

Analyzing the Reframing Process from a Language Socialization Perspective

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1. Introduction

1.1. Interactional competence

An increasing number of studies in the constructivist approach to L2 learning have emphasized “interactional competence” (IC) (Kramersch, 1986; Young, 2011; Hall, 2011), which refers to the ability to construct a shared mental context among all interactional participants. The interactionally oriented curriculum (Kramersch, 1986) has been driven by critiques of previous approaches to L2 education. Kramersch points out that the proficiency guidelines of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) have emphasized “structure” and “decontextualized language skills,” neglecting the fact that communication is not one way, but two way.

A growing number of studies influenced by the notion of IC have examined the developmental process by which L2 learners obtain IC through engaging in both naturalistic and instructional settings (e.g., Young, 2011; Hall, 2011). The studies in IC have indicated that in some case studies, L2 learners have actually developed IC through engagement with native speakers with respect to learning the sequential displaying acts of alignment with an affective marker (e.g., Ishida, 2009). However, how the IC changes have taken place remains an open question, as Young (2011) and Hall (2011) pointed out in the literature review of IC studies. This question has not been addressed fully because many of the studies rely on the analysis of L2 learners’ changes, and not much attention has been paid to the interlocutors of the L2 learners. Some studies in IC (Young & Miller, 2004; Cekaite, 2007) imply that how the partners of L2 learners (e.g., a teacher or a classmate) react to L2 learners’ violations of the communicative norms may influence the L2 learners’ development of IC. Thus, to investigate the developmental process of IC, it may be beneficial to include the notion of “reframing” (Kramersch and Whiteside, 2008), which views the process bi-directionally.

In a more recent claim, Kramersch further develops the notion of IC in an “ecological framework” (Kramersch & Steffensen, 2008), which addresses IC particularly as required in multilingual and multicultural contexts and emphasizes the contextual, dynamic, mutual, diverse, and dialogic features of language and communication. From this perspective, Kramersch and Whiteside (2008) criticize “the traditionally monolingual and monocultural nature of language education” (p. 645) and suggest that what is required in the L2 education of the modern age is “symbolic competence,” in which they define the significance of the “reframing” ability in multilingual contexts as “...the ability to manipulate the conventional categories and social norms of truthfulness, legitimacy, seriousness, originality—and to reframe human thought and action” (p. 667). When L2 learners interact in intercultural contexts where the differences in their expectations, social values, and communication styles are salient, they are required to reframe the context to construct their identities. Thus, analyzing such a negotiation process may enrich the understanding of the developmental process of IC. To examine the reframing process in an intercultural context, the following two aspects should be considered.

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One aspect is the need for bi- or multi-directional data analysis for examining intercultural contexts, to which little attention has been paid thus far, as mentioned above. IC is not knowledge possessed or employed by individuals; rather, it is mutually constructed among the participants through discursive practice (Young, 2011). Thus, analyzing the development of intersubjectivity should not be restricted to L2 learners. Such analysis should include their interactional partners, whether native or non-native speakers, as the partners' reactions influence the L2 learners (Young & Miller, 2004; Cekaite, 2007). Moreover, when the prior goal of the interactions is not the development of L2, but the achievement of "third place" (Kramsch, 1993) (i.e., cultural integration rather than assimilation), as in natural settings, then the interactional partners of the L2 learners may also align themselves to their non-native interlocutors. Whether or not the alignments are made by their interlocutors, or how they are made, may influence the L2 learners' behaviors and utterances.

The other crucial aspect is that longitudinal micro-level analysis is necessary in observing the construction process of a shared mental context among the interlocutors. To construct intersubjectivity, one needs to negotiate and overcome differences in expectations, assumptions, and representations of the world among interlocutors, and such a process takes time. The task is even more difficult in intercultural contexts where the differences are usually more salient. Studies in intercultural group communication theory (Millhous, 1999; Watson et al., 1993) also indicate that intercultural groups may be able to construct their own norms, but doing so requires more time than in homogeneous groups. Although an increasing number of studies are using conversation analysis (CA) in examining the development of IC (e.g., Hellermann, 2011; Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011; Hall, 2011), observing learners' changes over time is one of the challenges for CA studies. As Hall (2011) asks, "How can we differentiate, in the observable change between two moments in time, what is due to development over time, and what is due to a change in local context?" (p. 7).

In sum, in order to investigate the reframing process in a natural intercultural context, it may be effective to conduct bi- or multi-directional and longitudinal analysis. An increasing number of studies have been attempting to explore the developmental process of IC, but most of these studies employ a CA approach as mentioned above, focusing on L2 learners' changes rather than on bi- or multi-directional analysis. The studies with an ethnomethodological approach have made substantial contributions to revealing the development of L2 learners' IC, particularly in contexts where the goals include L2 learning—e.g., indicating the changes of participant orientation (Sahlström, 2011) and the practices of repair (Hellermann, 2011). However, to capture the constructing process of intersubjectivity among interlocutors in naturalistic contexts where the interlocutors are required to negotiate their assumptions and communication styles (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008), an approach that accounts for the cultural and historical aspects may shed new light on the study of IC.

