

A CRITICAL STUDY OF DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF 'OTHERING' IN
CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITIES: THE CASE OF LEARNERS OF
JAPANESE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

by

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(Under the Direction of Betsy Rymes)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates images of Japan/Japanese from a critical perspective by drawing on the methodology of discourse analysis. Theoretically, I attempt to synthesize critical discourse analytic perspectives with micro-analytic traditions from a linguistic anthropological perspective, with particular reference to the Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis controversy. The primary data was collected from learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language at a U.S. institutional setting. By the analysis, I argue that there are tensions between unifying or essentialized national identities and fragmenting or cosmopolitan identities. Specifically, I found that, on the one hand, there are social realities of immigrants, diaspora or exchange students in the local community, who are both long-term and short-term residents. At the same time, cultural materials such as games or music produced in Japan are consumed by American learners of Japanese. These forces work in the direction of fragmenting tendencies of culture. On the other hand, the participants are dominated by the ideology of nationalism, which strongly essentializes or permanently fixes national identities, which leads to the unifying directions. The discourses that the participants produced exemplify both tendencies, though the analyses indicate that the

unifying forces are stronger. In this study, I critically focus on the essentialist discourses because of its exclusive and potentially violent nature. In the end, I propose a critical pedagogy, with particular reference to teaching Japanese culture, which emphasizes anti-essentialist national identity in order to live with 'difference' or with multicultural orientations in the globalized world.

INDEX WORDS: Critical discourse analysis (CDA), conversation analysis (CA), linguistic anthropology, national identities, Japanese, Americans, construction of 'others,' foreign language education, nationalism and globalization

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2004

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Betsy Rymes for her long-term and unconditional support. Also, I deeply thank Dr. Sarah Blackwell for her helpful editorial suggestions and constant encouragement. Dr. Ben G. Blount provided very useful suggestions, which I greatly appreciate. I thank Dr. William Provost for his long-term support of my studies and for his dedicated service to all the students as the director of the linguistics program since 1999. I really wish early recovery of his health condition. Finally, this study was supported by Graduate School Assistantships for Finishing Doctoral Students and I thank the Graduate School for the award.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

On the one hand, immigrant language learners need access to the social networks of target language speakers in order to practice and improve the target language; on the other hand, they have difficulty gaining access to these networks because common language is an *a priori* condition of entry into them. (Norton, 2000, p. 47)

Foreign language departments in U.S. colleges and universities ... are ... working in concert with deeply held American ideologies about bilingualism and monolingualism. (Valdés et al., 2003, p. 4)

1.0. What is the Study about?

The major objective of the study is to investigate images of Japan or Japanese among advanced learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) at a U.S. institutional setting, mainly drawing upon the methodology of discourse analysis. The focus of analysis is placed upon how the learners represent Japanese identities while enacting self-identity in situated interactions, as well as in a

written questionnaire survey. In carrying out the analyses, I found that there were two opposing tendencies to represent and enact social identities: the tendencies to fragment or relativize identities and the tendencies to unify or essentialize identities, with the latter stronger and more constraining, with particular reference to national identities.

More specifically, it was virtually impossible for JFL participants to problematize or question the framework of the existing nation-states in constructing Japanese identities vis-à-vis self-identities, while various alignments between the author/researcher and the participants were formed within the constraint. The danger of over-emphasizing national identities is to fall into a trap of absolutist and over-simplistic conceptions of the world, by which the participants divide the world dichotomously, i.e., the East vs. the West. Most seriously, I found that, by over-emphasizing the national identity as Americans, the participants were unable to consider the serious consequences of violence and massive destruction caused by a war. I suggest that we need some critical intervention to question and critique the absolutist tendencies of national identities. Specifically, I propose a critical pedagogy in JFL education and argue for a radical transformation of teaching culture by emphasizing the diversity of Japanese culture in the U.S. context.

In what follows, I discuss the major reasons why I conducted the research by first contextualizing it in terms of critical applied linguistics, and then present some background to

second/foreign language learning in the U.S. college education from critical perspectives. Finally, I provide the overview that maps the structure of Chapters.

1.1. Why ‘Critical’? What Does ‘Critical’ Mean?

As the title indicates, I take a ‘critical’ perspective throughout the study. Why do I take a ‘critical’ stance? More fundamentally, what does ‘critical’ mean in the present context? For the purposes of this study, I take a ‘critical’ view of social reality, in both senses of the term (cf. Pennycook, 2001, p. 21), one meaning ‘crucial’ or ‘important,’ and the other implying ‘change.’ Through human agency, we wish to ‘change’ our social reality, especially if it is dehumanizing and oppressive, into a more desirable state. Further, we need to engage in the ‘crucial’ or ‘extremely important’ issue of our “globalized” world, i.e., our co-existence with people from thousands of miles away on a daily basis, or what Appadurai calls “ethnoscapes” (Appadurai, 1990; 1991), particularly in a context such as the one in which the present case study is situated.

To elaborate on “ethnoscapes” in the “globalized” world, Appadurai (1990) proposes his theory of global cultural flow in terms of five “scapes” (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes) in order to argue that we live in a world of increasing disjuncture between, for example, the place of birth and cultural affiliations or group loyalties. Among the five “scapes,” I am first concerned with “ethnoscapes,” defined as “the landscape of persons who make

up the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world ... to a hitherto unprecedented degree” (1991, p. 192). For example, Appadurai himself (a Tamil Brahman male from Bombay but now an academic in the U.S.) traveled from Philadelphia to a temple in Madurai, South India, with his wife, who is a white American historian of India, so that she could see a priest with whom she had been closely associated, but they found out that the priest was in Houston. As another example, in my college community in the U.S., I found that a one-year exchange student from Tokyo, who went to his first class, happened to sit next to an American student who had just come back from his university in Tokyo a couple of months earlier. Though these examples may be too dramatic, I assume that “ethnoscapes” in the “globalized” world are ‘real,’ at least to a certain extent, in the contemporary world.

As a starting reference point for the supposed “dehumanizing and oppressive” social reality, I take some examples from “critical applied linguistics” (CALx) (e.g., Pennycook, 1990; 1998; 2001; Norton, 2000; Kubota, 1999; 2001), which depict bleak pictures of interethnic or international relations in North America. One of the major reasons for selecting the JFL participants at the research site of the Japanese language program is to engage in and counter these critical applied linguistics concerns, as well as to seek possibilities for change, predicting that

international academic relations would not be as dehumanizing and oppressive as the critical studies would have us believe.

For example, Pennycook (1990), in “The diremptive/redemptive project: Postmodern reflections on culture and knowledge in international academic relations,” refers to Alptekin (1982), among others. Adopting the perspective of Schumann’s “Acculturation Model,” Alptekin points out the stark reality that international students, particularly those from the Middle East, confront at universities in North America and Great Britain. According to Alptekin, international students do not have frequent meaningful contacts with native speakers of English, as they are often startled by Anglo-American students’ “basic insensitivity toward foreigners. In many instances, these students face unfair double standards” (1982, p. 58). The most problematic aspect is “the ethnocentrism of Anglo-American culture and the belief that everyone should adapt to this view” (Pennycook, 1990, p. 75; Alptekin, 1982, pp. 58-59). Another study of international students conducted at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education discovered similar patterns, “with students encountering ... lack of friendliness, ignorance about other cultures, ethnocentrism, and discrimination” (Pennycook, 1990, p. 76).

More recently, in a non-academic context, Norton (2000) found a classic Catch-22 situation of five immigrant women in Toronto, who needed to get access to social networks of Anglo-speakers

to learn English. At the same time, in order for them to get access to Anglophone networks, the immigrants needed to be able to speak English with a relatively high degree of fluency.

To explore these critical concerns from a different perspective, I take an epistemological stance that posits face-to-face interaction as a primary locus for (re)producing, transforming or perhaps destroying 'social reality,' while simultaneously taking into account large social forces. Rather than making sweeping generalizations about "Anglo-Americans" and their culture, we should take a closer look at the issues discussed above from a situated perspective. As Gal argues, "[dominant groups'] ideologies are rarely monolithic" (1998, p. 320). In other words, we should "avoid the error of reverse essentializing; Occidentalism is not a remedy for Orientalism" (Rabinow, 1986, p. 241).

In what follows, I present complex and even contradictory pictures with concrete examples by analyzing face-to-face interactions and interview data (Chapters 4-7). As I demonstrate from my own experience, it is relatively easy to get access to social networks of learners of Japanese as a foreign language. However, more importantly, by talking about "we Americans" in contrast to "they Japanese," the participants co-constructed Orientalist discourses, which may indicate socio-historically significant discourse patterns (Chapter 7). Further, I found the precariousness of maintaining international relationships during a contingent socio-political event such as the

ongoing war in Iraq, strongly influenced by certain dominant ideologies of nation-states (cf. Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995).

1.2. Introduction from a Social Perspective of Second/Foreign Language Acquisition

The present study is in line with a “social turn” (Block, 2003) in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) from a discourse analytic perspective. In mainstream SLA research, the issue of identity construction in learning foreign/second languages has been marginalized. However, the recent trend is to explore it from socio-historical-critical perspectives (Pennycook, 2001) and to make the “social turn” in SLA. This trend is also recognized by the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL) Annual Conference in 2004, chaired by James Lantolf.

Taking socio-political factors into account, the literature in foreign language education (FLE) from critical perspectives (e.g., Reagan & Osborn, 2002; Valdés et al., 2003; cf. Rampton, 1999) paints pessimistic pictures of the state of affairs in FLE, which indicate the dominant patterns of relatively unsuccessful foreign language education in the United States. To conceptualize FLE at colleges and universities from a social perspective, we may start with the recognition of low competency in foreign languages.¹ Valdés et al. (2003) further argue that, in spite of engaging in the apparently counter-hegemonic practice of teaching foreign languages, FLE may reproduce

¹ It should be acknowledged that some students, not the majority, in the U.S. do learn foreign languages to a high degree of success; I am concerned with upper-division JFL students, who are relatively ‘successful’ in the program, though probably, the achievement or proficiency level is relatively low, when compared to that of students taking European languages.

deeply ingrained monolingual biases and ideologies of the society by implicitly “transmitting important cultural values concerning what members of the society are expected to learn and not learn” (p. 4); that is, students may learn to “simply become American” (p.3) by not learning or retaining any foreign languages.

Following this line of thought, many, if not most, Americans may inevitably underdevelop foreign language proficiencies by a “social expectation of failure” (Reagan & Osborn, 2002):

The social expectation of failure is in fact the thread that holds together the other structural, institutional, and pedagogical constraints. ... Foreign language education in the United States is clearly not successful for most students. ... Furthermore, it is clear that most students, parents, teachers, and policy-makers do not seriously expect it to succeed (p. 6).

One of the reasons for such failure may be macro-structural. That is, not only in the U.S. context, but globally, English has been increasingly becoming *the* de facto lingua franca in many domains of the contemporary world, including education and academia (e.g., Pennycook, 1994; Block & Cameron, 2002). In light of the macro-sociological conditions, it seems quite unusual for students to study a classically ‘difficult’ and ‘exotic’ language such as Japanese.

More specifically, it is reported that foreign language programs of East Asian languages (Japanese, Korean or Chinese) at colleges and universities face special challenges, when compared with those of European languages, because “[i]t takes four or five times as long to learn an East Asian language as French, Spanish, or German” (Shirane, 2003, p. 67). In numerical terms, it is estimated to take at least 1,320 hours of instruction for an East Asian language, as opposed to 480 hours for such European languages as French or Spanish, to achieve the same level of competency (Shirane, *ibid.*; Reagan & Osborn, 2002, p. 3). While the mechanical estimations of the degree of difficulty in foreign language learning are rather questionable, there is little doubt that it takes quite an effort and substantial time to learn Japanese for monolingual English speakers who have never studied it until college education. In fact, it is reported that the majority of Japanese language learners never learn to read the Japanese literature within the time limit of four years (Shirane, 2003, p. 67).

Given the difficulty of learning Japanese, why do some students take more Japanese courses than required? To answer it, I intensively observed literacy events of JFL learners, as well as other contexts, and posed the following questions in Chapter 6: 1) Why does Japanese language learning matter? And more specifically, 2) what kind of resource is Japanese for the participants? I argue that the learning is deeply a matter of identity negotiation and construction in the contemporary world or “late modernity” (Giddens, 1991). However, after examining the discourses of

nationalism in a literacy event as well as on other occasions (Chapter 7), I argue that the current common practices of teaching, learning, and talking about essentialized “Japanese culture” (Kubota, 2003) are very likely to reproduce dominant ideologies that are oppressive to the Japanese population, both in the United States and abroad. In order to change the state of affairs, I propose a critical pedagogy for JFL in the U.S. context (Chapter 8).

1.3 Overview

In Chapter 1, I present what the study is about and provide an introduction to the background issues from socio-critical perspectives with particular reference to Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) education in the U.S. context. In Chapter 2, I selectively review relevant approaches to discourses of ‘others’ and present a synthetic theoretical framework, with an example, from a linguistic anthropological perspective known as “natural histories of discourse” (NHD) (Silverstein & Urban, 1996). In Chapter 3, I describe the methodology, the research questions, the database, and the results of a free-listing questionnaire survey to supplement the spoken data.

In Chapter 4, entitled ‘Discursive Practice of Complaining,’ I examine kinds of linguistic or discursive resources that are utilized when JFL learners complain about Japanese people in research interviews, from a conversation analytic perspective. I reconsider the practice of complaining and propose more dynamic models. Chapter 5, ‘Language Practices of Generation 1.5

Japanese,' is an extension of Chapter 4, which focuses on particular participants: two long-term residents in the U.S. but legally with the Japanese nationality, whom I call "Generation 1.5 Japanese." I argue that their identity construction is contingent, ambivalent and even contradictory. I attempt to explain the complex identity construction in terms of the conflict of ethnoscapas (Appadurai, 1991) and the ideologies of nationalism (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983).

In Chapters 6 and 7, I analyze spontaneous interactions among learners of Japanese as a foreign language in non-instructional contexts. I found that apparently decontextualized literacy practices are both locally situated and deeply embedded in larger social processes, which broadens the scope of an 'ideological' model of literacy (Street, 1984). Specifically, I analyze the discourses in literacy events whose purpose is Japanese learning and conceptualize the learning as partly negotiation or border-crossing of identities in the global information flow (Chapter 6). Second, I take one literacy event that took place during the War in Iraq as an example to reveal the participants' ideologies about national identities in the discourses of wars. Further, it is shown that the discourses of wars are related to another occasion of talk and the media discourse. I demonstrate that discussions of war-related issues foreground the nationalistic 'us' versus 'them' relationship in talk-in-interaction, which leads to production of "Orientalist" discourses that dichotomize the world into the East vs. the West (Said, 1978). Based on the intertextual relation of two speech events, I propose that the discourse genre (Hanks, 1987) of Orientalism may be widely available in American English.

Theoretically, I attempt to integrate a conversation analytic approach with critical discourse analysis (Chapter 7). In the concluding chapter (Chapter 8), I summarize the findings of the study and argue for a radically anti-absolutist foreign language education by introducing a critical pedagogy, which attempts to deconstruct the East vs. West dichotomy.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Without any doubt, early socialization and continuing involvement in kinship networks make a very significant contribution to the ways that people communicate, and research on in-group code-switching has revealed an enormous amount about the ways in which established social groupings negotiate their position in plural societies. But these approaches produce an account of ethnic processes which is undoubtedly incomplete, and they also risk a rather crude cultural determinism. (Rampton, 1995, p. 298)

It is certainly plausible to argue that increasing globalization ... has already encouraged more fluidity of group definition, and less adversarial and more complex group relations and representations. ... But it is probably true that late modernity has, so far, been better theorized than it has been empirically demonstrated. In terms of theory, the risk of over-relativizing social identities is perhaps as significant as the risk of essentializing them. (Coupland, 1999, p. 20)

2.0. Introduction to the Literature

In this chapter, I selectively review the previous studies that are relevant to discursive practices of ‘othering.’ First, I define the term ‘othering’ and present my social constructionist assumptions. I focus on discourse analytic perspectives, both macro-sociological and micro-interactional, in the order of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx), Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), and Conversation Analysis (CA). Then, I review the major findings and assumptions of the New Literacy Studies (NLS). In 2.3, I argue that all of these perspectives can be combined with the theoretical framework of Natural Histories of Discourse (NHD) (Silverstein & Urban, 1996). I use an example to make the case for the initial synthesis of the theoretical perspectives. Finally, I provide some background for CA vs. CDA controversy, which is addressed in Chapter 7 in more detail.

In general theoretical terms, I am concerned with the issue of representations of ‘the other,’ and more specifically with discursive practices of ‘othering’ in the construction of national identities by a particular group of people, who engage(d) in the practice of learning the Japanese language in a university setting. Further, in analyzing situated discourse, not only representations are considered, but also “enactment,” or the positioning of participants at the interactional level, needs to be taken into account (cf. Wortham, 2001).

When considering “representation,” I assume that all representations are semiotically “mediated” (Wertsch, 1998). In other words, there is no ‘neutral’ or transparent access to reality in representing social collectivities, such as national identities of Japanese or Americans through language. Representations through language are, thus, necessarily ‘ideological’ or highly selective and value-laden. For example, Wertsch (1998) discusses the issue of representing the past, and the production and consumption of official history in particular, which involves the use of language in the form of narrative. Wertsch found that American college students’ narratives of the origins of the United States were strongly influenced by the official account of “quest-for-freedom” narrative, whether they were resistant to the account or accepted it (pp. 142-3). The point is that, in principle, there are infinite ways of representing the past through language, while in practice, American college students can tell only certain versions of the origins of the country, which illustrates the ‘ideological’ nature of representation.

‘Othering’ refers to “the process of representing an individual or a social group *to render them* distant, alien or deviant” (Coupland, 1999, p. 5; emphasis in original). For example, Shoko, one of the participants in the interviews, discursively represented Japanese people as ‘deviant’ in the following way: “Japanese people are all about getting education and like doing ... everything in a certain way,” by which she depicts the Japanese life style, and particularly its education, as inflexible or too uniform, when implicitly compared to the U.S. norms (Chapter 4). Among

various semiotic modalities, such as audio (e.g., music) and visual (e.g., picture) representations, I am mainly concerned with representations of national identities by and through linguistic-discursive means, though images on the web or music also become relevant (Chapters 6-7).

To empirically address the discursive practices of ‘othering’ without “over-relativizing social identities [and]...essentializing them” (Coupland, 1999, p. 20), I adopt a set of perspectives and theoretical assumptions. Also, for the purposes of the study, I review a selective range of literature from discourse analytic perspectives, which are generally concerned with, or can be applied to the study of discourses of ‘others.’ Critical considerations of the existing literature lead to the theoretical positions and assumptions, which make it possible to address the issue of representations of ‘the other’ by integrating different paradigms in the actual analyses of situated discourse.

2.1. Social Construction of ‘Others’ from Discourse Analytic Perspectives

As Coupland (1999) points out in his short but informative article entitled, “‘Other’ Representation,” discourse-pragmatic perspectives have been focusing on particular aspects of ‘other’ representation, such as social exclusion and marginalization in racial or ethnic terms. The strategy of “linguistic ‘they-ing’ of ethnic outgroups” (p. 10), in contrast to “linguistic ‘us-ing’ of

ingroups, is an obvious example of social exclusion, on which I focus in the construction of national identities. However, it should be noted that discursive practices of ‘othering’ do not inherently mean social exclusion or what Coupland calls “minoritization” (p.17); ‘othering’ can be mystification or even endowment of respect because it is a strategy of “distancing” (p. 5). In Chapter 3, I show that representations of Japan, and of Japanese, were both relatively positive and negative in constructing Japanese as ‘others’ (cf. Pennycook, 1998, pp. 168-171).

In this study, I focus on the social exclusion type of discursive practices of ‘othering’ in my analyses of national identity construction in the following: interview data containing complaint sequences about Japanese (Chapter 4), construction of ‘them’ Japanese/Oriental vis-à-vis ‘us’ American in situated discourse (Chapter 7), and more complex and contradictory identity construction by Generation 1.5 Japanese (Chapter 5).

As discourse strategies, there are several ways of ‘othering’ a certain group (Coupland, 1999, p. 9ff.): homogenization, pejoration, suppression and silencing, displaying ‘liberalism’ and subverting tolerance, some of which are overlapping. Among the strategies, I found that “homogenization” is a common practice of talking about Japanese as the ‘other.’ For instance, one of the participants in this study states, “Here is another thing I was really surprised about ... how Japanese people communicate or don’t communicate.” This utterance is taken from an interview with Mary (Chapter 4), who makes a categorial statement about Japanese people or homogenizes

the group of Japanese. On the other hand, I do not intend to account for all the possible ‘othering’ strategies, but only focus on explicitly displayed ones. By so doing, I ask what kind of general images of or discourses about Japanese are invoked in the production of situated discourse in socially meaningful activities, such as research interviewing, literacy events, or having lunch at a local Japanese restaurant. On the other hand, however, to be more systematic about the socio-cognitive resources for the participants, I conducted a questionnaire survey to look into the “cultural domains” or “kinship terms, plants, animals, occupations, and so on – anything that could be listed by informants” (Bernard, 1995, p. 239; cf. Fleisher & Harrington, 1998). My focus of the survey is on the cultural domain or images of Japan, Japanese people, and the Japanese language among the JFL students in the upper division (Chapter 3).

In what follows, I take up influential approaches and findings on social construction of ‘the other.’ Specifically, I review the following theoretical approaches: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx), Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), Conversation Analysis (CA), and a synthesis from a linguistic anthropological perspective. I limit the literature to discourse analytic approaches, which is not to imply that social psychology (e.g., Hewstone & Giles, 1997) is irrelevant or unimportant. The research questions I pose (see Chapter 3) are best answered by detailed analyses of situated discourse. Also, some of the approaches reviewed below overlap in that they refer to each other or at times even converge. Thus, I do not intend for these

approaches to be mutually exclusive. For example, the New Literacy Studies (NLS) is one of the areas in which linguistic anthropological approaches and CDA converge, and literacy events of JFL students are one of the focused interactions in the present study (Chapters 6-7). Thus, a review of NLS is placed in 2.2.4. However, CA and CDA have been discussed as if they were incompatible in the literature. I summarize the points of disagreement in 2.4 and attempt to reconcile the two approaches empirically in Chapter 7. Finally, the review is highly selective, covering only a few of the studies in CDA, CALx, IS, and CA that are directly relevant to my focus and provide useful analytic frameworks and concepts for the data analyses in the chapters that follow.

2.2. Approaches to Discursive Practices of ‘Othering’

2.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

I start with a general characterization of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in which three scholars are prominent and regarded as the leading figures (cf. Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Pennycook, 2001, pp.78-94; Luke, 2002, for more comprehensive surveys): Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk, all of whom have their preferred theories and methods. In addition, there are other schools of CDA such as discursive psychology at Loughborough (e.g., Billig, Antaki, and Wetherell). Thus, CDA should not be taken as a monolithic paradigm. Generally,

however, it can be said that CDA is concerned with relations of power and inequality in language, social theoretical explanations of linguistic data, and social interventionism from normative or politically left-leaning perspectives (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). In what follows, I briefly discuss some of the concepts and methods to which I make reference.

First, Fairclough (1992), probably the most influential in CDA, proposes three levels of analysis, which parallels the natural histories of discourse (NHD) approach (see 2.3): (1) discourse as text (1992, pp. 73-78), which is concerned with the referential function of language revealed through close textual analysis; (2) discourse as discursive practice (*ibid.*, pp. 78-86), in which how text is related to its context in terms of speech acts, coherence, and “intertextuality” (or the nature of texts consisting of stretches of historically prior texts); and (3) discourse as social practice (*ibid.*, pp. 86-96), which roughly means larger social structure of power relations, as defined by Althusser and Gramsci (*ibid.*, pp. 37-61). Rather than detailing Fairclough’s overall analytic scheme, I only acknowledge and adopt his notions of “intertextuality” (*ibid.*, pp. 101-136) as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth” (p. 84); and a more specific one of “interdiscursivity” (pp. 124-130), which refers to the intertextuality “between different types of discourse” (p. 47). I elaborate on and utilize these notions with examples, particularly in Chapters 5 and 7.

Second, the topic of national identity construction has been extensively explored by Ruth Wodak and her research associates in Vienna. They are particularly concerned with the discursive construction of national identities and its relevance to racist discourses of anti-Semitism in Austria (e.g., de Cillia et al., 1999; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999). I refer to their work in terms of its discourse-historical method and constructionist assumptions of national identities. For example, de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) draw on multiple methods to collect data not only from official documents from such sources of discourse as the media but also from focus-group discussions or more private talk in order to investigate the reception of public discourses in the ethnographic fieldwork (p. 153), which is not typical in other CDA approaches, mainly focusing on the media discourse. Theoretically, de Cillia et al. assume the context-dependency of national identities or the co-constructed nature of national or ethnic identities in discourse. Partly drawing on their research methods and theory, I refer to Benedict Anderson's (1991) conceptualization of nations as "imagined communities," which I discuss in 2.3, and Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) notion of "habitus" as our emotional and behavioral dispositions inculcated through "national socialization" (1999, p. 153), which is discussed in more detail with examples in Chapter 5. In a similar vein, the discursive psychology group at Loughborough also contributes to the topic of discursive construction of national identities. In particular, Billig's (1995) conceptualization of

“banal nationalism” as mundane, taken-for-granted and forgotten aspects of nationalism should not be missed, and therefore is integrated in my synthesis of theoretical perspectives in 2.3.

Finally, the ‘North American version’ of critical discourse analysis by James Paul Gee (e.g., 1999; 2004) has been influential among educational linguists, particularly due to his contribution to the New Literacy Studies (Gee, 1996, pp. 22-65; see 2.2.4 below). I adopt some of his analytical tools and heuristics. For example, the distinction between “discourse” with a small “d” and “Discourse” with a big “D” is useful to conceptualize a rather vague notion of “discourse(s).” The distinction clarifies the relation between linguistic and non-linguistic components. The following is one of his definitions of “Discourse” with a big “D”:

A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and ‘artifacts’, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’ (Gee, 1996, p. 131).

“Discourse” with a big “D” is crucial for recognizing a certain identity and being recognized as having one, which usually involves “discourse” with a small “d,” defined as “connected stretches of language that make sense” (1996, p. 127). Simply put, “Discourse” with a big “D” is “language

plus 'other stuff'” (Gee, 1999, p. 17) for identity-recognition work. Traditionally “discourse” with a small “d” has been the sole object of investigation in linguistics. Whether we place priority on (small) “discourse” or (big) “Discourse” is a matter of contention: CDA tends to take the latter position of “top-down” approaches (van Dijk, 1993), while micro-discourse analytic paradigms such as conversation analysis start with, or only deal with, “discourse” with a small “d.” Gee himself puts priority on (small) discourse, while his discourse theory engages with social theory. In my data analysis, I adopt his analytic tool of “I-statements” (Gee et al., 2001), and my own application of the tool, namely, “They-statements,” to analyze the interview data in Chapter 5 so as to reveal the discursive construction of self and other identities with particular reference to national identities.

CDA’s major strength is that it looks at the linguistic data, taking into consideration extralinguistic factors by drawing on social theorists such as Giddens, Bourdieu or Foucault, among others (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) in order to make “micro-macro” connections. However, CDA, with particular reference to the version advocated by Norman Fairclough, is not suitable for analyzing face-to-face interaction, mainly because “context” is rather assumed or fixed a priori, which poses the major theoretical and methodological problem of the analyst’s imposition of political bias on the data. The issue is pointed out by Schegloff (1997), among others (see 2.4 below). Linguistic anthropological or ethnographically oriented approaches (e.g., Duranti &

Goodwin, 1992) can make a significant contribution to the dominant “top-down” CDA approaches (Blommaert et al., 2001; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000) by enriching the CDA’s problematic notion of “context.”

2.2.2. Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx)

The field of “critical applied linguistics” (CALx) is recently summarized by its major proponent, Alastair Pennycook (Pennycook, 2001). In what follows, I do not detail all the issues in CALx but summarize two scholars’ work relevant to my concerns: Pennycook (1998) and Ryuko Kubota (1999; 2001). First, Pennycook, in *English and the discourses of colonialism* (1998), analyzes written data mainly taken from official documents in the British colonial period and identifies the colonial dichotomous constructs of the West vs. the East, focusing on India and China (Hong Kong) from a Foucauldian perspective. By “Foucauldian,” Pennycook means that he takes the stance of “avoiding attempts to prove or disprove the truthfulness or falsehood of a particular issue and instead to focus on the ways in which representations of the Other are constructed and remain consistent” (p. 188). Particularly relevant to the present study is Chapter 6, ‘Images of the Other: China and cultural fixity,’ in which how images of China and Chinese students have remained fixed in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) since the British colonial period. Pennycook argues that there are “remarkable continuities between past and present in the

cultural constructs of colonialism” (p. 183). A good example to illustrate the point is Kaplan’s famous ‘cultural thought patterns,’ by which English is represented as a straight line while ‘Oriental’ as circuitous. This construct of the ‘illogical Other’ is inherited from the colonial period. For example, Bateson Wright, a head master of the Central School in Hong Kong, commented on Chinese students at the turn of the century: “the average Chinese student was incapable of sustaining an argument, starting with false premises [*sic*] and cheerfully pursuing a circuitous course to the point he started” (p. 160-161).

Along the same line of thought, Kubota (1999; 2001), who provides a reference point for the present study, analyzes influential public discourses on Japanese from the same Foucauldian perspective as the one adopted by Pennycook. Rather than asking whether certain representations of Japan or Japanese are true or false, Kubota investigates how images of Japanese are discursively constructed in the applied linguistics literature and other public discourses (cf. Pennycook, 1998, p. 188). Kubota (1999) argues that the ‘exotic’ images of Japanese are derived from the colonial dichotomous construct of the East and the West, with tendencies to see the East as fixed or static. Furthermore, the Japanese themselves use the strategy of self-Orientalism (cf. Said, 1978) to make themselves look ‘exotic’ and ‘unique’ in their attempt to counter Western hegemony. However, Kubota points out that the discourses of Japanese as ‘unique’ (commonly known as *Nihonjin-ron* or “Theories on the Japanese”) mainly serve the interests of the Japanese government and large

Japanese corporations, by promoting Japanese nationalism with the ideological constructs of homogeneity or groupism of Japanese (p. 19).

Kubota (2001) develops these ideas and examines how the images of U.S. classrooms are constructed vis-à-vis the images of Japanese classrooms as the ‘other’ in the applied linguistics literature. Kubota argues that these images are constructed via complex and contradictory mixing of the images of negative ‘others’ and positive self in the literature in applied linguistics and other public discourses on educational reforms, which are promoted by revisionists. For example, G. W. Bracey, a revisionist researcher, argues: “the goal of Asian education systems ... is obedience. In Japan it used to be obedience to the emperor; now it is simply obedience to the state and authority in general” (Bracey, quoted in Kubota, 2001, p. 22). Such characterizations of Japanese (re)produce and perpetuate the unequal power relations between the West and the East, which derive from the colonial dichotomies discussed in Pennycook (1998).

Based on the Kubota’s studies (1999; 2001), the present study turns its focus to the reception or “consumption” end of the discourses of Japanese by learners of the Japanese language. In CALx, the study of how colonial dichotomies or images of the ‘other’ are produced in a situated context has been relatively neglected, and the present study is an attempt to fill the gap. The major contribution of CALx, however, is to have opened up a new space in the literature of socio- and applied linguistics by raising socio-politically significant issues and particularly the relevance of

the colonial constructs to the present in the images of ‘the other’ with particular reference to TESOL.

