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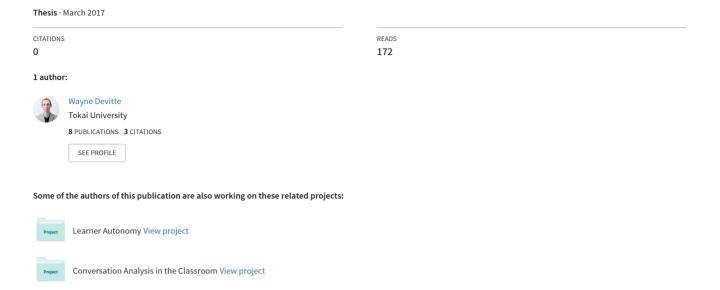
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Japanese Learners of English

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Abstract

With the advent of information technology and social networking websites, the need to examine the development of social network formation for EFL learners of English is paramount since English is likely to be used by non-native speakers of the language in ways that are specifically their own (McKay, 2002) and individuals who are interested in studying English are likely to try to establish friendships with English speakers in English. Following on studies which have examined learners' social network formation in study abroad contexts, this research investigates how Japanese learners of English established and maintain friendships with non-Japanese English speakers. Using Language Management Theory (Neustupný, 2005) to examine the data from interaction interviews (Neustupný, 2003) this research shows that Japanese participants noted and reported on several different types of problems including linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural difficulties in their intercultural interactions. With the sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems that were noted, the participants often presented solutions to the problems that either rely on their interlocutors (i.e., non-Japanese English speaking friends) knowledge or on themselves learning to further develop their intercultural communicative competence. While the expectation that linguistic skill with a language would play a strong role in developing friendships, in fact, sociolinguistic knowledge seemed to be more important. As such, this research examines the different strategies for managing the interactional problems the participants had with their friends. Many of the participants expressed the need to broaden their base of knowledge of topics of conversation and that it was helpful to learn to code-switch and ask for clarification. The sociolinguistic challenges reported on by the Japanese participants in this study suggest that Japanese English language learners should focus not only on their linguistic competence, but rather on developing their *critical cultural awareness* (Byram, 1997) as interactions between friends are typically focused on meaning and content which through discussion and self-disclosure of opinions serve as a foundation for establishing closeness in social network formation and the development of friendships.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The reality of the modern wired global society is that opportunities for individuals to interact with others from cultures that differ from their own is becoming ever more commonplace. As English is potentially the lingua franca for many such interactions, it is likely that learners of English will encounter interlocutors who use different Englishes and have different experiences and values that may vastly contradict their own. Additionally, with the ease of international travel, especially for those who look to travel, study abroad, work abroad or emigrate, the difficulties of having to adjust one's way of thinking to an unfamiliar linguistic and cultural context can potentially cause problems for individuals who hope to develop friendships and social networks. This is especially true for English language learners that seek to establish lasting and healthy relationships or friendships through the medium of English. As such, more research which focuses on how individuals establish social networks and what problems they encounter would be beneficial for understanding how learners establish intercultural friendships and for educators who hope to encourage their learners to interact with speakers of English in the broader world.

When interactions take place between interlocutors in foreign language contact situations (Neustupný, 2003), they may not be aware of the differences in each other's intentions, and misinterpret the meaning of one another's behaviours, causing misunderstandings. For Japanese who wish to have friends whom they communicate with in English and seek to interact with, establish, and maintain positive and mutually constructive relationships, there is a need for them to develop skills which allow them to successfully accomplish their goals. This is especially true for Japanese that reside in a foreign language environment, such as large urban cities like Tokyo or Osaka in Japan, as there are various opportunities to have contact with and develop social networks and friendships with English language speakers.

The importance and influence of the development of social networks for language learners has been the focus of several researchers examining ESL study abroad environments (Dewey et al., 2013; Isabelli, 2001; Fraser, 2002; Isabelli-García, 2006; Whitworth, 2006). More specifically, the more interaction learners have with native speakers of a language the more that interaction can have a strong influence on a learner's second language development (Isabelli-García, 2006; Lapkin, Hart & Swain, 1995; Marriott, 1995; Regan, 1995; Siegal, 1995). In fact, the impact which friends can have on a learner's second language is, as Ring, Gardner and Dewey (2013) state, "commonly believed to be one of the most effective ways to learn a second language" (p. 96). However, there are few studies which focus on how learners make friends with native speakers in study abroad situations (Ring, Gardner & Dewey, 2013), and there are no known studies which examine this issue in EFL environments. As such, this study seeks to examine the factors which influence the development of Japanese English-language learners' social network formation in an EFL environment by investigating the problems which these learners feel they encounter in developing social networks and how they react to and attempt to solve those problems.

This study examines the development of Japanese English-language learners' social and friendship networks and how they establish friendships which involve trust, caring and a sense of belonging with English speakers. It will also identify some of the underlying factors that contribute to the problems which they encounter as a result of trying to make friends in a foreign language.

Examining the development of Japanese English-language learners' social and friendship networks stems in part from conversations with my Japanese students and friends who, having invested considerable time and money in their language education, attempted to establish and maintain personal connections with native English speakers with varying degrees of success. While their decisions to try to make friends were not entirely determined

by their desire to improve their English language skills, many have told me that they primarily want to understand and enjoy interactions with speakers of English. However, intercultural misunderstandings and miscommunications, among other factors, seem to play a key role in determining whether or not Japanese continue, limit or halt the development of such relationships. Some of my Japanese acquaintances have voiced concerns about the challenges that they face in their interactions with English speakers and have requested advice on many occasions as to how they might interpret and handle the situations in which they find themselves. The gaps in their understanding that the role of cultural differences in their interactions play is not something of which they are always aware. Instead they often say that the core problem in their interactions originates merely from their language proficiency, rather than other factors. A similar tendency was reported by Aikawa (2015) in her study of Japanese professionals using English at work with non-Japanese interlocutors. However, she found that problems actually occurred as a result of the Japanese participants' lack of sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence.

Another reason for examining the social development of EFL learners is that, as McKay (2002) points out, the number of native and non-native speakers of English who use English as a means to interact for a wide variety of purposes is increasing. Additionally, the Japanese government over the past ten years has instituted a number of measures to develop Japanese learners' English communicative skills. In 2002, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) introduced the Strategic Plan to Cultivate Japanese Abilities in English (MEXT, 2002). This plan followed from their 1999 plan to cultivate "practical communicative abilities" (MEXT, 1999). The Japanese government has also introduced the "Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education", and the "Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication" (MEXT, 2011). The stated educational goal of MEXT is to develop Japanese learners'

communicative skills by including culture as a component of the curricula in order to develop students' cultural identity (MEXT, 2011), thus focusing learners on being able to explain Japanese culture, traditions and history to foreigners in English.

Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any emphasis on learners developing their ability to interact with speakers of other languages. If the goal of MEXT is to ensure that Japanese have a "capability of smooth communication with people of different countries and cultures using foreign languages as a tool" (MEXT, 2011, p. 1), then developing intercultural communicative competence is essential. This study hopes to provide insight into the factors that can contribute or inhibit "a confident and active attitude towards communication with people of different countries and cultures" (MEXT, 2011, p. 1) through a study of Japanese EFL learners' social network development with non-Japanese English speakers.

Having a confident and active attitude towards communication and potentially making friends and establishing social networks is not as easy as many language learners might hope, as the reality may be far more complex than they might anticipate. As Neustupný (2005) says, linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour and the rules that govern and maintain said behaviours between interlocutors in intercultural interactions "take place within the bounds of contact situations" (p. 307). Language learners may not have the experience or an understanding of how people behave in contact situations. They might not even be aware of what a contact situation might be. Fan (1994) explains that a contact situation is "an interaction between participants from different cultures" (p. 239) and argues that there are grey areas in distinguishing between 'native' and 'contact' situations. For example, even miscommunications or misconceptions between 'native' speakers of English can occur. To illustrate, due to differences in usage or meaning of vocabulary or grammar, there could be misunderstandings between an American and a Canadian, who may both find the interaction difficult. They may assume that they have similar opinions on what living abroad is like,

however, as they try to explain their experiences, they may use vocabulary or colloquial expressions which are unfamiliar to the other resulting in misunderstandings. As an example of a Japanese American contact situation, if a Japanese English-language learner, in an interaction with an American, asks the American "Can you use chopsticks?", due to a lack of prior knowledge of the experiences the American has had, they could receive a response which potentially results in them misunderstanding, as the American may respond with a comment such as "Can you use a fork?" The sarcasm used by the American could be lost on the Japanese as what they are told does not match their expectations and they may feel that the American was impolite. This could negatively influence their perceptions of and interactions with future English speakers they meet.

In interactions in contact situations between speakers of different L1s, several factors contribute to how the participants perceive each other and react to situations. Asaoka's (1987) study of Japanese and Australians attending a dinner party and Marriott's (1991) study of a Japanese and Australian business luncheon focus on the problems that interlocutors encountered in their interactions. These two studies highlight the interactional differences and problems that arose due to divergent linguistic (i.e., grammatical and lexical), sociolinguistic (i.e., knowledge and application of how to communicate in a contextually appropriate way, including the content of communication, setting, participants, and variation), and sociocultural behaviours (i.e., non-language-related knowledge and application of cultural elements other than grammatical or sociolinguistic elements, such as customs, practices and values) of participants (Neustupný, 1997).

It is also important to consider how participants view differences and problems as well. Fairbrother's (2000) examination of interactions between Japanese and non-Japanese interlocutors at a cherry-blossom viewing party investigated how the perspectives of the participants differed, as well as what they thought about the differences in behaviours. As an

example, one of the participants regarded the sociocultural behaviour of the segregated seating arrangements between the Japanese men and women as "different" (p. 40). The perceptions of differences in behaviour may be as important as determining what the differences are in the first place as this can indicate the attitudes of the interlocutors. The participant observed differences at the party which seemed unusual to him in that the Japanese women seemed to spend most of the party in one area drinking soft drinks, while the Japanese men drank beer in another area. His perception of this situation was that it was not a problem, just something that he noticed and felt that was 'different' from his own expectations.

Through examining not only their misunderstandings and misjudgments but also the participants' expectations of their own and others' behaviours, this study aims to identify the factors which influence the development of Japanese English-language learners' social network formation by exploring social interactions between Japanese English language learners and non-Japanese speakers of English.

Chapter 2. Review of the Literature

This chapter will present past literature which is relevant to intercultural interactions, the development of closeness and the development of social networks. It will show how past research has described how interlocutors develop an ability to be able interact in their L2 with speakers of other languages in social networks. 2.1 Communicative and Interactional Competence

The attempts to systemically describe and assess second language learners' interactions have resulted in a number of reconsiderations of what is meant by 'competence' in a language (Neustupný, 2004). One point of view is that an interlocutor's ability to interact appropriately in a language may not be necessarily representative of their knowledge or skill in grammar or vocabulary. In fact, their proficiency in syntax and lexis may be advanced, however, their sociolinguistic competence in the language may not be proportionate to their understanding of grammar and vocabulary (Hymes, 1964). Competence, on the other hand, according to Chomsky (1965), is linked to the linguistic system and therefore is internalized by native speakers. Chomsky further argued that knowledge of grammar and the ability to perform in a language were distinguishable. Chomsky argued that performance in a language should not be an object of research in linguistics as a speaker's language performance, however inappropriate in a specific context, does not mean that he or she lacks competence.

Hymes (1964) explained that language users, who lack the grammatical knowledge and the ability to recognize when that knowledge could be used to produce language in contextually appropriate situations, would not be able to communicate effectively. As a result, he proposed the concept of 'communicative competence' (Hymes, 1972) to replace 'competence' which he saw as unable to explain the social knowledge which is necessary for a speaker to produce and interpret speech in specific contexts. Hymes (1972) created a model

which included linguistic competence (language rules and vocabulary) and sociolinguistic competence (appropriate interpretation and usage of language in context).

This model emphasized that language acquisition should be developed in context, as he recognized that there was a relationship between language use and context in communication acts (Hymes, 1964). Hyme's context focused approach resulted in the establishment of his SPEAKING model which includes eight sociolinguistic rules: Situation, Participants, Ends (i.e., goals and outcomes), Acts, Key (i.e., tone), Instrumentalities (e.g., spoken and written), Norms, and Genre (Hymes, 1972). As a tool of analysis, the SPEAKING model allowed researchers to systematically document how people behave in a speech community, which he defines as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (Hymes, 1972, p. 54). While it allowed for the documentation of socially shared concepts of appropriate and expected behavior within speech communities, as Hall (2012) points out, it focused on speech communities of native speakers, not on speakers of second languages.