Thus, the current study incorporates a language socialization (LS) approach, which values the cultural and historical aspects in exploring the construction process of intersubjectivity. The LS perspective (e.g., Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Ochs, 2002) demonstrates some beneficial aspects of revealing the developmental process of shared context among participants with different cultural backgrounds. Studies in LS have explored how the novice (e.g., a child or L2 learner) becomes socialized in a new community through engagement with the more competent members of the community (e.g., caretaker or native speaker). LS is driven by an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972), thus taking a constructivist approach in perceiving the relationship between culture and language.

1.2. Language socialization

Hymes (1974) underlines the interrelationships between language and culture as follows: (1) contextual language use represents and is constrained by the cultural norms that accentuate interactional behaviors, and (2) through language use in an interactive context, culture is constantly recreated and modified. The latter function of language, in particular, suggested in LS provides two advantageous aspects in analyzing the construction of intersubjectivity.

The first of these aspects is the "indexical" function of language (Silverstein, 1976; Garfinkel, 1972), a well-known example of which is the deixis of person, space, and time, which emphasizes that indexes are understood only in the context in which they are used. With this view, language is not used merely to describe or identify objects; rather, through language, social and cultural worlds are continually evaluated and recreated. For example, choosing to use the second person singular form "tu"

instead of “vous” in French indicates the stance of the speaker and may further influence the communication context. In other words, all linguistic forms are tools for cultural practices because they presuppose or constitute some contextual components (e.g., the social relationship between the interlocutors).

Using this perspective, LS theory holds that language is used as a set of conventions for creating a social context that mediates between four dimensions: actions, stance, social identity, and social activity. Ochs (2002:109), drawing on Leont’ev’s work from 1979, delineates the first two: “A social *action* is here defined as a socially recognized goal-directed behavior, e.g., responding to a question, asking for clarification....” Psychological *stances* include both affective and epistemic orientations toward a concern. Ochs (1993, 2002) indicates that particular stances and actions, signaled with particular linguistic resources, are further associated with particular social identities and activities. According to her (2002:109), social identity “comprises a range of social personae,” while social activity “refers to at least two coordinated, situated actions and/or stance displays by one or multiple persons. Typically, these actions and stance displays relate to common or similar topics and goals.” Stances and actions are able to assist in creating social activity and identity, and are culturally specific. The indexical relations of language and context are summarized in Figure 1.

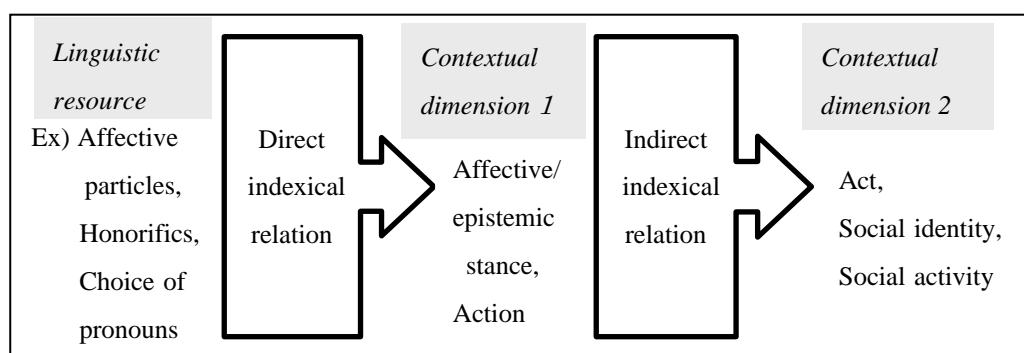


Figure 1. The indexical relations of language and context (Ochs, 2002; Cook, 2008)

The second significant aspect of LS is its bi- or multi-directional approach, which has only recently been recognized in the LS literature (Talmy, 2008; Duff & Talmy, 2011). As LS perceives that culture is not static, Duff and Talmy (2011), in their recent review of LS literature, state that “[t]hese more proficient interlocutors are also socialized by novices/newcomers into their expert/old-timer roles, identities.... Thus, socialization is bidirectional (or multidirectional)...” (p. 98). Thereby, they encourage future studies in LS to incorporate the bi- or multi-directional approach.

In sum, the indexical relations of language and context, and the bi- and multi-directional approach suggested in LS, may have some advantages for analyzing the construction of intersubjectivity. In this view, the indexed affective/epistemic stances and actions are the keys to revealing the social identity/activity created in the particular interaction. These aspects in particular are valuable in tracing the implicit or unconscious negotiation process, which may not be revealed with retrospective data analysis. A bi- or multi-directional approach is also powerful in revealing how shared mental spaces are constructed between interlocutors. The goal of communication for L2 learners is not simply to assimilate to the target language community but to achieve mutual understanding between interlocutors.

1.3. *Masu-form: a linguistic marker to index affective stances in Japanese*

In order to examine the developmental process of the shared context, the present study particularly investigates the participants’ use of an affective linguistic element in Japanese called “masu-form,” a sentence- or clause-final suffix. Japanese language has two main speech styles: 1) masu-form (also called “desu/masu-form” or “polite-form”) and 2) “plain form” (also called “non masu-form” or “non-polite form”). The indexical meaning of the former indicates either a display of psychological distance from the interlocutors as an “out-group member” or a display of formality in the context of the utterance (Okamoto, 1997). The latter form, on the other hand, indexes an “in-group” relationship or casual context.