Finally, the limits or underdeveloped aspects of both CDA and CALx are discussed.² First, Pennycook is rather critical of CDA’s “top-down” assumptions by arguing that, “if indeed little attention is paid to either the production or reception of a text, then we are left with little more than a particular reading of a particular text. ... [CDA] is not very illuminating in showing how these [relations of dominance] are taken up, understood, or resisted” (2001, p. 93). Pennycook himself, however, does not closely examine the reception side of discourses in his own work, mainly drawing on the colonial documents as a primary data, though some travel writing and ESL students’ compositions are also used. In this sense, as I just argued above, an exclusively Foucauldian epistemology as used in CALx, and top-down CDA approaches (e.g., Billig, 1995), should be complemented by studies on the reception or “consumption” side of widely-circulating discourses (Wertsch, 1997; 1998). Thus, I examine literacy events as social practices, in which

² For the differences between CDA and CALx, see a brief debate between Fairclough (2003) and Pennycook (2003). In my evaluation, Fairclough (2003) is grounded in the Marxian-materialist traditions, in which there is a place for “ideology critique” from a ‘scientific’ or rationalistic perspective. On the other hand, Pennycook (2003) argues that we cannot go back to “the simple analytic frameworks of the last century,” being critical of CDA’s Marxism. Instead, Pennycook takes a Foucauldian stance of “avoiding attempts to prove or disprove the truthfulness” (1998, p. 188), because, for Pennycook, there is no distinction between ‘science’ and ‘ideology’ or no absolute position of making deterministic statements of the truthfulness of an issue; instead, Pennycook argues that we should study the “truth effects” of discourses (see 2.2.2).

language use is a crucial part of the events. In other words, face-to-face interaction or discourse with a small ‘d’ is the focus of analytic attention in the present study.

2.2.3. Micro-Analytic Traditions: Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and Conversation Analysis (CA)

These two traditions are mainly concerned with face-to-face interaction or discourse with a small “d,” in contrast to CDA and CALx’s focus on public and dominant discourses. First, one important concept in interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is Gumperz’ (1982) notion of “contextualization cues,” as it has proven to be very useful. As I stated above, all representations, including linguistic-discursive ones, are mediated; contextualization cues such as prosody or code-switching signal how a given utterance is to be interpreted. Gumperz applies the idea of contextualization cues to cross-cultural misunderstandings between different ethnic groups in workplaces or institutional contexts because each group tends to use and interpret cues differently, depending on the convention of the socialized group.

In contrast, while situating himself in the same interactional sociolinguistic tradition, Ben Rampton (1995; 2001b) builds on but goes beyond Gumperz’ approach. Rampton’s study on inter-ethnic adolescents’ interactions evidences the possibility of ‘living with difference’ by

demonstrating that these adolescents “enjoy and overcome differences in language or cultural style” (p. 302). Rampton (1995), following McDermott and Gospondinoff, argues:

[S]ociolinguistic studies of miscommunication have tended to overemphasize the determining influence of linguistic and socio-cultural convention. Sometimes, actors in cross-cultural interaction are seen as the prisoners of their communicative inheritances, it is forgotten that many people either enjoy or overcome differences in language or cultural style, and sufficient attention is not always given to the way in which participants can accentuate or play down cultural differences according to their immediate situational needs or purposes. (p. 302)

As specific empirical evidence for his argument, Rampton provides the practice of “language crossing,” which is a sort of code-switching in inter-ethnic communication. Language crossing or just “crossing” refers to “the use of Panjabi by black and white youngsters, the use of Creole by whites and Asians, and the use of ‘stylized Indian English’ or English with strong Indian accents, by all three” (Rampton, 2001b, p. 404). The setting for Rampton’s study was an ethnically mixed neighborhood in the South Midlands of England, and all the adolescents in the study were British-born 11-16 year old. Language crossing, as part of communicative repertoires, may occur when these British adolescents playfully exaggerate the differences in recreational inter-ethnic

interactions, while recognizing the political meanings of these linguistic differences. Notably, crossing can be a form of anti-racism, in contrast to Gumperz' cross-cultural or inter-ethnic miscommunications due to different contextualization cues in institutional settings, which reproduce or reinforce negative stereotyping of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, Rampton (1999; 2002) applies the idea of "crossing" to foreign language education (and in this case, the teaching and learning of German) in England:

[T]he use of an instructed foreign language constitutes a form of 'language crossing' that is affected by processes of institutional design, implementation and assessment ..., and in principle, it should be just as fertile a field for analysis of the social dynamics of *identity negotiation* as crossing into Creole, Panjabi or African American Vernacular English. (1999, p. 481; emphasis mine)

In other words, a foreign language, such as German in England, can be one of the communicative resources for "crossing" or identity negotiation in playful interactions among peers at school, which is directly relevant to the present study. For Anglo-American JLF learners, the Japanese language is an out-group language, which is not considered to be 'their own,' and sometimes, as Rampton points out, the issue of legitimacy comes up. For example, there were occasions during

the data collection for the present study, in which the JFL learners apologized for their errors in Japanese to the researcher/author, who was recognized as a ‘pure’ Japanese, and presumably, the participants perceived their use of Japanese as ‘illegitimate’ in front of an ‘owner’ of the language.

Also relevant to the notion of “contextualization cues” is Goffman’s (1981) analytic concept of “footing.” Inspired by Goffman’s insight, Wortham (1996) developed a technique called “deictic mapping” for the actual analysis of discourse in order to reveal the participants’ footing. Footing refers to “participant’s alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self” (Goffman, 1981, p. 128), which changes during the course of interaction. The relative footing of participants is “the ‘participation framework’ of the interaction at that moment” (Wortham, 1996, p. 332), which can be studied by detailed analysis of face-to-face interaction. More specifically, “deictic mapping” can be represented by drawing “a chart that systematically maps out every shifter used and its referent, for several categories of shifters: personal pronouns, demonstrative, spatial and temporal deictics ... and verb tense” (Wortham, 1996, p. 336). However, as I shall elaborate on in Chapter 5, rather than drawing a chart, I use a figure that visualizes the interactional and the denotational meanings of a given interaction derived from deictic mappings (Wortham, 2001). Based on the Wortham’s technique, I schematize different types of footing at various moments of interaction throughout chapters 4-7.

Finally, I draw upon some analytic notions from Conversation Analysis (CA) to reveal the emergent nature of meaning in interaction (e.g., He, 2003). For instance, in Chapter 4, “complaint sequences” (CSs) (Sacks, 1992; Roulston, 2000) are the main focus, which can be defined as “a discursive unit that depicts a third party’s behavior or conduct as morally reprehensible” (Roulston, 2000, p. 310; Drew, 1998; Boxer, 1993). Further, these CSs are often expressed in Extreme Case Formulations (ECFs) (Pomerantz, 1986), which refer to “descriptions or assessments that deploy extreme expressions such as *every, all, none, best, least, ... perfectly, ... and absolutely,*” which are “identifiable ... as semantically extreme” (Edwards, 2000: 347-349). (For more discussion on the basic assumptions of CA, see section 2.4 on the CA vs. CDA controversy.)

2.2.4. The New Literacy Studies (NLS)

For the present research purposes, I worked with four Anglo-Americans in a non-instructional context, namely, that of studying Japanese in the computer lab. To conceptualize the type of activity they engaged in, I use some analytic tools derived from the New Literacy Studies (NLS) (e.g., Heath, 1983; Street, 1984; Gee, 1996; Collins & Blot, 2003). More specifically, the conceptualizations of literacy as an ‘ideological’ model or literacy as socially embedded practices (Street, 1984) were both relevant and useful in my case study. In what follows, I discuss the ideological model, and review the major findings and limits of NLS.

To elaborate on the ‘ideological’ model initially formulated by Street (1984) and further developed, among others, by Collins (1995; Collins & Blot, 2003), the notion of literacy is conceptualized as social practices that are situated at a particular locus and time among a specific group of people in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), in this case, the practice of studying the Japanese language at a higher institution of learning. Further, the ‘ideological’ model assumes that literacy practices are socio-historically constructed and constrained in institutional circumstances; cross-culturally, specific practices are variable, and transformable by local and situational contingencies. Thus, literacy should be considered to be plural “literacies” (Street, 1993; Collins, 1995; Gee, 1996). The conceptualization of literacy as literacies in the ‘ideological’ model contrasts with and questions the taken-for-granted model of literacy as an ‘autonomous’ process, which narrowly conceptualizes literacy as decontextualized set of ‘skills’ that only relate to reading and writing a standardized national language in print. Based on the ideological model, I closely examine the discourses in literacy events to empirically investigate participants’ literacy practices (Chapters 6-7).

However, there are theoretical limits of the ‘traditional’ situated approaches in NLS, which James Collins points out (1995, pp. 86-87; Collins & Blot, 2003, pp. 65-66; cf. Street, 2003, p. xi) and which we need to go beyond. On the one hand, as the major findings reveal, NLS depicts a relativistic picture of literacy by situating cross-cultural literacy practices in ethnographies, in

which literacy was part of the total communicative repertoires; and, various uses of texts or inscription were intricately intertwined with orality, to varying degrees, in a given community's cultural practices. Thus, NLS argues against simple dichotomies of literacy vs. orality that are associated with the 'Great Divide.' Furthermore, NLS questions cognitive consequences of literacy in the developmental sense and it rejects the social evolutionary views of literacy as bringing about 'progress' or eliminating all the social evils (Street, 1993; Collins, 1995; Gee, 1996).

On the other hand, NLS is not totally exempt from the literacy vs. orality dichotomy, though it situates literacy in broader communicative contexts. More important, it cannot answer the question of why literacy matters. According to Collins, one of the ways to answer this question is that NLS needs to engage with issues of "power" and "identity"; for the purpose, NLS should be augmented by social theory, which connects the 'local' practices to the 'global' issues (Collins & Blot, 2003). In this respect, I mainly draw on Giddens and Appadurai in the analysis of discourses in literacy events (Chapter 6). Further, it is necessary that literacy studies from situated perspectives be historicized to consider the issue of "intertextuality" (Fairclough, 1992; Irvine, 1996; Hanks, 1996). Therefore, by addressing the limits of NLS, in part, I also address the second issue of the study, i.e., reconciliation of CA ('micro' analysis) with CDA ('macro'-sociological analysis) (see 2.4).

Given the background to NLS, what are particularities and distinct concerns of my case study?

The focus of the analysis is on (co-)construction and negotiation of meanings by an ethnically and nationally mixed group made up of the socially dominant or ‘powerful’ white participants and the minority (Asian) and foreign-born researcher. I take the following premise as a heuristic to address the question of why literacy matters: “Literacy may be implicated deeply in the forming of identities and subjectivities” (Collins, 1995, p. 81).

Finally, a cautionary note: I do not take the ‘powerful white’ vs. ‘powerless non-white’ dichotomy as absolute, nor do I conceptualize identity as totally fixed. However, it should be pointed out that there are aspects of identity that are “imposed” (Collins & Blot, 2003, p. 175; also see 4.4), a fact that tends to be underestimated in the conceptualization of identities as multiple and negotiated in discourse. For example, I, as the researcher and one of the participants in the events, cannot possibly pretend to be an “American” and therefore, when the participants talk to me about their own American national identity, I am not “recognized” (Gee, 1996) as one of ‘us’ because of my “Discourses” with a big “D” (see Chapter 7).

2.3. Situating the Study in Perspectives: Theoretical Assumptions and Concepts

For the purposes of this study, I take a discourse-oriented approach that draws on all the relevant approaches and paradigms reviewed, including linguistic anthropology of education (LAE)

(Wortham & Rymes, 2003) in the traditions of linguistic anthropology (LA) (e.g., Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Duranti, 1997; Ochs, 1988; Rampton, 1995; Silverstein & Urban, 1996). Within the field of the second language acquisition (SLA), I follow “social turn” approaches (Block, 2003) and particularly take a “language socialization” perspective (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990) as applied to SLA research (Rymes, 1997) and foreign language acquisition (He, 2003; Kramsch, 1997). By the “social turn” approaches to SLA, I mean a proposal that the field of SLA should be informed by sociolinguistics and sociohistorical approaches with interdisciplinary orientations (Block, 2003, pp. 1-4). Following the language socialization perspective, which places the notion of “culture” at the center, I assume that language and other socio-cultural competence are not developmentally independent but are intertwined with each other so that we acquire both simultaneously. From this perspective, the notion of “culture” can be defined as “a set of socially recognized and organized *practices* and *theories* for acting, feeling, and knowing, along with their *material and institutional products*, associated with membership in a social group” (Ochs, 1996, p. 409; emphasis mine), which directs attention to social practices in the material conditions of the world (cf. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

The main theoretical perspective used for my analysis of the data is the “natural histories of discourse” (NHD) (Silverstein & Urban, 1996) approach. NHD is combined with other “critical” perspectives such as CDA, CALx, cultural studies (e.g., Appadurai, 1990; Hall, 1988/1992; Gilroy,

1992), social theory (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1990; 1991; Foucault, 1972) and critical pedagogy (e.g., Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1992; 1995; Kubota, 2003) in an attempt to apply the findings of discourse analysis to problems in foreign language education in the US context.

Within the framework of NHD, a theory of indexicality (Silverstein, 1976; Ochs, 1990; Rymes, 1996; 2003) plays a major role in the present study. Further, I attempt to extend NLS (e.g., Heath, 1983; Street, 1984; Collins, 1995; Gee, 1996), and utilize the ideas of James Collins (1995; 2001; 2003; Collins & Blot, 2003), who combines NLS with critical approaches to discourse (e.g., Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Gee, 1999).

The concepts that are of particular importance to the study include the “speech event”: In a speech event (Hymes, 1972), such as a *literacy event* or a research interview, by focusing on *indexicality* of utterances, I investigate *entextualization* practices of the participants, mainly in the framework of *natural histories of discourse* (NHD). It is argued that conceptualizations of *nation-states* as *imagined communities* and the ideology of *banal nationalism* are useful at the *metadiscursive* level to interpret the situated discourse in a speech event, though a critical stance toward macro-level studies is required by taking an activities-as-a-basic-unit-of-analysis epistemology.

Following Hymesian notion of “speech event,” Shirley Brice Heath (1982) defines a *literacy event* as “any occasion in which a piece of writing [and any texts are] integral to the nature of

participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (p. 93). For my purposes, I added the phrase "and any texts" to refer to all semiotic modalities in the social-physical environment that are relevant to the participants engaging in a literacy event. Thus, "texts" not only means printed materials such as the Japanese textbooks the participants were using to do homework, but includes such modalities as images on the website and even a human being culturally interpreted by the participants in a situated setting.

The notion of *indexicality* can be defined along the lines with Gee (2004), Rymes (2003) and Wortham (2003): generally, a semiotic sign has the nature of being 'indexical,' rather than purely 'symbolic' or totally decontextualizable (Rymes, 2003). Furthermore, any linguistic sign gets its situated meaning or an "utterance-token" meaning from the context, rather than relatively context-independent "utterance-type" meanings (Levinson, 2000; Gee, 2004). Some linguistic resources such as deictics, are inherently indexical. For instance, the pronoun *we* needs to be assigned particular referents in a particular context of use, and further, in principle, there are infinite possibilities for utterance-token meanings (cf. de Cillia et al., 1999, pp. 164-5). For example, the pronoun *we* can mean "all the people in the United States" or just only two interlocutors "you and me" engaged in face-to-face interaction at the moment, and there are infinite combinations to produce the utterance-token meanings of *we*.

In this connection, NHD (Silverstein & Urban, 1996) becomes relevant, and particularly, its focus on *entextualization* practices places indexicality in the center of analytic attention. Silverstein and Urban (1996, pp. 2-3) characterize NHD as an approach that “focus[es] attention on *contextually contingent semiotic processes* involved in achieving text – and culture. These are recoverable in some measure only by analytically engaging with textual sedimentations. ... [NHD] thus focuses on certain analytic moments in the *entextualizing/co(n)textualizing process*” (emphasis mine). In other words, NHD is concerned with contingencies of an event in order to explicate the dynamic discursive *process* of ‘social reality’ becoming prima facie fixed text, rather than only concerned with the *product* of text, thus the designation of “entextualization.” Simply put, the analytic focus is on “the continuous interplay of text, context, and evaluation from which emerge what we think of as texts” (Collins, 2003, p. 35).

Theoretically, NHD posits three levels of analysis: *denotational*, *indexical-interactional*, and *metadiscursive* or society-wide (cf. Collins, 2001; 2003). I illustrate these levels from an example in my corpus (for more detail, see Chapter 7):

The participants in the following example are: Dan, 19 years old and Ace, 21, are both Anglo-American advanced Japanese language learners at college, taking the sixth semester Japanese language course in the program and Masa, the researcher/author is Japanese. The conversation took place on April, 7th, 2003, in the computer lab of the Japanese language program;

Dan and Ace were studying for a quiz, in front of a computer screen, displaying wacky Japanese T-shirts on the web and the participants' attention was directed to a particular T-shirt, which has *kanji* (Chinese) characters saying “*kichiku-bei-hei*” or “Dirty American Devils” on it, a derogatory term used to refer to American soldiers by Japanese during World War II (the translation is in parentheses and my comments are in double parentheses):

(Excerpt 1)

1. Masa: *Kichiku-bei-hei* T-shirt ((heh heh)) That's funny. *Kichiku-bei-hei*

2. Ace: *Kichiku-bei-hei*

(“Dirty American devil”)

Sessha wa kichiku-bei-hei de gozaru ((in *Ninja* register)) (“I am a dirty American devil”)

3. Dan: What is it? Is that the bad word for American? Is that the word for devil? Is the bad word for American the word for devil too?

4. → Ace: That's like **we** called **them** Japs in **the** war and **they** called **us** *kichiku-bei-hei* or something

Based on the “natural histories of discourse” (NHD) approach, we can identify three levels in line 4 of Excerpt (1), focusing on deictics. At the ‘denotational’ level, the meaning of the pronouns

we/us and *them/they* and the article *the* is unspecifiable: by “we” and “us,” Ace denotes ‘he himself and at least one more,’ who called the third person plural *them Japs*, in ‘*the*’ war, by which Ace presupposes a specific, mutually-understood war; *them* and *they* are co-referents. To interpret these referents as utterance tokens, we need to consider the ‘indexical-interactional’ plane, which requires the contextual information, including not only the co-text or sequential context but also (potentially all) “the material setting, the people present, ... the social relationships of the people involved, and their ethnic, gendered, and sexual identities, as well as cultural, historical, and institutional factors” (Gee, 2004).³

At the indexical-interactional level, we find the discursive practice of dichotomizing *we/us* Americans vs. *they/them* Japanese, along with presumption of a particular war by *the* in line 4, which is an instance of emergent or entextualization practice. Sequentially, Ace responds to Dan’s question about the meaning of the word “*kichiku-bei-hei*” on the T-shirt. By so doing, Ace presupposes aspects of context, i.e., a social history that Ace takes for granted (“Dan and Ace are

³ Gee (2004, pp. 30-32) discusses the “frame problem” caused by potentially infinite amount of information about context. It specifically refers to the thorny issue of interpretation: at the utterance-token level, the meaning of an utterance is always open to a revision, often significantly, by adding a new piece of contextual information; The example under consideration, “we called them Japs in the war and they called us *kichiku-bei-hei* or something,” needs to be re-interpreted with more contextual information (see Chapter 7).

Americans” and “there was a war against Japanese that Dan and Ace mutually know”), and at the same time, entails or creates new contexts, which exclude Masa and project him into the *they/them* Japanese category, while projecting Ace and Dan into the *we/us* American category. In general terms, the indexical nature of utterances presupposes some aspects of context, and simultaneously creates other contexts because language itself becomes part of the contexts; inherently indexical deictics make visible both the presupposing and the entailing nature of utterances (Silverstein, 1976; Rymes, 1996; 2003). Simply put, not only indexicals make some aspects of the existing social relations visible (in this case, nationalities) or “presupposing,” but also the context created by language affects the interaction that follows, thus “entailing.”

It should be noted that in line 4, deictics project the referents into the society-wide ideas and ideologies about nationalities and social histories between the United States and Japan, *above the level of discursive practice* or at the *metadiscursive* level: “[P]ersonal deictics ..., which seemed to have fixed, understandable meanings as elementary shifters, in fact do so only through an intertextual projection at the *metadiscursive* plane” (Silverstein & Urban, 1996, pp. 15-16; emphasis mine). In other words, deictics not only indicate or point to the existing “participant roles” or “footing” (Goffman, 1981; Irvine, 1996) prior to entextualization processes in an event, but also “serve as metadiscursive labels ... that denote the achievement of such role-category

inhabitation as a result of entextualization processes themselves” (p. 6), so that new contexts were created by (4), which will be schematized in Chapter 7.

Further, on the metadiscursive plane, Anderson’s conceptualizations of *nation-states* as “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1991 [1983]) and Billig’s (1995; 1997) developments of the idea are useful for this study. In his classic study on the origin of nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991, pp. 5-7) defines modern nations as imagined, limited and sovereign communities. They are *imagined* “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them”; *limited* “because ... no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind [*sic*]”; *sovereign*, because “nations dream of being free ... The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state,” and they are imagined as a *community*, “because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation, ... the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (p. 7). However, despite the conceptual poverty and incoherence, nation-states are a highly successful and extremely powerful socio-historical construct. “Imagined” does not mean “false,” but “real” so that “over the past two centuries, ... so many millions of people ... [have been] willing to die for such limited imaginings” (p. 7). The most crucial conditions for the origin of national consciousness in Europe were the convergence of “a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications

(print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity,” (p. 43). As a result, European languages took the approximately modern forms by the seventeenth century (p. 44).

A question emerges from the definition above: How are these ideologies of nations (re)produced and maintained? To reproduce the established nations as nations, we need to be reminded of, and at the same time forget, our national identity on a daily basis by various social practices. In other words, there is “a complex dialectic of remembering and forgetting. ... Every nation must have its history, its own collective memory. This remembering is simultaneously a collective forgetting: the nation, which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency” (Billig, 1995, pp. 37-38).

Billig, thus, proposes the notion of “banal nationalism,” as opposed to ‘hot’ versions of nationalism (1995, pp. 43-46), to explain the continual and unmindful reproduction of nations, taking examples from newspaper articles, with particular reference to the United States. By conceptualizing “nationalism” as an ideology “by which the world of nations has come to seem the natural world – as if there could not possibly be a world without nations,” (p. 37), “banal” nationalism, vis-à-vis ‘hot’ versions, refers to the mundane, taken-for-granted aspects of ideologies and habits, which help reproduce established nations as nations or “the continually reproduced locus of consumption... [and] production” (Billig, 1997, p. 489), rather than activities of “consuming nationalism” (Wertsch, 1997). For example, we can think of routine and unnoticed

forms of nationalism such as the U.S. flag “hanging unnoticed on the public building” (p. 8), rather than being consciously and passionately waved, typically during moments of warfare or national celebration. It is argued that the residents of the United States (and perhaps, people in the parts of the world where the dominance of the United States is pervasive) normally forget the Stars-and-Stripes is there because we “see it far too often to feel [great]” (p. 58) or even notice it.

If we look at the example again, it is seen that, without metadiscourses about nationalities, it would be impossible for Ace to map Dan and himself into Americans, and Masa into Japanese in the utterance 4. Thus, it is theoretically required to posit a metadiscursive level in the production of discursive practices. Furthermore, Ace “imagines” and identifies himself not only with Dan but millions of Americans, both synchronically and diachronically, which makes Anderson’s (1991) work relevant. Also, it is inconceivable to assume that Ace suddenly imagined the American community at that moment; as Billig (1995) argues, the United States as a nation needs to be banally and unmindfully reproduced and maintained on a daily basis. Against the background of banal nationalism, the moment of articulating “we Americans” emerges in the activity of Japanese language learning in which Ace is placed in an internationally relational context, is reminded of his nationality, and articulates it when an occasion arises as in the utterance 4 of Excerpt (1).

Having said that, some cautionary notes are in order. Though macro level studies of dominant discourses on nationalism such as Anderson (1991) and Billig (1995) are theoretically valid and

heuristically useful, we need to be always cautious and critical about their validity by interaction-based sociolinguistic standards. At the interactional level, we do not necessarily behave according to the dominant discourses or “language ideologies” (Woolard, 1998). The flexible or indexical nature of language use at the interactional level makes it possible for us to behave against, notice contradictions of, or even ‘make fun of’ dominant ideologies, values, norms or expectations (cf. Bucholtz, 2001). Thus, there are good reasons to take a “bottom-up” or interaction-based approach (Wortham & Rymes, 2003). Rather than taking an exclusively “top-down” stance (cf. van Dijk, 1993; Pennycook, 1998; Kubota, 2001) or only focusing on the locus of production such as the mass media discourse (Billig, 1995), I take socially meaningful “activities” (such as doing homework or dining at a restaurant) as a basic unit of analysis (Levinson, 1992; Goodwin, 1990; Wertsch, 1998), so that I closely examine the reception or “consumption” side of nationalism (Wertsch, 1997) enacted in face-to-face interaction.

2.4. CA vs. CDA Controversy

I address CA vs. CDA controversy (Schegloff, 1997; Wetherell, 1998; Billig & Schegloff, 1999) in Chapter 7 with empirical evidence, in which I argue that CA’s focus on “discourse” with a small “d,” and on emergent meanings in a situated context is relevant to the indexical-interactional plane in the NHD framework; on the other hand, CDA is mainly concerned with the metadiscursive level

or language ideologies. In what follows, I briefly summarize the debate to give some background to the issue.

Schegloff (1997) argues, from a CA perspective, that analysts should not bring their ‘political’ presuppositions into analysis: “[analysis] should at least be compatible with what was demonstrably relevant to ... [the parties] as embodied in their conduct” (p. 183). Specifically, we should make “formal” or text-internal analysis *first*, and base our argument only on explicitly displayed talk-in-interaction by the participants, taking a careful epistemological stance of basically *not* “know[ing] how things work” (Schegloff, 1999, p. 567) in the social world. On the other hand, Wetherell (1998), from a CDA perspective, poses the question of “why this utterance here?” (p. 388) to account for “broader forms of intelligibility” (p. 403) or multiple subject positions constructed and negotiated in discourse. To answer the question of “why this utterance here?” we need a larger social theoretical framework that takes a more inclusive and historical conceptualization of “discourse” (e.g., Laclau and Mouffe, 1987),⁴ than the one proposed by Schegloff. Schegloff cannot (and probably does not intend to) provide an adequate answer to the

⁴ By the term “discourse,” Laclau and Mouffe (1987) mean the totality of “both linguistic and non-linguistic elements” (p. 82). For example, in our building a wall with a workmate, we use both the linguistic “pass me a brick” and the extralinguistic of adding the brick to the wall, both of which constitute “discourse” or “discursive totalities” (ibid.). See a related discussion of “discourse” in Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, pp. 121-126), who argue for retaining the distinction between “discursive” or ‘purely’ linguistic, and “non-discursive” or non-linguistic and material conditions.

question “why this utterance here?” because of CA’s resistance to macro-sociological assumptions and its foundational rejection of a priori sociological categorization (cf. van Dijk, 1999, p. 460).

Furthermore, Michel Billig argues, from a CDA perspective, that Schegloff’s (1997, p. 171) claim of “understanding the target ‘text’ in its own terms” is epistemologically naïve and that close examination of CA’s foundational rhetoric, such as “adjacency pair,” “self-repair,” or even “ordinary conversation,” reveals its implicit ‘ideological’ nature of “participatory rhetoric,” which uncritically presumes participants with equal power in the turn-taking system (Billig, 1999, p. 551ff.). Schegloff, then, counter-argues by contrasting CA’s “discipline” with the alleged epistemological “naïveté,” as well as replacing CDA’s apparent “sophistication” with “self-indulgence” (1999, p. 579).

What can we learn from this rather bitter debate among the distinguished discourse/conversation analysts? Teun A. van Dijk (1999) points out, “this debate should not be framed as a false dichotomy between CDA and CA” (p. 459), and in line with this, I take seriously CA’s rigorous microanalysis of talk-in-interaction, while simultaneously, attempting to connect face-to-face interaction with larger social processes, as is found in Wetherell (1998). One of the keys to accomplishing both can be sought in the notion of ‘indexicality,’ which refers to any semiotic sign getting its meaning from the context of use (Rymes, 2003). By focusing on indexical, i.e., situationally contingent, aspects of language use in general and deictic pronouns (e.g., “we”

and “they”) in particular, I connect a CA-oriented analysis with macro-sociological concerns in a “bottom-up,” or empirically-grounded, way. Further, I ground the connection of ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ levels of analysis in ethnography by focusing on the larger issue of “nationalism.”⁵

⁵ Strauss (2004, p. 163), echoing Hymes (1974) and Duranti (1997), provides a critique of CA for “its singleminded focus on the here-and-now of conversational interchange.” One of the reasons that the debate (1997-1999) between CA and CDA in *Discourse and Society* reached an impasse can be that both sides did not extend the database beyond here-and-now interaction, at least in the debate, though Wetherell (1998, p. 403) argues for the necessity to include historicity in discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meaning which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract himself from his participation in these interactions. (Sapir, 1949, p. 515)

3.0. Introduction

The major purposes of the chapter are: to describe the setting and the participants of the study, with demographic information; to state three major research questions; to present the types of data that are closely examined; and summarize and discuss the results of a free-listing survey I conducted during 2003 –2004. By so doing, I also show a close connection between the theoretical framework of Natural Histories of Discourse (NHD) (2.3) and the methods of the study.

3.1. Setting and Participants

The research on which this study is based was carried out in a Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) program at a higher institution of learning, located in the southeast of the United States

during the period of 2002–4. The project’s main goal was to investigate communicative practices among upper-division JFL students, with a focus on discursive practices of ‘othering’ by using the methodology of discourse analysis, combined with participant-observation, interviews and surveys in ethnographic methods, which involve “prolonged and direct participation in the social life of a community” (Duranti, 1997, p. 85). In the year of 2003, I participated in some of the classroom activities, such as drill sessions, singing Japanese songs with the teacher, and grading homework as a voluntary assistant. I spent most of my class time observing the students’ concerns with, or interests in learning Japanese, while taking notes and sitting at the back of the classroom. The data for detailed analysis, however, comes from tape-recorded interactions between key participants and the researcher.

The JFL students I observed consisted of 23 students in the spring semester, who were in their sixth-semester level course of the program in 2003. In the fall semester in 2003, there were 18 students registered for the seventh-semester level course, which I also observed. Both courses were designed for mid- to advanced-level JFL learners in the department of comparative literature. Demographically, the spring course had eighteen Anglo-American (11 male and 7 female), two Korean (1 male and 1 female), one Chinese (male), one Taiwanese (female), and one Spanish (female) undergraduate students. The fall course had fewer students, because seven students did not sign up for the course, while there were two new students registered: one Anglo-American

female graduate student and one African-American male student. In the fall semester of 2003, I conducted a freelisting questionnaire in a written format with the students who agreed to participate in the exercise (see 3.4). In addition to these JFL students, I interviewed five previous JFL students, selected based on the availability in my networks of the community during the initial phase in 2002. They are: three Anglo-American students (2 female and 1 male) and two heritage language learners (male and female) or “Generation 1.5” Japanese (Chapters 4 and 5).

In the final phase of the study, I also observed the first several classes of the eighth-semester level course in the spring of 2004, which is the uppermost and last course that JFL learners can take in the program. I found two new students: one is a heritage language learner, and the other is a Chinese student, who is a one-year exchange student from a Japanese university. Both of them participated in the questionnaire survey.

I intensively worked with four Anglo-American students (three male and one female), who allowed me to observe their studying Japanese in the computer lab of the program, in which they did homework or studied for quizzes or exams on a regular basis (three times a week for about an hour) before class in the spring semester of 2003 (see Chapters 6-7, for details). All of them had the same experience of living in Japan for two months to study Japanese in an intensive summer course in 2002. One of the participants, Ace, visited Japan twice after his initial two-month stay in Japan. Also I ‘hung out’ with them in and out of school; particularly, we went out to a local

Japanese restaurant for lunch almost every Friday in the spring semester. On several occasions, I was able to informally interview them in 2003-2004. As I stated in Chapter 1, I attempted to demonstrate that it is possible to create social networks with the dominant population of the society, i.e. white middle class Americans, and I successfully did so in the present case study. Working with the key participants, I mainly collected spontaneous speech through participant-observation of the literacy events in the lab and other events, such as conversations during lunch at the restaurant, and tape-recorded interactions when feasible. In the spring of 2004, however, I found that none of them took the last course of the program; three of them planned to graduate with minors in Japanese and only one, Ace, had decided to be a Japanese major; he plans to go to a Japanese university for a year as an exchange student in 2004-2005.