Canale and Swain (1980) also proposed a definition of 'communicative competence' based on Hymes' (1972) model. Instead of being limited to linguistic and non-linguistic components as the Hyme's model, Canale and Swain's (1980) model incorporated three components; grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic competence which later was revised to include a fourth: discourse competence (Canale, 1983). With grammatical competence describing "the knowledge of lexical items and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology" (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 29) and sociolinguistic competence focusing on interlocutors' knowledge of the rules of language use, the addition of strategic competence which explains the "verbal and nonverbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence" (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 30), the

model aims to be more descriptive of what occurs in intercultural interactions. The addition of discourse competence (i.e., cohesion and coherence) aims to present what competences second language learners need to develop for successful spoken and written communication, however, it does not make clear the relationship between the components (Safont Jordà, 2005).

While the SPEAKING model focused on native speakers, Byram's (1997) concept of 'discourse competence', resulted in an interpretive system which overlaps with Hymes' (1972) model, however, it described interactions for second language learners. Byram (1997) defines discourse competence "as the ability to use, discover and negotiate strategies for the production and interpretation of monologue or dialogue texts which follow the conventions of the culture of an interlocutor or are negotiated as intercultural texts for particular purposes" (p. 34). In his work for the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, Byram (1997) suggested the Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) model. In this model, there is a distinction between knowing about other cultures and exploring other cultures for successful intercultural interactions in foreign language classrooms. Exploring cultures requires learners to move beyond simple acquisition of cultural facts to "recognizing the importance of understanding manifestations of the target culture in terms of its own context" (Byram, 1997, p. 42). The model incorporates linguistic, sociolinguistic (knowledge of processes of interaction at societal and individual levels), discourse, and intercultural communicative competence (knowledge, attitudes, skills of interpreting and relating, and skills of discovery and interaction), as Byram (1997) states that they have a direct influence on one another. In their efforts to know about and explore other cultures, interlocutors become "intercultural speakers (ISs)" (Byram, 1997, p. 21). Byram (2008) elaborates that individuals who have an understanding of the relationship between their own language and culture as well as that between others' language and culture are the most equipped to be mediators in contact situations.

Adapting Hymes' SPEAKING model to emphasize language learning contexts rather than native speaker contexts, Neustupný's (1997) model constitutes eight key rules and seeks to capture how languages work in context while at the same time considering socially shared concepts of appropriate and expected behavior. These rules are:

1) Switch-on Rules - under what conditions communication is switched on and off,

2) Variation Rules - which sets of communication means will occur together, such as languages, dialects, styles, ways of speaking, etc. and how participants select from among them,

3) Setting Rules - when, where, and in what situations communication will take place,

4) Participant Rules - who interacts with whom, when, and in what manner,

5) Content Rules - what is communicated, such as themes, topics, functions, word meanings, politeness, and humor,

6) Frame Rules - which determine how content is located and ordered in communicative acts,

7) Channel Rules - whether spoken, written, or non-verbal communication is used, and

8) Management Rules - how problems are noted, evaluated, and dealt with. (1997, pp. 4-5)

Neustupný (2005) argues that language users possess three different types of competencies which manifest themselves during interactions. Grammatical competence (GR) refers to the ability of the user to operate in a language using appropriate grammar, lexis, phonology, graphemics, etc. The second competence is non-grammatical communicative competence (NGC), otherwise referred to as sociolinguistic competence (Neustupný, 1997). Based on the Hymesian model, it describes the interpretation of the social meaning of the choice of linguistic varieties and determines the appropriate social meaning produced for the communication situation. Neustupný (2005) emphasizes that these two competencies form the basis of communicative competence and should not be taken to assume that grammatical correctness is the only component of communicative competence. Sociocultural competence,

the final competence, is an aspect of communicative ability which involves those specific features of that society and its culture which are manifested in the communicative behaviour of the members of the society (van Ek & Trim, 1991). Interlocutors who possess all three competencies can be described as having interactional competence (Neustupný, 1997).

The arguments for what constitutes competence made by Neustupný (2005) and Byram (2008) suggest that language learners need to acquire a wide range of competencies if they are to be able to interact in a second language effectively. This is particularly important if they want to form social networks with speakers of their target language.

2.2 Intercultural Communicative Competence

Since the introduction of Hymes' SPEAKING model, communicative competence as a concept has evolved considerably. The intercultural communicative competence concept (ICC) established by Byram (1997) suggests that as second language learners of English interact in English, they are often unaware as to how their interactions might be interpreted by others. Byram's (1997) model incorporates linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and intercultural communicative competence and details the influence each has on the other. An intercultural speaker is able to recognize and incorporate communicative competence in the language they are communicating in by demonstrating particular skills, attitudes, values and knowledge about a culture. In order to accomplish this aim, an intercultural speaker needs to 1) be cognizant of their own and others' attitudes, 2) have knowledge of the self and of others on both an individual and societal interactional level, 3) be able to interpret and relate, 4) be able to discover and interact, and 5) have critical cultural awareness (Byram, 1997).

The development of critical cultural awareness, focuses on the interlocutors developing the ability to recognize and critically evaluate perspectives, practices and products in both their own and the target cultures and countries (Bryam, 1997). Thus, the goal of critical cultural awareness is for interlocutors to transform themselves from foreign

language learners into *mediators* (Byram, 1997). It is the role of the intercultural speaker /

mediator to understand the relationship between their own language and culture in relation to

and in comparison with others. Byram (2008) argues that this will allow language learners to

not only understand the underlying assumptions of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours in

both their native language and the language being used, but also to be able to actively

negotiate common ground in intercultural interactions.

2.3 English as an International Language for Intercultural Speakers

McKay (2002, 2003) has noted that "as more and more users of English come to use

English alongside one or more other languages, their use of English will be significantly

different from monolingual speakers of English" (McKay, 2003, p. 6). Therefore, the

assumption that learners of English need to or should seek to acquire a native level is

debatable (McKay, 2002, 2003; Byram, 2008). McKay (2002) further argues that the

assumptions which underlie the teaching of English as a second or foreign language need to

be scrutinised, as she maintains and agrees with Kramsch that it is essential that teachers

institute "a sphere of interculturality" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 205) in English as an International

Language (EIL) classrooms so that individuals gain insight into their own culture. English as

in International Language, according to McKay (2003), is English used by interlocutors

which is characterized and influenced by their own ideals and patterns of usage. These

insights can then "be shared in cross-cultural encounters undertaken in international contexts"

(McKay, 2002, p. 100).

In essence, learners need to learn to examine the hidden values and assumptions

stemming from their own cultures if they are to be able to interact competently in a second

language. Furthermore, through learners' examining their own behaviours during interactions

and developing an understanding of their interlocutors' intentions, they transform themselves

into an intercultural speaker (Bryam, 1997). This provides them with skills to develop their

ability to understand the behaviours of individuals who are of different cultural backgrounds. According to Byram (1997), there is a distinction between knowing about other cultures and being able to explore and understand the values and assumptions of other cultures. Byram's ICC model, especially with its emphasis on a learner's critical cultural awareness, does not emphasize the need of learners of a language to be near-native or to acquire native-level competence, but rather to develop their linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and intercultural communicative competence to a degree that they are able to turn intercultural situations into intercultural relationships (Byram, 1997). Intercultural relationships imply that interlocutors, irrespective of whose language is being used, become aware of the significance of what is said, how it is said, and the context in which it is said (Muller-Jacquier, 2000).

Turning intercultural situations into intercultural relationships implies that interlocutors need to develop understanding and an appreciation for the people whom they interact with which requires learners to become more capable of being self-reflective about their own norms and those of others. This may be difficult in actual practice, however, self-reflection is a skill worthy of development. Through reflection of one's own and others' cultures, a middle ground or "third place" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 236) may be established. McKay (2002) also advocates this position by stressing the need for learners to explore and understand cultural information in a reflective manner. Although both authors relate this stance to language teaching, in the case of learners' social network development, it can be argued that there is a need for learners to be self-reflective of their own and others' norms in social situations outside of the classroom if they are to establish and maintain positive and fruitful relationships.

2.4 Friendship & Closeness

The social nature of humanity necessitates the establishment of close relationships between individuals (Perlman & Duck, 1987; Duck, 1991). As Duck (1991) explains, people

fulfill basic needs through their closeness with others. These include a sense of community,

emotional stability, communication, provision of

help and a maintenance of self-esteem.

Nakayama (1997) notes that there is a general

lack of research on the processes that are

involved in the establishment of closeness, close

relationships and the role of communication in

the process. Nakayama's doctoral dissertation on

the communication of closeness in Japanese

Figure 1.1 Nakayama (1997) Principles of Closeness

examined the strategies and processes involved in developing closeness between two

Japanese participants.

According to Nakayama (1997) the development of closeness can be outlined in six

steps. Step one consists of estimation. In this stage, interlocutors estimate the closeness of

their relationship and determine if the relationship will progress to a higher degree of

closeness. Step two details the process by which the interlocutors determine their attitudes

towards closeness, in that they decide whether or not they wish to establish a closer

relationship with their fellow interlocutor. Step three involves the interlocutors deciding upon

the "maxims and strategies" (p. 24) they will follow in order to achieve their end goal. In

Step four the interlocutors decide the course of actions that will achieve their aim. Step five

details the acts that interlocutors perform to establish closeness. Step six requires the

interlocutors to reflect on how the act was received and how well it was performed by noting

the reactions of other participants and interlocutors.

This six-step process is a process of negotiation and evaluation of both the acts

performed and the reception of the acts by one's interlocutors. Nakayama (1997) further

explains that the six steps are what she describes as "closeness moves" (p. 25). She states that

interlocutors estimate and re-estimate and re-evaluate the state of closeness between themselves and their interlocutors. They do this by considering:

an evaluation of the performance of the act the participant has just carried out,

an evaluation of the initial and subsequent estimations which preceded, by

interpreting the partner's immediately preceding move as whole and/or as a

process, consisting of smaller units (i.e. utterances) and other moves (as a

whole or as a process) by the partner and the exchange(s) of moves between

the participant and the partner (p. 25).

Relevant to this thesis are Nakayama's Maxims of *Shitashisa* (closeness). These maxims can be described as 1) be emotionally close, 2) be mutually comfortable, and 3) be socially close. These maxims are expressed through Nakayama's (1997) seven strategies of care, share, trust, relax, be stable, co-operate and belong together. Each of these strategies reflects and is influenced by each other and derives from the three Maxims of Shitashisa and each other (see figure 1.1, p. 16). In her study where two Japanese participants meet eight times over four months, she noted instances and the progressions of such strategies through her identification of sociolinguistic features, such as switch-on, topic shifts, topic content, changes in honorifics (such as from *formal forms to plain forms*), turn-taking, joking and teasing, and explicit expression of criticisms, etc.

While Nakayama's (1997) research focuses only on Japanese native speakers' interactions with each other, it does offer insight into the differences and similarities that may be present in closeness development and communication styles of both Japanese and non-Japanese. She indicates several differences in the degree and nature of how interlocutors develop closeness, based on factors such as culture, gender, and age of the interlocutors. These differences are also likely to be relevant in an examination of Japanese English-language learners' formation of social networks.

Other factors which are relevant to Japanese English-language learners' social network formation can be seen in the work of Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) regarding power, distance, and the weight of imposition of communication acts in interactions with interlocutors of various social status, and the psychological distance between them. According to the authors, interlocutors may experience misunderstandings due to different evaluations of the power and distance between each other and the weight of imposition in requests, invitations and other speech acts. This may be rooted in part in the interlocutors' ideology which Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) define as "certain sets of assumptions held by people regarding such things as what is true or false (epistemology), what is good and bad (values), what is right and wrong (ethics), and what is normal and abnormal (norms)" (p. 111). The "system of thinking, social practices, and communication, which is used either to bring a particular group to social power or to legitimate their position of social power" (p. 111), may in fact play a key role in the development of social networks. As an example, age or social position in Japan can determine how one should address other Japanese friends (i.e., using another's name with or without honorifics such as ~san, ~kun, or ~chan), while addressing foreign friends may be different.

2.5 Problems in Communication in Contact Situations

As previously discussed, Fan (1992) makes distinctions between the different types of possible contact situations. To further elaborate, she characterizes them into three types: 1) Partner situations – where one of the interlocutors is a native speaker of the language used, 2) Third-party situations – where none of the interlocutors are native speakers of the language used), and 3) Cognate-language situations- where the language used is one that all interlocutors are native speakers of, but they use different varieties. A fourth type was added by Neustupný (2003), which describes contact situations between speakers of mutually intelligible languages, such as Portuguese and Spanish. Neustupný (2004) further makes a

distinction between "1) internal contact situations (defined by ethnic, social, gender, age, use area, degree of competence, and other similar features) and 2) external contact situations (so-called intercultural contact situations, defined by a cluster of features that operate across boundaries of national networks)" (p.10).