When Japanese speakers produce utterances, they have to select their speech style as either masu-form or plain-form. Thus, tracing the changes in the choice of these forms may reveal a developmental process in the shared context. (More details of the speech styles with these forms are described in the Analysis section.) Cook (2008) examines the indexical meaning of masu-form in Japanese society (e.g., TV interview, classroom discussions at an elementary school, family conversation) and suggests that masu-form indexes participants' social identities in a particular moment, such as a presenter in a class, person in charge, or more competent member of a society. The indexed meanings of masu-form also vary depending on the contexts; thus, appropriate use of these forms is a difficult aspect for L2 learners (Cook, 2008).

1.4. The purpose of the study

To explore the developmental process of shared contexts/activities between interlocutors, this study employs an LS perspective to examine the longitudinal shifts in participants' social identities as indexed by an affective marker in Japanese—the masu-form. By examining the stances indexed by the use of the masu-form in each participant (both L1 and L2 speakers) in an intercultural pair, this study explores the following questions:

1. What kinds of stances do the participants display in an intercultural context? Do the stances change over time; if so, how?
2. Is there any difference in the stance to which they orient themselves and which they expect from each other? How do they negotiate (or not negotiate) the difference to achieve a shared context over time?
3. What kinds of factors may influence the stances and the negotiation of the stances taken by the intercultural participants?

By addressing these questions with an LS perspective, the present study attempts to explore the potential and advantageous aspects of LS in examining the development of a shared frame of reference between interlocutors.

2. Data

The data for the study comprised longitudinal conversational data and follow-up interviews. The participants were four volunteer undergraduate students who wished to make international friends on campus. The details of the participants are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants

Pair	Name*	Gender	Age	Home country	Native language	JPN proficiency level
1	Alice	F	21	Canada and Taiwan	Chinese, English	JPT level btw, 1 and 2 (advanced)
	Hiroshi	M	19	Japan	Japanese	Native
2	Cindy	F	22	Korea	Korean	JPT level btw, 1 and 2 (advanced)
	Daiki	M	20	Japan	Japanese	Native

*All the participants' names are pseudonyms

The participants were assigned in pairs randomly, combining two Japanese students and two exchange students (Alice and Cindy). Both exchange students' Japanese language skills were advanced, as they both placed at the same "advanced level" according to the placement test (an interview and a written exam, the latter based on the "Japanese Language Proficiency Test") for the Japanese language program at their college. They both had studied Japanese at their home college and had arrived in Japan

for the first time one month before the first recordings. Alice had some Japanese friends in Canada but had never talked with anyone in Japanese except for greetings outside the classroom. Cindy also had some Japanese friends in Korea and had sometimes spoken Japanese with them. Alice and Cindy studied Japanese for a semester from September to February in the college. Both Japanese student volunteers (Hiroshi and Daiki) were interested in making international friends and had been abroad (in the US and Norway) for a two-week seminar. They both had experience in talking to international friends in English but not in Japanese.

The participants met each other for the first time at the first recording and were asked to come to record their free conversations with an IC recorder in a small classroom¹ for a total of five times. Each conversation was 60 minutes long, and the conversations were recorded every three weeks from October 2010 to January 2011. From each session of recorded data, 20 to 30 minutes of conversation from the start of each session have been transcribed in order to achieve a good sampling because the participants may have been tense at the first meeting for the beginning recordings than they were subsequently.

The follow-up interviews were conducted four weeks after the last recording sessions² and were carried out individually in a small classroom for 35 to 45 minutes each. The interviews were semi-structured with some prepared questions (see Appendix A), and all the interview conversations were recorded.

3. Analysis

In order to trace any changes in the use of masu-form by each participant over time, the frequency in the use of masu-form per turn was calculated. First, all the masu-forms in the data were identified with the corpus-searching tool “Hashi” (Tanaka, 2011) which was produced for a cooperative project (“the Japanese conversational corpus”). As stated in the previous section, when one produces utterances in Japanese, one has to select a speech style, either masu-form or non-masu form. Although the distinction of masu- or non masu-form is fundamental, what follows these forms may also add some affective stances to the forms, as shown in Figure 2 (the variations are modified from a previous study of masu-form by Cook, 2008). Cook (2008) suggests that if the masu forms, or plain forms, are followed by “affective keys,” interactional particles, vowel lengthening, emoticons, etc., they are usually less formal/polite than masu form/plain form itself. However, the interactional meanings of the affective keys are varied and cannot be treated as an identical group in the analysis. In addition, the appropriate use of these affective keys is usually quite difficult for students learning Japanese as a second language, even for learners of advanced competence. Thus, the first half of the styles (“masu forms,” “masu-forms + affective keys,” and “masu forms + incomplete sentence”) in Figure 2 are all identified as “masu-form” in the present study. If masu-forms are followed by affective keys or incomplete sentences, their contextual meanings are considered in the micro-level analysis.

	Speech style	Level
Masu forms	Masu form	 More formal/polite Out-group
	Masu form + affective keys	
	Masu form + incomplete sentence	
Plain forms	Plain form	 Less formal/polite In-group
	Plain form + affective keys	
	Plain form + incomplete sentence	

Figure 2. Speech styles in the Japanese language (Kitade & Ikeda, 2010)

¹ The conversations and interviews were recorded in a classroom so that the conversation could be in a quiet place. However, the classroom setting may have affected the context the participants created in the data.