The other major source of the data comes from research interviews with the five interviewees in the initial phase. Also, seven students were selected for interviews from the JFL learners I observed during the period. However, the present study focuses only on the data obtained from the former set of interviews (Chapters 4 and 5). I selected the additional JFL interviewees, mainly based on the relative length of stay in Japan and the presumed intensity of their contact with Japanese people among the learners. I also interviewed those who expressed interest in my research when I spoke with them on various occasions. The data obtained from the additional interviewees is not analyzed, but taken into account later in the discussion sections. At this point, it

is in order to state the research questions in detail, as I based my questions to the participants in the interviews and the questionnaire on them.

3.2. Research Questions

The methods for the present study were devised to answer three major research questions, which can be best investigated by “discourse-centered methods” (Farnell & Graham, 1998), which focus on “the dialogical processes through which persons, social institutions, and cultural knowledge are socially constructed through spoken discourse and other signifying acts/forms of expressive performance” (p. 411). The first research question is: (1) how do JFL students construct identities of and stances toward Japan or Japanese people? To answer this question, I tape-recorded situated interactions, both spontaneous speech and interviews, from particular JFL students and further attempt to answer the following sub-questions: (1a) What are the grammatical and interactional resources by which such identities and stances are constructed? (1b) How are these identities and stances collaboratively achieved? In theoretical terms, these are questions at the denotational and indexical-interactional levels as I reviewed in Chapter 2.

Rather than choosing one exclusive setting for data collection, I recorded interactions in several settings such as research interviews, conversations at a restaurant, small talk before class started, and literacy events for doing homework or studying for quizzes and exams with the researcher.

Also, I conducted a freelisting survey (Fleisher & Harrington, 1998) to systematically investigate the issue of representations.

The second is: (2) how are these constructed identities and stances related to images and discourses that are widely circulating in society? In other words, the question is about language ideologies or “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). The primary data I directly collected is face-to-face interaction, so I do not make claims about comprehensive treatment of the discourses at the ‘meta’ level. However, I address the following sub-questions while analyzing situated discourse: (2a) Are there any significant patterned representations emerging from situated interactions? (2b) Are there any “stereotypes” referenced either implicitly or explicitly? (2c) What are possible sources of these stereotypes? Theoretically, (2a) is an attempt to find “discourse genres” (Hanks, 1987), and (2b) and (2c) are about the issue of “interdiscursivity” (Fairclough, 1992), on which I elaborate in the chapters that follow. To gain insight into these issues, I refer to the relevant literature that focuses on dominant language ideologies in society, particularly to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical applied linguistics (CALx), as we saw in Chapter 2. However, the present study is intended to be complementary to the ‘top-down’ approaches, by examining the data at the level of person-to-person interaction and thus taking a ‘bottom up’ approach.

The third question is about the nature of literacy among Anglo-American Japanese language learners. As I noted in Chapter 2 (see 2.2.4), so far, New Literacy Studies (NLS) does not provide an adequate answer for the question of “why literacy matters?”, which this study addresses by investigating Anglo-Americans’ literacy practices for learning Japanese (Chapter 6). Thus, the third question is: (3) why does literacy for Japanese language learning matter for the Anglo-American participants? To answer this, I set up a more specific question: what kind of resource is Japanese for the participants in their daily concerns? I analyze interactions between the four participants and the researcher/author in the computer lab, in which we studied Japanese together.

3.3. Procedures, Implementation and Corpus

In what follows, I describe the procedures and the implementation of the methods to answer the research questions and summarize the types of data in the end in a table format (Table 3.1).

First, I interviewed five participants at the initial stage to investigate dominant language ideologies and later, added seven more interviewees. Then, in order to collect spontaneous speech, I intensively worked with four Anglo-American participants in literacy events and other settings. Also, retrospectively, I interviewed these key participants, Dan, Ace, Harry and Jane, from whom I had spent collected the spontaneous speech data.

To address the second question of “how are these constructed identities and stances related to images and widely-circulating discourses in the media representations,” I traced possible sources of the discourses that refer to (stereotypical) images of Japanese and Americans or other circulating discourses in society (Chapter 5). Particularly, it is relatively clear that the discourses of wars that (re)produce the dominant values of the society are traceable to the media discourse. Also, in a literacy event, Ace showed me a website that represents (stereotypical) images of Japan, Japanese or U.S.-Japan themes, which were received or “consumed” by the participants in the event (see the analysis in Chapter 7).

The corpus of tape-recorded data consists of ten sixty-minute tapes of interview data and thirteen sixty-minute tapes of spontaneous speech produced by the four key participants and the researcher, which were recorded mainly in literacy events, in the Japanese restaurant or small talk before class. I selectively transcribed the recorded data after listening to all the recorded tapes, taking into account the research questions and the theoretical concerns. I further selected the parts to be analyzed from transcripts, following the theoretical assumptions of natural histories of discourse (NHD) (Silverstein & Urban, 1996). The criteria of the selection are theoretically motivated. That is, by focusing on interactional processes, I attempt to reveal how large social patterns or institutions get invoked, implicitly or explicitly, in specific discursive practices. In

other words, by the analysis of interactions, I show how dominant social patterns are reproduced, transformed or questioned in actual moments of interaction (also see 2.3).

Finally, I make some observations on the “bottom-up” approach or a close analysis of the interactions. I consider the moment of interaction both as “a medium through which the interactional process of socialization and representation of the world takes place” (Schieffelin, 1990, p. 16). In other words, it should be understood that by producing utterances in a situated interaction, the participants simultaneously represent and enact self and other identities, by relating linguistic structures to social norms or expectations (Ochs, 1988, p. 8). For example, in an interview with Marco, Generation 1.5 Japanese, said to the interviewer/author, “We both have to present issues that we’re not gonna start debating about it.” By using the pronoun “we,” Marco enacts the self as Japanese while representing Japanese in a particular way.

In order to investigate “schemata” or “valences,” i.e., “expectations, preferences, [and] norms” (Ochs, 1996, p. 419), I conducted a free-listing survey. I use the notion of “schemata,” which refers to “a conceptual structure which makes possible the identification of objects and events” or “a procedure by which objects or events can be identified on the basis of simplified pattern recognition” (D’Andrade, 1992, p. 28). For examples, when I asked, “List what you imagine when you hear Japanese people” in the survey, 7 respondents out of 15 answered, “polite/well-mannered,” which represents a schema or image of Japanese people.

One of the strengths of the methodologies used in the present study is that I attempt to demonstrate how society-wide images or discourses get invoked in specific discursive practices, which is complementary to statistical surveys but is intended to be more ‘fine-grained’ by situating the images in face-to-face interaction. For example, I found some of the complaint sequences were produced in representing Japan or Japanese in stereotypical or ‘generally accepted’ ways (Chapters 4 and 5). I also discovered one of the recurrent themes in CDA, that is, positive representation of self or the ‘us-good-guys’ vs. negative representation of the ‘other’ or ‘them-bad-guys’ (van Dijk, 1993), which surfaced in a conversation about wars (Chapter 7). On the other hand, the major weaknesses in the methodology used are the necessarily small size and potential non-representativeness of the population I worked with, which makes it difficult to generalize the findings further. For example, the four key participants argue that “everyone” remembered Pearl Harbor attack on the day of 9/11. This relationship should be investigated further to find out how representative or pervasive my participants’ association between Pearl Harbor attack and 9/11 would be in a larger study of “collective memory” (cf. Billig, 1995; Wertsch, 1998). In the present study, I attempted to supplement the small-sized interaction data by conducting a written freelisting survey (3.4).

To conclude the section, I characterize the types/kinds of data that are examined in the section/chapters that follow. In 3.4, I deal with written data derived from a questionnaire survey

and summarize the images of Japan, Japanese people and the Japanese language; In Chapters 4 and 5, I analyze interview data that were collected during the initial phase of the study and focus on three participants, Mary (Anglo-American female), Shoko (Asian-Japanese female) and Marco (Euro-Japanese male). In Chapters 6 and 7, I examine the spoken data collected in the literacy events and a conversation recorded while having lunch at a local Japanese restaurant. Also, in Chapter 7, the spoken data is intertextually related to two CNN articles collected from the website. To summarize the types of data in Chapters 3-7:

Table 3.1: Types of data in the study

Chapters	Types of Data	Methods of Collection
Chapter 3	Written data	Questionnaire survey
Chapters 4 & 5	Spoken data (interviews)	Tape-recorded
Chapter 6	Spoken data (Spontaneous speech)	Tape-recorded
Chapter 7	Spoken data (Spontaneous speech & Written data (News articles))	Tape-recorded & Found on the CNN website

3.4. Freelisting Survey

I conducted a freelisting questionnaire survey, and obtained 13 responses from 18 students in the fall semester of 2003 and 2 responses from the new students in the spring semester of 2004 (15 responses in total). Some students provided only a few words, and five students did not turn in the questionnaire, while one of the respondents, who spent a year in Japan, copied the questions to type out all her long answers. Generally, most of the students were quite cooperative over the course of my fieldwork. However, I infer, from my examination of both the responses to the questionnaire and the students' demographic information, that the difficulties some students experienced in answering the questions were due to the nature of questions, which were most easily answered by students with experience of living in Japan for a relatively long period and/or having direct contact with Japanese people. Thus, students who had never been there seemed to find it very hard to imagine any answers. Of course, there are also personal differences in this regard. As Peltó and Peltó argue, "humans differ in their willingness as well as their capabilities for verbally expressing cultural information" (cited in Briggs, 1986, p. 8).

On the whole, I found it useful to refer to the results of the questionnaire, since it provides general tendencies of the images or representations of Japan or Japanese, whether stereotypically imagined or actually perceived, which are expressed by words, concepts or propositions. The precise meanings of these representations, however, need to be carefully interpreted because of the

indexical nature of language. Terms such as “culture” or “modern” can mean quite different things to each respondent. Even a relatively stable positive concept such as “polite” can have a quite negative meaning in a situated context. Thus, the interpretation of the results of the freelisting survey should be combined with interviews or other interactional data.

In what follows, I summarize the results of the part of the freelisting in which the images of Japan, the Japanese language and Japanese people are asked. The questions in Part I on the questionnaire form are the following:

Answer the following questions in words or phrases (as many as possible). 1. *List what you imagine when you hear Japan*; 2. *List what you imagine when you hear the Japanese language*; 3. *List what you imagine when you hear Japanese people*.

To make the presentation of the results clearer, I classify the answers into different categories, and table them, such as “industry and technology” or “popular culture and art,” focusing on frequently mentioned items and the number of times they are mentioned. I present all the answers for reference in the Appendix. The classification is not intended to mean that there exist clearly bounded categories; some items are hard to classify and could be placed in another category. For example, some terms referring to social practices in “social life and environment” are closely

related to or subsume those in the category of “popular culture and art.” Obviously, pop culture is a kind of social practice. The Japanese language learners I closely worked with often mentioned Japanese pop culture matters in situated discourse (Chapter 6). Therefore, I made a separate entry for “pop culture” to represent the participants’ “emic” or their own views. Also, when two concepts indicated generally the same idea, they were grouped together and counted in one category, as in the case of “elderly” and “seniority,” or synonymous terms such as “hard-working” and “diligent.”

Briefly I make three points on the survey. First, representations of Japan or Japanese are either relatively positive or negative, as revealed in Table 3.4 (a). The image of “polite” is very strong, listed by seven respondents, which usually indexes a positive or favorable trait. However, the image of “polite” can be combined with that of “reticent,” so that, for example, Marco, one of the interviewees, evoked the image of Japanese as “polite” but “incompetent” communicators in his representation of Japanese (Chapter 5). Thus, the utterance-token meanings of “polite” can be negative in some contexts. On the other hand, the images of “sexist” or “childish” can be said to be rather negative, though they might be used to refer to positive traits in some contexts. In sum, generally, the images of Japanese as the ‘other’ can be both relatively positive and negative, though we need to take the contexts of use into account because of the indexical nature of semiotic signs. Second, apart from the issue of positive or negative images, there exists the image of

Japanese as “exotic” and “unique” in Table (3.3.a), which may be related to the images of the language being “difficult” and “poetic,” and frequently mentioned items of the religions of Shintoism and Buddhism, and ‘exotic’ buildings of temples and shrines in Table (3.2.b). And, finally, for some learners, Japanese ‘pop culture’ is prominent. Particularly, animation or *manga* (a kind of cartoon books for adolescents) or *ninja* (a kind of *samurai* with secret missions), who is also a character in *manga* books, attract some learners strongly. These pop culture issues are relevant to my participants (see Chapter 6). Also, J-pop musicians, such as Kimura Takuya, Utada Hikaru, or Morning *Musume* (cf. *musume* means “daughter(s)”) are salient for some learners. There was no one musician, who was referred to by more than two respondents, but the Appendix shows the names of these J-pop musicians (3.1.d). As we will see in Chapter 7, for the key participants, the issue of World War Two became relevant in spontaneous speech, but in the questionnaire, only one respondent mentioned it. This seems to indicate that the war is not a main concern for the majority of learners vis-à-vis the way the questions were framed. Interestingly and ironically, the one that listed World War Two is a heritage language learner with dual nationalities (Japanese and American), who took the upper-most course in the spring of 2004.

Table 3.2: “List what you imagine when you hear Japan”

Categories	Items/Concepts	Number of mention	Notes
(a) Industry & Technology	High technology Sony	3 2	Including “technology”; “technological giant”
(b) Religion	Temples Shrines Shinto/Shintoism Buddhist/Buddhism	5 3 3 2	
(c) Social Life & Environment	Crowded Small Lots of/ huge mass of people Buildings Rice fields Sushi Tea <i>Onsen</i> (Hot springs) Trains Kyoto Elderly Regimented-education	4 4 3 3 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 2	Including “crowded country/towns/beaches/subways”; “Buildings” is modified by “huge-high rising” or “tightly-packed”; “Elderly” is abstracted from “respect for the elderly” and “the seniority system”; “Regimented education” includes “misdirected children”
(d) Popular Culture & Art	<i>Animation</i> and <i>manga</i> Karaoke <i>Samurai/ninja</i> <i>Pop music</i>	3 3 3 2	<u><i>Manga</i> is a kind of cartoon books for adolescents; <i>Ninja</i> is a kind of <i>samurai</i> with secret missions</u> (Cf. Chapter 6)
(e) Geography	Islands	4	Including “four islands”; “archipelago”

Table 3.3: “List what you imagine when you hear the Japanese language”

Categories	Items/Concepts	Number of Mention	Notes
(a) Language (Metalinguistic commentary)	Difficult Exotic/Unique Poetic/ Musical	4 3 3	“Difficult” refers to the mastery of the language; “poetic” is referred to with <i>haiku</i> or <i>tanka</i> (Japanese style poems)
(b) Religion	Temple & shrine	2	Cf. Table 3.2 (b)
(c) Social Life & Environment	(No repeated item)	(no repeated item)	
(d) Popular Culture & Art	<i>Samurai</i> Japanese books (textbooks, newspapers, magazines, comic books or <i>manga</i>)	4 4	Cf. Table 3.2 (d)

Table 3.4: “List what you imagine when you hear Japanese people”

Categories	Items/ Concepts	Number of Mention	Notes
(a) Commentary about the people	Polite/well-mannered Kind/nice/friendly Hard-working/diligent Busy Respectful Reticent Childish/childlike Hidden Meaning Sexist Short(er)	7 4 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	“Hidden meaning” refers to “saying the opposite of what they feel”; “sexist” refers to “clearly defined sexual roles”; other related items: “hierarchical” “conservative” and “conformist”
(b) Social Life & Environment	Middle-aged office workers	2	
(c) Popular Culture & Art	(No repeated items)	(No repeated items)	E.g., Unique fashion in a certain area of Tokyo
(d) Personal Feelings	(No repeated items)	(No repeated items)	E.g., “Why can’t I understand them, one day hopefully I will”

3.5. Appendix

Other Answers: Infrequently Mentioned Items (Only Once)

Notes: Translations or explanations are provided in parentheses, if answered in Japanese and/or culture-specific ideas, practices or materials are listed.

3.5.1. “List what you imagine when you hear Japan”

(1a) **Industry and Technology:** industrial, a powerful economic giant, communication, movement, neon lights; TVs, cars; *Shinkansen* (“bullet train”), excellent public transportation, minidisks, Japanese companies

(1b) **Religion:** *Zenkoji* (name of temple), *Kompira-san* (name of temple)

(1c) **Social Life and Environment:** images from a train, mountain in the background; mysterious but modern; order; efficiency; snow covered mountains; colorful clothing; forests; reverence for nature but few actual places; a concrete environment; *chikan* (dirty-old man touching women in public places, such as movie theaters or in a crowded train); *washlets* (high-tech toilet equipment); cleanliness; excessive wrapping paper; elevator girls; beer gardens; *omiyage* (“souvenir”); vending machines; convenience stores; *ume onigiri* (“rice ball with plum in it”); canned “milk tea”; winter in Nagano; summer festivals; ferry rides; sailor uniforms (for high school girls); students in white safety helmets; *mamachari* (a particular style of bike); the hassle of sorting

garbage; the smell of burning garbage; extreme temperatures; *kotatsu and mikan* (Japanese oranges on a traditional-style Japanese table); nonsensical English everywhere; little packets of tissue paper; *keitai denwa* (“[high-tech] cell phones”); traffic lights that play music; *pachinko* (Japanese Casino game [center]); swordsman; *geisha*; *gion*; whaling industry; paper lanterns; *yakitori*; frequent national holidays; Tokyo tower; Anna Miller’s; *tatami* floors; futons; rice cookers; the rainy season.; drunk[en] businessmen; “OLs” (women office workers) wearing designer clothes they cannot afford because their friends do the same; diverse landscapes (city, mountains, ocean); bar; food; powerful; masculine society; scenery

(1d) **Pop Culture and Art:** Kimura Takuya (Celebrity’s name); Utada Hikaru (Celebrity’s name); Asakura (Celebrity’s name); Morning Musume (name of a young girl-singers group); woodblock prints; cute culture; *kimono*; video games; square watermelons; mascots; Hello Kitty; bad fashion; art (aesthetic vs. martial)

(1e) **Geography and miscellaneous:** a long distance; actual map of the country; World War II; Japanese flag

3.5.2. “List what you imagine when you hear the Japanese language”

(2a) **Language (Metalinguistic Commentary):**

Simple language but complex meaning; gentle; keigo, *gitaigo* and *giongo* (kinds of onomatopoeia); English loanwords that have since lost their original meanings; evenly-paced; polysyllabic

(2d) Popular Culture and Art:

Favorite Japanese songs; TV programs; honor; Japanese novelists; calligraphy

(2e) Personal Feelings:

History; (when foreigners talking in Japanese) jealous (if they speak well), stupid (if not); back in Japan; busy listening to the speakers; first made no sense but don't notice a difference much; someone Japanese talking;

3.5.3. List what you imagine when you hear Japanese people

(3a) Commentary about the People:

conscientious; preoccupied with safety; highly indulgent of young children; naïve; technologically advanced; a mix between new world values and ancient traditions; intelligent people, interested in other cultures and new things; *uwasa* (gossiping); stressful; accept fate easily; funny

CHAPTER 4 DISCURSIVE PRACTICE OF COMPLAINING

4.0. Abstract

This chapter examines and compares interview data by Japanese language learners in a U.S. institutional setting. Specifically, I reconsider “complaint sequences” (Roulston, 2000) in research interviews from a conversation analytic perspective combined with ethnographic methods. Past studies indicate that in research interviews, complaining about a non-present third party is a “category-generated” activity in which an informant and a researcher share a co-membership category and the researcher tends to become a recipient of complaints if s/he shares co-categorical incumbency. However, as a researcher, I found that I became a recipient of complaints even though the participants and I seemingly differ in terms of gender, ‘race’ or ethnicity, and/or nationality. I argue that rather than assuming these larger categories, participants treat the researcher as a person (presumably) having extensive knowledge about the topics they are complaining about. Methodologically, follow-up interviews are found to be effective to reveal the language ideologies of the participants more clearly by prompting reformulations of “unsafe” complaints (Sacks, 1992).

4.1. Introduction

In the previous literature, the activity of complaining about a third party not present at the time of face-to-face interaction has been recognized as a “category-generated” activity (e.g., Turner, 1995)

in which two interlocutors share a co-membership category and complaining accomplishes rapport between them. However, Roulston (2000) and Roulston et al. (2001) found that complaining does not necessarily accomplish rapport between an interviewer and an interviewee in a research interview setting. Also, Roulston (2000) found that an interviewer tends to become a recipient of complaints if s/he “knows too much” or has extensive knowledge about the topic(s) about which an interviewee is complaining. In this study, I support Roulston’s (2000) argument for the “interviewer-knowing-too-much” interpretation from a different research interview setting, i.e., “crosstalk” interviews (cf. Gumperz, 1982). However, I problematize the traditionally accepted aspect of complaining as a “category-generated” activity by considering interview data from the initial stage of the project. For the purpose of the discussion, I define a “complaint sequence” as a discursive unit that depicts a non-present third party’s behavior or conduct as morally reprehensible (Roulston, 2000, p. 310; Drew, 1998; Boxer, 1993), thus discursively constructing specific groups of people as “others.” In an explicit form, the phenomenon of “othering” is linguistically realized as “they” as opposed to “we” in the pronominal usage (see Chapter 2). More specifically, in this study, the object of complaints, i.e., Japan/Japanese, is depicted as “others.” Finally, I discuss methodological implications for further studies on crosstalk in general and research interviewing in particular.

4.2. Research Questions with Reference to Management of Complaint Sequences

As defined in section 4.1, complaint sequences (henceforth, CSs) are depictions about the third party not present at the time of face-to-face interaction. In this connection, Sacks (1992, pp. 599-600) proposes “safe” and “unsafe” complaints as analytic concepts, and further developments by Roulston (2000) and Roulston et al. (2001) in research interview settings are a particularly

useful starting point on the studies of CSs. According to Sacks, “safe” complaints are ones that are “formulated as such a thing as any member of that *category* could say about the *other*” (1992, pp. 599-600; emphasis mine). In the present context, however, interesting questions emerge: do participants who do *not* share the same *categories* with the Japanese male interviewer in terms of gender, ethnicity and/or nationality generate CSs about Japan/Japanese people? Alternatively, do participants who share the *category* of ‘Japanese’ with the interviewer produce CSs about Japan/Japanese people as *others*? If so, what are the conditions for the production of CSs, taking account of social complexities? Methodologically, to reveal their stances or attitudes toward Japan/Japanese more clearly, I ask for clarifications or even explicitly challenge their “unsafe” CSs from the researcher’s perspective when I interview them for the second time. I discuss the results of the reformulations in 4.4.3.

4.3. Methodology

The data were tape-recorded in informal open-ended interviews conducted in English with volunteer participants of previous and present Japanese language learners in a U.S. institutional setting. The questions centered around their experiences in Japan and their images of Japan/Japanese people. All of them were advanced learners of Japanese (as a foreign language), and all of them had from two months to three years (non-heritage learners) and up to eight years (heritage learners) of experience of living in Japan. Notably, two of them were heritage language learners (cf. He, 2003) or ‘native speakers’ of Japanese in the traditional sense, which is apparently paradoxical if we assume “the essentialist symmetries between language, culture, and nation that we continue to take for granted” (Luke, 2002, p. 108), but may not be surprising if we only take a cursory look at the situations of (especially East Asian) foreign language programs in the U.S.

context. In this study, I use the phrase “Generation 1.5 Japanese” for these heritage language learners to specifically refer to speakers of the Japanese language by birth who have been losing it with the increasing or almost exclusive use of English, as a result of immigration to the United States at their early life stage⁶ (cf. Harklau, 1999; Harklau et al., 1999).

4.4. Participants and Data Analysis

4.4.1. The Participants and Complaint Sequences (CSs)

I summarize the profiles of the participants and the degree and relative amount of CSs recorded when I interviewed them for the first time (Table 4.1). Shoko and Mary could have been interviewed in Japanese, but both of them speak English much more fluently than Japanese, so the code was decided based on the relative ease of interviewing in English. As a frame of reference, I classify them in terms of gender, ethnicity and nationality as well as relative degree/amount of CSs.⁷ I present and discuss part of the transcribed data from two “intense complainers” (Shoko and Mary), who were asked to reformulate their CSs or challenged by the interviewer in the follow-up interviews.

⁶ In the spring of 2004, I found another heritage learner, Yuko, and interviewed her. She was born in the United States, but attended both a local school and a Japanese heritage school before college. Thus, she speaks both languages relatively fluently, though she feels more comfortable speaking and writing in English. She may not be called “Generation 1.5 Japanese” because she has dual nationalities.

⁷ The degree of CSs is judged based on whether each data set includes expressions that index strong epistemic/affective stances (Ochs, 1996), such as “no one,” “sick and tired” or “never ever” to describe Japan/Japanese people; the amount is qualitatively judged based on how much of the interview data is about negative depictions of Japan/Japanese as well as overall themes of the stories. Also, all the names are pseudonyms, though their names are represented “factually” with reference to the associated “origins” (e.g., Shoko retains a Japanese name).

Table 4.1: Profiles of the participants

Names of Participants	<u>Shoko</u>	<u>Mary</u>	Marco	Sean	Erica
<i>Gender</i>	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female
<i>Ethnicity</i>	Asian	Anglo	Anglo-Asian	Anglo	Anglo
<i>Nationality (Legal Status)</i>	Japanese	American	Japanese	American	American
<i>Degree/ Amount of CSs</i>	Intense/ Abundant	Intense/ Abundant	Intense/ Abundant	Mild/ A Few	Mild/ Very Little

As can be seen, intense complainers are cross-gender (Shoko and Mary), cross-national (Mary), and cross-ethnic (Marco and Mary) participants vis-à-vis the interviewer (male, Asian, Japanese), according to the categorization frame. Consequently, the generation of CSs vis-à-vis diverse configurations of crossings forces us to question the accepted explanation of CSs as a category-generated activity. To answer the first two research questions, Mary, who does not share any categories with the researcher, and Shoko, who does share the ethnic/national category of Japanese, both produced CSs, depicting Japanese as ‘others’ (see Chapter 5 for Marco’s case). Now I examine their CSs in detail.

4.4.2. Data Analysis

First I turn to the data from Shoko, Generation 1.5 Japanese, who answers my question “What are your images of Japan or Japanese?” Her response follows her autobiographical narrative on her school experiences in Japan and the U.S. The interview was conducted in the living room of her apartment, while one of her roommates was in the kitchen:

Excerpt (1) Shoko: “*They just look on the ground and walk*”

1. Shoko: well uh I think Japanese people are all about getting education
and like doing like doing everything in a certain way
2. but here American people they just do what like go with the flow kind of thing and like if
you someone’s behind in school then they like ah wait for them until they understand
everything before they go on
3. whereas in Japan uh they just if you don’t someone doesn’t
understand something then they just leave them and like
4. Masa: nobody cares?
5. Shoko: [no one cares that’s why I didn’t do well in school because I
didn’t understand something then my the teacher really didn’t
help me because you know whatever just a kid so who cares but
here it is like ((*talking to her roommate?*)) extra help after school and yeah they are more
caring I guess and uh I think here I think and then American people in general I guess
like living here in in a southern state I think they have they are all really nice=
6. Masa: = nice?
7. Shoko: yeah supportive and like they all smile like if I go down the street then they say hey
you know wave whatever but in Japan if you =
8. Masa: = right nobody greets you?
9. Shoko: [no one no one looks at you no one they just look on the ground
and walk so I think () that’s a big difference
10. Masa: [(heh heh heh) that’s true that’s true

Shoko’s CSs are characterized by contrast structures in terms of *Japanese people vs. American people* (lines 1-2; 2-3; line 5; lines 7 and 9), Extreme Case Formulations (ECFs) (Pomerantz,

1986), such as *all*, *everything*, and *no one*, (lines 1, 2, 5, 7, 9), unqualified statements (Edwards, 2000) such as *Japanese people are ...* (lines 1 and 2), and repetition, *no one, no one* (line 9). More specifically, in lines 1 and 2, unqualified statements are contrasted: “Japanese people are” (line 1) is contrasted with “American people they just do ...” (line 2); in these statements, ECFs (*all* and *everything*) are embedded to highlight the contrast: “Japanese people are *all* ... doing *everything* in a certain way” (line 1) is contrasted with the statement about American schools, “they ... wait for them until they understand *everything*...” (line 2), which is contrasted again with line 3 (“whereas in Japan ...”). After a sentence-completion with an ECF by the interviewer (“*nobody* cares?”) in line 4, Shoko uses the synonymous ECF in line 5 (“*no one* cares”) and ends her turn with another ECF *all* (“they ... are *all* nice”) to characterize southern Americans. To the researcher’s clarification request in line 6 (“nice?”), Shoko uses the same ECF *all* to characterize southern Americans (“they *all* smile”), which is contrasted with Japanese people’s apathetic public behavior in line 9 with repetition of an ECF three times (“*no one no one* looks at you *no one* they just look on the ground and walk”), which functions as an intensifier.

It should be pointed out that the CSs generated by Shoko have emergent meanings in the situated context. For example, the ECFs (*everything*, *all*) to characterize Americans are used to describe them in a positive way, while the same ECFs to describe Japanese as “others” have negative evaluative overtones. In addition, the typical “othering” pronoun *they* is used to refer to both Americans and Japanese, which indicates her ambiguous national identity. Further, these conversational devices are used *in combination* to produce recurrent themes of her CSs. However, it should not be overlooked that I (the interviewer) co-construct the CSs and display complicity (Roulston, 2000, p. 327) with Shoko, as is explicitly displayed in lines 4 (“*nobody* cares?”), 8

(“right nobody greets you?”) and 10 (“that’s true that’s true” while laughing). This co-construction is what indicates “emergence.”

Another participant, Mary, who is an Anglo female college student and has been to Japan five times, for three years in total, also generated CSs about Japanese/Japan, which presents counter-evidence to the past studies on CSs as a category-generated activity. The interview was conducted in a local restaurant. To my question “Are there any things that surprised you when you were in Japan?” she provides the following:

Excerpt (2) Mary: “*I never wanted to go to Japan ever again*”

1. Mary: () here is another thing I was really surprised about like um how Japanese people communicate or don’t communicate
2. Masa: oh I see
3. Mary: but um like Japanese people kind of expect you to to understand how they feel () like they don’t really you know express their emotions
((several turns later))
4. Mary: but um still it made me feel really bad to think that they had thought that I was really selfish the whole time and I didn’t know but um that after that I never wanted to go to Japan ever again (heh heh heh)

Mary recurrently tells of the “communication problems” she faced with Japanese people. Specifically, it was the ‘traditional’ Japanese families with whom she stayed, as opposed to ‘Americanized’ families,⁸ that caused the problems and made her indignant: “I never wanted to go to Japan ever again” (line 4), which can be characterized as an intense CS because of the ECF

⁸ I use single quotation marks to indicate my bracketed or skeptical stance, for example, toward Mary’s distinction between ‘traditional’ and ‘Americanized’ Japanese families, on which Mary elaborates in the Excerpt (5) below and I make further analysis.

(*never ... ever again*). The Excerpt (2) presented above is about ‘traditional’ families she stayed with when she visited Japan for the second time. Her unqualified description of Japanese in lines 1 and 3, as in “how Japanese people communicate or don’t communicate” and “Japanese people kind of expect you to understand how they feel,” respectively, logically implies “all the Japanese people” (Edwards, 2000), which is susceptible to easy refutation or challenge, like ECFs. Thus, in line 3, she mitigates or hedges her statement by using *kind of* and *really you know*. Here, again, I am complicit with Mary in her generation of CSs, as can be seen in line 2 (“Oh I see”), to which Mary responds by elaborating her complaints. As language ideologies, we see that Mary appeals to widespread stereotypes of Japanese as incompetent communicators (see Chapter 5).