In intercultural interactions, interlocutors are likely to encounter and possibly notice behaviours (both linguistic and non-linguistic) that are unfamiliar or unusual based on their own norms. However, Neustupný, (1978, 1985) points out that it is important to remember that problems in communication may possibly arise in any contact situations, whether they are native speaker + native speaker, non-native speaker + native speaker or non-native speaker + non-native speaker. Whether or not interlocutors notice an incongruity, evaluate it (or try to remove it), can affect the outcome of an interaction. As Neustupný (2005) points out "The question of evaluation is essential …: How do we and should we evaluate the behaviour of others and of ourselves?" (p. 309).

These problems may derive from various linguistic (L) - grammatical, phonological or lexical elements, sociolinguistic (SL) - the interpretation of the social meaning of the choice of linguistic varieties and appropriate social meaning produced for the communication situation, or sociocultural (SC) behaviours - behaviours not related to language (Neustupný, 1997). Examples of linguistic behaviours are producing grammatically or phonetically appropriate or correct utterances in the language of use (Asaoka, 1987). Examples of sociolinguistic behaviours include, but cannot be limited to; forms of etiquette and politeness (Marriott, 1991, 1995) greetings, leave taking (Asaoka, 1987), and the use of referent honorifics (*irassharu* as opposed to *iku*, etc.) by non-Japanese in Japanese contact situations (Neustupný, 2005). Other examples of this include interlocutors finding differences or evaluating the arrangement of who communicates with whom (Asaoka, 1987), physical posture, and the different treatment of racial groups such as through the use of terms to refer

to them (Fairbrother, 2000) (i.e., using gaijin or gaikokujin 'foreigner' in Japanese with the latter often seen by foreigners as more polite), and the purpose of business meetings, and other interactional problems that arise from evaluations of one's interlocutor's intentions during interaction (Miller, 2009). Sociocultural examples have been demonstrated in phenomenon such as seating arrangements (Asaoka, 1987), gift giving (Fairbrother, 2000), or Japanese decision making processes, particularity about details in documents, or being loose with time (Aikawa, 2015). As Aikawa (2015) found her study of Japanese and non-Japanese employees interactions, Japanese interlocutors use English in a wide range of different situations for a variety of specific purposes and that they encountered many problems interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds in their daily work, and that sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems were more common and more influential in determining how interlocutors viewed the others' cultural groups.

While some of the research discussed above relates specifically to business contact situations (Marriott, 1991; Miller, 2009), social events (Asaoka, 1987; Fairbrother, 2000), or non-Japanese interacting with Japanese in Japanese (Neustupný, 2005), they do offer a foundation upon which to examine potential problems in Japanese learners of English interactions with English speakers in an EFL environment. From this foundation it can be seen that there is a need for more studies which examine contact situations in which EFL learners interact with English speakers in non-ESL settings. Therefore, since it is highly probable that individuals who are interested in learning English would seek out and attempt to establish friendships with English speakers, there is also a need to examine the development of social networks of EFL learners which focuses on how they make friends with speakers of their L2.

2.6 Social Networks

In common parlance, due to the rise of information technologies, social networks can refer to "the connections/relationships individuals build via [commonly used] on-line communication tools, such as [Line], Facebook, Twitter, and Linkedin" (Ring, Gardner & Dewey, 2013). This is somewhat different from how sociolinguists define social networks. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003), social networks are "the relationships [which individuals] contract with others as they reach out through social and geographical space linking many individuals" (p. 117). Social networks are determined by factors such as who one works with, where one goes to school, where one goes to socialize with others, who one's friends are, and where one lives (Meyerhoff, 2015). The complexity and dynamic nature of social network formation is, as Meyerhoff (2015) describes, "idiosyncratic" (p. 194). The study of social networks is often conducted by sociolinguists to examine linguistic variation and the diffusion of linguistic change through communities in terms of vertical (i.e. between generations) and horizontal channels (i.e., across a specific age group).

2.7 Social Networks and Language Learning in Study Abroad Contexts

Much of the recent research on the social network formation of language learners focuses on study abroad (SA) contexts. In SA contexts, the research which examines the out-of-classroom language use of learners suggests that there is a relationship between L2 development and social network formation (Dewey, 2004; Dewey, Belnap & Hillstrom, 2013; Dewey, Bown & Eggett, 2012; Ginsberg & Miller, 2000; Hernandez, 2010; Miller & Ginsberg, 1995; Taguchi, 2008). However, the lack of consensus on the nature of the relationship and the degree to which social network formation positively affects the acquisition of language suggests that the relationship is not as strong as some researchers might suggest (Freed, 1990; Mendelson, 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). The research on social network formation and L2 development appears to indicate that a number of variables

contribute to the differences between the findings of researchers. In connection to this, three factors have been identified that may offer insight into the relationship between the development of L2 and social network formation for Japanese learners of English in an EFL environment; duration and frequency of interactions, learner proficiency level, and motivation to have involvement in social networks with English speakers.

According to Mendelson (2004) who examined the relationship between language use and the speaking proficiency development of study abroad students during a 14-week program in Salamanca and an 18-week program in Granada, the location and length of time spent in a study abroad setting can have a positive influence on the quality of their interactions and that learners' felt that they made gains in their L2. She found that the learners who participated in the 18-week program reported in self-assessments that they were able to have more interactive conversations and reported improvements in their speaking proficiency. However, Mendelson (2004) did not find any direct correlation between language use and improvements in language proficiency for either group. In contrast, Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004) compared 28 learners in their fluency development of French by examining their performance in three different settings: formal language classrooms at their home institution, an intensive summer immersion program, and a study abroad setting. When each setting was compared, the learners in the study abroad setting made significant gains in their speech fluidity, however, they did not make as many gains as the immersion group. An interesting point from this study is that the study abroad group reported using English more than French in out-of-class activities. On the other hand, the immersion group indicated that they used French more than English in similar situations. This was potentially a result of their feeling more comfortable with the use of French due to their being in an immersion program (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004).

This past research suggests that the amount of time spent in interactions with speakers of the target language could have an impact on the L2 development of the learner, however, the dynamics of the situation such as interlocutor nationality and the constituents of the group could have an effect on the language that is used in interactions. In other words, if their peers are using the L1, then it is likely that individuals might see this and decide to use the L1 as well. On the other hand, it could be the context of the environment in which the participants were interacting. How long the situations last, how frequent they occur and who they interact with are all aspects of the context of the environment which could affect the language used in interactions. Within the context of EFL environments, this raises the question of whether or not the duration and frequency of interactions with speakers of their L2 has an influence on learners' L2 development and which language they use.

Freed (1990) found that proficiency level has a role to play in L2 development and social network formation. Her study examined learners of French who participated in a 6-week study abroad program in Tours, France. The findings of the study suggest that advanced-level learners made more gains in their L2 development through exposure to language in the form of reading and listening. The lower-level learners, on the other hand, gained more from their interactions with native speakers than their advanced level counterparts, which suggests that interactions with native speakers may have a greater effect on lower proficiency language learners, possibly through their supporting and providing assistance with lexical and grammatical elements. However, Freed (1990) admits that variables such as personality and the desire to seek out-of-class interactions were not accounted for, and the relatively short length of time of the program may have limited the effects of out-of-class interactions on L2 development. These findings from past research do, however, suggest that for Japanese learners of English who attempt to establish social networks with English speakers in an EFL environment, factors such as proficiency level, the

length of time of the interactions, and their motivation to engage in conversations with non-Japanese may contribute to their ability to successfully initiate and establish social networks with English speakers. Learners need to be motivated to engage in intercultural interactions if they are to be able to establish friendships with non-Japanese.

Both Wilkinson (1998, 2002) and Isabelli-García (2006) have indicated that motivation seems to also influence and is likely to play a role in social network formation. They both found that there is a correlation between motivation and the quantity and quality of interaction experience learners have. From Isabelli-García's study (2006), she determined that the more a learner progresses from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelativist frame of reference, the more willing they are to engage in social network formation with native speakers. Ethnocentric and ethnorelativist frames of reference differ in that they emphasize the point of view which an interlocutor takes in their appraisals of behaviours, and essentially, the more familiarity and more positive experiences learners have with a target language group, the higher their motivation would be to interact and develop social networks and friendships with them. Related to this is Kudo and Simkin's (2004) study of Japanese students at an Australian university, where they found that several factors influenced the development of intercultural friendships and they focused on identifying several aspects that were important for friendship formation: 1) frequent contact, through propinquity and shared friendship networks which increase familiarity between interlocutors, 2) similarity of personal characteristics and age, 3) self-disclosure and openness of communication, and (4) the receptivity of other non-Japanese which can result in learners having positive experiences with a target language group.

This section has examined the literature as it relates to this study. It has briefly presented the relevant literature on communicative and interactional competence as well as the development of the concept of intercultural communicative competence and the role of

English as an International Language in developing communicative competence. It also briefly examined the development of friendship and closeness of Japanese learners according to Nakayama (1997). Through this review of the literature on social networks and social network development it was revealed that while there have been several studies of Japanese in business settings and in study abroad contexts, there has been little research on Japanese social or friendship network development in an EFL context such as Japan. It is also clear that there is much still unknown about the relationship between social network formation and the influence of social networks on L2 development.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This section will present the methodology used in this study. The ability of qualitative studies to examine phenomenon from an emic perspective allows for the "use of categories which are meaningful to the members of the speech community under study" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 163). As the focus of this research is on the participants' expectations and their reactions to their interlocutors, the aim of the research was to examine the individuals' behaviour in a holistic manner, while preserving their perspective as much as possible, and so a qualitative approach was taken.

Starting with a presentation of the interview methodology used in the collection of data, this section will then progress to an explanation of the theoretical model of analysis; Language Management Theory. It will then present information regarding the participants of the study, and summarize how the data was collected. It will conclude with the central research questions of the study.

3.1 Interaction Interviews

Data was collected through single episode interaction interviews with nine Japanese and four non-Japanese participants. Generally, interviews used to collect data may be structured, semi-structured or unstructured, or be conducted during either one or multiple sessions (Dörnyei, 2007), however, the primary goal of this research was to obtain information on the behavior of participants towards the language used in their interactions. In order to obtain the data on the behaviour of participants' perceptions towards language and behaviour in interactions, this study used interaction interviews in combination with general recall interviews. An interaction interview is composed of three main stages: The first stage is situational mapping which consists of having the participant reconstruct their schedule by recalling from memory and reporting on specific situations which they experienced. This stage typically takes between 5-30 minutes. The second stage involves having the participant

explain and/or describe the purpose, content, participants and any other relevant information for each situation. The final stage of an interaction interview requires the participant to report their entire awareness of the situation at the time of the interaction (Neustupný, 2003, pp. 128-129).

On the other hand, general 'recall interviews' entail the participants giving their impressions of their language use, or recalling details of their interactions through the use of open-ended semi-structured or structured questions asked by the researcher (Neustupný 2003). The interviews began with a general recall interview section, progressed to the interaction interview section, and then concluded with a recall interview section. The first recall interview section was used to collect demographic and general information relating to the participants' existing friendships (see Appendix C). The interaction interview section was then used to collect data on the specific language use and behaviour in the interviewees' recent interactions. This is because interaction interviews focus "on capturing an act of interaction as much in its original form as possible" (Neustupný, 2003, p. 128) and seek to "capture the processes such as noting and evaluation of deviations" (p. 127). This interview method was developed at Monash University (Melbourne) and has been used by Neustupný (2003), Muraoka (2001), Asaoka (1987), and many others in language management studies.

The interviews concluded with a recall section to clarify or further examine details of the participants' friendships that the researcher felt were pertinent. Thus, while interaction interviews were the primary means of collecting data, general recall sections were also included where necessary to collect pertinent information regarding the participants' current social networks.

As this research seeks to examine the interviewees' behaviour towards language and other features of interaction during their attempts at social network formation, recall interviews were determined to be too limited in their ability to produce accurate accounts of

the participants' behaviour towards the language used. Neustupný (2003) has criticized recall interviews as a means to collect data relating to actual language use and other interactional behavior as the interviewee is typically asked to give their impressions of their language use. These criticisms have focused on the ability of the interviewees to recall specific incidents of language use from memory (Neustupný, 2003). The techniques in general structured or semi-structured 'recall' interviews can emphasize the events or aspects of the interviewees' interactions which had a strong impression on them and potentially lead to the interviewee to give generalizations about their past experiences (Neustupný, 1994, 2003).

Mackey & Gass (2005) have also pointed out that interviews may result in interviewees not being able to recall information accurately or entirely and that the interviewee may focus on information that they think is of interest to the researcher. Other elements of interviews such as self-censorship, (Jay & Brooks, 2004), and "social desirability bias" can, as Dörnyei (2007) explains, influence the answers of the participants as well in that the interviewee omits information that they feel is inappropriate or irrelevant, or gives answers that are not fully grounded in their actual experience.