² So that the interview questions for the study would not serve as leading questions for the participants, the interviews were conducted after all of the sessions had been completed.

Subsequently, the frequency of masu-forms per session/participant was calculated with the total of utterances taken per session/participant. Utterance is identified with the “pause-bounded phrasal unit (PPU),” defined by Maynard (1993:96) as “a word or phrasal unit followed by a pause.” The utterance continues until the other person takes a turn; or if there is a long pause with more than one second between the words/phrases/sentences, the following word/phrase/sentence is counted as a separate utterance. Some of the utterances functioning simply as back-channelings (e.g., “Aizuchi” in Japanese) to express “I am listening,” are excluded from the total number of utterances—such as “yes,” “yeah,” “wow,” “oh,” or laughing sounds—because these cannot usually be distinguished by a suffix as either masu or non-masu forms. The total number of utterances³ and masu-forms are indicated in Appendix B.

The discourse analysis and the information extracted in the interviews are used for the micro-level analysis to capture the contextual meanings and intentions in the use of masu-form.

4. Findings

4.1. The displayed stances and their shifts by the use of masu-form

The participants’ displayed stances and the shifts in their use of masu-form are indicated in Figures 3 and 4 (please refer to Appendix C for the actual numbers).

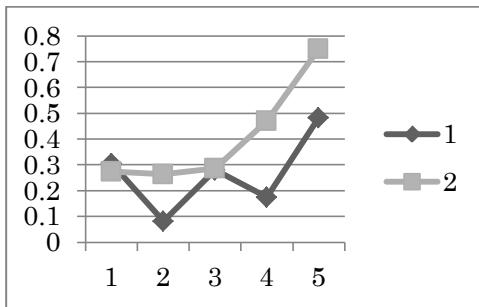


Figure 3. Frequency of masu-form in pair 1 (Alice is 1 and Hiroshi is 2.)

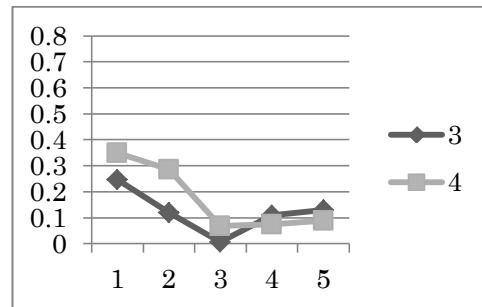


Figure 4. Frequency of masu-form in pair 2 (Cindy is 3 and Daiki is 4.)

The participants in both pairs started at a similar level of frequency, around 0.3 per turn, but they gradually changed their stances over the five sessions. Although the participants in each pair appear to align themselves to each other toward the last session, the two pairs progressed in opposite directions: the participants in pair 1 show an increased use of the masu-form, whereas the participants in pair 2 indicate a decrease in the use of masu-form. The micro-level analysis in the following section, which responds to the second research question, discusses the indexed meanings of their use of masu-form and their shifts.

4.2. The negotiation process (micro level) and reasons for the negotiation

4.2.1. Pair 1

As indicated above, pair 2 shows a relatively smooth alignment in their stances to each other throughout the sessions. On the other hand, Alice and Hiroshi in pair 1 show that they sometimes (as in the second and fourth sessions) display different stances. Hiroshi, in particular, never decreases the use of masu-form, and he increases it remarkably from the fourth session and continuing through the last session, whereas Alice shows a decrease in the use of masu-form in the second and fourth sessions.

Excerpt 1 from pair 1, session 2, illustrates some of the gaps in the stances they displayed toward each other. (Please refer to Appendix D for the transcription symbols.) Alice was talking about the Friday night party held almost every week by the international students at their college in Japan, and she started to talk about the amount of alcohol they can drink as related to race. In the excerpt, Alice uses masu-form only once in the fifth turn while Hiroshi uses it four times. The suffixes of masu-forms

³ For example, the third turn in Excerpt 1 “少しだけ、飲むと赤くなる (drink a little, and their face becomes red.)” contains two utterances. One is the phrase before the comma; the other is the sentence after the comma.

are underlined, and the turns containing masu-form(s) are labeled “M-form” in the excerpt.

Excerpt 1 (Pair 1, session 2)