4.4.3. Reformulations and Management of “Unsafe” CSs

After the initial interviewing, I conducted follow-up interviews with three participants (Shoko, Mary and Marco) to have them clarify some significant points or challenge their “unsafe” CSs. Specifically, their ECFs, dichotomous contrast structures or unqualified generalizing statements can be easily challenged since the CSs formulated with these rhetorical strategies are quite unreasonable if taken “literally” (Edwards, 2000). Also, the subsequent examination of the data made it possible for me to go beyond some of the “limits of metapragmatic awareness” (Silverstein, 2001) during the speech event of the first-time interviewing with “reflexive capacity of language” (Lucy, 1993). The participants, who were not wholly conscious of their language use during the interviews, were also prompted to talk more explicitly about their previous statements. Thus, Shoko and I went over the Excerpt (1) together and started to discuss the story she had told in the previous interview. In the Excerpt (3), I challenge her statement from the previous interview that “no one greets you” in Japan, by pointing out that people may greet her if she goes to a rural part of Japan and by using the ECF “no one greets you if you go to New York.” Shoko accepts my point by

saying “oh yeah,” “right” or “true.” However, in the Excerpt (3) below, Shoko expresses her emotional commitment toward (southern) Americans:

Excerpt (3) Shoko: “*I think I just feel more hospitality towards people born here*”

1. Masa: but do you still think this is true? I don’t mean to () (heh heh heh)

challenge you or question you

2. Shoko: well I do *think I feel* that way uh =

3. Masa: = why

4. Shoko: well I think I just feel more hospi- hospitality towards people born

here when I am here rather than in Japan, I guess (.) I have been well

I have been in the US longer than I have been in Japan

Shoko again sticks to the Japan-U.S. contrast structure (line 4) to express her emotional investment in or commitment to Americans while mitigating her argument by saying, “*I think I just feel more hospitality towards people born here*” (lines 2, 4), which indicates a weaker epistemic stance than the strong one in the last interview, characterized by ECFs. From this follow-up interview, we can see that her stance toward (southern) Americans and her critical attitude toward Japanese are expressed by ECFs, contrast structures and repetition in the previous interview, and her use of ECFs is not meant to be “factual” but indicative of her stances toward both Americans and Japanese (cf. Edwards, 2000).

Later in this follow-up interview, Shoko elaborates on her self-identification in terms of her perception of nationality (see Chapter 5 for more detail):

Excerpt (4) Shoko: “*I never say that I am American because I am not*”

1. Masa: or how do you interpret your nationality like () speaking your Japanese right?
2. Shoko: I always say that I am Japanese never American
3. Masa: to your friends?
4. Shoko: yes to anyone =
5. Masa: = but or really? In the interview you said you see yourself as American
6. Shoko: I may see myself as American but I never say that I am I don't think I am
7. I think myself as Japanese maybe I am (.) Americanized but I never say that I am American
8. because I am not

In the previous interview, Shoko narrated that “I see myself as one of Americans,” which made me curious about her perception of national identity. So, in line 1, I asked Shoko for clarification in this respect. The argument is that her identity as American is something Shoko herself may perceive, but not something that she displays to other people with an ECF *anyone* (line 4). In lines 7-8, Shoko enacts herself as “Americanized” but “not American,” which is consonant with her pronominal use *they* to refer to both Americans and Japanese in the previous interview. In this excerpt, however, her pronoun shifted to *I* in combination with ECFs *always* (line 2) and *never* (lines 6 and 7) to deny that she is a “real” American, which allows a more subtle construction of self and national identity, rather than generally talking about “Americans” or “Japanese people” by *they* (see Excerpt 1 above).

The meaning of “American” and “Japanese” is also one of the focuses in the follow-up interview with Mary. After talking about the Japanese families with whom she closely associated, as opposed to ‘traditional’ families, which caused “communication problems,” Mary answers my question “Are they more exceptional?”:

Excerpt (5) Mary: “*She is more American than I was*”

1. Mary: uh people that actually people that I became closer to weren't traditional Japanese people
2. it didn't it didn't seem like=
3. Masa: =they don't they don't cause communication problems o.k.
4. Mary: right right

After line 4, Mary starts to talk about her ‘non-traditional’ Japanese host mother and goes on, “She is strange for a Japanese woman. She could not eat sushi, she ate a lot of American food, she hated raw fish. She is really strange.” Mary’s implicit argument is that the ‘Americanized’ host mother does not cause communication problems because she adopted ‘American’ practices, such as not eating raw fish, as opposed to the ‘traditional’ families who caused communication problems. To characterize her ‘non-traditional’ host mother, Mary says, “She is exceptional. I think she is more American than I was.”

In these follow-up interviews, I focused on indexical aspects of language use, not assuming that there is a one-to-one correspondence between an expression and its meaning (Duranti, 1997, p. 43). Thus, my questions focused on the meaning of indefinite pronouns such as “no one” or even apparently neutral terms such as “Japanese” or “Americans” used in their CSs. By prompting

reformulations of these terms, I revealed the stances or attitudes of Shoko and Mary more clearly by engaging them in metalinguistic activities.

4.5. Discussion

Based on the data analysis, I discuss one of the research questions, “What are the conditions for the production of CSs?” I argue that the underlying conditions in this research setting are that an interviewee produces CSs if s/he perceives that the interviewer knows about the topics of complaint. The CSs are marked by the use of “othering” conversational strategies such as ECFs, rather than requiring that interviewer and interviewee share a co-categorical incumbency. How then can we explain the past studies on CSs (e.g., Turner, 1995; Roulston, 2000; Boxer, 1993) as well as the present data if complaining is not a category-generated activity?

In this respect, Tannen’s (1999) multidimensional model explains the present data as well as past studies by providing a more dynamic view. Tannen represents power-solidarity relationships with a quadrant chart: the power or status (hierarchy vs. equality) and the solidarity or connection (closeness vs. distance) dimensions. From this perspective, research interviewing is framed as a hierarchy- and distance-oriented speech event with the researcher having more power because of the asymmetrical interaction norms (figure 1.1), which are observed in Excerpts (3) and (4). However, the speech event can be turned into an equality- and closeness-generating one with the use of “othering” CSs if the interviewer aligns himself with the interviewee (figure 1.2), as we saw in Excerpts (1), (2) and (5). Thus, I support Tannen’s argument that “linguistic strategies are both ambiguous and polysemous in exhibiting status and connection in interaction” (1999, p. 228), which can be subsumed under the Indexicality Principle (Ochs, 1996, p. 411). In sum, the act of complaining with the strategy of “othering” in the present context is seen as either a

“category-generating” activity to invite the interviewer to align himself with the interviewee, or a “category-generated” one if the interviewer does not align himself with the interviewee in interaction:

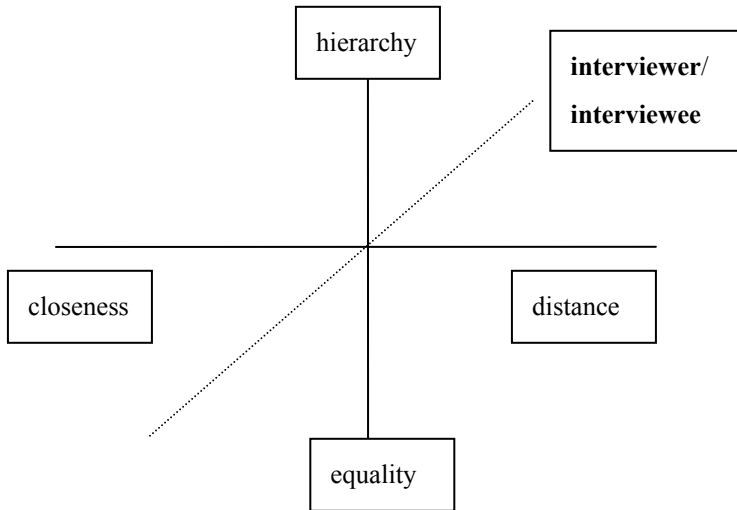


Figure 4.1: Interviewing as a category-generated activity (adopted and adapted from Tannen (1999))

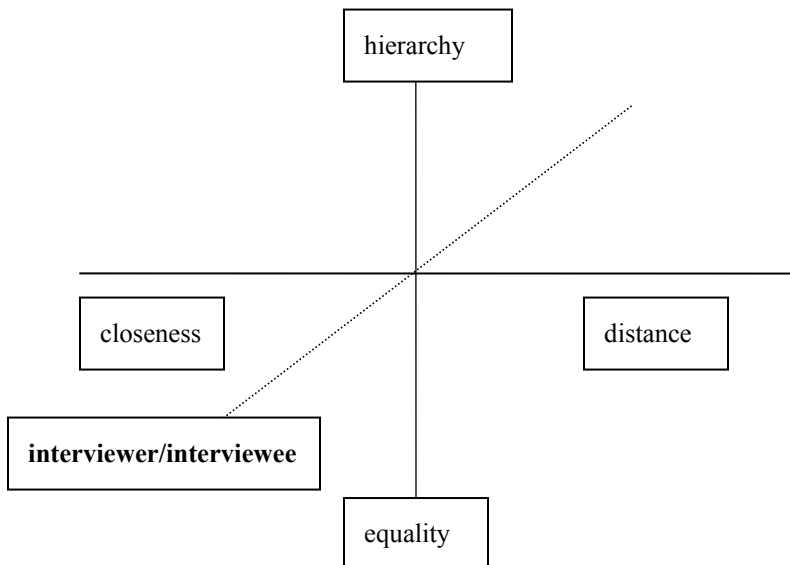


Figure 4.2: Interviewing as a category-generating activity (adopted and adapted from Tannen (1999))

4.6. Concluding Remarks and Implications for Further Studies

I conclude that complaining is not necessarily a “category-generated” activity in a crosstalk research interview setting but is an activity of an interviewee talking about the problems to an interviewer presumably knowing well about their problematic experiences in an on-going interactional negotiation. The linguistic strategy of “othering” in CSs is both ambiguous and polysemous in interaction (Tannen, 1999) and Tannen’s multidimensional model provides a dynamic view of the phenomenon. This conclusion resonates with some linguistic anthropologists, who argue that identities are co-constructed, that some aspects of identities become relevant and emergent in unfolding interaction (Rymes, 2001) and that the role of an interviewer is crucial in that s/he actively works as “co-author” (Duranti, 1986).

From a methodological point of view, follow-up interviews are found to be effective to reveal the ideologies of participants. Following linguistic anthropological traditions (Lucy, 1993; Briggs, 1986; Silverstein, 2001), I argue that an interview as a speech event foregrounds “unavoidably referential, surface segmentable, and relatively presupposing” aspects of language use (Silverstein, 2001, p. 385ff.), which are readily accessible to our consciousness, in spite of the highly indexical nature of interview discourse (Briggs, 1986, p. 115ff.). However, by engaging in metalinguistic interviewing, we can get closer access to some of the limits of metapragmatic awareness that are not accessible at the time of first-time interviewing. The ideologies of participants are made clearer by asking about the indexical, rather than the purely referential, aspects of language use, such as the meanings of *Japanese*, *Americans*, or ECFs such as *no one* in the situated context of research interviewing (cf. Briggs, 1986, pp. 42-43).

Another implication is the necessity to recognize both the advantages and limits of researcher identity for data collection because of the unavoidable co-construction of interview data. In other

words, my relatively fixed identity is both facilitating and constraining to produce certain kinds of CSs in the research interview settings. Certain aspects of my identity are facilitating in that I successfully co-produced CSs from the particular groups of people: the participants seem to expect that I had the ‘same’ experiences, or at least that I understand what they are complaining about. However, my other aspects of identity are constraining. Specifically, the relatively fixed aspects of my identity, such as the fact that I am male or that I speak English with an ‘accent’ (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997) may have prohibited the participants from producing other kinds of data to investigate discursive practices of ‘othering.’

More generally, by focusing on perhaps rather exceptional or spectacular cases, such as Generation 1.5 Japanese and a fluent Anglo-American speaker of Japanese, Mary, I question one of the fundamental methodological assumptions of a priori assigning given and static identities of participants in social scientific research (cf. Ochs, 1993). Am I misled by exceptional cases? The answer depends on our research goals and theoretical assumptions. However, for this project, Generation 1.5 participants are not only an ‘interesting’ type of people because of their ambivalent national identity or their “diasporic” status (Clifford, 1994), but convincingly show evidence for “globalization” or dynamic forces of the contemporary world in which there is no necessary correlation between our places of birth, places of residence and socio-cultural affiliations (Appadurai, 1990), with particular reference to educational institutions (Wortham, 2003). Thus, it is not too radical a proposal to argue that we need a new epistemology for crosstalk research, which does not assume a priori identities as given independent variables, while acknowledging the social identities and affiliations of participants to get access to an emic perspective at the same time. I further explore and elaborate on the argument in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, I hope to have demonstrated that one of the promising approaches to rethinking and revising crosstalk research is to combine ethnomethodological analytic concepts (e.g., Sacks, 1992; Pomerantz, 1986; Edwards, 2000) with linguistic anthropological insights (e.g., Duranti, 1986; Ochs, 1993; Silverstein, 2001; Rymes, 2001) grounded in ethnographic methods (e.g., Briggs, 1986; Duranti, 1997), which involve “prolonged and direct participation in the social life of a community” (Duranti, 1997, p. 85). In the present study, I have had relatively long-term relationships with the participants who were members of a community, engaged in the practice of studying Japanese as a foreign language. My roles have changed in relation to the participants: teacher, friend or acquaintance, and interviewer as a researcher as time goes on. Taking into account these factors, it is quite reasonable to assume that my relationships with the participants significantly affected the quality of data in general, and the production of CSs in particular, in the ethnographic interviews. The critical point is the type or quality of the relationship between the participants and the researcher.⁹ This is also attested by CSs about both Japanese and Americans that I received from or co-constructed with the Anglo-American key participants (Dan, Ace and Harry), which seems to indicate that complaining has the dynamic quality of both a category-generating practice in a relation-building process and a category-generated practice derived from a closer relationship. In the present study I cannot discuss Anglo-American learners’ CSs in detail. Instead, I turn to interviews with Shoko and Marco, Generation 1.5 Japanese, in the next chapter.

⁹ I owe this point and the succinct formulation to Dr. Ben G. Blount.

4.7. Transcription Conventions

- () words spoken, not audible
- (()) transcriber's description
- [two speakers' talk overlaps at this point
- = no interval between turns
- ? interrogative intonation
- (.) small untimed pause
- heh heh heh laughter

CHAPTER 5 LANGUAGE PRACTICES OF GENERATION 1.5 JAPANESE

5.0. Abstract

The present study, as part of a larger ethnographic project, focuses on the language-in-use of two Generation 1.5 Japanese in research interviews, who immigrated to the United States in their early life stages. To address the issue of construction of national identities, I examine linguistic resources that the participants use to (co-)construct their identities and stances toward Japanese and Americans. By drawing on discourse analysis from a multidisciplinary perspective, I found that: the interview data contain a large amount of “complaint sequences,” in which the Japanese participants complain about Japan/Japanese to a Japanese researcher; both participants represent and enact the past self in Japan negatively and the present self in the U.S. positively; the participants take highly negative stances toward Japanese, while paradoxically identifying themselves with Japanese. I discuss implications of the study for larger social processes, which reconsider complex relationships between language, ethnicities and national identity in late modernity.

5.1. Introduction

I will be concerned in this chapter with how two “Generation 1.5” (Harklau et al., 1999) Japanese college students¹⁰ represent and enact their identities in research interviews, which were conducted within a larger ethnographic project. By the term “Generation 1.5,” I mean people who immigrated to the United States in their early life stages and have lost their native-like competence of Japanese or never attained it as a result of almost exclusive use of English. By analyzing the voices of two Generation 1.5 Japanese, I also discuss implications for the phenomenon of “diasporic globalization” (Clifford, 1994), or the late modern trend of increasing disjuncture between individuals’ places of birth, residence and cultural (dis)identifications in educational institutions (Wortham, 2003; Appadurai, 1990).

More specifically, I investigate discursive (co-)construction of national identities by the participants in research interviews with the researcher/author, who also has Japanese nationality, but significantly differs from them in that his primary language is Japanese. To explore these issues, I set up the following research questions: What are the major linguistic resources and discursive

¹⁰ On the term “Generation 1.5,” Harklau et al. (1999, p. 1) define it as “bilingual U.S. resident students who entered U.S. colleges and universities by way of K-12 schools” or “U.S. educated English language learners” (p. 4). However, throughout the article, I use the term to refer to the U.S. educated Japanese participants who cannot be called “active learners of English” anymore (or conversely, they are, by definition, Japanese language learners), which significantly differs from Harklau et al.’s conceptualization; even my formulation does not do justice to Marco’s case, who went back and forth between U.S. and Japan and partly learned English at an international school in Japan in his earlier school days.

strategies that these participants use to construct their identities and stances toward Japanese and Americans in the research interviews conducted in English? How are their identities collaboratively constructed with the researcher? Finally, what significance can the analysis have for larger social processes?

To attempt to answer these questions, I closely examine personal pronoun uses such as “I-statements” (Gee, 1999; Gee et al. 2001) vis-à-vis “They-statements,” uses of *we*, *you* and *they* to construct national identities in the situated context (cf. Wortham, 2001), and affective and epistemological stance markers (Ochs, 1996), e.g., Extreme Case formulations (ECFs) (Pomerantz, 1986). ECFs can be defined as “descriptions or assessments that deploy extreme expressions such as *every*, *all*, *none*, *best*, *least*, ..., *perfectly*, ... and *absolutely*,” which are “identifiable ... as semantically extreme” (Edwards, 2000, pp. 347-349), while an “emic” or participants’ perspective is to be taken into account to decide what counts as ECFs in context (Pomerantz, 1986). In this case study, ECFs form part of a larger discursive strategy known as “complaint sequences” (Roulston, 2000) and other indexical, i.e., situationally-contingent, aspects of language use (e.g., tense and progressive aspect), all of which converge on one point and indicate their highly negative stances toward Japan/Japanese while simultaneously and rather paradoxically, the participants identify themselves with Japanese, though in an ambivalent and mitigated way.

By the analysis, I demonstrate that the participants' identity is highly contingent and multiple, as well as ambivalent, which should be conceptualized as construction of *identities*. Specific to national identities, I argue against our assumption of "the essentialist symmetries between language, culture and nation" (Luke, 2002: 108) by analyzing stereotypical and essentialized national identities associated with Japanese and Americans, which ironically the supposedly "postmodern" participants articulate. To explain the apparently paradoxical national identification of the participants, I argue that, in addition to language ideology (Woolard, 1998), the notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1997; cf. Scheuer, 2003) is useful in providing some illustrative practices found in and outside the interviews as evidence. Finally, I discuss implications of the findings and attempt to relate the study with larger social processes and particularly with what Appadurai (1990) termed "ethnoscapes" and "ideoscapes" in the contemporary world.

5.2. Background, Participants and Methodology

During the initial phase of a larger project (see Chapter 4) I conducted interviews with five Japanese language learners, both previous and present at that time, in a college community located in the southeast of the United States. Participants were recruited on the voluntary basis, using my personal networks in the community. The project's focus is on the language-in-use of the participants in communicative practices. One of the important purposes is, broadly speaking, to

make social analysis of a global concern, such as the impact of massive immigration on the local, from a locally-situated perspective at an educational institution (cf. Wortham, 2003; B. Levinson, 1999).

In this larger project, I organized informal and open-ended interview sessions, by which I attempted to gain some of the local representations of Japan or Japanese. Among the participants were two Generation 1.5 Japanese or heritage language learners, who studied Japanese as a foreign language and are the focus of the present case study. I briefly present the profiles of the participants under consideration, as well as their relationship with the researcher/author.

Shoko, who was registered for three semesters at the JFL program, where I worked previously as an instructor, is also one of my students for two semesters. I tutored her one-on-one on a weekly basis for two semesters, mainly because I considered that, given her competence, the course designed for beginners was too easy for her. She was born in England, spent about nine years in Japan and then immigrated to the United States with her parents at the age of eleven. We used to and still do talk to each other in Japanese when we meet. I recruited her about a year after she had finished her formal studies in the program and she was willing to accept my interviews. She was around twenty at the time of interviewing.

On the other hand, Marco, with whom I got acquainted through my personal networks in the local community, is a graduate student in his late twenties and also volunteered for an interview

session when I contacted him. His father is Japanese and mother German in terms of nationality. Aware of the problematic nature of any labeling, I assigned him the ethnic label of “Euro-Asian” in Table 5.1.¹¹ He went back and forth between Japan and the United States during his earlier school days until he settled in the U.S. for his college education. His studies of Japanese at formal institutions were conducted during the periods before his college studies and he never registered for any JFL courses at college in the U.S., though he studied Japanese at a private language school when he went to Japan as an English teacher after college. It is obvious that Marco knows Japanese to quite an extent, but he once explicitly stated that he prefers me not to speak to him in Japanese, so we always use English as the basis code for communication. Though the names are pseudonyms, I represent the participants in accordance with the associated origins, i.e., Shoko still retains a Japanese name, and Marco has an Italian name.

I also conducted follow-up interviews with Shoko and Marco, which metalinguistically refer to and recontextualize part of the content, themes or concepts of the previous interviews (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Chapter 4). Each interview lasted about forty to eighty minutes and the initial

¹¹ Directly contrary to my intention, the labeling of ethnicity such as “Euro-Asian” can easily lead to “ethnic absolutist” interpretations by which it is assumed that there is essence of ethnicity and culture among the racially and ethnically defined groups; we should be highly aware that “race” and “culture” are social constructs to prevent the interpretations (Rampton, 1995, pp. 31-32). I present the profiles of the participants to give an initial frame of reference, which is “deconstructed” in the ongoing discussion.

interviews were transcribed completely, and the metalinguistic interviews were partially transcribed.

Table 5.1: Profiles of the participants

Names of Participants	<u>Shoko</u>	<u>Marco</u>
<i>Gender</i>	Female	Male
<i>Ethnicity</i>	Asian	Euro-Asian
Nationality (Legal Status)	Japanese	Japanese

5.3. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this section, I examine four sets of data I audio-recorded when I interviewed each participant twice. Based on NHD that directs analytic attention on “contextually contingent semiotic processes” (Silverstein & Urban, 1996. p. 2), I selected the portions of the data from the transcripts and my field notes that make the participants’ construction of national identities explicit. More specifically I extracted the portions in which I can examine how the pronouns *I, you, we, and they* as metadiscursive labels are used to represent and enact self and others vis-à-vis the interviewer/author, who is (presumably) Japanese, along with other grammatical resources and discursive strategies.

To fulfill the analytical goals, I first analyze uses of the personal pronouns of “I” and “They” in combination with different kinds of verbs (Gee et al., 2001; Urban, 1989) to demonstrate multiple selves vis-à-vis others in situated discourse. Then, I focus on other indexical aspects of grammatical resources, such as tense, progressive aspect, indefinite pronouns (*no one* or *everything*) as Extreme Case formulations (ECFs) (Pomerantz, 1986), and linguistic resources to position him- or herself in a particular way (Rymes, 2001), all of which *in combination* contribute to forming the overall structural characteristics (e.g., dichotomous construction) and discursive strategies, e.g., “complaint sequences” (Roulston, 2000). Further I direct my attention on co-construction of meaning that relates to interactional positioning from Bakhtinian dialogic perspectives (Duranti, 1986; Wortham, 2001). I briefly discuss the issue of “intertextuality” (Bakhtin, 1981) with reference to “discourse genres” (Hanks, 1987): how stretches of discourse as units, or “relatively stable” types (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 78) and “historically specific conventions and ideals” (Hanks, 1987, p. 670) found in Marco’s speech are related to other circulating discourses in society produced for different purposes at different times and places. Finally, I examine a part of the metalinguistic interview data to make a deeper sense of the previous interviews. The portions were selected for the analytic goal of revealing participants’ own sense of national identities, which demonstrates “random” and context-specific Generation 1.5 Japanese identities.

5.3.1. Use of Personal Pronouns “I” and “They” in Combination with Verbs

First, I make “I-statements analysis” (Gee, 1999; Gee et al., 2001) to help initiate further inquiry, which simultaneously provides an initial bearing of the “self” part in the larger picture of discursive construction of national identities. Further, I make a finer distinction between different “types of ‘I’” (Urban, 1989), so that I can make the issue of multiple self-identities explicit by conceptualizing five types of “I” in discourse, which form a continuum from (a) to (e) in terms of “removal from every day situations”: (a) indexical-referential, (b) anaphoric, (c) de-quotative, (d) theatrical and (e) projective (Urban, 1989, p. 43), among which I am most concerned with (a) and (c) in the analysis.

To briefly define the types: (a) indexical-referential “I” is identified if there is an actual contiguity between the type *I* and the producer of the token “I” (p. 28), which culturally indicates everyday self; (b) anaphoric “I” is marked by the grammatical direct quotation, so that, for example, in “Hei said, ‘I am going,’” “I” anaphorically refers to “he” and “I” in the embedded clause is not an indexical-referential “I” (p. 31), though they are metaphorically related; (c) de-quotative “I” is “the “I” of a quotation wherein the matrix clause has disappeared” (p. 36) and thus there are no formal grammatical features to distinguish it from the indexical-referential use. The contexts of use, such as story-telling along with other grammatical features, cue the de-quotative “I”; the main function of de-quotative “I” in narrative is “reality enhancement for the

audience” (p. 44); (d) the theatrical “I” is named after the theatrical tradition in the West, in which “the individual [speaks] through the character that he or she represents” (p. 36); (e) finally, the projective “I” is the “I” of “trance, possession, and similar states” (p. 37).

In the first part of the interview, Shoko tells her autobiographical narrative. Slightly modifying Gee’s (1999) categorization schema, I examine “cognitive statements” (e.g., “I didn’t know English”), “affective statements” (e.g., “I didn’t like neighbors”), “state and action statements” (e.g., “I was scared”), “ability and constraint statements” (e.g., “I had to go to middle school”), and finally, “achievement statements” or “activities, desires, or efforts that relate to “mainstream” achievement, accomplishment, or distinction” (ibid.), such as “I made lots of friends.”

While narrating her school experiences in Japan, Shoko represents and enacts her self in a negative form of affective I-statements, *I didn’t like ...* while in the part of American school experiences, I-statements realize as a negative form of cognitive statements, *I didn’t know ...* and an affirmative form of achievement statements such as *I made lots of friends*. As Gee et al. (2001, pp. 178-179) note, achievement statements are not a lexical category and my classification is not meant to be absolute. However, I counted most of the I-statements at the end of her biographical narrative as achievement statements because they are important part of Shoko’s construction of successful “I” in the United States, as opposed to unsuccessful “I” in Japan. To exemplify the point, I present her I-statements, with anaphoric references when relevant:

Table 5.2: Shoko's school experience in Japan

I-statements (number of tokens)	Types of I-statement/ form
I didn't like school (1)	Affective/ Negative
I just didn't like it [= school] (1)	Affective/ Negative
I just didn't like that [= going to school together with groups of people] (2)	Affective/ Negative
I didn't like the neighbors (1)	Affective/ Negative
I didn't really like them [= the neighbors] too much (1)	Affective/ Negative

Table 5.3: Shoko's school experience in the U.S.

I-statements (number of tokens)	Types of I-statement/ form
I didn't know English or anything (1)	Cognitive/ Negative
I didn't know English (3)	Cognitive/ Negative
I didn't know anything (1)	Cognitive/ Negative
I made lots of friends (1)	Achievement/ Positive
I did lots of extracurricular activities (1)	Achievement/ Positive
I played softball and track (1)	Achievement/ Positive
I played soccer and like all that stuff (1)	Achievement/ Positive
I succeeded (1)	Achievement/ Positive
I probably wouldn't have grown this much (1)	Achievement/ Subjunctive-Negative
I was scared (4)	Stative/ Positive

The most frequently occurring I-statement in the U.S. school experience is the stative “I was scared,” which derives from Shoko’s lack of knowledge of English (“I didn’t know English”) or unfamiliarity with the new environment (“I didn’t know anything”). There is one occurrence of affective statement (“I didn’t want to go to school”) in the same part, but both these stative and affective I-statements are connected with the cognitive statement in a cause-and-effect relationship: “... so brand new school brand new people, *I didn’t know anything* then, so *I was scared* and ah most of the time *I didn’t want to go to school.*”

The important differences between Shoko’s discursive construction of two contrasting school experiences are: the cognitive I-statements (e.g., “I didn’t know English”) in the U.S. schools pose a logically resolvable problem once she acquires the needed knowledge, while the affective I-statements in Japan (“I didn’t like school” or “I didn’t like the neighbors”) are not susceptible to simple solutions; further, there are no achievement I-statements in Japan. In fact, the stative and affective I-statements (“I was scared” and “I didn’t want to go to school”) in the U.S. were indeed resolved after she learned English (“and then my English progressed”) in her story. Thus, in the concluding part of her school experiences in the U.S., Shoko successively makes achievement I-statements, and ends with subjunctive mood: “If I was [*sic*] in Japan, then I probably wouldn’t have grown this much,” which enacts reflexivity of our living in late modernity: “Living in

circumstances of [late] modernity is best understood as a matter of the routine contemplation of counterfactuals” (Giddens, 1991, p. 29).

From a semiotic-pragmatic perspective (Urban, 1989; Silverstein, 1976), there are three different “I’s” that Shoko enacts: two different “I’s” in the past by the de-quotative type of “I” to indicate reported self, and the indexical-referential “I”, who enacts the story telling at the moment. Though there is no grammatical marker to show any quoting framing, the past tense functions as a main linguistic cue in the context of story-telling in an interview and indicates that the characters told as “I” in her narrative are not the “same” Shoko as the indexical-referential “I” and thus are de-quotative “I’s”: both unsuccessful “I” in Japan and successful “I” in the United States, in which the former becomes functionally closer to the theatrical “I” and the latter closer to the story-telling indexical-referential “I”, both functionally and chronologically.

In the interview with Marco, semiotic-pragmatically, two “I’s” are identified: miserable “I” in Japan in his early school days as an instance of de-quotative “I” (Table 5.4), which contrasts with the present positive image of “I” as the indexical-referential “I” (Table 5.5). Further, Marco’s I-statements recurrently co-occur and contrast with “They-statements,” which refer to either Japanese or Americans. For example, Marco narrates his ‘othered’ experiences in his elementary school days in Japan, using combination of state and ability/constraint I-statements, which co-occur with They-statements:

Table 5.4: Marco’s past experience in Japan

I-statements (number of tokens)	Types of I-statement
I had a couple of Japanese friends in elementary school, actually Japanese people I knew (1)	Stative
I didn’t look Japanese (2)	Stative
I was like this foreigner kind of thing (1)	Stative
I didn’t speak English too well (1)	Ability/constraint
I didn’t understand them [=Americans], either (1)	Ability/constraint
I was very quiet, acquiescent (1)	Stative
I was very, not submissive but less flamboyant than I am now (1)	Stative
They-statements (number of tokens)	Types of they-statement
They [=Japanese] really didn’t treat me like one of them (1)	Action
They [=Americans] didn’t understand me (1)	Ability/constraint

In Table (5.4), Marco constructs himself as a rather passive person with past tense, who was not able to exert much control over his situation. The passive self is grammatically realized in stative and ability/constraint I-statements, which can be regarded as “the discourse of dispositions” or the discourse about the situation or state determined by factors outside of his own control (Kang & Lo,

2003). The situation becomes more constraining by ‘their’ action and inability, i.e., Japanese who did not treat him as “one of them” and Americans who did not understand him, both of whom are constructed in “They-statements.”

On the other hand, at the end of the interview, Marco presents himself very positively, in spite of his being “misplaced”:

Table 5.5: Marco’s articulation of the present self

I-statements (number of tokens)	Types of I-statement
I feel like I am a very enriched person (1)	Cognitive
I come across as a very cosmopolitan (1)	Stative
I also come across as a very international, well-traveled (1)	Stative
I am interested in a lot of things (1)	Stative
I can see connections with everything else (1)	Ability
I bring in Eastern principles (1)	Action

By the I-statements in Table (5.5), Marco performs his present “I” as “cosmopolitan.” This part is preceded by his description of unspecified “they,” who do not have the same choice as he has, and he states, “it is *they* that are unfortunate, *they* are unfortunate ... there is an expression ‘ignorance is bliss’.” Thus, the set of I-statements in Table (5.5) sharply contrasts with that of the I-statements

in Table (5.4) in his elementary school days in Japan, which can be seen from contrastive grammatical resources: past *versus* non-past tense, and unavoidable state caused by others *versus* favorable state deriving from his ability. Thus, the present “I” that Marco enacts functionally indicates his “ordinary” self as the indexical-referential “I” while the past “I” mainly cued by the past tense is enacted as the de-quotative “I”, who was victimized by unspecified “they” as “others.”