To elucidate, recall interviews have been identified to have several limitations: 1) memory limitations on the part of the participants, 2) the interference of attitudes and aims of the participants, and 3) the limitations of the participants' speech system (idiosyncratic style): topic constraints and restrictions on terminology (Neustupný, 2003, p. 128). The researcher hoped not to influence the participants through his own impressions (negative or positive) in order to avoid affecting the participants' reports of their beliefs and attitudes towards their interlocutors. Typical recall interview questions can lead the participant to have expectations about what they should or should not answer, and specifically focus on those experiences which made a strong impression on the participant rather than other phenomenon which might be equally important to the researcher. On the other hand, as Dörnyei (2007) points

out, interviews are a "a natural and socially acceptable way of collecting information that most people feel comfortable with and which can be used in a variety of situations and focusing on diverse topics to yield in-depth data" (p. 143). It is for these reasons that interaction interviews were used as the primary means of data collection.

3.2 Language Management Theory

For this qualitative research, language management theory was used to analyze the data collected from the interviews. Originally developed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987), Neustupný (2005) claims language management theory allows for extensive analysis of contact situations and the language used in such situations by examining the behaviours of interlocutors towards language and interactions and the theory's conceptualization of process. The model of language management that was used for this research is based on Neustupný's 2005 study. This "management model defines problems as commencements with deviations from norms; subsequently the deviations may be noted and negatively or positively evaluated by participants, adjustment is sought and finally implemented" (p. 310).

i. Norms – expectations (socially-shared or individual) of appropriate and expected behavior,

ii. Deviation –behaviour of an interlocutor or the self which deviates from a norm,

iii. Noting – whether or not the deviation is noticed,

iv. Evaluation – whether or not the noted deviations are evaluated as positive, negative or neutral,

v. Adjustment design– the plan made by the participant to attempt to remove the problem,

vi. Implementation – the act of implementing the adjustment plan to attempt to remove the deviation. (pp. 310-311)

In the language management model, Neustupný (2005) explains that both linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours, or 'norms' or expectations concerning such behaviours can be classified into four types: 1) Native norms – the behaviours that are familiar and acceptable to one of the interlocutors in an interaction, 2) Contact norms – which are "special norms which are applied only within contact situations" (Marriott, 1991, 1993; Fairbrother, 2000, 2003; Neustupný, 2005, p.312), 3) Dual norms – "the simultaneous usage and acceptance of norms from two different systems" (p. 313), and 4) Universal norms – universally valid behaviours that forgo cultural systems and which may be acceptable to all.

The term 'native norms' should be understood to mean norms that are expectations which are specific to an individual's perceptions of their own culture, gender, age, occupation or other aspects of their life. The term should not be confused with 'native' as is typically used when one talks about 'native' speakers of a language.

3.3 Participants

The researcher interviewed thirteen participants; nine Japanese English language learners residing in Japan and four non-Japanese residents of Japan. The participants were selected on a volunteer basis with the pool of candidates originating from friends of colleagues, classmates, and friends of friends who showed interest in the study. The interviews were conducted in English where possible, as the participants were all proficient, with their English ranging from low-intermediate to advanced level proficiency. The researcher used his previous experience invigilating and assisting learners to prepare for the Cambridge FCE and CAE speaking examinations to provide a rough assessment of the participants' spoken English level. First, a recall interview style was used to collect demographic and historical English language experience information from the participants. The interviews then proceeded to the main interaction interview section. The interaction interview sections were used to identify and detail the context of the deviations and situations

which the participants described. The interview concluded with a general recall interview style in order to address any general questions which the interviewer had of the participants' experiences or their impressions of what making intercultural friends is like.

The inclusion of the four non-Japanese speakers of English who are presently living in Japan and who communicate with Japanese in social situations for the purposes of establishing a social relationship with 'Japanese' was made so as to provide a contrasting lens with the data collected from the Japanese participants.

The following tables provide information collected during the interviews which describe the participants' national backgrounds, ages, occupations, L2 language experience, L2 proficiency, number of friends and a general sense of from where their friends originate, how often they are able to meet their friends and the size of the groups in which they meet them. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide demographic information regarding the Japanese participants in this study.

Table 1.1 Japanese Participants: Demographic Background

Pseudo Name	Gender	Nationality	Age	Occupation	English L2 Experience	English Proficiency
JF1	F	Japanese	Late 20's	Office worker	9 years in Japan + 1 month study abroad: England	Low-Intermediate
JF2	F	Japanese	Mid 20's	Graduate Student	11 years in Japan + 1 year study abroad: New Zealand	Advanced
JF3	F	Japanese	Early 40's	Teacher	12+ years	Advanced
JF4	F	Japanese	Early 20's	University Student (1st year)	8 years in Japan + travel	Intermediate
JM5	M	Japanese	Mid 20's	Office worker	10 years in Japan + 1 year working Australia	High-Intermediate
JF6	F	Japanese	Mid 20's	University Student (1st year)	7 years in Japan + travel	Intermediate
JF7	F	Japanese	Late 20's	Office worker	9 years in Japan	Low-Intermediate
JM8	M	Japanese	Mid 20's	Office worker	9 years + travel	High-Intermediate
JM9	M	Japanese	Early 20's	University Student (4th year)	9 years + 1 year study abroad: Ireland	High-Intermediate

Table 1.2 Japanese Participants: Friendship Contact Details

Pseudo	NJES Friends	NJES Friends' Nationalities	Frequency of Contact	Typical contact situation type
JF1	5+	USA/CA	2-3 times a month	One-on-one, small group
JF2	10+	US/AUS/CA/UA	3-4 times a month (varies)	One-on-one, small group
JF3	5	UK, USA	once a week (during semester)	One-on-one
JF4	15+	USA/CA	6-7 times a month	One-on-one, small group, large group
JM5	5+	USA/CA	once a week	One-on-one, small group
JF6	10+	Various: USA/UK	5-7 times a month	One-on-one, small group, large group
JF7	2	AUS	1-2 times a month	One-on-one
JM8	4+	Various: USA/CR/AU	2-4 times a month (online more)	One-on-one, small group
JM9	15+	Various: IRE/USA	About 7 times a month	One-on-one, small group, large group

Tables 1.3 and 1.4 provide the corresponding information for the non-Japanese participants.

Table 1.3 Non-Japanese Participants: Demographic Background

Pseudo Name	Gender	Nationality	Age	Occupation	Japanese L2 Experience	English Proficiency
FM1	M	Australian	Early 30's	Chef	6 months Japanese school: 2 years living in Japan	Native
FF2	F	American	Late 30's	Teacher	10 years living in Japan	Native
FM3	M	Australian	Early 30's	Teacher	4 years living in Japan	Native
FM4	M	American	Late 20's	Teacher	3 years in University + 4 years living in Japan	Native

Table 1.4 Non-Japanese Participants: Friendship Contact Details

Pseudo	Number Friends	Friends' Nationality	Frequency of Contact	Typical contact situation type
FM1	10+	Japanese	daily/a few times a month	One-on-one, small group
FF2	6+	Japanese	a few times a month	One-on-one, small group
FM3	2+	Japanese	a few times a month	One-on-one, small group
FM4	10+	Japanese	once a month	One-on-one, small group

In order to clarify the complexity of the differences in the relationships of the

participants, two additional tables are presented. Table 1.5 presents the information collected from the Japanese participants regarding the gender and nationality of their friends and the duration of the friendships reported in their interviews. Related information is provided below in table 1.6 for the non-Japanese participants. Abbreviations for the participants' friends nationalities are as follows: *AU: Austria*, *AUS: Australia, CA: Canada, CR: Costa Rica, UK: United Kingdom, IRE: Ireland, JPN: Japan, UA: Ukraine, and USA: United States of America*. In some cases, the participants reported on more than one interaction with more than one friend. This information is also presented in the following tables. A particular point to note is that participants JM5 and JM8 have both been friends with FF2 for more than five years and also know each other having met once or twice before. During each of their interviews, these participants did report on interactions that they have had in the past with each other, in addition to reporting on a recent interaction with other friends. Another point of consideration is that JF2 is a friend of the researcher and the researcher was present in one of the recent interactions which she reported on.

Table 1.5 Japanese Participants: Friendship Details

Pseudo	Typical gender of NJES friends	Gender of main friend (s)	Length of friendship with main friend	Gender of secondary friend (s) reported on during interview	Length of friendship with secondary friend
JF1	Female	Female (CA)	1 year	----------	----------
JF2	Mixed	Female (USA)	1.5 years	Male (USA) /Female (UA)/ Male (CA)	8+ months / 8+ months /1.5 years
JF3	Mixed	Male (UK)	3 years	----------	----------
JF4	Female	Female (USA)	6 months	----------	----------
JM5	Male	Female (USA:FF2)	6 years	Male (CA)	A few weeks
JF6	Female	Female (USA)	6 months	Female	6 months
JF7	Female	Female (AUS)	1 year	----------	----------
JM8	Male	Female (USA: FF2)	8 years	Male (AU) / Male (CR)	1.5 years / 1 year
JM9	Mixed	Male (IRE)	3 years	Male (USA)	2 years

Table 1.6 Non-Japanese Participants: Friendship Details

Pseudo	Typical gender of NJES friends	Gender of main friend (s)	Length of friendship with main friend	Gender of secondary friend (s) reported on during interview	Length of friendship with secondary friend
FM1	Mixed	Male (JPN)	2 years	Female	2 years
FF2	Mixed	Male (JPN)	6 years	Male (JM8) /Male (JM5)	8 years/6 years
FM3	Mixed	Female (JPN)	1.5 years	----------	----------
FM4	Female	Male (JPN)	2 years	Female	6 months

3.4 Data Collection

The data collected from the interviews were analyzed using Language Management Theory (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). The interviews were piloted using interviews with volunteer participants (JF1 and JF3). The pilot interviews from these two participants assisted in ensuring that the interaction interview method was understood by the researcher and served as a template for preparation of subsequent interviews. As the researcher was able to identify and categorize the behaviour towards language used in the interactions of the participants during the pilot interviews, no alterations were made to the interview format. As previously mentioned, subsequent participants were selected through personal contacts of the researcher. Participants were selected based on when they had last interacted with one of their friends, with the criteria being that they had met and had a social interaction of more than twenty minutes with a friend within a week of the interview. The interactions were required to be social interactions and non-business related and could include activities such as lunch, dinner, drinks, or other activities as long as they involved conversation between the participant and their friend.

Each interview was conducted over approximately 60 minutes. Field notes were kept in conjunction with the interviews, including observations of the environment, the participants, the interviewer, and any other noteworthy factors.

During the collection of the data for the study, each interview was audio recorded and transcripts were made after the interview. During each interview, the researcher also took field notes. All of the audio files of the interviews, and relevant memoranda, and field notes were catalogued as secure computer files. As ongoing data analysis during the first nine interviews with the Japanese participants took place throughout the study, a coding system organized around the types of behaviours which participants focused on including linguistic (L), sociolinguistic (SL) which used the eight 'Rules of Communication' (Neustupný, 1997), and sociocultural features of their interactions was developed. Instances of linguistic problems that participants had during their interactions were noted during the interviews and further sub-categorized as relating to the participants' knowledge of vocabulary, colloquial expressions, slang or grammar. Each deviation (linguistic, sociolinguistic, or sociocultural) noted by the participant was analyzed based on their evaluation of the deviation (negative, positive or neutral) and what adjustments, if any, were made by the participants in response to the deviation during their interactions.

3.5 Research Questions

The following section will present the research questions used in this study. This study examines the formation of friendships in social networks, the development and maintenance of closeness, and aims to identify some factors which either contribute or hinder Japanese English-language learners' intercultural interactions. Specifically, the study examines the development of Japanese English-language learners' friendships outside of the classroom environment by focusing on the methods and strategies which Japanese English-language learners employ to initiate, develop and maintain friendships with non-Japanese

English speakers (NJES). Furthermore, it investigates their awareness of their own and others' norms regarding making friends and how this influences their social network formation. By examining the experiences of Japanese English language learners in their attempts to develop social networks and friendship/closeness with non-Japanese English speakers and contrasting those experiences with the experiences of non-Japanese English speakers in their interactions with Japanese English speakers, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. **(R1) How did Japanese EFL learners establish friendships with their NJES friends?**

2. **(R2) What problems do Japanese EFL learners feel they encounter when interacting with their NJES friends?**

3. **(R3) How do Japanese EFL learners make adjustments to their own behaviour or to their interlocutors' behaviour in their interactions with their NJES friends?**

4. **(R4) What strategies would be beneficial for assisting Japanese EFL learners in their efforts to develop social networks?**

5. **(R5) "What factors influence the development of closeness in the social network formation of Japanese EFL learners?**

This section has outlined the methodology used in this study, detailing the types of interviews that were used and the reasons for their use. The theoretical framework of Language Management Theory was also presented to provide clarity about the analytical framework that was used. The participants selected for the study and other pertinent information regarding their selection, along with demographic information was provided. Finally, the procedures for the collection of data was provided along with the research questions.