- 1A でも日本人は、普通に、お酒に弱いよ
But Japanese people are generally weak to alcohol, aren't they?
- 2H M-form あーそう です ね
Well, that's right.
- 3A 少しだけ、飲むと赤くなる
Drink a little and their face becomes red.
- 4H M-form あー確かに、外人に比べたら弱いかもしれない です ね
Well, certainly. Maybe weak compared to foreigners, aren't they?
- 5A M-form そうです ね、たぶん、アジア人全体、白人よ[り]も弱いかな
私もちよつとだけ飲むと赤くなる、すぐ。
That's right. I wonder if all Asians may be weaker than Caucasians. I also get a red face with a little alcohol. Quickly.
- 6H [あー]
 [Well]
- 7H んー(0.2)
 Nnnh (0.2)
- 8A ある、日本人の友達は、お酒飲むと白人になるって
A Japanese friend of mine said (she/he) becomes “hakujin (Caucasian)” when (she/he) drinks.
- [hh]
- 10H [え、]白人になるってどういう意味？
 [eh、] *What do you mean by becomes “hakujin”?*
- 11A hh これ、吐く[、吐くのはくじん]になるって
*(He/She) said this means (she/he) throws up, “haku,” “haku,” as throwing up**
- 12H [あ、そういうこと です か h] はくじん
 M-form *[Oh, she/he means that. h] “hakujin”*
- 13A そんなに弱いかな
I wonder (the Japanese people) are that weak.
- 14H どうなん です か ね、でも、やっぱ寒い地方[は] 北海道とか、寒い地域は[、] 強いんじゃない す か ね
 M-form *Difficult to say, but people in the cold place like Hokkaido, they might be strong, don't they?*
- 15A [ん] [うん]
 [Ah] [Yeah]
- 16A あー[確かに、寒いから]
 Well *[Certainly. Because it is cold]*

*Notes: “haku” in Japanese has two meanings, “white” and “throw up.” These are homonyms written with different Chinese characters in Japanese.

In this excerpt, Alice explicitly states her stance as an Asian, emphasizing her similarity to Japanese people. In lines 1 to 5, Alice brings the comparative notion of “Asians vs. Caucasians,” and she admits that she also has a low tolerance for alcohol by saying “I also get a red face quickly” in line 5. Interestingly, Hiroshi indicates the comparison as “Japanese vs. foreigners” in line 4, but Alice modifies Hiroshi’s comparative notion with “Asians vs. Caucasians.” Alice uses “Japanese people” or “Japanese friend” often as in lines 1 and 8, but at the same time, she displays her in-group status with Japanese people by emphasizing her Asian identity. Alice refers to this Asian identity compared to the other international students who are Caucasians in the other episodes, implying her in-group attitudes toward Japanese people. The decreased use of masu-form by Alice in the second session, as represented in the excerpt, and the fact that alcohol and a race-related topic were selected show her stance in perceiving a closer relationship with Hiroshi and these occasions as less formal contexts.

Hiroshi, on the other hand, maintains the masu-form throughout the sessions in spite of Alice’s shifts in decreasing her use of masu-form. Despite his constant use of masu-form, Hiroshi as well as

Alice uses the final particle “ne” (double-lined in the excerpt), as in lines 4 and 14. The affective particle “ne” indicates solidarity or cooperative stance (Cook, 1992; Yoshimi, 1999). The masu-form, followed by the affective markers—such as the final particles, interactional, and vowel lengthening—displays a less formal or less out-group stance (Sato & Fukushima, 1998; Cook, 2008) as shown in Figure 2. Hiroshi displays his complicated stance in the context by combining masu-form (the marker indicating psychological distance) and the final particle “ne” (the positive politeness marker emphasizing the shared feelings).

He states in the interview that his greatest difficulty throughout the conversations was determining whether he should use polite speech styles. There are two main reasons that Hiroshi chose and maintained the masu-form to use when speaking to Alice. In the interview, Hiroshi states, “I used honorifics because I heard that she is two years older than me” (originally in Japanese and translated into English). Thus, the first reason was the age difference. Hiroshi had been trained in the baseball club team since middle school, where he had been strictly taught to show respect and to use honorifics to talk to the senior students. He said, “I feel uncomfortable not using honorifics with older people, even with very close senior friends. I was strictly trained by my seniors and teachers in my school baseball team.” He actually sometimes uses the shortened forms of masu-form, the “ssu-form” as seen in line 14 in excerpt 1; this form is typically used by junior male students to senior students. The other reason he gave was that Alice is Asian: “I don’t mind not using honorifics to older Westerners, but she is Asian and I think they have a similar culture as us, from my experience. I thought I should act like I usually do to Japanese people.” Hiroshi met some Asian students when he went to the US for a two-week intercultural study trip, and he felt that these Asian students shared some cultural values with him. The fact that Alice emphasized her Asian identity in the conversations may have also influenced Hiroshi’s decision. Therefore, he felt that he should speak politely to Alice, who was older and Asian. If Alice had not been Asian, Hiroshi said he would have spoken more casually because he believes that most foreign students prefer a casual communication style, regardless of the age differences. (The summary of the status Alice and Hiroshi display in excerpt 1 will be summarized in a comparison to a later excerpt in Table 2.)

Alice, on the other hand, uses the non-masu form sometimes with an affective particle to display informality and friendliness. She also emphasizes her identity as an Asian rather than a foreigner to build solidarity with Hiroshi. Hiroshi also uses affective particles to display friendly and less formal stances; however, he uses the masu-form to assume a junior status to Alice because she is older than he. What is critical here is that Alice misinterprets Hiroshi’s stances in his use of masu-form as an attempt to create formality. The misinterpretation took place because of the multiple and complex indexical meanings of the masu-form associated with Japanese culture. Hiroshi uses the masu-form because of the age difference, though he desired to get close to Alice and create an informal context. He did not expect Alice to use the masu-form because Alice is older than he, and he showed his desire to create an informal context by sometimes using the shortened masu-form and the affective particle to emphasize solidarity. In fact, it is not difficult to find people in close relationships (e.g., close friends or even a married couple) who still use the masu-form in Japanese society. However, Alice who does not share the culture with a senior-junior distinction, interpreted Hiroshi’s use of the masu-form as a formal act: “I was confused by his use of formal speech styles. Most of my Japanese friends talk to me in informal speech styles, even the first time to meet. It may be because I am a foreigner or am usually with the Western students, but I feel more comfortable with the informal ways.”