As for Shoko, she also uses “they” to refer to either Americans or Japanese when she narrates general images of Americans and Japanese. For the present purpose, I exemplify her use of “they” to denote both Japanese and Americans. Obviously, the first “they” refers to Americans and the second and the third “they,” respectively, is Japanese:

Excerpt (2): Shoko’s use of *they*

Shoko: I think Japanese are all about getting education and doing, like, doing everything in a certain way, but here American people, **they** just do what like go with the flow kind of thing ((*several turns later*)) whereas in Japan **they** just, if you don’t ... someone doesn’t understand something, then **they** just leave them ...

To conclude the section, I discuss some issues derived from the analysis for further inquiry. Specifically, what can we say about the participants' construction of the self, or multiple selves, with reference to national identity? What is an emergent and critical issue the analysis poses? I observe that the I-statements are means by which the participants positively represent and enact the present self in the U.S. and negatively represent the passive or even victimized past self in Japan for unavoidable reasons by constructing multiple self-identities, who are enacted by functionally different "I's" (Urban, 1989). However, the two participants differ significantly in terms of "social languages" or the situated language use in the interview setting to construct their identities or "who they are and what they are doing" (Gee, 1999, pp. 25-29): Shoko's teenager-like social languages vs. Marco's more academic-style social languages, including lexical items such as "cosmopolitan" or "Eastern principles," which is discussed as the issue of "recontextualization" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) from widely-circulating discourses in the sections that follow by examining Marco's speech.

If we focus on the similarities, the initial hypothesis is that both of them take extremely negative stances toward Japan/Japanese despite their Japanese nationality, while they quite positively represent and enact the present self in the U.S., which is mediated by the different kinds of "I's". In the following section, I examine other linguistic resources, which may give further evidence to the hypothesis (cf. Gee, 1999, p. 139). At the same time, an emergent issue is: what is their own sense

of national identity if both Japanese and Americans are “others” represented by “they”? Do the participants believe they are Japanese or American or what else? To answer the question, I analyze the parts in which other linguistic resources and grammatical categories get situated meanings in the discursive practices of Generation 1.5 Japanese.

5.3.2. Other Grammatical Resources in Combination to Form Discursive Strategies

Now I turn to an analysis of linguistic and grammatical resources, particularly tense, progressive aspect, and how these grammatical categories are used *in combination* or collocationally with other linguistic resources such as indefinite pronouns to voice the narrator and the narrated people/events in a particular way (cf. Rymes, 2001; Ochs, 1990). Further, I consider how these resources form larger discursive strategies and overall structural characteristics to perform the function of national identity construction. First, in Shoko’s data, she narrates her images of Japanese and Americans to my question, “what are your images of Japan or Japanese?”, which is reproduced from Chapter 3:

Excerpt (3): Shoko’s images of Japanese and Americans

1. Shoko: Well uh I think *Japanese people* are **all** about getting education and like doing like doing everything in a certain way

2. *But here American people* they just do what like go with the flow kind of thing
3. and like if you someone's behind the school then they like ah wait for them until
4. they understand **everything** before they go on
5. *Whereas* in Japan uh they just if you don't someone doesn't understand something
then they just leave them and like
6. Masa: **Nobody** cares?
7. Shoko: **No one** cares. That's why I didn't do well in school because I didn't understand
something then my the teacher really didn't help me because you know whatever just
a kid.
8. so who cares but here it is like ((*talking to her roommate?*)) extra help after school
9. and yeah they are more caring I guess
10. and uh I think here I think and then *American people* in general I guess like living in
11. in a southern state I think they have they are **all** really nice
12. Masa: Nice?
13. Shoko: Yeah supportive and like they **all** smile like if I go down the street then they
say hey you know wave whatever but in Japan if you
14. Masa: Right, **nobody** greets you?

15. Shoko: **No one no one** looks at you **no one** they just look on the ground and walk so I think
that's a big difference

As demonstrated in Excerpt (2), Shoko uses “they” to refer to either Japanese or Americans (lines 2-5 in Excerpt 3), which indexes her ambiguous positioning toward her national identity at this point, though her extremely negative stance toward Japan/Japanese emerges (see Chapter 4, for the analysis of the overall structure).

I detail how ECFs (**boldfaced**) are used in combination with other linguistic resources and grammatical categories (underlined), i.e., progressive aspect and tense, as well as an adverbial. First, ECFs “all” and “everything” are embedded to highlight the contrast in lines 1-4: “Japanese people are **all** about getting education and like doing like doing **everything in a certain way**” (line 1) is contrasted with the next utterance “*But* here American people they ... wait for them until they understand **everything**” (lines 2-4). The ECFs “all” and “everything” referring to Japanese acquire a universalizingly negative and unfavorable emergent meaning, in combination with “durative” and “habitual” progressive aspect (“getting” and “doing”) and an adverbial phrase (“in a certain way”), which contrasts with a universalizing and favorable ECF “everything” to refer to the acts of American people (“they ... wait for them until they understand **everything**” in lines 3-4), in which the first “they” refers to American teachers and the second “they” to the students. Also, the ECF

“no one” in “**no one** cares” (line 7) and “**no one, no one** looks at you, **no one** they just look on the ground and walk” (line 15) is used to describe Japanese people’s apathetic public behavior in an essentializing and intense way by repeating “no one” three times (line 15). In contrast, the ECF *all* in “they are ... **all** nice” (line 11) or “they **all** smile” (line 13) is used to characterize Southern Americans in a universalizingly positive way. In these examples, the grammatical category of present tense is used in combination with the ECF “all” (lines 11 and 13), realized as “are” and “smile,” which contrasts with “looks” (line 15) as if her description were immutable truth. As an utterance-type, the present tense indicates “general timeless truth” (Rymes, 2001, p. 47), which gets its situated meaning, either positive or negative, in combination with other linguistic resources in her dichotomous construction of national identities.

Further, these grammatical categories and linguistic resources are combined to produce a larger discourse strategy called “complaint sequences” (CSs) (Roulston, 2000). As I argued in Chapter 4, it has been assumed that CSs are produced about a third party, who is not present at the time of interaction and does not share the same *category* as the interactants. However, it is characteristic of the CSs in the present case study that the Japanese participants complain about Japan/Japanese to a Japanese researcher in English, which may indicate the emergence of “new ethnicities” (cf. Hall, 1988) or at least, an attempt to produce solidarities between “diasporic” Japanese, assuming that complaining is a strategy for producing positive feelings between interlocutors (Boxer, 1993).

As for Marco, he also produced abundant CSs, some of which include ECFs. I illustrate indefinite pronouns *everyone* and *everything* functioning as ECFs embedded in CSs, in which the grammatical category of tense and other linguistic resources are used in collocation (Ochs, 1990) to cue the ECFs as negative indexicals in his construction of Japanese identity:

Excerpt (4): Marco's complain sequences with ECFs

1. Marco: Yeah so it's just um um and you know I just realized I felt much more
2. comfortable interacting with *Japanese people in America*
3. because there I didn't have this overwhelming societal sort of pressure to interact
in a certain way but I did *in Japan*
4. Masa: Oh I see
5. Marco: You know *in Japan* you it's almost like **everyone** speaks in formulas, you know,
6. and what you say is not important. What you do is important. How you act is
important.
7. How you ... **everything** is expressed nonverbally and it's exhausting. I mean it
really is exhausting

As in Shoko's data, ECFs, such as "everyone" (line 5) and "everything" (line 7), come to have an emergent negative meaning in the sequential context or co-text: first, the preceding context cues a

universalizingly negative interpretation: “this overwhelming societal sort of pressure to interact in a certain way” (line 3) functions as negative “evaluative indexicals” (Wortham, 2001) by constructing strongly socially-sanctioned interactional norms. Then, Marco repeats “exhausting” twice with “really” (line 7) to intensify his claim, which also functions as negative evaluative indexicals. Further, the verbs in lines 5-7 have the present tense (e.g. “speaks” or “is”), by which Marco depicts his claim as an immutable truth, as opposed to the past tense in lines 1-3 (“realized,” “felt,” “didn’t have,” and “did”). Thus, these grammatical categories and linguistic resources are used in combination to form Marco’s CSs, which are claimed to be legitimate (Pomerantz, 1986).

Also, Marco analytically separates “Japanese people in America” (line 2) from Japanese “in Japan” (line 5) as if Japanese in Japan interact in a fundamentally different way from Japanese in U.S. and by implication we as individuals have no agency or cannot escape the norms in the territorialized area of Japan (lines 5-7). His analytical separation is consistent: at the beginning of the interview, he asked me to clarify: “Japanese people here? or Japanese people in Japan, American people in Japan? or American people here” to my request to talk about his experiences of interacting with Japanese and Americans. On the “safety” of the complaint sequences, Marco intends to have produced “safe” CSs if the author/interviewer identifies himself with his territorialized categorization of “Japanese people in America” (line 2).

Throughout the two interviews, Marco follows this line of neatly territorialized vision of the world “as being composed of separate peoples, each with their own distinct, bounded, and coherent ways of understanding the world and living within it” (Kang & Lo, 2003). I will further demonstrate, in the analysis of Excerpts (5) and (6), that Marco produces these reified discourses by mapping the metadiscursive labels of Japanese and Americans into individual actors engaging in actual communication.

In sum, there is no evidence found that contradicts the initial hypothesis based on the analysis of CSs. Both participants take extremely negative stances toward Japan/Japanese, though Shoko holds more emotional attachment to Southern Americans than Marco, mediated by the discursive strategies of CSs, which involve combinations of the grammatical categories of tense and aspect and other linguistic resources (particularly, indefinite pronouns as ECFs) in order to construct dichotomies between Americans and Japanese.

5.3.3. Co-construction: Interactional Positioning and Generic Intertextuality

It is almost a truism to argue that an interviewee, consciously or unconsciously, ‘designs’ or accommodates his or her discourse to the interviewer’s perceived social identities or attributes in interaction (cf. Duranti, 1986). In this sense, I assume that all of the data in a situated context are “co-constructed” (Gee, 1999) and “dialogic” (Bakhtin, 1981). However, there are relatively few

studies that systematically investigate both the represented content and the interactional positioning, as well as their interrelation, locally and globally in a research interview. To investigate the issue of co-construction in a systematic way, I draw on a Bakhtinian dialogic approach to discourse (Wortham, 2001) and examine two segments of Marco's data with analytic tools derived from the approach. Particularly, I analyze two segments containing the pronouns of "you," "they" and "we," which index or explicitly cue Marco's multiple and 'random' or context-specific positionings toward national identities.

One of the crucial assumptions of the approach is that narrating the self not only *represents* or describes the narrated event (denotational meaning) but at the same time, *enacts* and positions him- or herself vis-à-vis the interlocutor(s) in the narrating event (indexical meaning); further that there is (partial) interrelation or co-relation between the representational and the interactional functions because these processes occur simultaneously (Wortham, 2001, p. 59). Following the assumptions, I analyze how Marco positions himself to the interviewer both in the situated context (locally) and with reference to the larger social milieu (globally) or the two nations as "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991), in his telling of 'grand narrative', using his relatively educated social languages, which index recontextualization of other genres that are intertextually related to widely-circulating discourses (Briggs & Bauman, 1995).

In launching his ‘comparative theory’ of American versus Japanese societies, Marco uses the pronoun *you* while *representing* a hypothetical agent who follows radically different interactional norms in each country. In other words, at the denotational level, “you” in Excerpt (5) denotes “people in general” or the generic “one” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 354), by which he expresses his view of the two societies by not committing himself to a particular nationality. The following is Marco’s explication of the interactional norms in Japan, after the preface of “American looseness” being not necessarily “the best way” (line 1):

Excerpt (5): Marco’s use of *you* and *y’ know*

1. Marco: Not that I’m saying that the American looseness is the best way because **you** can
2. get a lot of misunderstandings that way
3. But the Japanese are sort of codifying sort of you know Confucius influenced the
4. formality between **your** superiors and everything like that *you know* what **you** do
5. is it’s almost like **you** have a couple of Legos that **you** try to stick together.
6. That is is great for diplomacy but not great for friends. It really isn’t. *you know*
7. **You** want to be able to say what **you** want and simply say “oh this is how I feel.”

You know,

8. anytime feelings are involved in Japanese interactions, it's almost like it's a taboo subject,
9. *You know* I mean **you** there's an expression in Japanese it says *tatemae*
10. Masa: Right
11. Marco: Which is which means façade, *you know*
12. Masa: Façade
13. Marco: Yeah when **you** look at when **you** look at a bunch of buildings, right, see if **you**
14. especially in cities if **you** look at the front versus **you** look at the side **you** look at
15. the side it may be brick, look at the front it's got nice stonework, okay, if **you**'re
16. the kind of person that's more sturdy like the brick, okay but **you**'re bringing this
17. façade of being this very structured nicely formed thing and it just seems all pretty.
18. It seems kind of empty to me. It seems as if **you**'re not being true to whoever
19. **you**'re interacting with **you**'re not being true to **yourself**. **You**'re simply saying
20. I'm going to pursue my own personal identity with this cultural mores or mores
21. I don't know how to pronounce that one but the cultural dic.. the the society
22. dictates how **you** want to interact. And, so if **you**'re the kind of person that feels
23. more than **you** want to talk and to or to say what **you** feel, it's very frustrating,

24. it's very frustrating, I mean that's where a lot of interactions break down at,

 you know...

The narrating and the narrated events are apparently not directly correlated in this segment, though interactionally it may be interpreted that Marco indirectly addresses the interviewer as “you,” which is not explicitly cued. Thus, “you” in line 1 is a hypothetical generic agent in the American society (“**you** can get a lot of misunderstandings” in lines 1-2) and the rest of “you” is also a hypothetical one, following the rigid Japanese societal norms (e.g., “Confucius influenced the formality” in lines 3-4), which suppress emotions (“feelings” as “a taboo subject” in line 8). The Japanese society is represented by the metaphors of buildings (line 13), such as “façade” (lines 11 and 17), “brick” or “stonework” (line 15), which are “empty” to him (line 18) and the related metaphor of “Legos” (i.e., a type of block toy) in line 5, which forces people to fit in prearranged structure. However, it is seen, as part of the indexical meanings of “you,” that while stating his own experience or view by “you” instead of “I,” Marco distances himself from the depicted event and makes a universalizing claim by constructing two “generalized you’s.” In other words, he implicitly argues that the interactional norms he describes apply to any “you” in these countries (cf. Rymes, 1996, p. 417).

Further at the interactional level, Marco uses the discourse marker “y’ know” seven times (lines 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 24; also see lines 27, 28, 30, 36 in Excerpt (6)), which is disproportionately frequent

for this length of segment, and thus cues his use of “positive politeness strategy” (Brown and Levinson, 1987). As a discourse marker, *y’ know* “marks the speaker as an information provider, but one whose successful fulfillment of that role is contingent upon hearer attention” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 290). Thus, Marco’s unusual use of *y’ know* can be seen as an attempt to establish shared grounds for understanding with the interviewer so as to lead to solidarity between them as the same “diasporic” or expatriate Japanese (also see “right” and “o.k.” in lines 13, 15, and 16). By adopting Wortham’s (2001) model, I schematize his framing of the moment:

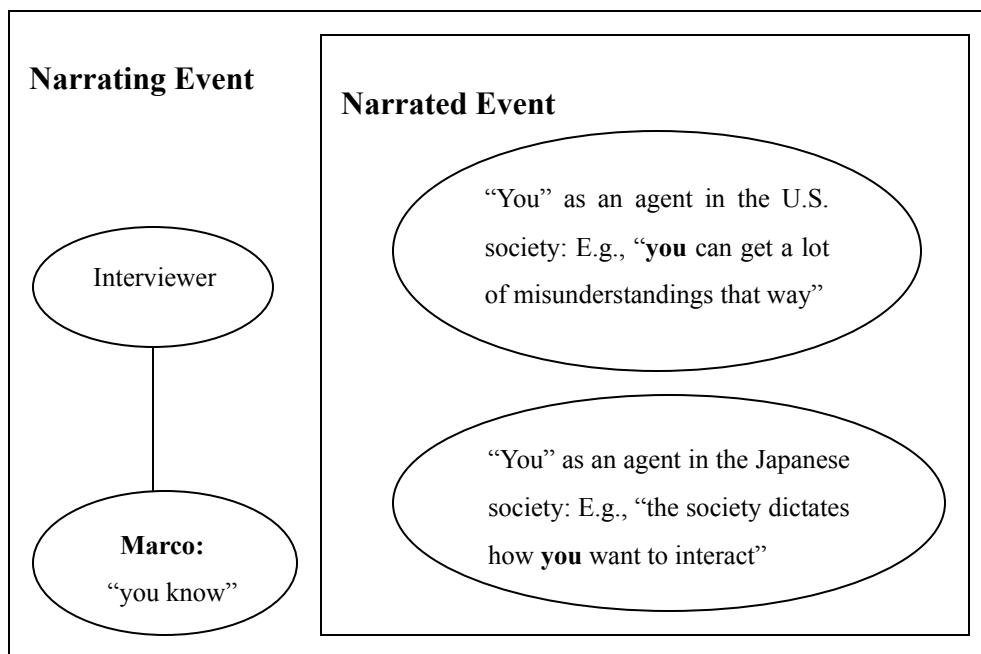


Figure 5.1: Marco narrating hypothetical agents in American and Japanese societies by generic “you” while repeating “you know” seven times

However, the subsequent part follows as in Excerpt (6), in which Marco's use of pronouns fluctuates between "you," "they" and "we":

Excerpt (6): Marco's use of pronouns: *you, they* and *we*

22. Marco: and so if **you**'re the kind of person that feels more than
23. **you** want to talk and to or to say what **you** feel, it's very frustrating
 it's very frustrating,
24. I mean that's where a lot of interactions break down at, *you know*
25. Americans are very quick to say, "*Let's let's* get this formality over with"
26. and it's okay, "*Let's let's* just put what the issue is on the table. *We*'ll both
 talk about it.
27. *We*'ll both disagree and we can compromise." I think, *you know*
28. Americans want to do that so fast. I mean it's that's the way **they** interact
 you know
29. **They** say, "Well, gee *let's let's* stop hiding behind the formalities and *let's* just
 simply say what *we* want to say"
30. → but the Japanese **we** can't, *you know*, do that. It's more like,
31. → well, **we** both have to sort of present issues that **we**'re not gonna start
32. → debating about it. **We**'re just simply it's gonna go back and forth and whoever

initiated the first idea

33. if there's indication from the other people in the room that not not vocally.

34. Just a mmm

35. Masa: ((Laughs))

36. Marco: *You know* all these other things that **they** retract, reformulate, put out something

else, *you know*

In Excerpt (6), I pay particular attention to his “random” national identity construction by using three pronouns *you*, *they* and *we*; also I highlight the lines containing emergent “we” Japanese, indicated by arrows (lines 30-32), in which Marco enacts his own *Japanese* identity because it is the moment of “contextually contingent semiotic processes” (Silverstein & Urban, 1996, p. 2) getting entextualized in discursive practice. Relevant to the interpretation of the segment are, in addition to the co-text, the contingent interactional context (i.e., the interviewer as Japanese) and the discourses of nationality that metadiscursively frame the event (e.g., the ideologies of nation-states).

After talking about the Japanese society in a general way by “you” (“ if **you** are the kind of person ... to say what **you** feel, it's frustrating ...” in lines 22-24), Marco represents Americans while “ventriloquating” them (Wortham, 2001, pp. 66-70; Bakhtin, 1981), i.e., appropriating and

“speaking through” the voice of Americans, who are characterized to be very quick to say, “*Let’s get this formality over with*” (line 25) or “*We’ll both disagree and we can compromise*” (line 27) in direct quoted speech to make the voice “authentic” (cf. Scheuer, 2003).

Then, Marco represents Americans as “they” (“that’s the way **they** interact” in line 28). The subsequent part in which Marco represents Japanese has the pronoun *we* (“*But the Japanese, we can’t, you know, do that*” in line 30), which provides clear evidence for the influence of the narrating context (i.e., the Japanese interviewer) as well as the previous sequential context (Americans as “they” in non-quoted part and as “we” in quoted speech). Thus Marco *enacts* his identity as Japanese at the moment. In other words, his interactional positioning is explicitly made visible because of the inclusive and “national we” as Japanese. Marco continues: “**we** both have to sort of present issues that **we**’re not gonna start debating about it” (lines 31-32). However, after the laugh (line 35), which interrupts the flow of his talk, Marco goes back to his recurrent representation of Japanese as “they” (“all these other things that **they** retract, reformulate, put out something else” in line 36). Thus there are three additional ways in which Marco represents and enacts Japanese and American identities. The first is “they Americans,” who are ventriloquated in the quoted speech by “let’s” and “we” (Figure 5.2a); the second is “we Japanese,” including the interviewer and Marco himself (Figure 5.2b); finally, “they Japanese,” with whom Marco

distances himself and from whom the interviewer is presumably excluded at the interactional level

(Figure 5.2c):

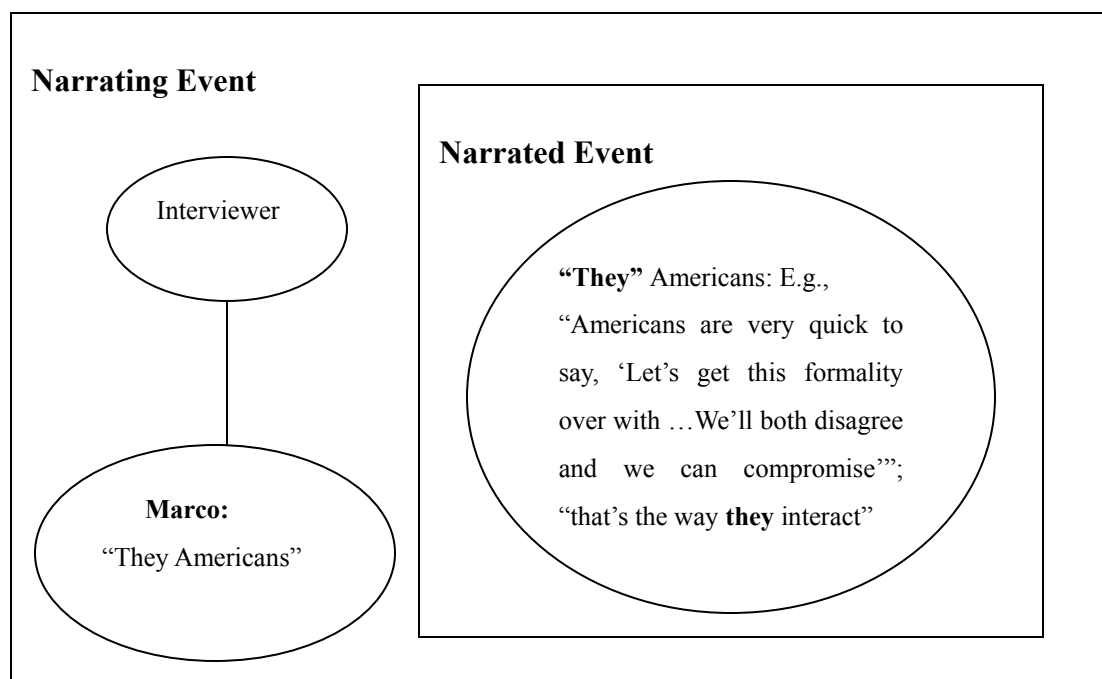


Figure 5.2a: Marco narrating “They” Americans

In (5.2a), the solid line connecting Marco and interviewer is meant to depict Marco’s sharing information with or displaying his ‘expert’ knowledge to the interviewer about Americans, who are represented by “they,” so that there is no connection between narrated and narrating events, though Marco ventriloquates Americans in direct quoted speech to position them as a particular type of people, i.e., casual and frank.

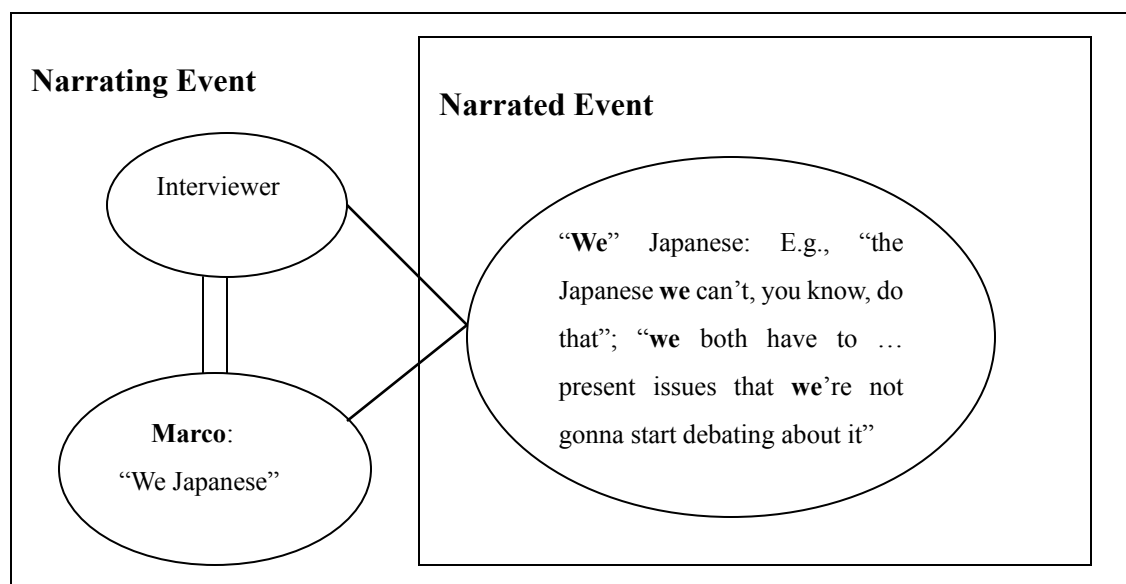


Figure 5.2b: Marco narrating “We” Japanese

By using the pronoun “we,” Marco enacts his *Japanese* identity in the narrating context. The double solid lines indicate this fact by intimately connecting him with the Japanese interviewer. Simultaneously, Marco relates the narrated content to the narrating context as if both interlocutors assume the same interactional norms such as “presenting issues not to start debating about it.” To represent Marco’s assumption, two straight lines from each interlocutor are connected to the narrated content in (5.2b).

In (5.2c), on the other hand, by representing Japanese as “they,” Marco positions himself and the interviewer as not directly relevant to the narrated content, so there is no line connecting the narrating and the narrated events.

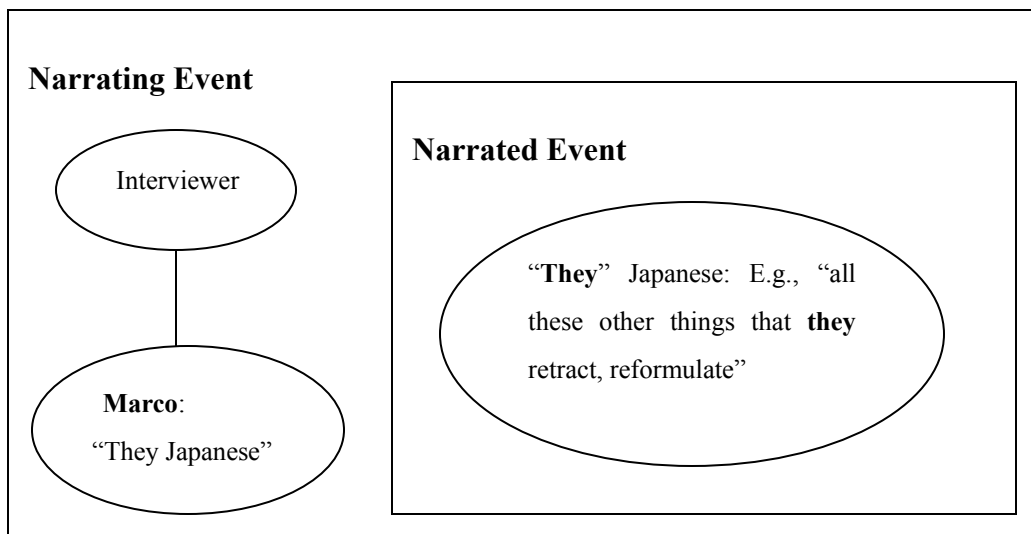


Figure 5.2c: Marco narrating “They” Japanese

To conclude the section, I briefly discuss the issue of “generic intertextuality” (Briggs & Bauman, 1995) in Marco’s data. It can be seen that Marco’s discourse is an instance of “recontextualization” or “the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit” (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73) from other discourses to fit the purposes of research interviewing. Here we see the tension between agency or affordances, and generic convention or constraints of the cultural tool of narrative (Wertsch, 1998). A number of discourse genres (Hanks, 1987) as “elements of linguistic habitus, consisting of ... schemata on which actors improvise in the course of linguistic production” (p. 670) can be identified. The discourse genre of architecture, in the form of metaphors of buildings, as analyzed in Excerpt (5), is used to depict Japanese communicative norms as mannerism and “empty,” which is rather

creatively recontextualized. However, Marco draws on the widespread stereotypes of Japanese (or Asians in general) as “polite” but “incompetent” communicators (cf. Rampton, 2001b, p. 405), which can also be seen in Excerpt (4), as in “everyone speaks in formulas” (line 5) or “what you say is not important ... how you act is important” (line 6).

In Excerpt (6), we see the discourse genre of business, which contrasts decision processes in Japan with those in U.S. It is not evident in Excerpt (6) that Marco utilizes business discourse but it becomes clear in the segment that follows. Marco continues: “... if you want to decide on doing something, you want to decide on a plan like here in the U.S. You present ideas and a couple of people work at it, hack it a little bit and what the very few people decide then all that’s disseminated throughout the **business** or whatever. In Japan a person presents it and it goes up the hierarchy down the hierarchy up the hierarchy down modify no modify no you know they modify it and it’s accepted ... ” As I found out later, Marco’s undergraduate major was international business, and it is evident that the genre is derived from discourses of business, while using the pronouns and interactional resources such as “you know” to fit the purposes of the situation. Thus, it can be assumed that his discourse genres are appropriated and recontextualized from other discourses found in some academic genres such as business textbooks, though it is impossible to pinpoint the direct source of the generic intertextuality.

To recapitulate, Marco positions himself vis-à-vis the interviewer at the interactional plane, with reference to society-wide beliefs and ideologies at the metadiscursive level, which is demonstrated through the analysis of his use of deictic pronouns in discourse, whose meanings necessarily derive from co(n)texts, as well as whose consequences are context-creating in the sense that he discursively creates ‘social reality’ by the entailing or performative nature of indexicals. Further, it should be pointed out that there is no consistent pattern of emergent meaning or the relationship between Marco and the interviewer. In other words, we find a ‘pattern’ of randomness in his use of personal pronouns. However, the analysis indicates his highly negative stances toward Japan/Japanese while paradoxically he enacts himself as Japanese by “we” at a moment in Excerpt (6). To discursively construct Japanese and American identities, Marco interdiscursively recontextualizes the discourse genres of architecture and international business, and other discourses that are circulating in societies to fit the purposes of representing and enacting national identities to the interviewer.