Chapter 4. Analysis of Results

This chapter will present the results of the data collection along with the analysis using

Language Management Theory (Neustupný, 1997, 2005) to identify the deviations noted and

evaluated by the participants in their interactions with English speakers. It will focus on

determining how the participants evaluated deviations (negative, positive and other) and

classify the problems they reported according to whether they were linguistic, sociolinguistic

or sociocultural. This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section details how

the participants made their current NJES friends, how long they have been friends for, and

how often they currently meet their NJES friends. The second section will explain the

problems which the Japanese participants have in their interactions with their NJES friends

by presenting the findings of the data collection organized firstly according to the negative

evaluations they made and secondly according to the positive or other evaluations made.

4.1 How the participants made and developed their friendship networks

      This section presents the contexts which the participants described concerning how

they met their current friends, and how they might look for potential new friends. Both the

Japanese and non-Japanese participants in this study reported on a variety of environments

which they either consciously or unconsciously used to establish their current friendships,

including common localities, common interests, online sites, and existing friendship

networks. The final two sections will give details of the duration of the participants' current

friendships and the frequency with which they meet their friends.

4.1.1 Contexts for establishing friendships

      The participants reported on the contexts of how they established their friendships

during the recall section of the interviews. The four contexts in which friendships were

established between themselves and their NJES friends were: 1) common location, 2) having

something in common, 3) online meet-ups and apps, and 4) friendships networks.

4.1.1.1 Common locations

Overall, the Japanese participants reported making friends with NJESs whom they came into contact with as a result of either 1) attending university programs taught in English (JF2, JF3), 2) taking up residence in a university international dormitory (JF4, JF6), 3) making friends with the teachers in an English language program (JM5, JM8), or 4) making friends with co-workers at international companies (JF7, JM8). The non-Japanese participants also all reported that they have made friends in the places they work, where they go to school or at events which they frequently attend. All of the participants indicated that such locations could present a sense of having something in common, such as a similar field of study or by working with people often and this seemed to be important to developing closeness to their NJES friends.

Each of the Japanese participants, with the exceptions of JF1 and JF7, indicated that they consciously made decisions to create situations where they would have an opportunity to interact with English speakers, thus demonstrating a strong desire to create opportunities to interact and make English speaking friends. For example, JF2 said she had a strong interest in learning English, as it was her favourite subject in school and therefore she studied abroad for a year in New Zealand. She also graduated as an English major, and enrolled in a Master's Degree program specifically taught in English. Similarly, JF3, who presently teaches English at a university, graduated from the same MA program as JF2. Both JF2 and JF3 reported that they established friendships with English speakers from amongst their classmates.

Specifically, JF2 reported that she had found it difficult to make friends with native English speakers during her study abroad experience as a teenager in New Zealand as she sees herself as shy, and was hesitant to make friends at that time. She also indicated that she has some acquaintances with whom she works, however, she said that she is not especially close with them. By placing herself in a situation where she would have proximity to English

speakers, JF2 said that she was able to make NJES friends from among her classmates. This is similar to JF3, who also noted that by studying in a program which is open to NJESs, she discovered that she could find something in common with one of her classmates, which was a point that seemed to be important to her. To illustrate, JF3 described meeting a British man in her Master's program and becoming friends with him in the interim. At first, even though they were enrolled in the same university MA program, she wondered what they would have in common, however, she soon found a common point with which they could relate to each other.

> JF3: *"He is much younger than I am, so I thought just a young British guy.*
>
> *Then on the same day, I learned that he is actually married. I am married*
>
> *too, so okay! There is something in common."*

Two other participants consciously made decisions to create situations where they are able to interact with English speakers. JF4 and JF6 reported that they purposely decided to move into an international dormitory at university to work as Japanese language residency assistants in order to be in contact with NJESs. As university students and residents of dormitories, the participants not only have contact with English speakers, but also have immediate points of commonality (being fellow students and dormitory residents) which allow them to relate to their NJES friends.

> JF4: *"I wanted to make friends with a foreigner. My university has an*
>
> *international dorm. It is a good idea to go live there."*
>
> JF6: *"I live at the international dormitory. I think it is a good place to*
>
> *make international friends. I decided to live there for that."*

JM5 who majored in English made most of his NJES friends from the teachers he met during his undergraduate program. Among them he met and became friends with FF2 as a result of his attending the informal English free-conversation sessions offered at his

university, although he indicated that FF2 was never actually one of his teachers. JM8, who indicated that he enjoys spending his free time travelling abroad, said that many of his friendships with English speakers were more spontaneous in origin, however, he also met and became friends with FF2 while he was a university student.

> JM8: *"I met her at university. She was [my] teacher at that time. We are interested in kind of the same. For example, music, paintings, also I like talking about politics in America, so those kind of things really connected us. Also, she has lived in Japan for a long time, so she is an English teacher that has lived in Japan for a long time. That's why I think we have had a long relationship, that still continues."*

JM9, in his desire to make friends with non-Japanese, began working at an Irish bar located in Tokyo, and started an internship position with a Japanese share-house agency which serves to provide foreign nationals with accommodation during their work or study-abroad programs and assists them with their lives in Japan.

> JM9: *"Ah, I worked at an Irish bar, so that is why I can make friends there…There is an Irish and Japanese committee in Tokyo and I joined that. Then I learned about the bar, so I started working there. It was difficult at first [to make friends] but somehow I got to know them. I also am [part-time] at an internship. I meet people there too."*

In contrast to the other participants, both JF1 and JF7 indicated that they had limited time due to work commitments and their lifestyle, and when combined with their limited ability in English, they feel that they have little opportunity to meet and make NJES friends. Nevertheless, JF7 described herself as being interested in meeting and making friends with NJESs. Currently, her 'best' friend is a NJES Australian who is one of her co-workers at her

Japanese advertising agency. Starting work at the same company at the same time served as a way for JF7 to establish her friendship with her Australian friend.

>FJ7: *"I met her at my company. She works in the same company as me.*
>
>*We talked many times and [became] friends."*

As can be seen from the above examples, participants make use of locales, such as the places they work or the schools they attend, to make new friends. Again, these choices appear to be based on each individual's personal inclinations and personality. According to Kudo and Simkin (2003) location is an important factor in the frequency of intercultural contact. Just as in their study, where their participants, as a result of meeting NJES friends in their accommodation and classrooms, were more likely to establish intercultural friendships, propinquity (using locations frequented by participants), seems to also be a common means of making friends for the participants of this study.

4.1.1.2 Having something in common

Propinquity is not the only factor which is important in friendship formation. While many of the participants reported that having a place to meet people was important for making friends, they also indicated that having something in common was important, just as JF3 reported when she learned that her British friend was married, just like her.

JM8 also reported that common interests were important in that he found three interests he has in common with FF2. The continued friendship with FF2, according to JM8, is based on the mutual interests they have in music, art and politics.

>JM8: *"I met her at university. She was [my] teacher at that time. We are*
>
>*interested in kind of the same. For example, music, paintings, also I like*
>
>*talking about politics in America, so those kind of things really connected*
>
>*us. Also, she has lived in Japan for a long time, so she is an English*

teacher that has lived in Japan for a long time. That's why I think we have

had a long relationship, that still continues."

His pointing out that she has lived in Japan for a long time is also a factor that he seems to view as an aspect which gives them more in common, implying that she is familiar with Japanese culture and life in Japan. Having something in common, according to the participants, gives them something to talk about with their friends. As JF7 explained, her NJES friend, being engaged, is also involved in a romantic relationship, so they often talk about their respective husband and fiancée. They also have other interests in common in that they enjoy watching and talking about movies. [Square brackets] indicate correction of participant's grammar and editing for clarification.

> FJ7: *"She speaks Japanese well. We talked in Japanese when we met*
>
> *[the] first time. Sometimes we talk in English. Also, we are in [the same*
>
> *movie club] so sometimes we go to movies. We both like movies so we*
>
> *can talk [about] movies."*

Of all participants, only FM1 indicated that it was possible to meet potential friends spontaneously in a bar. This was not a means to make new friends for the majority of the Japanese participants nor the other non-Japanese participants. In the case of FM1, during his first trip to Japan he was staying at a hostel and visited a local bar nearby and became friends with the owner who, like himself, is a chef. Since they are able to talk about cooking, they found that they have something in common.

> *FM1: "Ah, met my chef friend two years ago. The first time I met N, I*
>
> *couldn't even speak a word of Japanese, but we still had a connection as*
>
> *chefs showing each other food and photos and very, very broken*
>
> *communication."*

Having a common interest (or commonality) is in line with Kudo and Simkin's (2003) finding that a lack of commonality or similar interest, hobby, attitude etc., can limit the possibility of Japanese establishing friendships with non-Japanese. This suggests that through having commonality of interest or hobbies, participants are able to facilitate conversations which can assist them in developing friendships as they have topics which they can converse about with their NJES friends.

4.1.1.3 Online meet-ups/apps

The use of online meet-ups and SNS apps that allow people to connect to new people was also reported by some participants as a way that they have met people. In using such applications, the interlocutors have limited control over whom they meet as the circumstances of their meeting are less likely to involve a point of common interest, such as a mutual friend, interest, or hobby. They also do not necessarily involve attending a program, class, workshop, or community event which can provide an immediate sense of common interest.

The SNS technology to meet new people reported on by those participants which use them are online apps such as Tinder (a dating app for smartphones), and HelloTalk, an app specifically used for language exchanges, and Meet-up.com which offers a wide range of activities organized by individuals who reside locally. Of the participants who indicated that they use such apps, all of the male Japanese participants and all of the non-Japanese participants (JM5, JM8, JM9, FM1, FF2, FM3, and FM4) said that they do or have done so in the past. In an effort to find new people to meet, JM5 reported that he has used dating apps and online meet-ups. Sometimes he uses them to find potential dating partners, and at other times he only wants to meet new people. He reported recently (at the time of the interview) of meeting a Canadian through an online app.

JM5: *"That was online. It's one of those dating apps. Well, I met this*

person on Tuesday, but we had been actually texting all day. Over the last

three days actually. It was not my first time to use this. It is okay to use

[but it] is hard to find people to like."

JM8 explained that there are many activities which people can participate in through online meet-ups, including language exchanges and international parties and that he also uses online dating apps as well.

JM8: *"I'd recommend Meet-up.com. I think it works [for meeting new*

people]. One of the [other] things, like I said, [are] matching sites, like

Tinder, something like that. And I go to some international parties. I met a

Spanish guy or Costa Rican, but they actually speak some Japanese."

Furthermore, JM8 added that, since the international meet-up, he sometimes meets with his Costa Rican NJES friend and they play futsal or soccer with other people whom they have met in Tokyo. FF2 indicated that she sometimes arranges online meet-ups through Meet-up.com, although infrequently. She explained that she organizes events sometimes to introduce her various friends to local music events that take place in Tokyo.

FF2: "Some people I have met, I don't know if they are necessary good

friends, but they get a chance to practice English from using various sites.

I used Meet-up.com. I am really lazy about using it. Sometimes I go to

events, like international parties. Meet-up.com is kind of good. You get a

third Japanese people who speak English and want to meet foreigners, a

third foreigners who want to meet [Japanese] English speakers and a

third who are just…"

While FF2 indicated that international parties and online meet-ups are possible ways to meet new people, her hesitation to complete her sentence suggests that there is a chance that not all of the people at these events will be compatible for friendship. The frequency of usage of online apps appears to be more common for the Japanese male participants in

contrast to the Japanese female participants who did not indicate that they use such apps possibly because some female Japanese participants feel that they are unsafe. While the participants JM5, JM8, JM9, FM1, FF2, FM3, and FM4 indicated that they have made use of apps and attended events to meet new people, as FF2 hinted, it is possible that when using such apps, there is an increased chance of meeting people who may not be desirable for establishing friendships with.

According to Nakayama's (1997) Maxims of Shitashisa (closeness): 1) Be emotionally close, 2) be mutually comfortable, and 3) be socially close, are necessary requirements for establishing and developing friendships. Online apps and SNS may violate these maxims for some participants as it is challenging to determine whether or not it is possible to be emotionally close, comfortable, or socially close with an individual whom one meets online, as it is difficult to know much about a person prior to meeting them. Additionally, unlike common locations, which allow for time to observe and for judgements to be made of individuals' behavior, attitudes, etc., online apps are restrictive as initial contact is not in person and while members can message each other, it seems that meeting people in person is preferred by the participants.

