kidd's office for up to 5 years, after which they will be destroyed. Recordings will be wiped immediately after transcripts have been finalised. If you have any concerns about what has been recorded, you may access recordings within the period of storage. These recordings can be accessed be contacting Joshua Kidd. A mutually convenient time to view recordings within the school facilities will be arranged.

When you have read the information Joshua Kidd will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

APPENDIX I: TEACHER CONSENT FORM

(If you wish to participate please return the consent form to Ms. Kobori by 00/00/00)

I, *(participant's name)* have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time with no explanations or consequences. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:
(block letters)
Participant's Signature:
Date:

Investigator's Name:
(block letters)
Investigator's Signature:
Date:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Ethics Review Committee through its Secretary (telephone +61 2 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX J: PARENT/CAREGIVER INFORMATION SHEET/CONSENT FORM JAPANESE TRANSLATIONS

両親/養護者情報シート

調査プロジエクト: 日本人生徒、英語言語学習時における、教室でのフェイス(自己像の維持) アイデンティティ

主席調査員: ジョシュア・キッド

028-659 8860

Josh_kidd67@ybb.ne.jp

監督者: クリストファ・カンドリン教授

christophercandlin@gmail.com

監督者: ジル・マレー博士

Jill.Murray@ling.mq.edu.au

調査はジョシュア・キッドによって行なわれます。それはクリストファ・カンドリン教授とジル・マレー博士の監督の下で、応用言語学の哲学博士号の基礎を形作るものとなります。 その調査は、オーストラリア、マッコーリー大学の言語学科において行なわれているジョシュア・キッドの研究の構成要素となるものです。

この調査の目的は、日本人でない教師と、日本人の小学生学習者との双方向的交流において、如何に彼らのフエイス（自己像の維持）が明示されるか（人の求める一般的な自画像）を調査するものです。生徒達は４週を越えて行われる、４回の英語の授業のレコーディングに招待されて参加します。それに加えて生徒達は、授業からビデオに記録された双方向的交流を見せられ、その時における彼等の考えに対して、解明に光を与える質問をされる、リコール・セッション（回想会）に参加するよう招待されます。リコール・セッションは学校において行われ、ジョシュア・キッドによって監督されます。非参加の日本人スタッフメンバーである、小堀が全ての会を見学します。

調査における皆さんのお子さんの参加は、完全に自由意志に基づくものです。同意せね

ばならないなどのような義務もありません。貴方はお子さんを調査から何時でも脱退させる事ができますし、又は貴方はお子さんを説明、根拠無しに調査から脱退させる事ができます。貴方のお子さんは、同じ時期、又は異なった時期に提供される代わりのクラスに自由に参加する事ができます。もし脱退する事を選択された場合には、貴方のお子さんの参加に関する、書かれた記録そして音声の記録は翻訳を含め全てが破棄されます。もし脱退される事を選択された場合には、電話又は直接小堀にご連絡下さい。この調査からの貴方のお子さんの脱退が、彼等の学問上又は学校との関係に影響をあたえる事は全く有り得ません。

結果を含むこの調査の全ての局面は、完全に極秘となります。調査のレポートが公開の為に提出されるかも知れませんが、そのようなレポートにおいても、個々の参加者の身元を確認する事はできません。それに加えて、この調査の結果が残りの2つの調査に影響を与える事は可能性が有ります。

この調査が、参加者のビデオ・オーディオの記録を含むものである事に注意を向けて頂きたいと思います。教室のレコーディングは、9月11日、18日、25日、10月2日に、週ごとの英語活動を通して収録されます。参加者は、オーディオで記録された以下の日付の、追加のリコール・セッションに自由意志で参加する事が可能です。9月12日、19日、26日、10月3日です。リコール・セッションは大体40－50分掛かる予定です。小堀が、貴方のスケジュールに合うよう時間を決定する為に、直接ボランティアに連絡します。

記録の写しは、学校のジョシュア・キッドの事務室に5年まで保管され、その後破棄されます。レコーディングは写しが作られたら直ぐに消去されます。レコーディングは公表されません。もしも何が記録されているかに対して、心配や不安をお持ちの場合には、保管の期間内であれば貴方のお子さんの記録にアクセスする事が可能です。また、終了後、調査に使われる記録の写しを見せられ、それの的確さや、調査に使われる情報に異議がないかなどが問われます。もしも、その他の時にこれらの記録をご覧になりたいという場合にはジョシュア・キッドとコンタクトを取る事によって、アクセスする事ができます。学校の施設内で双方の都合の良い時にレコーディングが見られるように準備致します。

内容をご確認の上、参加させたい時間帯にご希望がある場合やご質問、ご不明な点等がございましたら、学校（ジョシュア・キッド）までご連絡下さい。

この情報シートは貴方が保管する為のものです。

父兄/参加同意書

(もし参加の御希望であれば、00/00/00までに同意書を小堀宛に提出して下さい。)