5.3.4. Metalinguistic Data

In analyzing the metalinguistic interviews, I focus on Shoko and Marco’s own sense of national identity in light of the analysis of the previous interviews. For the purposes, I only illustrate and discuss the portions that relate to their articulation of national identity, which reveals

context-specific and instable identity construction. Part of Excerpt (7) was presented and analyzed in Chapter 4, but for the sake of comparison between Shoko and Marco, I reproduce it in the larger segment of the interview:

Excerpt (7): Shoko's articulation of national identity in the metalinguistic interview

1. Masa: You said you see yourself as (0.5) American?
2. Shoko: Uh huh
3. Masa: In the last interview when I (0.2) you know
4. Shoko: Well I see myself as (0.2) *Japanese* but uh (0.2) I guess I see myself as uh=
5. Masa: =Japanese American? Or=
6. Shoko: =Yeah *Japanese American* yeah *Japanese American* uh
7. Masa: But you still have your Japanese nationality
8. Shoko: Uh-huh
9. Masa: Is that just a legal matter? Or you
10. Shoko: Uh-huh (2 .0)
11. Masa: Or how do you interpret (0.2) your nationality? (xxx)speaking your Japanese
Right?
12. Shoko: I **always** say that I am *Japanese* **never** American

13. Masa: To your friends?

14. Shoko: Yes to **anyone**

15. Masa: Oh really? But the last interview you said you see yourself as American

16. Shoko: I may see myself as American but I **never** say that I am. I don't think I am. I think

myself as *Japanese* maybe I am (.) Americanized but I **never** say that I am

American because I am **not**

Excerpt (7) can be characterized by “diasporic ambivalence” (Clifford, 1994; Hall, 1990). First, Shoko uncertainly states her Japanese identity (“I see myself as *Japanese*”) after a brief pause (line 4), but the interviewer’s next ‘completer,’ “Japanese American?” (line 5) influences her articulation of national identity by repeating “Japanese American” twice (line 6), which implicates that she is “American.” However, the question reformulated by the interviewer “How do you interpret your national identity?” (line 11) after confirming her nationality (line 7) made Shoko articulate her national identity as strongly “Japanese” in ECFs, both positive and negative, such as “always,” “never,” or “anyone” (“I **always** say that I am Japanese **never** American” in line 12; also see lines 14 and 16). Along with the ECFs, however, the diasporic ambivalence emerges again by hedging her national identity (“I may see myself as American” or “maybe I am Americanized” in line 16), which indicates an epistemologically uncertain stance. Thus, it is observed that Shoko

does not have a consistent and rigid sense of her own national identity, which varies or even contradicts herself according to the context and thus is reminiscent of Marco's "random" identity construction in the previous section.

On the other hand, Marco is apparently more consistent in his articulation of national identity as not "American" both in the initial interview and the metalinguistic one ("I am not Japanese American" in line 1):

Excerpt (8): Marco's articulation of national identity in the metalinguistic interview

1. Marco: I am **not** *Japanese American*

((*several turns later*))

2. Masa: Right now who who are you?

3. Marco: I probably would say that (0.3) I never really sort of labeled myself

4. It is kind of interesting (xxx) I think I am not really if I would categorize (xxx)

→ (0.3) *I probably would say that I am a displaced Japanese*

However, to the question of "who are you?" in line 2, Marco hesitates and makes several false starts (lines 3-4), and ends up articulating his identity as "a displaced Japanese" (line 4) with an epistemologically uncertain stance ("*I probably would say that I am a displaced Japanese*"), which again shows diasporic ambivalence.

From the analysis, a related question can be posed: Who are the self and “others” for the participants in terms of national identity? When they positively present the self, it is “I,” but not collective national “we,” while negative “other” representation is more complex since both Japanese and Americans are “others,” represented by “they,” in some contexts; in this study, “Japanese” is the target of negative “other” representation while the participants themselves identify themselves with Japanese in an ambivalent and mitigated way. Thus, it is observed that national identity is enacted in a highly context-sensitive manner, or is “random” for the diasporic participants, which presents evidence that a simple correlational view between language, ethnicities, and nationality is questionable in the conditions of the contemporary world and should be challenged theoretically (Luke, 2002) by analyzing situated discourse with reference to language ideology.

5.4. Discussion

One of the effects of “postmodern” discourse in social science is to draw into the ...

experiences that hitherto may have been rather sidelined. In particular, it is quite often suggested that being marginal is actually a crucial experience in late modernity. Being neither on the inside nor on the outside ... is said to be a normal condition. ... and in line with this, it is often suggested that the key imperative of our modern times is for people “to learn to live with

difference,” for people to learn to live happily with their own exclusion from groups that they actually like and interact with daily. (Rampton, 1997, p. 330)

To start thinking relationships between language, ethnicities and national identity in the contemporary world, I pose a Foucauldian question: what are the conditions in which two Generation 1.5 Japanese college students construct national identities in particular ways as analyzed above (cf. Foucault, 1972)? Rather wary of taking a reductionist “discourse-as-society” view, which underestimates the non-discursive and material conditions of the world (Mey, 2003; Luke, 2002), I consider social practices in which they engage in and out of school, as an important factor (cf. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, pp. 28-29; Harvey, 1996, p. 87) in order to make sense of their ambivalent articulation of Japanese identity in spite of their highly negative stances toward Japan/Japanese. I discuss the issue both from discursive-social-constructionist and non-discursive-social-practice perspectives since discourse as a form of social practice and non-discursive facets stand in a dialectic relationship (de Cillia et al., 1999, p. 157; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 6 and *passim*).

On the one hand, if we look at the social-construction-by-discourse aspects in the situated context, it is notable that by creatively using the existing linguistic resources, the participants represent and enact national identities to fit the purposes of interaction with the interviewer. For

example, in their uses of pronouns as metadiscursive labels, both participants use “they” to refer to both Japanese and Americans, which indicates their ambiguous national identity at the moment. Further, Marco employs “you” to talk about hypothetical agents who follow the two different interactional norms, by which he does not commit himself to a particular national identity, and then he moves to the collective “we” as Japanese. The situated discourse that Marco and Shoko produced exemplifies some of the “infinite discursive possibilities for talking about ‘us’ and ‘them’”(Billig, 1995, p. 87) in the discourses of nationality. However, rather paradoxically, they articulate their own national identity as Japanese in spite of their highly negative stances toward Japanese. Why? How can we explain the paradox?

In order to explain the paradoxical national identification, as I indicated, it is necessary to extend the scope of data from text-internal analysis to social practice (cf. Scheuer, 2003). To bridge the gap between text-internal, discursive data and text-external phenomena, the notion of *habitus* as “a system of lasting, transposable dispositions” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82) should be introduced. For the purposes of discussion, I use *habitus* to refer to both practices “embodied in individuals” and “a collective ... phenomenon, mutually adjusted for and by a social group” (Jenkins, 2002, p.79), which are dialectically related. The former type of *habitus* as embodied practices that I observed in and outside the interviews is provided as illustrative examples, which evidence their routines in their life trajectory.

Further, we need to consider language ideology or metadiscourses that frame situated discourse. Mindful of many ways to “consuming nationalism,” including resistance to it (Wertsch, 1997) in situated contexts, I still argue that the discursive space available to the participants is constrained by and located within the ideologies of nation-states in the discourses of nationality, which derive from the Enlightenment (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 1995, pp. 94-121) and dictate that “a man [*sic*] must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears” (Gellner, 1983, p. 6). Thus, the participants have to construct themselves as either Japanese or American because each of us is “*homo nationalis*” or “a member of a national community who enjoys or endures state support and regulation in daily routines from cradle to grave” (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 30), who is (re)produced by the practices of “banal nationalism” (Billig, 1995), referring to the mundane, pervasive and taken-for-granted aspects of nationalism. If the participants cannot perceive themselves as Americans, the only choice available in the discursive field is “Japanese,” even if their Japanese-ness is hedged by “Americanized” (Shoko) or “displaced” (Marco), their emotional affiliation is not with Japan/Japanese, and they do not speak Japanese as an ideological symbol of nationality with fluency to their satisfaction. The metonymic image of “banal nationalism,” is that of the U.S. flag hanging “unnoticed” on the public building, rather than fervently waved (Billig, 1995, p. 8). However, the practice of displaying the flag, among other banal nationalistic practices,

may work as a daily reminder, mostly unconsciously, of their being “non-American” for the diasporic Japanese participants living in the U.S. for most of their lifetime.

What are other “daily routines” or habitus to make them *homo nationalis*? At the beginning of the metalinguistic interview, Marco voluntarily wrote down his and his sister’s names on my field note in the Japanese orthography called *kanji*, by which he seemed to have displayed his ‘real’ Japanese-ness to the interviewer/author, who had been rather unresponsive or perhaps unsympathetic to his stories by not strongly agreeing with him (cf. Excerpts 5 and 6). I only present the first letter of his first name and the last letter of his sisters’ first name that Marco wrote down to secure their anonymities (Figures 5.3a and 5.3b):

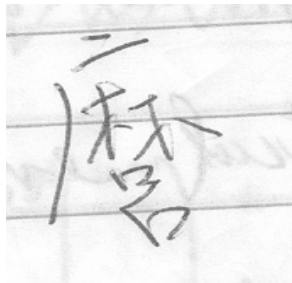


Figure 5.3a: Part of Marco’s first name in Japanese orthography

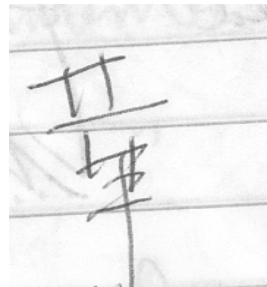


Figure 5.3b: Part of Marco’s sister’s first name in Japanese orthography

It can be argued that by writing down his and his sister's names in the Japanese orthography, Marco strategically displays the habitus he acquired through early socialization as Japanese to compensate for his relatively "non-pure" Japanese features, among which his not being able to communicate in Japanese is prominent. He seemed to be aware of the point by mentioning his lack of Japanese ability in his early school days in the interview, and thus he embodied something that is strongly associated with Japanese, i.e. 'fluently' writing down his and his sister's official names represented in their passports.

As for Shoko, I observed her outside the interviews and tutoring settings several times in the community. She was always with her Anglo-American friends, with whom she also lived as a roommate. Further, despite my advice as a tutor to have a Japanese conversation partner, she never attempted to make friends with Japanese college students whose dominant language is Japanese to my knowledge. Her Anglo-American oriented human relationship is realized as her "linguistic habitus" (Scheuer, 2003) in the form of strongly monolingual bias. When she speaks in English in the interviews, she never mixes Japanese words despite talking to me, which indicates her socialization in the United States in which being "bilingual" is stigmatized because the term is associated with a non-proficient English speaker (Valdés et al., 2003). In this respect, her English sounds indistinguishable from monolingual English speakers, even with a southern accent (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997). However, in the metalinguistic interview at a local Japanese restaurant, while

speaking in English, she suddenly uttered a Japanese word “*itadaki-masu*” (literally, “I am going to eat”) with the gesture of Buddhist praying before eating to express her gratitude to my treatment and the food, which indicates her early socialization or the *habitus* that she acquired in her middle-class Japanese family.

Generally, what can we know by listening to and analyzing the voices from those who had “experiences that hitherto may have been rather sidelined” (Rampton, 1977, p. 330)? What are the implications of the analysis for larger social processes? Particularly, I consider implications for “globalization” (cf. Block & Cameron, 2002; Giddens, 1990, 2000; Appadurai, 1990) in a diasporic context (cf. Clifford, 1994; Hall, 1990), specifically at the U.S. educational institution. If “globalization” is conceptualized as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1990, p. 64), several dimensions of the phenomenon can be identified. Drawing on Appadurai’s (1990) formulations, I argue that what we have been discussing is mainly on the dimensions of “ethnoscapes,” defined as “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live” (e.g., tourists, immigrants, refugees or exiles) (p. 297) and of “ideoscapes,” referring to “concatenations of images, but ... [ones which] frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements

explicitly oriented to capturing state power ... composed of elements of the Enlightenment world-view” (p. 299) realized in situated contexts (see Chapter 1 for examples of ethnoscapes).

From the analysis, we see that what is crucially at stake is the *conflict* between ethnoscapes and ideoscapes. In other words, we live in the world in which we see and live with people from thousands of miles away on a daily basis while we (including diasporic people) are strongly dominated by the early modern ideologies derived from the Enlightenment, such as the autonomous nation-states as “agents” (Giddens, 1990) and as “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1991). Some of the social scientists indicate the “demise” of the nation-states in the globalization era while others oppose it (cf. Block & Cameron, 2002; Giddens, 1990; 2000). It is my hope that the present study provided some implications for the issue of the “scapes” of globalization from a micro-analytic perspective and informed the debate about the tension between globalization and nationalism. Rather than dichotomously asking whether the nation-states have declined or not in the “globalized” world, it is useful to study situated interaction in which how the influences of the nation-states on the local are “felt” as human effects in relation to the global context.

In theoretical terms, the microanalysis of situated discourse connects with larger sociological issues by taking into account the indexical nature of utterances and the practices that we engage in. Further, as Allan Luke points out, we need a new epistemology for a new ontology that has not been well-documented in CDA. In other words, going beyond the present preoccupation with mass

media and dominant discourses, we should engage with new “objects” or a new ontology, including “diasporic voices” and “hybrid identity” (Luke, 2002, pp.106-107), which I have been discussing by analyzing situated discourse co-constructed with the “diasporic” and “hybrid” participants. By so doing, I attempted to address one of the crucial concerns in CDA from a multidisciplinary perspective: construction of self and others with reference to national identities (cf. de Cillia et al., 1999).

On the other hand, to produce new theories on the social as a new epistemology, I argue that the first possible step is for micro-discourse analysts to engage in multidisciplinary research (cf. Ochs, 1990, p. 305) to gain insights into, heuristics to or ‘sensitizing’ concepts for large social phenomena on the global scale. Then, they can in turn contribute to the multidisciplinary discussion from a new perspective by providing concrete, clear but subtle empirical evidence in a case study (cf. Rampton, 2001a). In this study, I hope to have demonstrated that the assumption of “the essentialist symmetries between language, culture, and nation that we continue to take for granted” (Luke, 2002, p. 108) is morally objectionable and intellectually questionable (cf. Rampton, 1995). For example, we need to complicate or problematize our understanding of the issue of positive “self”-(re)presentation vs. negative “other”-(re)presentation (cf. de Cillia et al., 1999, p. 163) in a new ontological world in which who is the “self” and who is the “other” is not to

be assumed a priori because of the highly context-dependent nature of (national) identity construction, especially for the diasporic participants.

Finally, it is hoped that the line of thought I followed is one of the possible directions we can take to investigate new configurations of language, ethnicities and national identity in late modernity (cf. Leung et al., 1997).

CHAPTER 6 LITERACY PRACTICES OF JFL LEARNERS

Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, ‘How shall I live?’ has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity.

(Giddens, 1991, p. 14)

6.0. Introduction

In this chapter, first I situated myself in the researcher-researched models proposed by Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson (1992); then I analyze advanced Japanese language learners’ literacy practices from the ‘ideological’ model of literacy (Street, 1984) (see 2.2.4). More specifically, I focus on three literacy events that occurred in the computer lab of the program with my key participants (Dan, Ace, Harry and Jane) in the spring semester of 2003. The events’ main function was to do homework or study for quizzes for the Japanese course the participants were taking, though they also talked about non-task related issues such as J-pop culture such as songs or Japanese comics.

By examining the JFL learners' literacy practices, I attempt to demonstrate that apparently decontextualized literacy practices are not only locally situated but also embedded in larger social processes such as routine classroom interactions in which they have been socialized, or global information flows (cf. Appadurai, 1990), such as Japanese pop music, computer games imported from Japan or Japanese comic books. For example, one of the learners animated Japanese language learning by singing a Japanese pop song in a literacy event, which broadens the scope of the 'ideological' model (Street, 1984) or the conceptualizations of literacy as social practices, from a remarkably neglected area in sociolinguistics, i.e., foreign language learning (cf. Rampton, 1999; 2002). By investigating the literacy practices, I partially answer the question of "why Japanese language learning matters" for the JFL learners as part of the general concern with "why literacy matters?" I suggest that literacy is deeply related to the issue of identity construction, drawing on Giddens (1991) and Appadurai (1990).

6.1. Three Models of Researcher and Researched (Cameron et al., 1992; 1993)

I start with historical features of the mainstream sociolinguistic research in terms of relationship between researcher and researched, discussed by Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson (1992; 1993) and situate myself in the researcher vs. researched relationship terms. Cameron et al. (1992, p. 3) point out that historically in linguistics, anthropology or other social

science disciplines, it has been institutionalized and become ‘natural’ for white researchers (‘we’) to work in non-white communities (‘them’). However the researcher-researched issue has been recently becoming more complicated, such as black researchers working in black communities (cf. Clifford, 1986, pp. 8-13). In contrast the present study is oriented to problematizing or going beyond the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ relation.

Against the historical background and my own orientations, what positions can I take as a researcher? Based on the formulations by Cameron et al. (1992, pp. 12-27; 1993), I can not only take a positivistic position of research *on* subjects (ethics position) but can do research *for* subjects’ interests as well as *on* them (advocacy position); in addition to these options, to do research *with* subjects or “participants,” interacting with each other with an open agenda, can be more ‘empowering’ or potentially useful for both researcher and researched (empowerment position). Among them, I adopt the most radical *with* model, in addition to the *on* and *for* models. By conceptualizing the relationship by the *with* model, I represent the fact that my subject positions were actually in tension with participants’ positions in some cases, rather than completely erasing disagreements in writing up the research report (Canagarajah, 1995; Rabinow, 1986), in my attempt to engage in research that is “at once reflexive and critically relevant” (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 181). We should be reflexive of “how [our] research has shaped the very discourses [we] are studying” (ibid.). The point becomes particularly crucial when the researcher and the researched

engage in discussions of wars in the next chapter, but it should be noted that in the literacy events under consideration, I was often an active participant, rather than a passive observer, which is reflected in the data.

6.2. Discourses in Literacy Events

As noted in Chapter 3, I successfully obtained access to the social networks of white middle-class Americans, established and maintained an amicable relationship for an extended period of time. How did I establish my role as a helpful tutor, not just as a researcher/observer? The main locus for establishing and maintaining the relation is in the sorts of interaction I developed with the participants over a period of time. I exemplify “ways of speaking” (Hymes, 1972) or routine interactions, which recurrently occurred in the literacy events. Further I describe their stances toward Japanese expressed during literacy events and discuss how the language learning is related to the participants’ daily routines and concerns. As foreshadowed in Chapter 3, Japanese pop culture is important for some learners and the key participants showed strong interests in music or games. For example, Hikaru Utada, English-Japanese bilingual J-pop singer, is Ace’s favorite and he often mentioned her during the literacy events; Dan was often playing with a game boy imported from Japan on which all the instructions and results were displayed in Japanese. These

are some of the stances that my participants displayed toward Japanese during the literacy events, which indicate their daily concerns.

6.2.1. Routine Interaction, Non-referential Communication, and Animated Literacy Practice

The participants and I engaged in literacy events for Japanese language learning in the computer lab about three times a week in the spring of 2003. To characterize the interactions, I exemplify three episodes, taken from the recorded data: routine interaction (Excerpt 1), my interaction with a Japanese teacher, Mr. T, who worked for the program while Dan and Ace listened to our conversation (Excerpt 2), and Ace singing a J-pop song to animate the literacy practice of memorizing a definition of a word in Japanese for an exam (Excerpt 3).

In the following, participants are Dan, 19, Ace, 21, both Anglo-Americans, and Masa, author/researcher on April, 2003; Dan is reading the textbook of his Japanese class to answer one of the questions of his homework in the computer lab, while Masa and Ace are with him.

(Excerpt 1)

1. Dan: Why is (xxx) getting money for the wedding vicious cycle? (1.0)

→ What is *tomona*? **[Initiation/ Request for Information]**

2. Masa: Huh? [request for clarification]
3. Dan: *Tomona* [repeating the word by reproducing it]
4. Masa: *Tomona?* = [repeating the word to express incomprehension]
5. Dan: =Yeah
6. Masa: Huh? *Tomona?* [repeating the word to express incomprehension]
7. Dan: That is what I've got written down right here ((showing the Japanese word))
8. Masa: *Ah tomonai ne* ("Oh you mean "*tomonai*")
9. Dan: Yeah
10. → Masa: *Tomonai* involving something with something= **[Response]**
11. → Dan: =Oh Yeah Alright OK **[Confirmation/acknowledgement]**

Excerpt (1) exemplifies a routine interaction or one of the discourse patterns that recurrently occurred in the literacy events for task-oriented purposes, such as doing homework. The overall interaction has the "reverse" structure of initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) sequence (Mehan, 1985), which is typical of the mainstream classroom discourse and can be seen as an instance of "reproduction of society": Dan, student, initiates the interaction by asking a question (line 1), and then Masa, tutor/unofficial teacher, answers the question by providing the metalinguistic gloss in English (line 10); then Dan acknowledges it (line 11). I call it "reverse" because Dan's role is

normally played by teacher and Masa's role is taken up by student. However, it should be noted that there are quite many repairs in the interaction (line 2-7). The Japanese word *tomona* Dan asks (line 1) does not make sense to Masa because of its incomplete morphological form. Masa expresses incomprehension in line 2; Dan repeats it in line 3 and the repair goes on until Dan ostensibly indicates the target word on the book in line 7. The interaction is, however, successful in that Dan obtains the necessary information. Why does the talk end up being successful? First, both Dan and Masa, as 'well-schooled' students, know what they are doing and where they are going; above all, both are willing to communicate in spite of the many repairs in the interaction in order to learn Japanese (or to get the homework done) for Dan and to obtain data for Masa.

However, there are some interactions in which exchanging strictly referential meaning of language is not necessarily required. For example, Dan and Ace were quite happy listening to an incomprehensible conversation between Masa and Mr. T., one of the instructors working at the program. Mr. T seemed to be rather curious about what we were doing and sometimes stopped by to check in. I illustrate one occasion in which Mr. T and Masa were talking about Dan and Ace's Japanese literacy level, a question posed by Dan while Dan and Ace were listening to our conversation. The Japanese conversation contains relatively complex topics and turn exchanges, which I only partially reproduce (lines 1-4). The way Dan and Ace responded shows that the conversation was incomprehensible to the extent that they were not able to relate their responses to

the referential meaning of the conversation. In the middle of Masa's talk (line 4), though at a "transition relevance place" (Sacks et al., 1974), Ace says, "*soudesuka*" ("is that so?") in Japanese (line 5) and then Dan connects the voices of Mr. T and Masa to those in the outside world, *manga* or *anime* characters (lines 6 and 8). As I briefly explained in Chapter 3, *manga* is a kind of cartoon books for adolescents, which are quite popular in Japan. Like Dan and Ace, some JFL students are quite interested in *manga*.

In Excerpt (2), Mr. T, instructor at the program and Masa were talking in Japanese, while Dan and Ace first listening to them in March, 2003 in the computer lab. Mr. T and Masa were discussing complex issues in Japanese for a couple of minutes, such as comparison between the JFL students' reading material and the corresponding literacy level in Japan. Boldfaced words are the focus of analytic points as well as the lines indicated by arrows.

(Excerpt 2)

1. Mr. T: *Demo koukou no sensei dattan desu yone?* ("But you were a high school teacher, weren't you?")
2. Masa: *Demo kougyou koukou toka itteru yatsu de kanji de osaka toka kakenai yatsu to ka* ("But, some students who go to vocational schools for engineering or something cannot write Osaka in *kanji* or")

3. Mr. T: *Kakenai ko wa ne kakenai* (“There are students who cannot write [but]”)
4. Masa: *Demo yomeruka demone orera wa shiranai kedo ne kekko nihonjin mo ne jitsu wa kaisotoka ga attene* = (“But they should be able to read, well, but actually, we may not be aware of this, but there are huge class differences among Japanese and”)
5. → Ace: = *Soudesuka* (“Is that so?”)
6. → Dan: You guys speak a lot more like **manga** than Suzuki does
7. Masa: Huh?
8. → Dan: You guys speak a lot more like **anime** and **manga** than Suzuki does Suzuki *sensei*

It can be seen that Ace and Dan do not seem to follow the Japanese conversation. In line 5, Ace uses a passing strategy (“Is that so?”) to join the conversation and Dan compares Mr. T and Masa’s voices to those of *manga* characters in line 6. Further, Dan contrasts them with his classroom JFL teacher, Suzuki *sensei* or Ms. Suzuki in line 8. At the end of the literacy event analyzed above, Dan was talking to Ace about having a Japanese conversation partner, though at the beginning of the semester, he was not enthusiastic about having one when I attempted to introduce one. Dan said to Ace and Masa: “we need definitely language partners. That helps a lot. Actually I think just listening to you and Mr. T speak helps a lot.” Thus, relatively unintelligible talk between two

Japanese speakers ended up motivating or leading Dan to “invest” his time (cf. Norton, 2000) in Japanese language learning more. The face-to-face interaction with the “natives” was related to the outside world that is relevant and of interest to the learners’ life world.

As an example of J-pop culture becoming prominent, I found Ace’s use of a J-pop song to memorize a Japanese word interesting. Ace sang a rap-like song to animate the learning of a metalinguistic definition of a word just before taking the written mid-term examination on April 30. In other words, by using music or the indexical function of language, Ace attempts to enhance the referential function of language learning while entertaining the peers. The definition he attempts to memorize is: “*O-chuu-gen wa osewa ni natteiru hito ni okuru okurimono desu yo*” meaning, “*O-chuu-gen* is a kind of gift that you send to people who help/take care of you”:

In the following, participants are Dan, 19, Ace, 21, Harry, 20 and Jane, 22 are Anglo-American advanced Japanese language learners and Masa, the researcher/author in April, 2003, in the computer lab. Ace is trying to memorize the definition of a word *o-chuu-gen* in Japanese for the final written exam by singing a J-pop song

(Excerpt 3)

((Ace is singing to memorize the definition of a Japanese word, *o-chuu-gen*))

1. Ace: ((♪♪♪)) *Osewa ni natte iru [hito ni ageru okuru okurimono desuyo*

2. Masa: [Yeah I know that=
3. Dan: =Everyone needs (xxx)
4. Ace: ((♪♪♪)) *Okuri mono desuyo desuyo desuyo desuyo osewani natette iru hito ni ageru*
okurimono desuyo
5. Masa: ((hehehe))
6. Other learners: ((hehehe))

6.3. Discussion

I discuss why Japanese language learning matters for the participants. To answer it, more specific questions are: what kind of cultural resource is Japanese for the participants? How is the language learning related to their daily concerns? For those learners like Dan and Ace, Japanese is not only a purely referential linguistic resource to express themselves in another language but also a cultural resource for crossing ethnic and national boundaries (Rampton, 1995) and enriching self-identity (Giddens, 1991). The excerpts above illustrate how JFL students link language to music, animation or *manga* characters, or computer games, all of which I observed in the literacy events

To conceptualize these cultural and material conditions and practices, it may be helpful to connect the ‘local’ with the ‘global’ or reflect upon the implications of the statement that “localities are thoroughly penetrated by distanced influences” (Giddens, 1991, p. 188; cf. Appadurai, 1990):

Ace and Dan incorporate some “elements of mediated experience into their day-to-day conduct” (ibid.), such as music, animation or other pop cultural resources that are produced thousands of miles away or in Japan. For example, Ace wrote lyrics in Japanese, imitating J-pop songs. I read and corrected his Japanese and in return, he lent me some of his J-pop music CDs I had never listened to (and I learned to like the music). In this sense, Ace taught J-pop culture (music) to the Japanese researcher. This was made possible because of the ‘local’ penetration by the ‘global’ in terms of information flow or “mediascapes,” referring to “the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information” (Appadurai, 1990) in the growing disjuncture, for example, between the producers and the consumers of J-pop music.

From these observations, it is argued that Japanese language learning for the participants is part of reflexive construction and negotiation of self-identity by incorporating the ‘other’s’ identity. Literacies for Japanese language learning are relevant to their daily concerns in “[late] modernity,” which can be defined as “a post-traditional order, in which the question, ‘How shall I live?’ has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity” (Giddens, 1991, p. 14). The language learning is one of the “many other things” along with “what to wear or what to eat” for Dan and Ace, who learn Japanese as part of constant construction, negotiation and transformation of their identities.

As an illustrative event, I found, to my disappointment, that all of my four key participants did not take the upper-most level course for JFL learners (eighth semester level course) in the spring of 2004. One of the participants, Ace, told me that the main reasons were that it started too early in the morning (at 8:00 a.m.) and the professor was not his favorite. However, I should not regard Ace as a ‘non-serious’ Japanese learner; the ‘style’ of Japanese learning available in the program is not his own preferred one. He decided to go to Japan as an exchange student to become a Japanese major in September 2004, which requires quite an investment of time and effort. Dan, a computer science major, audited a mid-advanced course (the sixth semester course) to brush up or not forget Japanese he learned in the spring of 2004. Taking the emic perspectives, both of them are ‘serious’ Japanese language learners within the social constraints of foreign language learning in the US context in which there are no urgent socio-political reasons to learn Japanese. Harry, who is a pre-med student, was quite busy studying for his MCAT examination in the semester. Jane went to another university to study geology, which is her major. However, I argue that all of them engaged in and enjoyed studying Japanese for their identity construction and negotiation until the fall semester in 2003.

From these considerations, literacy or literacies for Japanese learning are actually “implicated deeply in the forming of identities and subjectivities” (Collins, 1995, p. 81) and some aspects of Japanese culture (J-pop music, computer games, *manga*, etc.) are not ‘exotic’ but very relevant and

‘real’ to their daily concerns. Learning Japanese gave them more direct access to the cultural products of their interest and concern. That’s why, at least partly, Japanese language learning matters for them. However, one of the identities is strongly believed to be unchangeable or absolute for many people, including the JFL participants: their national identity as American, to which I now turn.

CHAPTER 7 DISCOURSES OF NATIONALISM

A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events. (Goffman, 1981, p. 128)

There is no necessary limit to ... contextualizations and discourse histories – to the sense in which a multitude of other dialogues are implicated in the one at hand. By the same token, ... there is no necessary limit to the participation frames that can be imposed on the pragmatic present, fragmenting its participant roles and recombining them, in a complex calculus of mapping roles onto persons present and absent ... The intricate laminations of participant roles, the many shadow conversations they reflect, and the discourses they inform belong to the same dialogic process. (Irvine, 1996, p. 157)

7.0. Introduction

Despite the solidarities in the literacy events, a contingent socio-political issue also recurrently influenced our interactions to a significant degree: the occurrence of the War in Iraq in the spring of 2003. I focus on one literacy event on April 7, 2003, in which the participants talked about wars. First, it is shown that the production of the discourses of wars was triggered by a discussion of a website that sold wacky Japanese T-shirts, representing some images of Japan or Japanese. Then, I schematize how the identities of participants are flexibly negotiated in interaction within the ideologies of nation-states, which demonstrates a tension between fragmentation or “centrifugal” forces, and unification or “centripetal” forces of culture (Bakhtin, 1981; Strauss & Quinn, 1997), with the latter stronger. To capture the stronger unification tendencies, I propose that the discourse genre (Hanks, 1987) of “Orientalism,” or the East vs. the West dichotomy (Said, 1978), be posited for further inquiry. The hypothesized genre is arguably part of the linguistic repertoires widely available to American English speakers, though the question of how pervasive and psychologically ‘deep’ the dichotomizing genre is requires more empirical research.

Theoretically, I address the controversy among representative practitioners of conversation analysis (CA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Schegloff, 1997; Wetherell, 1998; Billig & Schegloff, 1999; cf. van Dijk, 1999; I. Mey, 2001; Blommaert et al., 2001; Scheuer, 2003, for evaluations) and attempt to reconcile CA with CDA by critically appropriating some analytic

points of the debate from a linguistic anthropological perspective (see 2.3-2.4). To do so, I extend the database to another occasion of talk and embed the discourses of wars in a literacy event both dialogically (Bakhtin, 1981) and interdiscursively (Fairclough, 1992) into other discourses to demonstrate that the participants had been particularly concerned with their national identity during this particular period of time of the ongoing war in Iraq. By “dialogical” I mean the assumption that we produce utterances by appropriating historically prior utterances and in anticipation to the future utterances. The concept of “interdiscursivity” is adopted to make explicit the sort of intertextual relation that involves more than two different types of discourse, such as the discourse in a literacy event and the media discourse, between which I found a interdiscursive relation.