4.1.1.4 Existing Friendship networks

Some of the participants also reported that there are times where they might be introduced to a potential new friend through another friend. They provided some examples of the type of events where this might be possible which include: 1) going to cherry blossom viewing / fireworks summer festival events (JM5, JM8, FM1, FF2, FM3, and FM4), 2) arranging international get-togethers (JF4, JF6, JM8, FM1, FF2, FM3), and 3) inviting friends to meet people for dinner/coffee or an event (JF1, JM5, JM8, JM9, FM1, FF2, FM3 and FM4). Sometimes they invite their friends to meet their other friends or they are invited by their friends. Meeting friends of friends through friendship networks seems to be

incidental and based on the individual's availability and interest in the event to be attended as demonstrated by JM8 in his reporting about his Costa Rican friend.

> JM9: *"I like soccer. So, I the Costa Rican guy likes soccer. So, all of the time, we meet to play football. And then, he invites someone, I invite someone. That kind of circle is always created. That kind of situation happens."*

Of all the participants, JF1 said that her NJES friends are limited to a few people, with all of them being friends of friends. JF1 indicated that previously she had an American boyfriend whom she met through a friend of a friend. She indicated that she did not have any especially close NJES friends, but was open to the idea and that she sometimes meets new people through her Japanese friends. She talked about how she met a potential new NJES friend, explaining that her Japanese friend had invited her along to have dinner with him and his Canadian friend. She said:

> JF1: *"Before this day, that day he said to me, would you mind [like to] to come [and meet] my friend? She is from Canada. I was okay to meet. It was exciting. [He] said we can have Chinese food. I like Chinese food."*

From her expression *"It was exciting"* and through the fact that she reported that she does not have many NJES friends, the chance to make NJES friends is something she seems to be interested in. However, she indicated that she does not know any other way to make NJES friends other than through her friends. The point that she mentioned about liking Chinese food suggests that meeting the NJES friend was not her only reason for wanting to attend.

Both JF4 and JF6 reported that they like meeting people, however, they do not always have the time to meet new people, so they regularly arrange international

parties. This gives the Japanese residents of their dormitory an opportunity to meet and talk with international students.

> JF6: *"For example in the dormitory, I and my Japanese friend hold a party once a month. And in my university, we have a chat room, so sometimes we go to the chat room and talk with exchange students."*

JM5 reported that he has met more than a few of FF2's NJES and Japanese friends at live events to which she often invites him. He did not indicate that he has made any direct friendships as a result of such meetings, but said that he has also met friends of hers at other functions such as fireworks festivals.

> JM5: *"FF2 often invites me to her [favorite] band's lives. Sometimes she invites other people that I don't know. Before I went to Australia, I met a couple time[s] with her and some people at the Yokohama fireworks."*

On the other hand, friends via friends seems to be an uncommon way for non-Japanese to make new friends with Japanese. One possible explanation why Japanese do prefer this is that Japanese feel that it is important to have commonality with their friends (Kudo & Simkin, 2003). Determining whether or not their NJES friends can "get along well" with their Japanese friends is potentially seen as a way to limit unnecessary friction in their Japanese social networks.

However, in some contexts, Japanese might be willing to make introductions of NJESs to their Japanese friends. When FM1 reported about his initial trip to Japan, he said that his outward appearance could be taken as unusual by Japanese, however, through his friendship with a local owner of a bar he developed other friendships as a result of the owner introducing him to the bar regulars.

> FM1: *"I was wearing a black kilt, denim jacket covered in patches and a 30cm platinum blonde Mohawk and full beard. I think I was the most*

interesting white guy ever in the bar at the time. And so the owner of the

bar, who became a friend of mine, would introduce me to them and say,

they want to practice their English. Have a chat, I'll give you a beer. And

it went from there."

The fact that FM1's Japanese friend encouraged him to meet with patrons at

the bar and give them a chance to practice their English helped him to develop some

Japanese friendships. He indicated that he still tries to meet some of them when he

can to play futsal at least once a month.

FF2 reported that she enjoys arranging meetings between her Japanese and

non-Japanese friends, especially for attending live gigs and concerts of her favourite

local Japanese band which she regularly attends.

FF2: *"I sometimes invite people to go to lives. People I know who don't*

know each other, but I think that they might like the band."

In determining ways to meet and make friends and how they made the friends they

currently have, each of the Japanese participants typically reported using places to make

friends, suggesting a need for commonality, such as two people sharing a location (i.e., work

or school) and having something else in common (i.e., being married or enrolled in the same

class). While all non-Japanese participants appeared to be willing to use established networks

of friends to meet potential new friends, not all Japanese participants indicated that they were

willing to do so.

While friendship networks can provide opportunities for increasing the amount of

intercultural contact (Sudweeks, Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Nishida, 1990), they do not

seem to be used as much by Japanese participants and the non-Japanese participants in this

study. In Nesdale, Simkin, Sang, Burke and Fraser's (1995) study of over 2000 international

university students in Australia, they found that around thirty percent of the students were

only able to establish minimal contact with native Australians. Other studies, which have examined the development of international students' friendships, have shown that there is a lack of contact and therefore friendship development between study-abroad students and members of the host community (Kudo & Simkin, 2003), and that while the participants in their study made use of friendship networks, these networks often did not include native Australians. While all the Japanese in this study have established, to one degree or another, friendships with NJES, the factors of propinquity and finding commonality between them and their NJES counterparts is a challenge which can determine the outcome of Japanese English-language learners' attempts to make NJES friends. In other words, in order to make friends, being in the same location and having a common interest is more likely to result in a friendship developing.

4.1.2 Duration of friendships

This section will present details of the duration of the participants' friendships. Each of the participants indicated that they have known their friends for varying degrees of time, which for some participants has been for several years or more. All the Japanese participants indicated that they have known their close NJES friends for an extended period of time. The friendships that were reported on have lasted on average a year or more, with many of them being longer than three years. The participants also indicated that they have other friendships of varying degrees of duration (see table 1.5; Japanese Participants: friendship details, p. 36 and table 1.6 Non-Japanese Participants: friendship details, p. 37). The exceptions to this were JF4, JF6 and JF1. Both JF4 and JF6 have only known their NJES friends since starting university, which at the time of their interview was one semester. JF1 indicated that she has only known her NJES friend for about a year and she did not indicate that they had become very close.

For the participants who have known their friends longer, they indicated that their friendships have developed over a number of years. As an example, JM5 has known his NJES friends, who were teachers at his university, for an average of about six years. In particular, he reported that he has known FF2 since she was a teacher at his university, which he graduated from five years previously.

> JM5: *"Well. Some of them… Hmm. Most of them I made, I mean when I became friends (with them) were actually at my university. So, like four years, five years. Some of them were my teachers. I met FF2 at my university."*

JF3 also indicated that she has known her British friend for over three years, saying:

> JF3: *"We met in the program. So, it's been more than three years. I had several classes with him. Yeah. Three or four classes together, but not too many. Because he was interested in CLIL classes and I am not interested in CLIL classes. I am interested in sociolinguistics. [At that time] I didn't meet him outside of the class. Not really. We are very busy when we are in school so we didn't have time. Yeah. But sometimes, we all got together. With the same classmates. Sometimes got together. Had lunch or dinner. After the semester."*

For the participants in this study, almost all the Japanese and non-Japanese participants indicated that they feel that their relationships with their respective NJES and Japanese friends are positive and comfortable and have lasted for several years or more. Three of the participants (JF1, JF4, and JF6) indicated that they have not been friends with their NJES friends for very long, however, two of the three (JF4, and JF6) seem to have developed strategies to put themselves in situations that allow frequent contact with NJESs,

by becoming Japanese residence assistants, which may result in them establishing lasting relationships.

4.1.3 Current frequency of meetings

Both the Japanese and non-Japanese participants reported on how often they are able to meet with their respective NJES and Japanese friends. While there were differences between participants, they all indicated that they try to meet specific friends about once or more per month (see table 1.2; Japanese Participants: Friendship Contact Detail**s**, p. 35 and table 1.4 Non-Japanese Participants: Friendship Contact Details, p. 35). Two of the participants (JF2 and JF3) indicated that since they meet their friends at their university, they are likely to meet them more often when classes are in session.

JF3: *"Because of the schedule, I have first period class, then in the*

afternoon, I have work, so I need to have lunch and he has two classes in

the afternoon, so it fits our schedule."

She explained that it is easier to meet at work than outside of work time as they are both married and have other responsibilities. During her interview, she wondered what would happen when one of them changed jobs, implying that they wouldn't be able to meet as frequently. Once JF2 graduates from her program, it is possible that how often she is able to meet her NJES friends will be an important factor in her friendships.

JF2: *"I only sometimes socialize with my NJES friends. First of all, maybe*

I am not the kind of person who socializes a lot. And also…People are

really busy in our program. We are all busy with school work. I try to

socialize, but maybe after graduation there will be more chance to meet

them."

In contrast, JF4 and JF6 reported that they meet their NJES friends fairly regularly since they reside in the same dormitory. As part of her responsibilities as a Japanese

residence assistant at her dormitory, JF4 decided that it would be beneficial for her NJES friends if they arranged monthly get-togethers at their dormitory.

JF4: *"I hold a monthly party for them in the dorm. Once a month, we gather at the lobby and talk."*

JF6 echoed this idea and further added that their university provides a public space where students can gather and chat on campus. However, like the situation with JF2, the frequency of meeting their friends is likely to change upon graduation due to work and other obligations.

This factor of managing other obligations was particularly important to JF1 and JF7 who said that they can only meet their NJES friends a few times a month because their family and work obligations can limit this time to either the weekend (JF1) or to lunch time at the office (JF7).

JF1: *"My work is busy. I am [only] free on the weekends."*

JF7: *"We work at (the) same company. We often go to eat lunch. We often go to a restaurant, or we eat in the cafeteria. Weekends, I [have to look after] my husband."*

Similarly, JM5 reported that he is able to meet individual friends between once a week and a few times a month. Work was indicated as a factor for both him and JM8 as they are both employed full-time which restricts their leisure time, however, they are both willing to schedule time to meet their friends in the evenings if they can.

FM5: *"I meet them about once every month. Sometimes in the evenings, but usually on the weekends. If we are free."*

On the other hand, JM9 who is a university student and an intern, reported being able to meet his friends most often as he is able to make time to go to the Irish bar where he used to work.

JM9: *"I go [to the bar] at least once a week. To meet my friends and talk to people."*

The non-Japanese participants said that they also meet their friends between once a week to once a month, which was commented on by two of the male non-Japanese participants (FM3 and FM4). For example, FM3 said:

FM3: *"I meet my friend at work every day, because that's where we work, but socially, maybe once in a while. Every couple week[s] or so."*

FM4 talked about how when he was a university student in Japan, which was about two years ago, he was able to meet his friends regularly due to the fact that they lived in the same dormitory, however, since starting to work full-time that has changed.

FM4: *"When I was living in a dorm, we met all the time. Now, once a month. It's okay. I got a [Japanese] girlfriend now, so I see her every day, but now [I meet my friends], once a month. I have work. They have work. We're busy."*

FF2 explained that she meets her Japanese friends about once a month and that meeting once a month or so was fine, however, she focused on the fact that it is common practice in Japan to meet people outside of one's home and that it costs money to meet with friends, as meeting them usually means meeting outside of their homes.

FF2: *"[Eating out] Food and drinking as that's all you do in Japan. I used to kind of freak out as I am kind of like spending a lot of money eating and*

drinking. It's not really my thing. But now I enjoy it. I wouldn't really

enjoy it every day, but every other month is okay. Once a month is fine."

For the Japanese participants, balancing time meeting their NJES friends with their other obligations appears to be a factor which can affect their development of their friendship networks by limiting the time they have available for meeting friends. This is similar to the findings of Kudo and Simkin (2003) when their participants described that they found it difficult to have regular contact with the Australians, who lived on campus, as when there were holidays or weekends, the Australians were unavailable to meet. They attributed this to the Australians' commitment to their family and other activities. The non-Japanese participants seemed to echo this sentiment, albeit from their perspective saying that their Japanese friends are likely too busy to meet.

> FM1: *"In Australia, if you make decent friends with someone, if you share a*
>
> *hobby, occasionally you will receive, you know, contact, to say if you want to*
>
> *come here to do this, to do that. But here, in Japan, it almost seems to be that*
>
> *very rarely do I get contacted out of the blue. To participate, I have to*
>
> *actively want to participate."*

They also indicated that finding time to meet was also a factor and at least one of them (FF2) indicated she viewed the tendency for her to meet her Japanese friends outside, such as in bars, cafes and restaurants, as expensive.