Because she was confused, Alice shifted her stance toward creating a more formal context toward the end of the sessions. This change may be observed in excerpt 2 from the last session below. In the last conversation session, which was recorded at the beginning of January, Hiroshi asked Alice if she had paid a visit to a shrine, which is one of the common New Year’s events in Japan.

Excerpt 2 (Pair 1, session 5)

- 1H M-form うんー、す、初詣は行きました？
Well, did...did you pay a visit to a shrine on New Year’s Day?
- 2A うん？
ngh?
- 3H 初詣
Pay a visit to a shrine.

4A	初詣 <i>Pay a visit to a shrine.</i>
5H	あの一、1月つい、あつ、1月に一、神社に <i>Well, the first...January. Oh...to a shrine in January.</i>
6A M-form	行き <u>ました</u> <i>I went.</i>
7H M-form	あつ行つたん <u>です</u> か、人多かつた <u>です</u> か？ <i>Oh, you went. Were there a crowd of people?</i>
8A M-form	人いっぱい、い <u>ました</u> <i>There were a lot of people.</i>
9H M-form	どこ行きました？ <i>Where did you go?</i>
10A M-form	その、金閣寺とか(0.4) 他はどこ、神社の名前忘れ、 <i>Well, the Golden Temple and so on. (0.4) I am afraid I forgot.</i> てしまい <u>ました</u> けど、いっぱい <i>Where...the name of the shrines.</i>
11H M-form	<u>です</u> よね h (0.4) <i>I know. h (0.4)</i>
12A M-form	他の所行き、た、く、い、行きたいけど(0.2) 1一月 1日だから、全部 <i>I want to go to the other places, but (0.2) The New Year's Day</i> (0.2) しまつてい <u>ました</u> [,]結局、めく、マクド行き <u>ました</u> [hh]h・f <i>And (0.2) all the places are closed/ [and we end up going to Macdonald's hhh.f</i>
13H	[あー] <i>Ohh</i>

The acts and forms Alice employs in excerpt 2 indicate her stance as quite distinguishable from that in excerpt 1. Alice uses the masu-form in each sentence ending, as seen in lines 6, 8, 10, and 12. Unlike in the former excerpt, Alice never uses affective particles here. Furthermore, she no longer takes an initiative role, simply replying to the questions Hiroshi asks about whether she paid a visit to shrine, if it was crowded, and which shrine she visited. The short pauses found in lines 10 to 12 may imply that there is a high level of formality or that neither Alice nor Hiroshi is very enthusiastic about the topic. The linguistic forms, topics, acts, and indexed identity and activity of Excerpts 1 and 2 are summarized and compared in Table 2.

Alice's initial stance displayed solidarity and an informal context, but she re-oriented her stance toward more formality in order to align herself to Hiroshi toward the end of the session. However, Hiroshi's intent in using the masu-form was not to be formal but to index the age differences. Thus, Alice and Hiroshi constructed a formal context that neither of them desired. The problem was caused mainly by 1) Alice's misinterpretation of the indexical meaning of the masu-form because she was not familiar with the culturally specific meanings of the masu-form, and 2) Hiroshi's stereotypical idea that "all Asians share the same set of cultural values."

Table 2. Summary of the stances and activity displayed in excerpts 1 and 2

	Excerpt 1(session 2)	Excerpt 2 (session 5)
Linguistic form	Alice: Non masu-form Hiroshi: Masu-form Both: Affective markers	Both: Masu-form Hiroshi: Affective markers
Topic	Alcohol and race	Paying a visit to a shrine
Acts	Alice: Initiative Hiroshi: Receptive	Alice: Receptive and more pauses Hiroshi: Initiative
Identity and activity	Asian identity (by Alice) Casual conversation	Similar to a formal interview (Hiroshi is the interviewer, and Alice is the interviewee)

4.2.2 Pair 2

Pair 2 shows convergence in the use of masu-form towards the last session. As Figure 4 indicates, Daiki uses slightly more masu-form (0.35) than Cindy does (0.25) at the first session, and these frequencies are very similar to those of pair 1. However, both Daiki and Cindy reduced the use of masu-form at the third session and continued to use non-masu form to the end. The following excerpt from the fourth session illustrates a more intimate relationship in pair 2 as compared to pair 1.

Excerpt 3 (pair 2, session 4)

They have been talking about their plans for spring break, and Cindy asks about Daiki's intercultural seminar in U.S.