7.1. Literacy Event on April 7th in 2003

The following literacy event occurred on April 7th in 2003. It was during the period of the War in Iraq, about which the participants and I often talked in and outside school. In the event, Dan and Ace gave up doing the homework they were supposed to do for the day because of its extreme difficulty. Instead, they decided to study only for a quiz. However, Ace digressed from the task and showed me a website at www.jlist.com. We particularly enjoyed talking about a page that sold wacky Japanese T-shirts. On the T-shirts and sweat-shirts, (stereo)typical images of Japanese,

Americans, historical Japan-U.S. related themes are written in Japanese with pictures. I list some of the T-shirts that received extensive comments. For example, a T-shirt with Japanese *kanji* letters “*Son-no-jo-i*” (“Respect the Emperor. Expel Foreign Barbarians”) refers to a social movement which occurred when Matthew C. Perry, commander of the United States naval forces, came to Japan to open its doors for trading at the end of the 19th century (Figure 7.1). The shirt saying, “Looking for a Japanese girlfriend” in Japanese represents a common practice of an American male seeking a Japanese female partner (and often vice versa) (Figure 7.2). The most relevant to the following interaction is a T-shirt having *kanji* letters of “*Kichiku-bei-hei*” (“Dirty American Devils”), which was a derogatory term used to refer to American soldiers during World War Two (Figure 7.3). This particular T-shirt strongly attracted our attention (see Excerpt 4) and the term



Figure 7.1: *Son-nou-jou-i* (“Respect the Emperor. Expel Foreign Barbarians”)



Figure 7.2: *Nihon-jin-kanojo-bo-shuu-chuu* (“Looking for a Japanese girlfriend”)



Figure 7.3: *Kichiku-bei-hei* (“Dirty American Devils”)

was appropriated (lines 15, 18, 21) and repeated by the participants (lines 22-23) in the literacy event.

The following dialogue occurred between Dan and Ace, both Anglo-American advanced Japanese language learners, and Masa, the researcher/author in the computer lab of the Japanese language program on April, 7th in 2003. Dan and Ace were studying for a quiz in front of a computer screen, displaying the page for wacky Japanese T-shirts on the web and the participants' attention was directed to a particular T-shirt, which had *kanji* characters saying “*kichiku-bei-hei*” or “Dirty American Devils” (Figure 7.3), a derogatory term used to refer to American soldiers by Japanese during World War Two. I provide my translation in parentheses with double-quotes, my comments are in double parentheses and boldfaced words are for analytic attention.

(Excerpt 4)

1. Masa: ((In Japanese)) *Are shukudai wa* (“Oh, homework?”)

How is your homework?

2. Dan: I haven't done it

3. Masa: Give up?

4. Dan: [Yeah

Ace: [*Todokeru* (“deliver”) ((memorizing Japanese words on the book by articulating them))

5. Masa: Why?
6. Dan: Because he's telling me that we might have a quiz today and I'd rather
[do better on the quiz than turn in the homework]
7. Masa: Ok
8. Ace: [*O-shou-gatsu* ("New Year")]
9. Dan: [((humming))]
10. Ace: [*Kou-kan-suru* ("exchange") *Kan-ko-kyaku* ("sight-seer")]

I want to be I want to be this summer *kankoukyaku ni naritai* ("I want to be a
sightseer")
11. Masa: *Kankoukyaku ni naritai* ("You want to be a sightseer") ((2.0))

Nihon de ("in Japan?")
12. Dan: Yeah
13. Ace: In **Japan** I (xxx) loud obnoxious (xxx) **American** patches on my clothes
- Masa: [(hehehe)]
14. Dan: **American** patches (hehehe) have a little **flag** you hang on your

[backpack]
15. Ace: [(xxx) what is (xxx) something *kichikubeihei*=
16. Masa: =*Kichiku beihei* T-shirt (hehehe) That's funny [Kichiku beihei T-shirt]

17. Dan: ((Talking to Jane, who just came into the room)) [What's up?
18. Ace: *Kichikubeihei* ("Dirty American Devil")
- ((in *ninja* register)) *Sessha wa sessha wa kichiku beihei de gozaru* ("I am I am *kichikubeihei*")
19. Dan: What is it? Is that the bad word for **American**? Is that the word for devil? Is the bad word for **American** the word for devil too?
20. Masa: [(**American** xxx)
21. → Ace: [That's like, **we** called **them** Japs in **the** war and **they** called **us** *kichikubeihei* or something=
22. Dan: =yeah (2.0) *kichiku bei hei*
23. Ace: *Kichiku bei hei*

Excerpt (4) is part of the literacy event in which after Ace and Masa talked about the web page, Ace starts to study with Dan to memorize Japanese words for a quiz (lines 1-9). The term *kan-kou-kyaku* or "sight-seer" that Ace is trying to memorize triggers his plan to go to Japan and become a sightseer in summer, connecting the target word with his near future (line 10). At the same time Ace refers to the web page that sells the *kichiku-bei-hei* T-shirt and appropriates the term (line 15). Masa finds Ace's mentioning the T-shirt with the derogatory term "funny" (line 16).

Dan, who did not listen to Ace and Masa when they were talking about the web page, asks the meaning of the word (line 19). Ace answers, “that’s like we called them Japs in the war and they called us *kichiku-bei-hei* or something” (line 21), which makes the participant roles explicit and exclusive but in “a playful key” (Goffman, 1974, p. 82). Simultaneously Ace makes a parallel comparison between the similar naming practice of Americans and Japanese. Thus, Ace frames the event in “a form of make-believe” (ibid. p. 52) by playfully highlighting the “us-Americans” vs. “them-Japanese” in the past, which fought the world war. I schematize the moment based on interactional positioning analysis (Wortham, 2001):

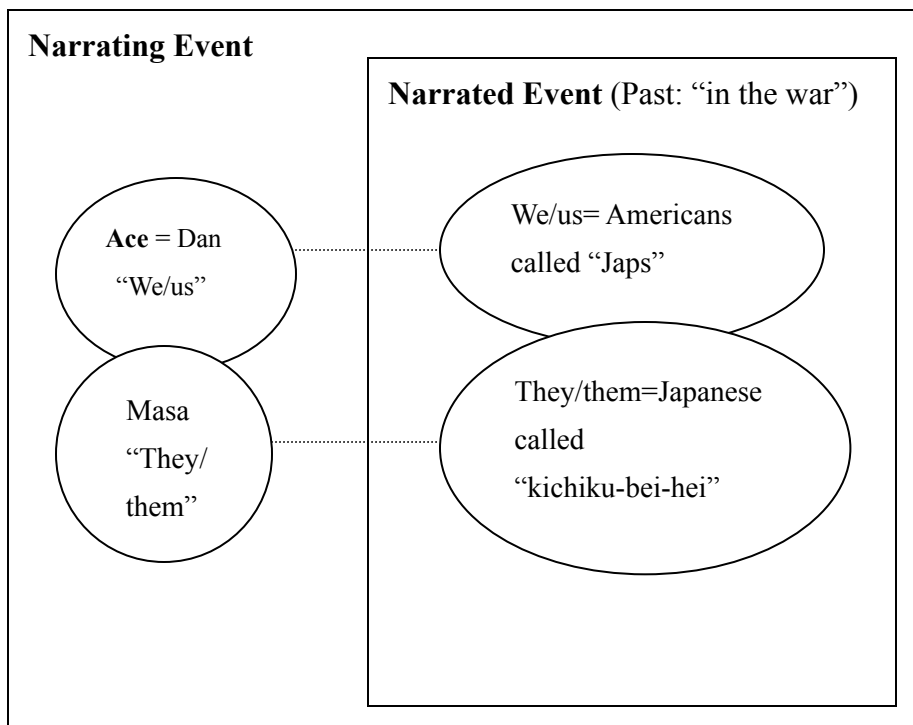


Figure 7.4: Emergent “we vs. they” participant roles in Ace narrating “We called them Japs in the war and they called us *kichiku-bei-hei* or something” in a playful key

Following Goffman (1974, pp. 81-82), I posit (at least) two “layers” or “laminations” of the event. On the one hand, as the inner layer of the event, the footing (Goffman, 1981) or participant roles are: Ace is the speaker and author, who answers Dan’s question (line 19) and only talks to him in the sequential context while interrupting Masa (line 20). However, not only is the co-text relevant to analyze the participant roles but the metadiscourses or language ideologies (Woolard, 1998) become crucial at the moment (cf. 2.3). Ace presupposes that Dan and he himself are Americans (cf. line 13) while Masa is not. Thus, Dan becomes the only addressed recipient of the utterance interactionally while Masa is relegated to a ratified but not addressed recipient (Goffman, 1981). Ace identifies Dan and himself with the past Americans, by using “we/us” as metadiscursive labels. Similarly, Masa is identified with “they/them” Japanese by not being included in the “we/us” category. The dotted line shows these identifications. Simultaneously new context is created in that participant roles are made explicit by mapping the participants into the corresponding national identities. It is at the moment of line 21 that both presupposing and entailing or creative nature of pronouns becomes evident in the discursive practice of “othering” as a social exclusionary or “minoritizing” use (Coupland, 1999).

On the other hand, at the “rim” of the event (Goffman, 1974), Ace frames the utterance as “play”; he makes fun of the mutual use of the derogatory terms during the war by using parallel structure, prefaced by “that’s like” in line 21. Thus, rather than interpreting the narrating event as if

Ace and Dan as Americans were fighting Masa as Japanese (cf. Figure 7.7), I represent both the interactional positioning and the denotational meaning as overlapping because his utterance in line 21 is solidarity-creating and mitigates the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ relation by ironically highlighting it. From this perspective, the moment of the utterance 21 can be seen as a form of multiculturalism or perhaps cosmopolitanism. However, I argue that the utterance only relates to the past American-Japanese history; Ace does not question the totalizing language ideologies of nationalism at all by presupposing the “we-us” Americans vs. “they-them” Japanese dichotomy at present. Thus, the utterance 21 is produced playfully within the discursive space of nationalism or should be seen as an example of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) becoming manifest at the interactional level (see 5.4 for the case of Generation 1.5 Japanese).

The event in Excerpt 4 is immediately followed by a contingent encounter with Mr. K (or *K-san*) in his late seventies, who happened to pass by. After his retirement, Mr. K immigrated to the United States with his family. Mr. K regularly comes to the program to help teachers with grading homework or to play a model speaker role in class as a volunteer. In Excerpt 5, Masa talks to Mr. K about Ace and Dan’s learning the ‘bad’ word (line 24), and Ace speaks to him in Japanese, using a special register associated with *ninja* or *samurai* with secret missions in a joking manner to Mr. K (line 25). Masa (the author) and Ace are unintentionally insensitive to say the word to Mr. K, who must have had direct experiences of World War Two. He finds the utterances in lines 24 and

25 offensive and responds in Japanese, though not completely audible, to the effect that “Do they know what they are talking about?” (line 26):

(Excerpt 5)

24. Masa: ((In Japanese)) *Warui kotoba bakka oboetendesuyo kichikubeihei toka*

(“They are only trying to learn bad words such as *kichiku-bei-hei*”)

25. Ace: ((In Japanese)) *Sessha wa kichiku beihei de gozaru*= (“I am kichiku-bei-hei”)

26. Mr. K: ((In Japanese)) =*Imiga wakatte (itten xxx) imiga wakatte (xxx)*

(“Do they know what they are talking about?”)

27. Ace: ((In Japanese)) =*Hai imi ga wakaru* (“Yes, I know what I am talking about”)

((Then Mr. K goes away))

28. Dan: I don’t think **he** would find that that yeah I don’t think **he** would find it that **he** wouldn’t

find it that funny you know

29. Masa: Right

30. Dan: I’m sure like **my grandfather** would be the same way if you start calling people Japs **he’d**

be like “yeah!” you know **he** wouldn’t know you were joking (2.0) That’s so weird to think

about that (1.0)

31 → Back in **his** back in back in **K-san's day his** country **was** fighting **this**

→ country and **now he** lives over **here** that's weird man

32. Masa: Right right

33. Dan: That's weird

34. Masa: Things changed drastically=

35. Dan: =Drastically (2.0) man that's crazy

After Mr. K went away, Dan realizes that Mr. K found the utterances containing the derogatory term “*kichiku-bei-hei*” offensive (line 28), and Masa agrees (line 29). Dan, then, compares Mr. K with his grandfather, who would also not take the corresponding derogatory term “Japs” as a joke by saying, “if you start calling people Japs, he’d be like ‘yeah!’ you know” (line 30). Dan, then, talks about the identity conflict between the present Mr. K and the past Mr. K: “... back in K-san’s day, his country was fighting this country and now he lives over here” (line 31). To schematize the moment of the utterance event, which leads to Dan uttering, “that’s weird man” (line 31).

The brief but critical encounter with Mr. K makes the participant roles explicitly different from those in Excerpt 4: Dan is the speaker and author, while both Ace and Masa are addressed recipients. In the event, the crucial point is that Dan realizes the conflict of metadiscursive

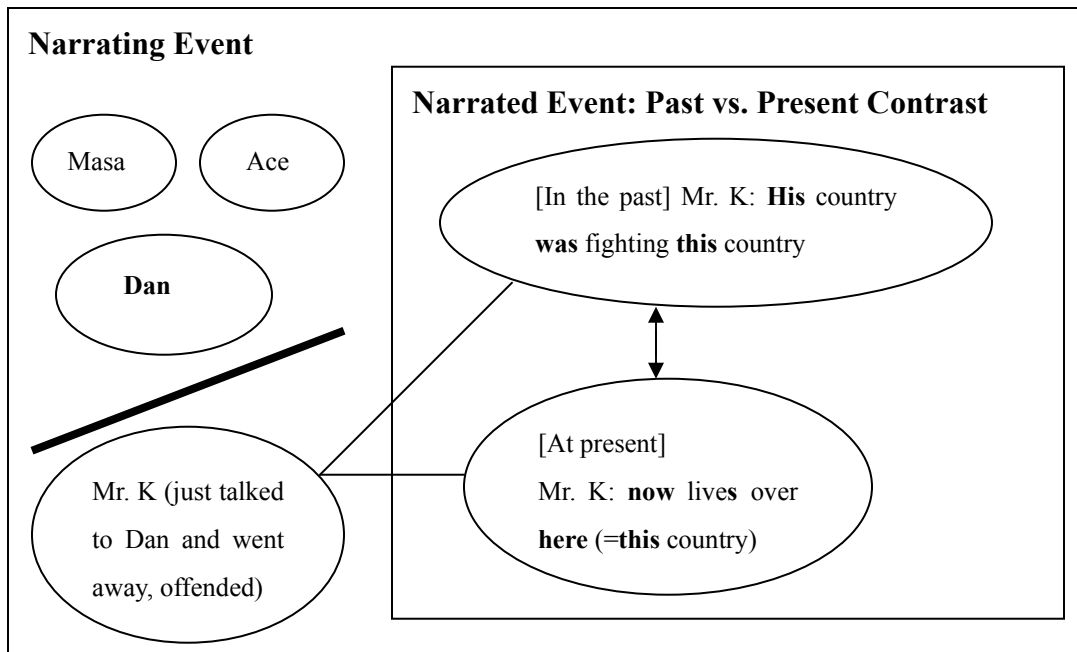


Figure 7.5: Dan narrating, “His country was fighting this country and now he lives over here. That’s weird man”

categories: the past Mr. K as Japanese, who fought “this” country “back” in “his” day or during World War Two, but “now” lives over “here” in “this” country (line 31). Simply put, Mr. K has two conflicting identities in Dan’s mind. Figure 7.5 represents both the narrated event containing both the past Mr. K as one of the “Japs” for Dan’s grandfather and Mr. K who “now lives over here” in “this” country. In the narrating event, Mr. K just went away and is not present, so Dan is talking about him to Ace and Masa: the bold line separating Mr. K from Dan, Ace and Masa represents this fact. It should also be noted that Masa’s nationality as Japanese is not explicitly relevant at the

moment because Dan's focus is on the conflict of Mr. K's identities, and Masa, who does not have the same social history as Mr. K, becomes one of the addressed recipients with Ace. However, in the subsequent part, Ace and Dan start to talk about the topic of the ongoing war in Iraq by linking it with the discourse of Second World War in Excerpt 6, which may indicate the associations of the Second World War with the War in Iraq:

(Excerpt 6)

36. Ace: **All of us** are that way with something right=

37. Dan: =Yeah a hundred and fifty years **Iraq** will be like **everybody**=

38. Ace: = This weekend **they** captured one of the palaces=

39. Masa: = [Huh?

40. Dan: = [Oh really

41. Ace: **They** captured one of Saddam Hussein's palaces=

42. Masa: =Uh-huh

43. Ace: **And the troops** went in there to like use the bathroom and took all his like **they** took his like stuff took his fancy decorations some of the troops took like souvenirs **they** were like there's this statue like in uh in Baghdad of like Saddam Hussein like on a horse or something like waving and **they** blew it up=

44. Dan: =**They** blew it up ((while laughing))

((Discussion on the War in Iraq continues))

In line 36, Ace starts with “all of us,” the meaning of which emerges in line 37 by Dan’s utterance, “yeah, a hundred and fifty years Iraq will be like everybody.” By connecting the event of World War Two to the present warfare, Dan implies that Iraqi people are not “like everybody” at present but Japanese are “like everyone.” Also in line 37, Iraq, the name of the country, metonymically represents the people. To schematize the moment of the utterance event in lines 36-37 in Excerpt 6:

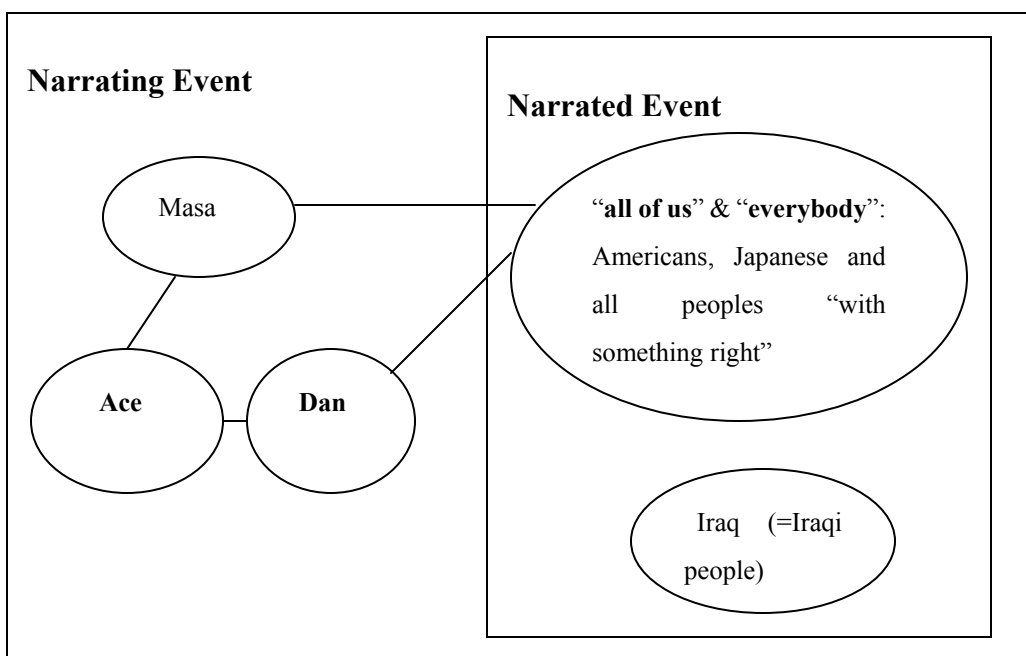


Figure 7.6: The emergent meaning of “all of us” and “everybody” in lines 36-37

Figure 7.6 represents the emergent meaning of “all of us” and “everybody” in lines 36 and 37, in which Dan includes Americans, Japanese and implicitly all the peoples in the world “with something right” in the narrated event. However, the Iraqi people are excluded from “everybody,” because they “will be like everybody” in “a hundred and fifty years” (line 37). All the three participants in the narrating event are connected to “all of us” in the narrated event by the solid lines.

Then, Ace starts talking about the latest development of the war (line 38) and the story goes on as if it were a kind of entertainment (lines 43-44). In line 38, the pronoun “they,” not “we” or “our troops,” is used to refer to the American “troops,” as can be seen from “they” in lines 41, 43 and 44 being co-referents, which may indicate that this is not the first time for Ace and Dan to talk about “they” or the American troops in Iraq, as is evidenced from Dan’s immediate response in line 38 (“Oh really”), as opposed to Masa’s incomprehension in line 39 (“Huh?”). Further the use of “they” as “American troops” or “rangers” is also found in Excerpt (7c) below.

In this section, I discussed the parts of a particular literacy event on April 7th, 2003, in which the discourses of wars made the participants’ roles explicit with particular reference to national identities. For example, in Excerpt 4, the pronouns “we/us” highlight the national difference between Dan and Ace as Americans and Masa as Japanese by the dichotomous discursive practice of ‘othering’ in a playful key. However, in Excerpt 6 “us” includes Masa as Japanese, though Iraqi

people are ‘othered’ because they are not “like everyone.” The analysis demonstrates a tension between the flexibility of indexicality at the interactional level and the dominant language ideologies (Woolard, 1998) of nationalism. At the interactional level, there are three frames or alignments between Dan, Ace and Masa identified (figures 7.4-7.6) and the combinations are infinite in principle. On the one hand, the flexibility indicates “fragmenting tendencies” in late modernity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 137). On the other, all the combinations found are framed within the dominant ideologies of nation-states, which evidence the “totalizing tendencies” or reproduction of structure, as opposed to creative agency in the structure-agency dialectic (ibid.). However, the moment in which Dan realized the conflict of Mr. K’s identity as Japanese in Excerpt 5 gives an insight into conceptualizing national identity as non-absolute pluralized “identities” (Chapter 8).

In relation to dominant language ideologies, the discourses that I analyzed in Excerpts 4-6 may be only contingently produced and not reproduce any larger socially significant discursive patterns – “discourse genres” (Hanks, 1987) defined as “elements of linguistic habitus, consisting of ... schemata on which actors improvise in the course of linguistic production” (p. 670) or “cultural models” (Strauss & Quinn, 1997), which can be found by analyzing “patterns in certain linguistic usage that recur in discourse” (p. 140). In this respect, I found that the topical connection between World War Two with the War in Iraq is arguably a reproduction of the discourse of “Orientalism”

(Said, 1978) that creates “a willed imaginative and geographic division” (p. 201), in which the world is divided into the dichotomy of the East vs. the West from a Eurocentric perspective.

“Orientalism” is defined by Said himself as:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. ... so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that ... no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. (Said, 1978, p. 3)

In the interaction analyzed above, it may be that the participants did not recognize the distinction between World War Two and the War in Iraq or other attacks from/on the ‘East.’ That is, they may have recognized that the distinction of these wars was arbitrary. In what follows, I examine a speech event at a local Japanese restaurant to provide another example of the hypothesized Orientalist discourse. Also, I trace the intertextuality of the discourse of the War in Iraq in the literacy event to the media discourse to tackle the problem of interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992).

7.2. “Shadow Conversations”: Intertextuality of the Discourses of Wars

Drawing on the formulation by Judith Irvine, I evoke the notion of “shadow conversations” or “intricate laminations of participant roles” (1996, p. 157) and more generally, multi-voicedness (Bakhtin, 1981) of our utterances to illuminate the dialogical process between the discourses of wars in the literacy event and other occasions of talk. Furthermore, I link the discourses of wars to the media discourse, which theoretically presents a way to integrate conversation analysis (CA) with critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches by ethnographically grounded methods and data collection. The point is that the discourses in the literacy event on April 7th should be embedded into prior and subsequent conversations not only between the participants but also into other types of discourse such as the news media and infinite “shadow conversations.”

More specifically, I relate the discourses of wars in the literacy event dialogically to prior conversations, taking an example from an interaction at a local Japanese restaurant on March 28th. The data shows that participants were particularly concerned with their national identity as Americans with a strong nationalistic sentiment in this particular period of time. As background to the discussion, I found that references to the War in Iraq, and its associations, were made in the recorded data on March 24th, March 28th, March 31st, April 2nd and April 4th in 2003. Space prevents me from presenting all the data, so I only examine the discourses of wars on March 28th recorded at the local Japanese restaurant. In the event, I found that the participants had an

association between September 11 and Pearl Harbor, which were linked to the War in Iraq, reminiscent of the topical chain in Excerpts 5 and 6 (World War II and the War in Iraq). It is shown that the participants ended up co-constructing a naïve form of “Orientalist” or East-West dichotomous discourse in Excerpt (7c).

I analyze the data in Excerpt 7 mainly by examining “reference and predication” (Wortham, 2001). Reference is linguistically naming things in the world by selecting particular objects or concepts, and the objects are characterized in a particular way, which is the definition of predication. For example, “key words” (Blount, 2001), such as proper names that index national identities, “Americans” or “Pearl Harbor,” are examples of reference but how the referents are predicated in discourse illuminates a speaker’s often implicit evaluations of the referents while she or he talks about the world in a seemingly neutral way (Wortham & Locher, 1996). In (7b), for example, Ace says, “It’s the first time American’s been attacked since Pearl Harbor,” which reveals his assumption of the connection between 9/11 and Pearl Harbor.

Excerpt (7) is subdivided into three parts: discourse of 9/11 in (7a), discourse of Pearl Harbor in (7b) and discourse of the War in Iraq in (7c). They are extracted from the conversation at lunch, which lasted for about an hour. The participants are Dan, 19, Ace, 21 and Jane, 22, who are Anglo-American advanced learners of Japanese and Masa, the researcher/author on March, 28th in

2003 at a local Japanese restaurant at lunch. My comments are in double-parentheses and key words for analytic focus are boldfaced.

(Excerpt 7)

(7a) Discourse of 9/11

((Talking about how much Americans do not care about the lives of fellow citizens, such as Kurt Cobain, which leads to the September 11th attack))

1. Dan: I'm not saying you wouldn't be upset but I'm saying like you know what I'm saying

you wouldn't be sad you'd be pissed off maybe

2. Masa: Huh huh Why

3. Dan: Because that means somebody's directly attacking **America** and you'd want to like go

[track them down

4. Jane: [Well yeah but like **September 11th** happened we didn't get school off or anything

5. Ace: Yeah we did

6. Jane: No that was for like (.) that day we did but that was like a missing van or something

they were worried about something was going to happen on campus

7. Dan: I thought it was just 'cause they were saying yeah a bomb threat or something like

that I mean it wasn't in mourning or anything

8. Jane: Well yeah that's the thing it wasn't in mourning it was for safety reasons

9. Ace: Yeah and then we cancelled stuff like that yeah

10. Dan: I was surprised they kept the school open I mean I had already been to two classes that day

11. Ace: I was just going to my first one I didn't want to fucking go at all. Like I'd get on the bus and

be like those of you who don't know

12. Dan: I took a test that day

13. Jane: Like nobody seemed to care like it was not a big deal at all

((Continue to talk about the incidents on 9/11))

(7b) Discourse of Pearl Harbor

14. Dan: You know the more you're affected by it the more you'd like to believe it. I'd have class

(xxx)

15. Ace: My host father (xxx) asked me what I thought about it (2.0) I told him **Americans** do not like

surprise attacks

16. Jane: ((hehehe))

17. Masa: Huh?

18. Ace: My host family when I was in Japan asked me they go what do you like what do you think is

[(xxx) **September 11th** I told them I said **Americans** do not like **surprise attacks**

19. Masa: [Uh uh

20. Jane: ((hehehe))

21. Ace: I was trying to hint at **Pearl Harbor**

22. Dan: Yeah that's what I was thinking too

23. Masa: Did they get that?

24. Ace: Yeah yeah they kinda got it they were all like

25. Dan: **Americans** do not like **surprise attacks** (.) like do you remember what happened last time?

26. Masa: So when like you had like that kinda **surprise attacks** do you remember like **Pearl Harbor**?

27. Dan: Yeah **everyone** thought about it **everyone**

28. Ace: It's the first time **American's** been attacked since **Pearl Harbor**

((The discussion leads to the meanings of *kamikaze* in English.))

(7c) Discourse of the War in Iraq triggered by a metapragmatic discussion of mock Japanese

kamikaze

29. Dan: I don't know (.) it's like *kamikaze* means like you're **suicidal**

30. Masa: Right do you think that like it's cool to use=

31. Ace: That's like what **Arabic people** do **we** don't do that

32. Masa: use use huh?

33. Dan: **We** bring everyone back with us **Americans** don't do that like **our rangers** and stuff

we have a creed that **we** leave no man behind no matter what like he's wounded he's dead **we**
bring him back no matter what

34. Ace: Unless it's like just not possible

35. Dan: Unless it's not possible

36. Ace: Unless it's like gonna take them all twelve lives to get that one body back

37. Dan: Yeah yeah

38. Ace: **They** won't

39. Dan: Yeah but **they**'ll try **they**'ll do everything but sacrifice themselves in order to bring the body
even the dead body of their comrade

40. Ace: If **they** can bring if **they** can bring the dead body back **they**'ll bring it back otherwise

41. Dan: **Rangers** lead the way (1.0) that's the way **Americans** are **Americans** like to stick together I
guess

42. Masa: Stick to?

43. Dan: Stick together

44. Masa: Ah stick together

45. Ace: **They** like to blow up Baghdad

46. Jane and Dan: ((hehehe))

47. Ace: ((hehehe)) **They** like to blow up Baghdad

48. Dan: **Americans** like kicking ass

To reveal the participants' interactional footing within broader language ideologies, I highlight key terms that refer to national identities: Americans and non-Americans (Arabic people and implied Japanese), and predicates or how the referents are characterized in the discourses of wars. By the analysis, I demonstrate that Americans are first depicted as grammatical patient of attacks in (7a) and (7b) and then become grammatical agent of actions against the attacks in (7c) at the denotational level. Interactionally, Dan, Ace and Jane take the position of "us-good-guys" and Masa is indexed or positioned as one of the "them-bad-guys." The language ideologies framing the event are a naïve Orientalist discourse from an American perspective in which 'insidious and evil Orientals' attack 'good Americans.'

The topic chaining of Second World War and the War in Iraq found in Excerpts 5-6 is comparable to the chaining in Excerpt 7 if the chaining is conceptualized in terms of the East vs. West dichotomy: The September 11 episode in (7a) is linked to the topic of Pearl Harbor in (7b), which leads to a metapragmatic discussion of Mock Japanese *kamikaze* (cf. Hill, 1995; 2001). The term directly indexes a cosmopolitan and playful foreign language skill, but indirectly irrationality derived from a suicidal act, implying Japanese as the irrational 'other' (Ochs, 1990; 1992). In the

above discussion (7c), the use of the Mock Japanese is extended to refer to “Arabic people” as part of the general ‘Orientals.’

More specifically, at the beginning of (7a), Dan’s utterance, “somebody’s directly attacking America” (line 3) leads Jane to talk about September 11th (line 4). Here it should be noted that America as a nation metonymically stands for a person, whom someone attacks. In terms of reference and predication, “America” is part of the predicate “is directly attacking America.” Grammatically it is patient while agent is indefinite “somebody” in third person singular (Table 7.1).

In (7b), Ace starts to talk about “Americans” not liking “surprise attacks” (line 15) when he refers to a conversation with his host family in Japan, who asked him about September 11th. While connecting September 11th with Pearl Harbor in terms of “surprise attacks” (lines 18 and 21), Ace depicts Americans as being attacked in the passive in line 28: “It’s the first time American’s been attacked since Pearl Harbor.” In terms of reference and predication, again Americans are grammatical patient, and agent is not mentioned but implied in his utterance. It is obvious, though from a presupposed social history that Pearl Harbor indexes Japanese (Table 7.1). Also in the segment, Dan uses an Extreme Case formulation “everyone” twice to Masa’s question about the association between 9/11 and Pearl Harbor (line 26), by saying, “Yeah everyone thought about it everyone” to argue that the association is rather ‘objective’ (Pomerantz, 1986) or commonsensical

(line 27). The discussion leads to the use of the Mock Japanese *kamikaze* in English, and Dan displays his etymological knowledge that its original sense is “divine winds” but it is normally used to mean “suicidal” (line 29) in English.