This section presented the findings related to the context of the participants' friendships and included examples of how they met their current friends and how they might meet new people. The Japanese participants seemed to favour using places which they commonly frequent, such as school or work, to make friends, and that having a common interest or hobby was helpful for establishing friendships. While not all the participants

indicated that they use online apps and SNS sites to meet new people, some expressed that they had or that they do so. None of the female Japanese participants said that they use such means to meet people, suggesting that they may not feel that such apps are useful or that they don't feel comfortable meeting people through such means. On average, the Japanese participants have been friends with their NJES friends for several years, which suggests that they have a familiarity with them based on multiple meetings over an extended period of time. While all participants reported that it can be difficult to meet friends regularly, most indicated that they are able to do so at least a few times a month. The non-Japanese participants indicated that they felt that there was a difference between themselves and their Japanese friends. This difference focused on the fact that meeting their Japanese friends was less spontaneous and was always outside of their homes.

4.2 How participants manage their friendship interactions

According to Jernudd & Neustupný, (1987) Language Management Theory examines behaviour towards language, including during interactions. It allows for the extensive analysis of the language and behaviours used in contact situations (Neustupný, 2005) as it focuses on identifying and describing what participants do when they encounter deviations in interactions which are behaviours that they find different from their norms or expectations (Neustupný, 2003). He describes the language management process "as consisting of five stages: 1) deviations from norms occur, 2) such deviations are noted, 3) noted deviations are evaluated as [negative, positive, or neutral], 4) adjustment ('correction' of problems) is planned, and 5) the adjustment is implemented" (Neustupný, 2004, p. 23). By describing the process that participants follow when they encounter deviations, whether they are linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural behaviours, an examination of the individual processes at the micro-level can be done, thus allowing for an understanding of the behaviour at the time and place of the interaction (Neustupný, 2005).

This section will detail the results of the interaction interviews and contextualize the data following the Language Management Theory process by first identifying the deviations as noted by the participants. Firstly, deviations they evaluated negatively will be presented and classified according to linguistic, sociolinguistic, or sociocultural factors. It will then identify and classify in the same manner, the positive or neutral (other) evaluations of deviations.

4.2.1 Noted deviations

As previously mentioned, deviations are behaviours which interlocutors notice (or note) which depart from their expectations. Neustupný (2005) describes that an interlocutor's expectations or norms can be divided into four types. First, native norms are expectations that an interlocutor has about acceptable linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours in native-native contact situations and these differ from contact norms which are expectations that interlocutors have specifically in contact situations. The third type of norms is termed dual norms and incorporates expectations from two systems, one of which is selected at a time. Finally, there are universal norms which are norms that could be considered universally acceptable to everyone and "the suggestion is that there are some universally valid ways of treatment, that may or may not be honored in any existing society" (p. 314). Neustupný (2005) points out several important points about norms: 1) That it is important to remember that interlocutors often use evaluations according to their respective native norms, and 2) native norms are seen by interlocutors as ''natural'' or ''universal'' (p. 312). Furthermore, he explains that contact norms are expectations of behavior that interlocutors assume are appropriate for interacting with foreigners or native speakers in contact situations. He cites the use of so-called ''foreigner talk'' by native speakers in interactions with non-native speakers as a classic example of a contact norm (p. 312). Typically, foreigner talk can be characterized by features such as simplification of vocabulary or grammar and possibly the

slowing down of speech, and is used by the speaker to assist the non-native speaker in comprehension. Neustupný (2005) explains that "norms of behavior of foreign participants include expectations of deviations from native norms [including foreigner talk]: such deviations not only occur but are supposed to be regular features of contact situations" (p. 313).

Where appropriate, the following sections categorize the noted deviations using Neustupný's (1997) description of the 'Rules of Communication'. To reiterate, these rules are:

1) Switch-on Rules - under what conditions communication is switched on and off,

2) Variation Rules - which sets of communication means will occur together, such as languages, dialects, styles, ways of speaking, etc. and how participants select from among them,

3) Setting Rules - when, where, and in what situations communication will take place,

4) Participant Rules - who interacts with whom, when, and in what manner,

5) Content Rules - what is communicated, such as themes, topics, functions, word meanings, politeness, and humor,

6) Frame Rules - which determine how content is located and ordered in communicative acts,

7) Channel Rules - whether spoken, written, or non-verbal communication is used, and

8) Management Rules - how problems are noted, evaluated, and dealt with. (Neustupný, 1997, pp. 4-5)

From the data collected in the interviews, it became apparent that not all the Rules of Communication were applicable. Therefore, only the noted deviations that were reported by the participants and the Rules of Communication which they deviate from will be presented here.

4.2.2 Negatively evaluated deviations (i.e., problems)

This section will primarily present and discuss the problems which Japanese EFL learners feel that they encounter in their interactions with their NJES friends.

Neustupný (1997) classifies interactional competence into three categories; linguistic (i.e., grammatical, lexical, phonological, and graphemic), sociolinguistic (i.e., knowledge and application of how to communicate in a contextually appropriate way, including the content of communication, setting, participants, and variation), and sociocultural (i.e., non-language-related knowledge and application of cultural elements other than grammatical or sociolinguistic rules, such as customs, practices and values) competencies.

Deviations that are evaluated negatively imply that the deviation is undesirable or improper to the person who notes them. For example, when a native speaker of English uses 'foreigner talk' with a Japanese English speaker, the Japanese person could evaluate the language used (a deviation relating to variation rules, i.e., a simplified register) by the native speaker negatively as if they are "talking down to them like a baby" by speaking too slowly and using very simple vocabulary and grammar. As another example, if a foreigner acts exactly like a Japanese person by choosing to bow instead of shaking hands, the Japanese person may evaluate the foreigner's behaviour (a sociocultural deviation) as negative since they expected the foreigner to act like a foreigner.

4.2.2.1 Linguistic deviations

This section presents the negatively evaluated deviations noted by the participants which can be categorized as a result of linguistic behaviour initiated by the participant

themselves. It will describe the instances where participants negatively evaluated deviations that are grammatical, lexical, phonological, or graphemic in nature.

Some of the Japanese participants (JF1, JF2, JF4, JF6, and JF8) noted and negatively evaluated deviations relating to their linguistic skills. JF8 specifically described his lack of linguistic ability as making him "frustrated" and "awkward". JF4 said that she does not have room to feel her English is "bad" implying that she does have undesirable feelings about making grammatical or lexical errors. JF2 used the word "anxious" to describe her feelings about her skill in English. In general, the deviations that they noted focused on lexical deviations, i.e., not knowing specific vocabulary which was necessary or appropriate for understanding what their interlocutors said during interactions with their NJES friends. None of the participants were able to remember any specific grammatical deviations in their reporting on their interactions with their NJES friends, but expressed that they felt that their grammar was not always adequate to express what they wanted to say, as JF7 acknowledged during her reporting on a conversation which she had with her Australian friend during one of their lunch time get-togethers.

JM7: *"Sometimes I <u>don't know</u> 文法 (bumpo: grammar).*

JM7*: "My English is not good."*

Her evaluation of her grammatical proficiency was negative in that she seemed to feel that she should know more English grammar, and that through being better at grammar, she would be able to communicate better in English. JF1, JF4 and JF6 also indicated that they felt that at times their English was inadequate, and that they should study English more.

JF6: *"I think <u>I have to learn English more</u>, because what she said was difficult to understand. I think <u>because of some vocabulary</u> or <u>hearing skill</u>."*

In her interaction with an American friend and a friend from Finland, JF6 explained that, as they were walking back to their dormitory after a party the three of them were talking

and her American friend said something that was too fast for her to understand. They had been talking about various topics such as the new handbag her American friend had, field trips in high school, fashion and sewing. She negatively evaluated her listening skill, indicating that she had to learn English more as it was difficult to understand everything that her American friend had said to her. Furthermore, she attempted to attribute the source of her problem as her inability to recognize or understand the vocabulary used by her friend. In this situation, JF6 reported on what she 'normally does' when she notes a deviation. This is similar to what Sherman (2006) found when studying Mormons proselytizing in Czech in that participants often will generalize summaries of their management in what they do in interactions through the noting of repeated deviations from norms.

JF6: *"When I [listened to her talk] I feel it is only one word."*

Upon hearing the expression, and failing to recognize if it was one or more words, she noted that the source of the deviation was her inability to understand what was being said to her and attributed it to her lack of vocabulary and listening skill. As she recalled the incident, she seemed to generalize this negatively evaluated deviation as being something which has happened on more than one occasion.

JF6: *"When I talk to my friends, I only try to understand. [Normally], I don't have room to feel my English skill is bad."*

As a general noting of her own behaviour, her saying that she doesn't have "room to feel my English skill is bad" implies that while she negatively evaluates her English skills, she seems to try to not allow herself to feel badly about her inabilities and instead focuses upon communication. Interestingly, she did not negatively evaluate the speed or pronunciation of her American friend.

While there were not many negatively evaluated linguistic deviations reported by the participants, the linguistic deviations noted by the participants emphasized their lack of skill

with grammar, knowledge of vocabulary, or other linguistic deficiencies as being the source

of the problem. In other words, they thought their English skill was the origin of the problem.

Fan (1994) describes a partner contact situation between a native speaker and non-native

speaker to be a more akin to a host-guest situation with the native speaker being viewed as

the expert on the contact language and the norms that they follow will be viewed by the non-

native speaker as being the base which both should follow (Neustupný, 1985, 1988). As such,

the lack of knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, and subsequent misunderstandings that were

evaluated by the Japanese participants negatively, are in their view, resulting from their

creating of the problem, as they are the ones who are deviating from the norm.

As the examples above show, JF7's noting and negative evaluation of not knowing

grammar and JF6's noting and negative evaluation of not being able to distinguish words

from expressions imply that they are attempting to follow English native norms when

communicating in English with a native speaker. To use Fan's (1994) terms, they are playing

the role of 'guest' in the interaction and attempting to follow what they feel their 'host'

would want. In essence, in contact situations with native speakers, Japanese English-language

learners may often view the native speaker as the standard to follow.

4.2.2.2 Sociolinguistic deviations

This section will present deviations noted and negatively evaluated by the participants

during their interviews that focus on sociolinguistic behaviour initiated either by the

participant or by their interlocutor(s). It will present deviations noted by participants which

relate to how to communicate in a contextually appropriate way. Deviations of this type

typically occur when interlocutors interpret the social meaning of the choice of linguistic

varieties or the use of language in a manner which differs from their norms or expectations

(Neustupný, 2005). The deviations primarily noted by the Japanese participants focused on

the content of communication (Content Rules) in their interactions with their NJES friends

and the directness of their NJES friends' opinions (Content Rules). Other deviations noted by the participants concerned whether or not they felt that they were fully able to participate in conversations (Switch-on Rules) and inappropriate touching between interlocutors (Channel Rules) (Neustupný, 1997).

Content Rules Problems: Lacking background knowledge

Some of the participants found, that in interactions with their NJES friends, they are likely to talk about topics which they may be unfamiliar with and the fact that they are not familiar with the topics was evaluated negatively. These topics involved controversial issues such as politics, governmental policy, history, or drugs, and while they may not have negatively evaluated the topic itself, they certainly negatively evaluated their lack of background knowledge of the topic.

JM8 reported on a recent conversation he had with an Austrian friend who had come to Japan to visit. The two of them had met in Europe while he was travelling a few years prior and have maintained their friendship through Facebook. The Austrian had decided to take a vacation in Japan, contacted him and they decided to do some sight-seeing and travelling around Japan together. They had been having coffee in a coffee shop in Tokyo when they started talking about Japan`s immigration policy. The Austrian friend had asked him about whether immigration was accepted in Japan. As he reported on the conversation he had had with his Austrian friend, JM8 pointed out that as a Japanese person, he feels that he is less knowledgeable about the world than 'native' English speakers. He focuses on the fact that he sees English as a tool of communication and that people who have English as a mother tongue have an advantage over him in discussions. Interestingly, he seems to categorize his Austrian friend in the same category as a 'native speaker' of English suggesting English's still retains a hegemonic position in Japan, especially focused on perceived superiority of the 'native speaker' (Holliday, 2006).

JM8: "We feel that we are kind of less knowledgeable than English

speakers. They know a lot about things, because English is a great

communicative tool to gather information around the world. So, I think

that one of the obstacles is that frustration. If I was a native, I can know

more information. That kind of thing is something I always get frustrated

about.

This feeling of a lack of knowledge can be based on a lack of knowledge of the world or current events, or it can originate from a lack of knowledge about others' perceptions of culture and history. JF4 found that in a conversation with her American friend as they walked back from university to their dormitory, she learned that not everyone has a positive image of Japan, and while she said that she knows something about the history between Japan and America, she didn't have enough knowledge to fully explain her point of view.