- 1C アメリカはいつ行くんだった[つけ]
I know you are going to US, but [forgot when].
- 2D [ア]メカは2月の14日にちよつと
[Leaving for] U.S. on February 14th and stay for a little.
- 3C あ〜[、そう]
Ohh [, I see].
- 4D [そっから]3月の14
[from then to] March 14th
- 5C 1ヶ月
For a month.
- 6D 1ヶ月(0.4)
For a month. (0.4)
- 7C も帰って、また勉強、ここで
After you return, you will study again here.
- 8D うーん、事後学習で、で今度そっちの行った大学の生徒がこっち来てー
Huum, we will have after-the-session study. The students from the college I go will come here and...
- 9C あー
Ohh.
- 10D でー、その迎え入れてー、で、プレゼンするんか、こっち、があつちがこっち来たときに
And we will welcome them. Then, we will have some presentations when they come here.
- 11C あ[、バディーみたいな、んー]
Ah [you will be like a buddy. Huum]
- 12D [でそ、バディーそう]、でー、その準備とかー、で後まあ、旅行計画したり、こっちいる間の留学生の
[And right. I will be like a buddy.] Thus I will need to prepare for it, or, and then also plan for a trip for the exchange students during their stay here.
- 13C ふーん(0.2)
Huum (0.2)
- 14D そんな感じかな(0.2)
Something like that. (0.2)

*There are no instances of masu-form in the excerpt.

Excerpt 3 shows two distinguishable contextual aspects from excerpt 2, pair 1, that represent the relationship of pair 2. One is that Cindy, the exchange student, tends to take more initiative roles than Daiki throughout the sessions, whereas Hiroshi takes initiative roles more than Alice does in pair 1. The other aspect is the question-answer sequences in excerpts 2 and 3. As observed in excerpt 3, Cindy initiates the conversation by showing her interest in Daiki's trip (1C) and encourages Daiki by anticipating what he will say (5C and 11C). Daiki repeats what Cindy has just said, as in 6D and 12D, indicating his agreement with Cindy's anticipations. Such acts emphasize the shared understandings between them and contribute to (re)creating the solidarity between the two. Unlike in excerpt 3 (from pair 2), the exchange pattern in excerpt 2 from pair 1 is closer to that of a formal interview, as the

questions in the interrogative form and short answers are repeated bluntly without any affective markers.

Confirming what the conversational data indicates, Daiki stated in the interview that he really enjoyed talking with Cindy because she took the initiative and more directly expressed her opinion compared to the Japanese people around him. He said that when he encountered Cindy on the way to the third conversational session, she told him, “You don’t need to use the polite form in talking to me.” Therefore, Daiki attempted to reduce his use of masu-form beginning with the third session. Cindy is used to the different speech styles according to age differences because she is from Korea where age differences are apparently even more strictly marked than in Japan. However, she said that she personally prefers her friends not to use polite styles to her, and she usually asks her younger friends not to use the polite form so that she can have more intimate relationships with them.

5. Discussion

The data for the present study indicate that the participants gradually aligned to one another over time. In addition, the direction of the shift and who aligned to whom are dynamically and both implicitly and explicitly determined by the pairs, regardless of who is the native or non-native speaker of the language. A micro-level analysis of the negotiation process in the stances indexed by the participants in pair 1 reveals some of the problematic aspects in developing IC in an intercultural context.

One crucial aspect that the data suggest is misinterpretation of the indexed meaning of the masu-form. The L2 learner in the data knew the grammatical meaning of the masu-form as the polite or formal style. However, she was not aware of the indexical meaning of masu-form in the particular context: the junior-senior relationship because of an age difference. In addition, she had no idea how the use of the shortened masu-form or the additional final particles significantly specify the contextually specific meaning of masu-form. This finding suggests the significance of learning the contextual meanings of a particular linguistic item that may index a variety of meanings and may be associated with a culturally specific notion. The other factor causing the stance conflict is stereotypical ideas, such as the over-generalization that all Asians shared the same set of cultural values and that they practice the junior-senior distinction. Although it may be effective to find and emphasize similarities between interlocutors—such as “we are Asians”—individual and cultural differences should be considered at the same time.

The findings of this study suggest that intercultural aspects are significant and that some of the characteristics of LS may be beneficial in examining the shared mental spaces among interlocutors. One such advantageous aspect in terms of investigating the negotiation process of the stances is the notion of language indexicality. The negotiation process is implicit, and participants’ reflective data are not sufficient or sometimes not reliable (i.e., it is possible to impose after-thought justifications) to capture the whole process, including the unconscious moves. Tracking the use and shift of the indexical items suggests some clues for revealing the process of constructing a shared context. The presented data also suggest that the participants’ stances should be analyzed with multiple cues (e.g., affective particles, initiative/receptive roles, etc.) rather than depending solely on a particular linguistic item (i.e., masu-form) because an affective marker may have different indexical meanings, depending on the contexts. Thus, a micro-level analysis is necessary for capturing the contextually specific meaning of a particular linguistic form in a particular moment.

The other valuable finding is revealed by the bidirectional analysis. The data suggest that the alignment is not always made by the L2 learner but that natives/experts also reconstruct and redisplay their stances toward a mutual goal. In fact, the native participant in pair 2, Daiki, initially used masu-form more than his L2 interlocutor, but he aligned himself to his interlocutor by reducing his use of the masu-form in spite of the fact he was two years younger than his interlocutor. Such alignment, whether made by the native/expert or not, affects L2 learners’ stances and actions, and is crucial in analyzing the development of IC. Moreover, IC as a required ability is not restricted to L2 learners but is rather essential for both L1 and L2 in this global age.