The word “suicidal” in line 29 of (7c) triggers “Arabic people,” who are ‘othered’ and contrasted with Americans (line 31) by Dan: “That’s like what Arabic people do. We don’t do that” to contrast Arabic as suicidal attackers with Americans as patriotic, who bring back dead bodies from a battlefield. In this case, Dan and Ace co-construct what Americans do in a battle by emphasizing the solidarities among American soldiers (lines 33-41). In the part of lines 33-41, “Americans” are referenced by pronouns “we” as well as “they” for “(American) rangers.” Grammatically the referents for Americans are agent in (7c), as opposed to patient in (7a) and (7b), in the discourse of the War in Iraq (Tables 7.2).

To characterize the overall discourse patterns, I chart the main point of the above discussion in Tables 7.1-7.5. To follow the narrative logic of Excerpt 7, “somebody” from the East, who can be Japanese or Arabic people, attacks Americans without warning or makes “surprise attacks” on “Americans.” Then, Americans “do not like” the attacks, who is grammatically experiencer (Table 7.4), so they justifiably fight back as patient/experiencer of the attacks, and like to “blow up Baghdad” and like

Table 7.1: Agent, Predicate and Patient in (7a) and (7b)

Agent	Predicate	Patient
Somebody	Attack	America
(Japanese) implied by “Pearl Harbor”	Attack	Americans

Table 7.2: Agent, Predicate and Patient in (7c): Arabic people

Agent	Predicate	Patient
Arabic people	Do that (=suicidal attacks)	(on Americans???)

Table 7.3: Agent, Predicate and Patient in (7c): Americans

Agent	Predicate	Patient
We (as Americans)	Do not do that (= suicidal attacks)	- (inapplicable)
Rangers (as American rangers)	Lead the way	- (inapplicable)

Table 7.4: Americans as Experiencer in (7a)

Experiencer	Predicate
Americans	Do not like surprise attacks

Table 7.5: Americans as Experiencer in (7c)

Experiencer	Predicate
Americans	Like to blow up Baghdad
Americans	Like kicking ass

“kicking ass” (Table 7.5). The patterns of a naïve form of East-West dichotomy and simultaneously positive self-representation vs. negative other-representation are found. At the interactional level, the accumulated interactional positioning between the participants can be schematized as: Dan, Ace and Jane as “us-good-guys” vs. Masa as “one of them-bad-guys”. In Figure 7.7, Ace, Dan and Jane are identified with Americans linked by a dotted line from the narrating event to the narrated event, in which Americans were attacked and fought Japanese and Arabic people, indicated by a solid arrow. On the other hand, Masa is positioned as if he were at war with Ace, Dan and Jane in the narrating event by being positioned as one of the ‘Orientals’ (Arabic and Japanese). There is no explicit reference to Masa as an attacker, but general language ideologies and the presupposed social history make him indirectly placed in that position, which is indicated by a dotted arrow and a dotted line.

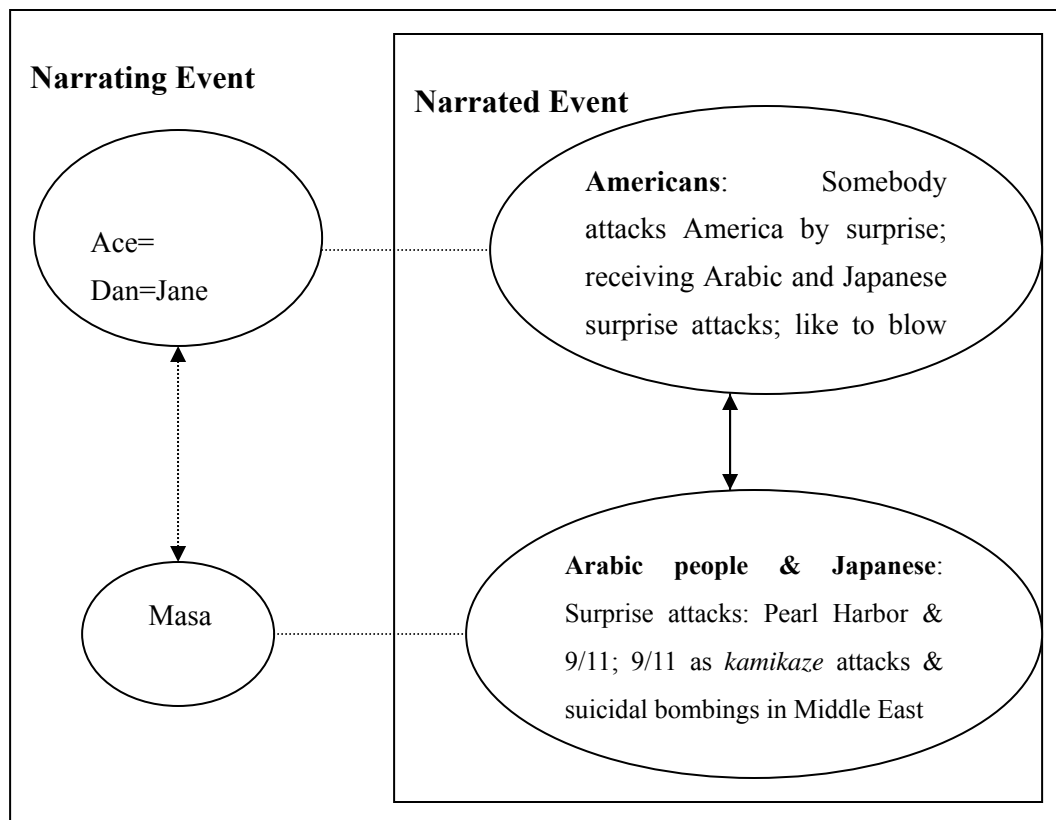


Figure 7.7: Accumulated interactional positioning between the participants in Excerpt 7

To briefly recapitulate, it was shown that there is a connection between 9/11, the Second World War, and the War in Iraq in the participants' conceptualizations of wars, which is comparable to the topical connection between World War Two and the War in Iraq in the literacy event on April 7th. The analyses of the two sets of recorded interactions indicate that the participants work on the discourse genre of Orientalism, in which the 'evil Japanese or Arabic' as the 'Orientals' attack the 'good Americans.' However, I leave the hypothesized genre an open issue because of the limited amount of data. We need more empirical research to find out how pervasive and psychologically

‘deep’ the connection is among the wider population of American English speakers. However, it can be argued that the discourse genre of Orientalism I identified is part of the linguistic-discursive resources readily available to American English speakers (cf. Kellner, 2004, pp. 49-50).

Having made the text-internal analysis (Schegloff, 1997), I trace the intertextuality of the discourse of the War in Iraq in the literacy event on April 7th, 2003 to the media discourse. In so doing, I demonstrate that face-to-face interaction and the media discourse can be linked up through the process of “recontextualization” (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Silverstein & Urban, 1996) from other discourses, which indicates “generic intertextuality” (Briggs & Bauman, 1995) or interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992) as a “conjuncture” with potential for social change (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The level of analysis under focus is metadiscursive or language ideologies (Woolard, 1998), which is grounded in and derived from situated discourse at the interactional level, particularly focusing on key words that index and connect to widely circulating metadiscourses.

First, I replicate part of Excerpt 6 that I analyzed in 7.1, which is compared with a piece of the media discourse found at CNN website:

Excerpt (6): Ace and Dan talking about the latest development of the War in Iraq

38. Ace: = This weekend they captured one of the **palaces**=

39. Masa: = [Huh?

40. Dan: = [Oh really

41. Ace: They captured one of **Saddam Hussein's palaces**=

42. Masa: =Uh-huh

43. Ace: And the troops went in there to like use the bathroom and took all his like they took his

like stuff took his fancy decorations some of the troops took like souvenirs they were like

there's this statue like in uh in Baghdad of like Saddam Hussein like on a horse or

something like waving and they blew it up=

44. Dan: =They blew it up ((while laughing))

((The discussion on the War in Iraq continues))

It is impossible to pinpoint the exact source from which Ace gained the above information, but

compare Excerpt 6 with a piece of news report found at

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/iraq/war.tracker/index.html>:

Excerpt (8): News from CNN, on April 8, 2003

Fighting reported at **palace** in Baghdad

U.S. Army had entered building Monday

Tuesday, April 8, 2003 Posted: 12:46 AM EDT (0446 GMT)

BAGHDAD, Iraq (CNN) -- Fighting broke out Tuesday morning at a **presidential palace** in the heart of **Baghdad**, sources inside the capital told CNN, with artillery fire focusing on one building in the compound.

The presidential palace -- the largest one in the city -- lies on the west bank of the Tigris River, across the water from the Palestine Hotel. Soldiers from the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division had entered the palace Monday.

As can be seen, Ace is referring to the same event on which CNN reports on April 8th, 2003. I highlighted the key words that connect the two different kinds of discourse, one in the literacy event and the other in the media discourse. The discourse of the War in Iraq is utilized by Ace and Dan to “consume” (Wertsch, 1997) or enact their American nationalism in the recontextualized context, in lines 43-44, in which Ace and Dan enjoy talking about the on-going war in Iraq while laughing.

Another example of intertextuality is found in the literacy event. Ace often told a story about “Chemical Ali” to justify the war. It should be noted that Masa (the author/researcher) had been arguing against Ace and Dan on the justifiability of the War in Iraq. Particularly, Ace did not take

Masa's stance against the war favorably and often talked about the cruelty of Chemical Ali in literacy events and other occasions. The following is one of these occasions, taken from the subsequent part of the literacy event on April 7th, in which Ace and Dan refer to "Chemical Ali" while Masa is listening:

(Excerpt 9) April 7th, 2003; Ace and Dan talking about Chemical Ali to Masa

1. Ace: **Chemical Ali** was a general and the thing that makes Chemical Ali evil that's

 what we call him is that he used chemical weapons on some other you know the=
2. Dan: =The Kurds
3. Ace: Kurds you know the Kurds they are a different type of Muslims the people in

 northern Iraq so Chemical Ali used chemical weapons to kill like a bunch of

 Iraqi people
4. Dan: The Kurds
5. Masa: That happed in Iraq
6. Dan: Yeah they live in they live in the North of Iraq
7. Ace: The Shiite Muslims the Kurds
8. Masa: He used chemical weapons to kill them?=

9. Ace: =Yeah

10. Masa: Is this true?

11. Dan: Back in the eighties

12. Ace: Back in 1991 or something

13. Dan: It was back in the eighties

((The discussion continues))

The following (Excerpt 10) is taken again from the CNN website, highlighting the intertextually related parts to Excerpt 9 by boldfaces and underlines. Excerpt 10 basically contains the same referential information as what Ace and Dan told to Masa on April 7:

Excerpt (10): ‘**Chemical Ali**’ in U.S. custody

DOHA, Qatar (CNN) -- Ali Hassan al-Majid, the Iraqi general known as “**Chemical Ali**,” is in U.S. custody, military officials tell CNN Al-Majid, Saddam Hussein’s cousin and the man blamed for ordering a deadly chemical weapons attack against **the Kurds** in 1988, is the fifth most-wanted man in the U.S. deck of cards -- dubbed the king of spades. ... Gen. Richard Myers, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said simply, “We believe we were successful with that strike.” About 5,000 Kurds are believed to have died in the chemical attacks in the late 1980s.

Three points should be made: first, Ace and Dan interdiscursively recontextualized the media discourse in the literacy event (Excerpt 9), which was quite accurately made; second, at the “reception” end, Ace and Dan rather effectively argued against Masa’s opposition to the War in Iraq in face-to-face interaction to fit the purposes of their justification of the war. It should be noted, however, that given the nature of our knowledge about the world being discursively constructed (e.g., Kubota, 1999; 2001), what the media tells us often becomes the ‘truth,’ as Ace and Dan believe. By saying this, I do not mean that the information that CNN reports is totally false, but the way it was “consumed” is remarkable: as one of the unintended consequences of the media discourse, the story about Chemical Ali was used by Ace and Dan (as Americans) to ‘silence’ Masa (recognized as non-American), who had been arguing against the War in Iraq.

Finally, the studies on media bias (e.g., Wortham & Locher, 1996) are required to complement the present analysis, which mainly focuses on the interactional data, while connecting the spoken discourse to the media discourse intertextually. In this respect, CDA’s primary concern with the media discourse (e.g., Billig, 1995) and CA’s preoccupation with face-to-face interaction can and should be integrated if we wish to be more comprehensive, and more insightful, in our doing discourse analysis. I particularly draw on the notion of intertextuality or infinite “shadow conversations” (Irvine, 1996) by multiply embedding one fragment of interaction in a particular literacy event into another occasion of talk at the restaurant and the media discourse. By so doing I

suggest that the discourse genre of Orientalism may be at work, and hope to have demonstrated that the interdiscursive relation of situated discourse to the media discourse is traceable to a reasonable degree of rigor.

7.3. Discussion

To address the theoretical concern, I recapitulate the major points of the CA vs. CDA controversy (see 2.4) and discuss my attempt to combine both. On the one hand, Schegloff's (1997) major point is that for analysis of any conversation and more general talk-in-interaction, "it should be at least be compatible with what was demonstrably relevant for the parties ..., demonstrably relevant to them as embodied in their conduct" (p. 183). For the purpose, we should make 'technical' or strictly text-internal analysis first, so that discourse analysis does not end up being merely 'ideological' as he attacks CDA in this respect.

On the other, Wetherell, a discursive psychologist in CDA, argues that: (1) in order to account for "the highly indexical nature of subject positions" (Wetherell, 1998, p. 396) and "broader interpretive repertoires" (p. 400), we need a more inclusive notion of 'discourse' (e.g., Laclau & Mouffe, 1987), than Schegloff's notion of "talk-in-interaction." Further, another CDA theorist Billig (1999) points out that Schegloff's conceptualization of participants' talk "in its own terms"

is epistemologically naïve and CA's rhetoric is also 'ideological' in assuming the participatory nature of interaction by participants with equal power.

In analyzing situated discourse, I adopted the following position: although it may be naïve to assume participants with equal power always talking strictly within the turn-taking system, that does not mean the analyst can impose his or her own presuppositions or political agenda without any constraints. For example, I took up the issue of nationalism in the present case study, which was demonstrably the participants' concerns, found in the recorded data. I analyzed the data 'technically' or internally to connect it to another occasion of talk and also intertextually to the widely circulating discourse such as the media. To analyze the data internally, the CA framework is quite useful particularly in revealing the emergent nature of meaning in interaction (see 7.1-7.2). Empirically, I demonstrated that (1) there is intertextuality as a form of topical chaining at the interactional level: the literacy event on April 7th and the talk at the restaurant can be topically connected by positing the metadiscursive notion of "Orientalism." The discourse genres of the East-West dichotomy are hypothesized because the connections between various wars and 9/11 terrorism between Americans and the 'Orientals' can be explained in terms of the metadiscursive frame; (2) there is intertextuality between the interactional level and the society-wide or widely circulating discourses, particularly the media discourse. I highlighted the key words that index the same events or people in the interactional data. These key words were also found in the media

discourse, which evidence recontextualization of the widely circulating discourse to fit the interactional purposes. The analysis of the media has been one of the strengths in CDA while CA is strong in the micro-level analysis of situated discourse. I hope to have demonstrated that both CA and CDA are complementary in analyzing various kinds of data.

To recapitulate, theoretically, CA-style analysis that dictates “only focus on observable talk-in-interaction by participants” can be connected to CDA-style analysis, which starts with macro-sociologically significant concerns (in this case, nationalism) by focusing on indexical aspects of language such as deictic pronouns or key words. I hope to have demonstrated that the notion of indexicality “relates word to world” (Rymes, 2003). At the metadiscursive level, in addition to Anderson’s (1991) proposal for nations as “imagined communities,” Billig’s (1995) concept of “banal nationalism” and Said’s “Orientalism” (1978) are particularly useful and relevant by connecting two interactions, which indicate a possible discourse genre in American English. However, it should be noted that in face-to-face interaction, dominant ideologies are not necessarily “consumed” as dictated by language ideologies. The dominant ideologies can be “recalibrated” as in Dan’s articulation of “that’s weird, man” when he saw two contradictory national identities of a Japanese immigrant gentleman. Therefore, there are good reasons to insist a bottom-up or interaction-based approach to investigating critical concerns, because that is the level at which we enact or “consume” ‘social reality’ (Wertsch, 1997; 1998). I discuss the implications of

the findings in the final chapter and propose a critical pedagogy for Japanese language education in the U.S. context.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.0. Conclusions

By way of summarizing the major findings, I address the tensions between “the risk of essentializing social identities” and that of “over-relativizing social identities” (Coupland, 1999) with particular reference to national identities. On the one hand, there are some findings that support non-essentialized social identities. In Chapter 4, I analyzed interview data and found that some participants produced complaint sequences (CSs) in spite of the conflict between their social identities and the interviewer’s identities (Asian-Japanese, male). For example, Mary, Anglo-American female, complained about Japan/Japanese to the interviewer. Also, Shoko, Asian-Japanese female, co-constructed CSs with the interviewer, and so did Marco, Euro-Japanese male. Thus, we cannot essentialize social identities to explain the CSs that are found in the crosstalk interviews. Instead, I modeled the discursive practice of complaining based on Tannen (1999) and argued that the practice of complaining is not necessarily a “category-generated” activity as traditionally conceived but it can be a “category-generating” activity in an attempt to create solidarities between interlocutors.

In Chapter 5, I extended the analysis of Chapter 4 and focused on two participants, who have Japanese nationality but do not fit stereotypical images of Japanese, whom I called “Generation

1.5 Japanese.” The most prominent feature is that they do not speak Japanese fluently enough so that they studied Japanese as a foreign/second language at some point in their lives. The analysis revealed that the interview data contained CSs; the participants represented and enacted the past self in Japan negatively and the present self in the U.S. positively. The paradoxical point is that both of them took highly negative stances toward Japanese while they identified themselves as Japanese, though in a mitigated and ambivalent way. Thus, some aspects of the findings support the argument for non-essentialized social identities in “late modernity” (Giddens, 1991) in which there is no necessary correlation between language, ethnicity and national identity.

Then, I turned to the literacy practices of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) among Anglo-American learners in Chapter 6. These relatively “pure” Americans displayed ‘cosmopolitan’ or cross-national identities in literacy events for Japanese language learning. Particularly, I found the case for the ‘local’ penetration of the ‘global’ in terms of information flow (Giddens, 1991; Appadurai, 1990). For example, Ace, one of the learners taught the Japanese researcher a ‘new’ kind of Japanese music, called “J-pops”; another learner, Dan, was often playing with a game boy imported from Japan on which all the instructions and results were displayed in Japanese. These observations may indicate ‘reverse’ cultural flows, which go beyond ‘crossing’ (Rampton, 1995): Americans taught the Japanese researcher about Japanese pop-culture such as music, animation or computer games. Thus, it can be argued that a theory of late modernity is empirically demonstrated in these cases (cf. Coupland, 1999).

In the next chapter entitled “Discourses of Nationalism” (Chapter 7), we saw an example of postmodern “playfulness” (Gee, 1993)¹² in an activity of talking about the web page that sold wacky Japanese T-shirts. Anglo-American learners of Japanese and the Japanese researcher together made fun of the derogatory World War Two terms such as “Japs” or “*kichiku-bei-hei*” while playfully highlighting the ‘us-them’ relation, as found in Ace’s answer to Dan’s question: “that’s like, we called them Japs in the war and they called us *kichiku-bei-hei* or something.” This is an example that represents the tension between cosmopolitan-relative social identities and nationalistic-essentialist ones because it cynically plays with the two nations’ unfortunate history while reproducing the dichotomous ‘us-Americans’ vs. ‘them-Japanese’ relation.

Thus, it is true that there is “the risk of over-relativizing social identities” in general and more particularly, the risk of not taking into account the forces of nationalism to shape collective identities. For example, no participant questioned the frame of the existing nation-states or no one problematized my question of “what are your images of Japanese people?” If social identities were conceived to be more relative or cosmopolitanism were more prevalent, some would have argued that, for example, “we cannot generalize the national characters of Japanese” or more liberally,

¹² Gee (1993) cites Kwame Anthony Appiah to make the central point of postmodernity, i.e. a rejection of exclusivity and he particularly refers to postmodern “playfulness”:

There is now a rough consensus about the structure of the modern/ postmodern dichotomy in the many domains ... In each of these domains there is an antecedent practice that laid claim to a certain exclusivity of insight, and in each of them “postmodernism” is a name for the rejection of that claim to exclusivity, a rejection that is almost always more playful, though not necessarily less serious, than the practice it aims to replace (Appiah, cited in Gee, 1993, p. 281).

“people should be judged by individual traits or accomplishments” in the questionnaire survey in Chapter 3 or interviews in Chapters 4-5. Furthermore in Chapter 4, Mary mentioned the widespread stereotype of Japanese who cause “communication problems.” This was more clearly articulated by Generation 1.5 Japanese, Marco in Chapter 5, by depicting Japanese as “polite” but “incompetent” communicators in his construction of Japanese identities. These instances indicate the strong influence of “metadiscursive frames” or “language ideologies” (Woolard, 1998). The constraining effects of nationalist ideology were dramatically attested in Chapter 7, in which “us-good-Americans” vs. “them-bad-Japanese/Orientals” were discursively constructed in the discourses of wars at a Japanese restaurant. I also traced the intertextuality of the discourse of the war in Iraq to the media discourse to investigate how the participants recontextualized the widely circulating discourse in face-to-face interaction.¹³

It is notable that discourses of “Orientalism” (Said, 1978) in a naïve form became relevant to my participants, who were supposedly ‘savvy’ or sophisticated advanced Japanese language learners about the ‘East,’ who spent quite a lot of time studying Japanese. In other occasions, they even complained about some Americans who cannot tell Japanese from Korean or Chinese. Thus, my data at least deserves serious attention as a warning. There exist strong tendencies to reify the

¹³ In this respect, it should be recognized that recontextualization from the media discourse is one of the topics to be pursued further because I did not make full analysis of them in the present context. As can be seen from my case study, the media discourse is one of the most powerful “shadow conversations” in the contemporary world. At the same time, our “nationalized” socialization is another source of powerful shadow conversation, which requires a long-term ethnography to investigate how we become *homo nationalis* in our earlier life stages.

racial and ethnic origins and identify human beings with the national origins through intertextual projections at the metadiscursive level, which is a form of “ethnic absolutism” (Gilroy, 1992). It is a view of ‘race’ or ethnicity as the defining feature of human beings to the exclusion of other categories such as gender, class, occupation or life style, etc. (Rampton, 1995, p. 8). As we saw in the present study, the perceptions of Japanese/Orientals as “insidious Others” or the “yellow peril” discourse (cf. Kubota, 2002) persist by conceptualizing the world dichotomously, which is epitomized by the mock Japanese *kamikaze*. The findings of the study indicate that we need to engage in an anti-absolutist education. I suggest that foreign language education is a good place for the purpose.

As part of my own critical intervention, I presented a version of Chapter 7 to my Anglo-American participants (Ace, Dan, Harry) in the spring of 2004. I found dialogue with them on critical social issues quite useful. For example, I pointed out to my participants that they quite often accepted the government’s foreign policies, and the War in Iraq in particular, rather blindly and uncritically, on which they presumably gained information from the media discourse. As Giroux (1992) argues, we need to “become media literate” and there is “the need for students to develop a healthy skepticism towards all discourses of authority” (p. 210). Critical intervention should also take place in JFL, which is now mostly a ‘technicist’ discipline, only aiming at enhancing proficiency in a foreign language in many college programs. I elaborate on these issues in the next section.

8.1. Pedagogical Implications

The pedagogical implications are mainly intended for upper-division Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) courses, though the main argument applies to all Japanese-related education: I propose that a critical pedagogy be introduced in the teaching of “Japanese culture” in JFL education in the U.S. institutional context. First, I start with several questions that relate to the data. As we saw in Chapter 4, Mary’s perceptions of Japanese practices are, to say the least, ethnocentric while we should be cautious about not fixing her subjectivity as unitary. Of course, not all the learners I interviewed complained like Mary; she is rather exceptional in the intensity of the complaints. Further, the data was taken from her construction of Japanese identity in her production of CSSs, which rhetorically requires strongly negative representations. Still, she is one of the few students who learned Japanese to a high degree of ‘success’ in terms of fluency. Can she be called a ‘successful’ learner of Japanese? Probably the answer is negative, if I define educational “success” as becoming “an educated person,” as Reagan and Osborn (2002) argue (see below).

As heritage language learners, both Shoko and Marco did not continue studying Japanese, which may not be surprising given their articulation of their national identities in the interviews (Chapter 5). What could have been done to change their learning experience of Japanese in a more productive and desirable way? The four Anglo-American students (Chapters 6-7) certainly

enjoyed studying Japanese. However, are they regarded as a type of learners who are moving in the direction of an “educated person”? Reagan and Osborn (2002), in making the case for foreign language education, argue that one of the meanings of becoming “an educated person” by learning a foreign language is:

We are, in fact, creating new selves in an important sense. Such creation and recreation forces each of us to reflect more deeply on many of the core questions related to being an *educated person*, as well as requiring that we become not merely tolerant of differences, but truly understanding of differences ... and their implications. The sort of humility that is learned from studying a language other than one’s own is a valuable possession in its own right. (p. 13; emphasis mine)

What are specific goals of learning Japanese, which go beyond the abstract level of “becoming an educated person”? I suggest that Japanese language education would have been more “successful” in the sense defined above, if JFL students were more “reflexive”; for example, if the participants were able to question the Orientalist discourses in Chapter 7 or they were freed from the nationalist ideology, which is also beneficial for the Generation 1.5 Japanese participants (Chapter 5). In order for them to be more reflexive, we need to introduce a critical pedagogy that encourages learners to

reflect upon their learning experience by socially contextualizing them. The teacher needs to help and direct learners to become reflexive in daily classroom teaching. The first step with reference to JFL can be the topic of “culture,” in the classroom teaching.

More specifically, I suggest that we should not use dichotomous construction teaching (e.g., “We do this in Japan but you do that in the U.S.”), which I often found in the JFL classroom teaching in discussing cultural matters. As I found out in the analysis of the data, the overall tendencies are strongly dominated by the nationalistic ideologies. Thus, teachers should raise issues on diversity in any nation-state in the contemporary world. Simply put, we should not reify “culture” not because it does not have any unifying social reality but because the monolithic and essentialized notion of culture is too simplistic and likely to be oppressive to the Japanese population, both in the U.S. and abroad.

Then, how can we talk about “differences,” which do exist in the boundaries of the existing nation-states? Following Kubota (2003), I suggest that teachers should simply present or “describe” certain socio-cultural practices as prevalent or wide-spread in Japan but not “prescribe culture” as “absolutely” or “uniquely” Japanese, without attempting to explain the plausible reasons for the practices. Teachers can encourage JFL students to question whether there is such a thing as “uniquely Japanese,” because the conceptualization of ‘uniquely Japanese’ often involves a high degree of homogenization of the population by abstracting away the highly complex social

situations. For example, teachers can raise such issues as the recent arrival in Japan of migrant workers of Japanese heritage from Latin America and their occupations (Kubota, *ibid.*), or the existence of ethnic minorities in Japan such as Korean, Ainu or Okinawan residents, who are often excluded from JFL textbooks (cf. Reagan & Osborn, 2002 on “curriculum nullification”).¹⁴

I conclude by further elaborating on the teaching of diversity of Japanese culture, based on critical pedagogical ideas, which derive from Freirean “problem-posing pedagogy” for “raising critical consciousness” (Freire, 1970) and were further developed by critical educators and conceptualized such as “critical language awareness” (Fairclough, 1992) or “reflexive practice” (Reagan & Osborn, 2002, p. 17ff.). Rather than discussing these abstract ideas, I present specific guidelines for classroom teachers in order to implement the critical concepts. Particularly, I draw on Kubota’s (2003) formulations and discuss what anti-essentialist teaching of culture entails and focus on how diaspora can be a resource for the critical teaching of culture.

Generally, we take the approach of anti-essentialist teaching of Japanese culture by not “emphasizing the exotic and alien images of Japan” (Kubota, 2003, p. 84). We should question the essentialist thinking or know the danger of essentializing culture because it reinforces “a cultural

¹⁴ The notion of “curriculum nullification” is adopted from Reagan and Osborn (2002, pp. 87-89), which refers to a “pedagogical strategy for instructional planning and delivery that acts in a dialectical fashion to challenge curriculum mandates that are opposed to or incompatible with the ends of social justice” (p. 87). The one I proposed is termed “additive curricular nullification” or “the act of engaging in behaviors beyond those mandated in the curriculum” (*ibid.*).

dichotomy that is embedded in the current West versus Islam paradigm” (ibid.), which I also found in Chapter 7. If one of the pervasive patterns for recognizing the world is the dichotomy of the West versus the East, we as educators need to attempt to have our students complicate their understandings of the world. The starting point for this attempt can be to address the issue of “diversity” in Japanese culture.

For the purpose of anti-essentialist teaching, I propose to direct our students to the issue of Japanese immigrants in the community or “diaspora.” As Kubota argues:

For American learners of Japanese, understanding the Japanese diaspora in the United States and their experiences and historical struggles would broaden their understanding of diversity within the United States, which should be one of the foci for foreign language education.

(Kubota, 2003, p. 77)

In the present context, diasporic Japanese, such as Shoko or Marco or a supposedly ‘pure’ Japanese, Mr. K, contribute to understanding the diversity of the local community. As Dan realized in Chapter 7, a person can have multiple identities, and national identity is not an exception. Without unilaterally imposing these ideas on our students, at least it is beneficial for JFL students to reflect upon the diversity in the Japanese as well as the U.S. societies. In this respect, diasporic Japanese

with whom the learners may live on a daily basis are an important resource for a JFL community. Teachers can stimulate class discussion on “Japanese culture” by directing the students to the diversity issues in society and encourage them to write about the topic of cultural diversity or diasporic Japanese for essay assignments, especially for the upper-division students.

However, there are some factors that make the proposal more difficult to implement than I suggest. “Self-Orientalism” by Japanese themselves (Kubota, 1999) or making oneself look more ‘exotic’ than necessary is one of the most serious obstacles. One of the reasons is that self-Orientalism can be partially or temporarily ‘empowering’ by emphasizing their ‘uniqueness’ in the U.S. society, in which they, including Japanese teachers, are not a dominant population. I observed that some of the Japanese students, for example, wore archaic dresses or intentionally ‘exotic’ costumes to display its “culture” in an event called “international festival” in the local community. We cannot tolerate the state in which nothing is “sacred” (Giddens, 2000); nationality and particularly essentialized national identity is “sacred” for many Japanese, even if self-Orientalism reproduces the East-West dichotomy and the stereotypical and exotic associations with Japanese. However, I argue that in light of the findings of the larger reductive patterns of reproduction of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ or the East vs. the West, emphasizing radical alterity or ‘otherness’ is not a solution to the presumed unsuccessful JLF education. Instead, we as educators should critically reflect on and counter the dichotomous patterns and promote real cosmopolitan values.

I suggested that a promising starting point can be to deconstruct the essentialized notion of “Japanese culture” in JFL education. Of course, it would be folly to deny the forces of nation-states in shaping collective identities (Giroux, 1995, p. 43) if we wish to propose any viable critical pedagogy. Furthermore, we do not have to negate all forms of nationalism (ibid., p. 44). However, I have a normative vision that privileges “cosmopolitan morality” (Giddens, 2000, p. 68), which consciously critiques the current tendencies of reactionary, essentialist or absolutist nationalisms and fundamentalisms, which resort to violence and massive destruction so easily (cf. Kellner, 2004; de Beaugrande, 2004). As Giddens argues, “None of us would have anything to live for if we didn’t have something worth dying for” (2000, p. 68), and I admit that I am also the one that cannot live without sacred ideals and values. However, I do not believe that to become an exotic self by self-Orientalism is ‘sacred.’ To me, the sort of critical scholarship that I attempted to develop in this study, which questions, critiques and mitigates static conceptions of the ‘other’ is one of the most sacred values, which I would die for.

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