調査プロジェクト: 日本人生徒との異文化コミュニケーションにおける、
フエイス（自己像の維持）と言語的丁寧行動

私は (名前・活字体)..............................私の子供の参加に同意いたします (名前・活字体) .... 以 下 に 記 述 さ れ る 研 究 プ ロ ジ ェ ク ト に 対 し 、

プロジェクトの名称: 日本人生徒との異文化コミュニケーションにおける、
フエイス（自己像の維持）と言語的丁寧行動

私の同意を与える事に関し、以下を認識致します。:

1. プロジェクトの為に必要なやり方と参加する時間に関しては既に私に説明され、プロジェクトに対して私の感じた疑問点に対しても、私の満足のいく答えが与えられました。

2. 私は両親情報シートを読み、プロジェクトの情報と私の子供の参加に対して、調査員達と議論をする機会を与えられました。

3. 私は私の子供とプロジェクトへの参加に対して議論し、そして子供はプロジェクトへの参加に賛同いたします。

4. 私は私の子供の、このプロジェクトへの参加は自由意志であり、参加しないという決定は、彼等の学問上又は学校との関係に影響をあたえる事は全く有り得ず、彼らは説明や根拠無しに自由に脱退できるという事を理解致します。

5. 私は私の子供が、同時期又は異なった時期に提供される、同じレベルのもう一つのクラスで勉強する事を歓迎されるという事を理解します。私は生徒がクラスや日を変更するのは普通の慣習であると認識しています。

6. 私は私の子供の参加によって起こる事は全く機密の物であって、私の子供についての情報は、私の子供の身元を明かす為にはどのようにも使用されないと理解致します。

7. 私はビデオ・音声のレコーディングは調査の一部として作られた事を理解し、これらのレコーディングは、学校において、9月11日、18日、25日、10月2日に英語のレッスンの間に行うようスケジュールされていることを認識しています。

605

8. 私は、リコール・セッションの完全な記録の写しを出来上がり次第、拝見すること が可能だという事を理解いたします。

● リコール・セッションは学校において、９月１２日、１９日、２６日、10月3日に 参加者の都合の良い時間に行われます。

私は、私の子供をリコール・セッションに出席させたいと思います。

はい □　　いいえ □

● リコーディングされたクラスと刺激となるリコール・セッションへの、私の子供の 参加に関してフイードバックを頂きたいと思います。

はい □　　いいえ □

参加者の名前:
(ブロック体)
参加者の署名:
日付:

両親/養護者の名前:
(ブロック体)
両親/養護者の署名:
日付:

調査員の名前:
(ブロック体)
調査員の署名:
日付:

この調査の倫理的側面は、マッコーリー大学倫理再検討委員会（ヒューマン・リサーチ）によっ て承認されてきました。 もしもこの調査への参加に関して、どのような倫理的な苦情或いは疑 問点でもお持ちの際には、秘書を通して倫理再検討委員会にご連絡下さい。(電話 **+61 2 9850 7854**; メールＩethics@mq.edu.au).　どのような貴方の苦情も機密として取り扱い調査し、その 後で結果をご連絡致します。

APPENDIX K: ETHICS: FINAL APPROVAL

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone **+61 (0)2 9850 8612**
Fax   +61 (0)2 9850 4465
Email   ro@vc.mq.edu.au

Ethics
Phone **+61 (0)2 9850 6848**
Email   ethics.secretariat@vc.mq.edu.au

16 September 2009

Mr Joshua Kidd
2-34-16 Midori
Utsunomiya-shi
Tochigi-ken
Japan 321-0165

Reference: HSHE28AUG2009-D00023

Dear Mr Kidd,

FINAL APPROVAL

Title of project: Faces and Linguistics Politeness In Cross-Cultural Communication with Japanese Students

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your responses have addressed the issues raised by The Faculty of Human Sciences Sub-Committee of the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). Approval of the above application is granted, effective 10th September 2009, and you may now proceed with your research.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is **conditional** upon your continuing compliance with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*.

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5 years) subject to the provision of annual reports. **Your first progress report is due on 1st September 2010.**

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report on the project.

Progress Reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. Please notify the Sub-Committee of any amendment to the project.

ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH)
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics

607

www.mq.edu.au

5. Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at: http://www.research.mq.edu.au/policy .

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide Macquarie University's Research Grants Officer with a copy of this letter as soon as possible. The Research Grants Officer will not inform external funding agencies that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Officer has received a copy of this final approval letter.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Peter Roger
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics Review Sub-Committee
Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

Cc: Professor Chris Candlin, Department of Linguistics
**   Dr Jill Murray, Department of Linguistics**

ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH)
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics

www.mq.edu.au

ABN 90 952 801 237 | CRICOS Provider No 00002J

608