Finally, another critical aspect suggested by the present study is the significance of a holistic analysis that includes the interview data as well as the conversational evidence. Incorporation of interview data with linguistic evidence may reveal aspects that are not obvious in the conversation data:

(1) Interlocutors may misinterpret each other's utterances and may not be aware of the other's true intentions. (2) The speaker's previous life experience (i.e., having been trained to be polite to the senior students on the athletic team) and expectations (i.e., having always been perceived as a foreigner and thus been spoken to in casual ways, regardless of age differences) influence the stances and actions of the interlocutors. (3) The participants may have had some opportunities to contact each other outside of the recorded sessions, and the acts during off-record interaction may have been crucial for the reframing process. An increasing number of studies employing CA (e.g., Hellermann, 2011; Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011) and driven by the ethnomethodological perspective (Garfinkel, 1967) have been able to capture the stances and identities co-constructed in a particular context. One of the methodologically most distinguishable aspects of LS from CA is analysis with holistic data because LS has stemmed from the ethnographical study approach, which recognizes the significance of triangulation through combinations of various types of resources, including interviews, field notes, audio- and/or video-recordings of the interaction, etc. (Duff, 1995, 1996). In analyzing the intercultural context where there is a potential for misunderstanding between the interlocutors, the retrospective data may reveal factors that may hinder or enhance the construction of the shared contexts.

In sum, the data illustrate that the reframing process occurred both implicitly and explicitly to create intersubjectivity among the interlocutors. Unlike previous studies in IC, which employ CA and emphasize the L2 learners' changes toward L1 speakers, an examination of the intercultural context with LS suggests some crucial new aspects. The data suggest that the shared contexts are created bi-directionally with the actions and stances indexed by the interlocutors' language use and that the interlocutors in the intercultural contexts need to have the ability to interpret appropriately the specific meaning of a language that reflects the historical and cultural aspects of the speakers. However, the findings are still in the pilot stage and are restricted to this particular context. Furthermore, the LS perspective values the participants' retrospective data; thus, more subjective and predetermined interpretations may be involved compared to the ethnomethodological approach, in addition to the advantages mentioned above. The study in IC is still under development; hence, more studies with various approaches are expected to shed light on the development of IC and its influential factors.

6. Conclusion

The current study attempts to employ an LS perspective to reveal the development of intersubjectivity between the interlocutors. The data indicate both implicit/gradual and explicit negotiation processes in achieving a shared frame of reference. As a pilot study for addressing the development IC with an LS approach, this study demonstrates the crucial aspects of intercultural factors that may hinder the co-construction of a shared mental space. The life histories of the interlocutors or the culturally specific aspects that are from a different time scale and are carried out by words influence the speakers' stances and may cause conflict between the interlocutors; thus, future studies in IC should recognize the symbolic aspects of language (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008) in analyzing the developmental process.

The results of this study raise the next question: how are cultural conflicts negotiated between interlocutors in varied intercultural contexts? Some recent studies in LS (e.g., Morita, 2004; Duff, 2010) have examined the socializing process of ESL learners in the academic community and have pointed out some problematic aspects, such as unequal power relationships, resistance, or contestation of their norms. However, these studies have weighted the newcomers'—but not the old-timers'—socialization process heavily; therefore, the question of how and if the old-timers in the community negotiate to create a shared frame of reference and how such action may affect the development of IC are still not fully addressed (except in Talmy, 2008). In addition, little attempt has been made to show how, if both L1 and L2 speakers attempt to create a new community, the negotiation process may be different from one in which there is no distinction between old-timers and newcomers. Such a study would provide beneficial knowledge to IC, which should be implemented in both L1 and L2 education in our global age.

Appendices

Appendix A

The interview questions (originally in Japanese and translated into English):

1. How did you feel before the first session of the conversation? And did your feeling change over time?
2. How do you feel now? What do you think about the conversations?
3. Was there anything you particularly care to have in the conversations?
4. Was there anything difficult in the conversations?
5. What motivated you to volunteer to do this conversation? Did the motivation change over time?
6. What was the impression you had of your conversational partner? Did the impression change over time?
7. Was there anything you feel different or uncomfortable about throughout the conversations? If yes, did you try to react to it? How?

Appendix B

Table 3. The total number of masu-forms and utterances (participant/session)

Session	Alice		Hiroshi		Cindy		Daiki	
	Masu	utterance	Masu	utterance	Masu	utterance	Masu	utterance
1 st	70	230	68	249	46	186	62	177
2 nd	16	195	51	194	18	151	45	157
3 rd	39	139	51	178	1	166	10	145
4 th	24	138	97	206	8	73	6	80
5 th	40	83	72	96	9	69	6	67

Appendix C

Table 4. The frequency of masu-forms (participant/session)

Session	Alice	Hiroshi	Cindy	Daiki
1 st	0.3	0.27	0.25	0.35
2 nd	0.08	0.26	0.12	0.29
3 rd	0.28	0.29	0.01	0.07
4 th	0.17	0.47	0.11	0.08
5 th	0.48	0.75	0.13	0.09

Appendix D

The transcription symbols used in the data for the present study

- h laughing sound
- f speaker's in-breath and out-breath
- . pause more than one second
- 、 pause less than one second

[]	overlapping talk
?	a rising tone
(0.2)	example of exactly timed pauses
—	stretched sound

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