JF4: "I talked with her about Obama's visit to Hiroshima. She said that he

is very good at foreign affairs, but he is not good at balancing domestic

political issues. And she also mentioned about some American people

don't have a good image [of Japan] and were educated to think about

World War II. I know the situation of America and World War II, but I

found it shocking that they are still anti-Japanese. I was shocked and a

little bit surprised. I couldn't say a lot."

Topics of conversation which the Japanese participants are unfamiliar with can also originate from topics which they have never thought about before. JF2 noted multiple deviations during her interactions with her NJES friends. The deviations which she evaluated positively will be presented in the corresponding sections, while this section will only present the deviations which she evaluated negatively. JF2 talked about her experience at a gathering in which she was the only Japanese person present. The gathering was at an izakaya

(Japanese pub) that is located close to her university, and she arrived late after spending her day doing research. She reported that there were several NJES friends from her university including a Canadian male (the researcher), two Americans (one male, one female), two Australians (one male, one female) and a Ukrainian female. When she arrived, they were having a discussion about the legalization of marijuana, which continued after everyone briefly greeted her. While the researcher was present during the discussion, the researcher was unaware that JF2 was noting deviations during the interaction and it was only during her interview that she articulated what she had noted. This fact possibly demonstrates the difficulty that interlocutors have in understanding, recognizing and reacting to the different norms their interlocutors are following in interactions.

At the beginning of the interaction, JF2 seemed to negatively evaluate the content of the conversation, indicating her surprise at the topic. She negatively evaluated the content in several ways: 1) surprise that it was what her friends were talking about, 2) that it was a topic which she did not have any experience talking about, and 3) when asked about legalization in Japan, that it was something she thought would be something that she thought she would never be asked about.

> JF2: *"I was "What are they talking about?" I remember that there was*
> *another heated debate afterwards about legalizing marijuana. I remember*
> *thinking legalizing marijuana is a topic everyone [wants] to talk about. I*
> *have never thought about it. That's why when one of my friends or*
> *someone asked me if it was legal in Japan, I thought NO WAY [it will*
> *never be legalized]."*

Furthermore, as she participated in the conversation, she negatively evaluated her lack of knowledge of the topic saying:

JF2: *"I thought they know that they know what they are talking about and*

that they have more knowledge than me and they are more fluent in

English."

This resulted in her realizing that her perspective and knowledge of the topic might

not match her NJES friends as they all come from countries, which are either in the processes

of legalizing marijuana, or have more liberal views towards growing or using the drug. As

the conversation progressed, JF2 began to re-evaluate her initial negative evaluation of the

content of the conversation, although she retained her initial negative evaluation of her lack

of knowledge.

JF2: *"There were many shocking things. For example, I said that it is*

illegal in Japan. It's kind of taboo and then [one of my friends] said that I

shouldn't talk about my experience with marijuana. I was ah!!!! And [the

Ukrainian] said, her brother grows marijuana in Russia. And the

Canadian said that it was possibly to be legalized in Canada, but you

know, production is not legalized. I was surprised because I was thinking

where to import from."

Interestingly, even though JF2 was told that her opinion was not appreciated when

one of her female NJES friends told her that she "should not talk" about topics she is not

familiar with, she negatively evaluated the content of her own contribution to the discussion

rather than the dismissal of her contribution. This is suggested by her saying "Ah!!!" and

then immediately reporting what her Ukrainian and Canadian friends said and pointing out

what she was thinking at the time. 'Content Rules' govern which topics are typically

discussed in public between friends, and as shown in the example of JF2, the NJES friends of

the Japanese participants are likely to deviate from Japanese native norms and discuss topics

that the Japanese participants are either unfamiliar with or do not typically discuss with their Japanese friends.

Content Rules Problems: Giving opinions

While the topics of conversations can be different from what they typically experience with their Japanese friends, and this might be negatively evaluated at times by them, some of the Japanese participants remarked that there are differences between how directly their NJES friends give their opinions on issues and topics. Depending on what is said to them, the Japanese participants may negatively evaluate the directness of the opinions of their NJES friends as JF4 explained.

> JF4: *"It is completely my stereotype, but some American students like to discuss like [it is a] <u>small battle</u>. I say one opinion and they say completely the opposite. It is <u>sometimes uncomfortable</u>."*

JM8 also negatively evaluated deviations of instances where NJESs were direct in giving their opinions. As JM8 listened to his Austrian friend's opinion on immigration policy he noted a deviation from his native norms concerning the difference between how directly Japanese and NJESs give their opinions. He indicated that his view of immigration and that of his NJES friend were different and that the manner in which his friend`s opinion was delivered was 'very direct'.

> JM8: *"They <u>always talk</u> about their opinions. Japanese synchronize themselves with other people. So one of the things I'm surprised by is that immigration should be acceptable in Japan, but the Austrian guy said that it's not good for the country, because they just eat our incomes. So, it is very direct, <u>kind of oppressive for us to think about that policy</u>. So, I think it's <u>kind of direct communication</u>. Opinion orientated communication is <u>really kind of one of the characteristic</u> for someone."*

He noted that Japanese tend to follow a norm of following what others say in conversation, and contrasted this with the fact that his Austrian friend did not follow that norm. When asked about why this was important to him, he responded with:

JM8: *"They want to have friends, right? It's our culture. We want to assimilate ourselves into the culture, other people's opinion. But I think intercultural people, always talk about their opinion. Like 80% of Japanese talk similarly. But, I don't know the cultural reasons."*

He further elaborated that this is not the first time he has experienced this type of deviation and that he thinks it is related to his lack of knowledge of the content of the conversation. He recollected trying to talk about the presidential elections and related it back to a time when he had had a similar conversation when he was a university student.

JM8: *"Especially giving opinion. That's one thing. Like when I talk about the presidential election, it's really difficult to talk about, right? I don't have any knowledge about it. Sometimes, I had difficulty in university, because they talk about Obama, Clinton, who is better or not. I couldn't get into that discussion. It's really hard, right? It is not about vocabulary. Just knowledge. We don't have any background about politics in Japan. It's kind of cultural. It is difficult. That's one thing I think. As for my English, it is good, so it is not about vocabulary. Grammar doesn't affect it. It is just the background knowledge."*

As shown in the example, JM8 attributes the deviation to be the result of his lack of knowledge of the content of the conversation (Content Rule) attributing it to 'a kind of culture' rather than knowledge of how to give opinions (Content Rule). He negates the reasoning that the deviation originates from a linguistic source, repeatedly stating that it is contextual in nature. Furthermore, he negatively evaluates the deviation and attributes it to

the source of his inability to be direct in giving opinions, which leads him to feel like he cannot fully participate in a conversation about presidential elections.

JF8: *"It is really awkward. I just want to get into the conversation, but I don't have the question. So, [I feel] frustrated of course. We don't want to disrespect our knowledge. Our pride gets in the way.*

JF8 evaluated his lack of knowledge negatively the more that he talked about it, eventually coming to the point that he feels native speakers of English have an advantage over him (see p. 65). He noted that he can accept opinion-focused communication, and evaluated Japanese norms about giving opinions negatively. This negative evaluation of Japanese opinion giving norms was echoed by JF4 who said:

JF4: *"Sometimes with Japanese I can talk about political issues, but it is not interesting to talk with Japanese about it, because they don't talk directly, so they copy my opinion or give a broadcast opinion."*

While JF2 also noted the strong opinions of her NJES, she did not seem to make a comparison between them and her Japanese friends. She also re-evaluated an initially negative evaluation of her NJES friends' direct opinions by considering why they are so direct.

JF2: *"It's just my guess. It doesn't mean they have strong belief or they have strong opinion, but stating their position is maybe important for their interaction. When I first met this friend or another, I was shocked. I kind of misunderstood their personality. I thought they were quite an aggressive person or a person with strong opinions or beliefs. I guessed why they state their position explicitly and I thought about it. My friend said that argument is totally fine. Argument creates other ideas, so arguing is a kind of process to get a new idea. And I noticed the*

conceptualization or idea toward argument is totally different from mine.

To me arguing is more sensitive.”

In her reprocessing the initially negative evaluation of her NJES friends' strong opinions, she seems to determine that her NJES friends have different native norms and apply those same norms in their conversations with Japanese friends. She notes that there is a difference between her personal view of arguing and debating a topic and her friend's, and she focuses on the fact that she thinks the process of argumentation is an important feature of her NJES friends' interactions. In the end, however, she negatively evaluates argumentation, at least for herself, but not necessarily for her NJES friends. She seemed to accept the idea that arguing is a process to get new ideas, as she was told by her friend, and also recognized that she possibly misunderstood her friends' intentions and personality when she first experienced their directness in discussions. In other words, she did not change her mind about arguing and debating, but recognized that others may feel differently to her.

Repeatedly noting deviations in interactions with an interlocutor which give the interlocutor a negative impression, can potentially result in the participant anticipating similar types of deviations (Fairbrother & Masuda, 2012). This is reflected in JF4's noting and negatively evaluating the similarity of opinions of her Japanese friends which she contrasts with her NJES friends. This is also implied by JM8 when he says “*We feel that we are kind of less knowledgeable than English speakers”,* which suggests that he has experienced not having enough background knowledge on more than one occasion and it is a problem that he feels is important to overcome. While JF2 was self-reflective about arguing, and attempts to adopt “different ways of seeing” (Kramsch, 1993, p. 229), she is unable to apply her reassessment of her NJES friends' norms to herself. She therefore seems to apply one norm to her NJES friends and another norm to herself.

Switch-on Rules Problems: The inability to fully participate

At the end of interaction interview section of their interviews, the participants were asked two questions regarding their ability to participate in conversations with their NJES friends; "Did you feel you could participate in the conversation?" and "If you couldn't contribute to the conversation what did you do?" The participants indicated that at times they felt like they could not always participate fully in conversations. However, they indicated that they typically took a passive role, listening to the conversation and participating when they could.

JF4 (p. 67), who said "I couldn't say a lot", and JM8 (p. 71), who said "I couldn't get into that conversation", both indicated that they have problems switching-on at times. This point was also made by JM9 who negatively evaluated his lack of knowledge, and attributed his inability to participate fully in a conversation to his being younger than his NJES friends. He reported a deviation which he noted when he was working at the Irish bar as a part-time employee. During one conversation, he noted a deviation in his lack of knowledge about the type and genre of music that his friends were talking about. As a university student, he was around twenty years old at the time, he negatively evaluated his age and experience in comparison to his NJES friends, who were around a decade older than him.

> JM9: *"Actually, as you know I was still a student, so <u>sometimes it was difficult [to participate]</u>. Because they were talking about music, and <u>not about our generation's music</u>. Most of my friends are maybe over thirty."*

Features of 'Switch-on Rules' are typically the conditions under which we start to speak, or remain silent, along with how much we do speak, include understanding the turn-taking conventions between interlocutors (Neustupný, 1997). In this study, the Japanese participants did not seem to frequently note deviations relating to 'Switch-on Rules'. They reported that they were not always able to contribute to the conversations as fully as they

would have liked, however, they did not seem to view this negatively. Instead, they estimated

that their lack of contribution, or inability to 'switch-on' during interactions, was related to

their lack of knowledge, which was negatively evaluated as they compared their knowledge

to that of their NJES friends. This is evidenced by the fact that the participants seem to focus

on giving justifications for their lack of knowledge, saying that it was because they were

'younger', it was a 'cultural thing', or something which they 'had never thought about

before'. Scarcella and Higa (1981) have argued that the more competent speaker in a

conversation is more likely to take responsibility for maintaining and contributing to the

conversation. In these cases, the Japanese participants, regardless of their linguistic skill,

could be considered to be following a norm whereby they view their NJES friends as

authorities on the content of the conversations and as a result of their negative evaluations of

their lack of knowledge, defer to their authority on the topics discussed.

Channel Rules: touching while talking

Only one participant negatively evaluated sociolinguistic behaviours relating to

physical contact between participants during interactions. JF1 reported on her experience

with a female Canadian friend while the two were at dinner with one of her Japanese friends,

who had introduced them to each other. She noted and negatively evaluated the behaviour on

the part of the Canadian saying:

> JF1: *"Oh no. <u>I was surprised </u>because she touch[ed] him many times. But*
>
> *not like toka (とか) she was putting her arm around him. [She kept]*
>
> *touching his body. <u>Very close Wow</u>. I was surprised. I['ve] know him for*
>
> *one year. But <u>I have never done</u> [that]. Just soft touch."*

Her insistence that she has never touched her Japanese friend implies that, for her,

touching someone of another gender in public, even after having known them for a year is not

something which she would normally do. Touching a person while talking to them can be

seen by others as an indication of romantic interest or affection and thus is a form of non-verbal communication (Channel Rules). As such, interlocutors who note such a deviation in channel rules, such as in this case of touching, may negatively evaluate such behaviour as it causes them to question the status of the relationship or the intention of the interlocutors. It is possible the JF1 felt that the Canadian friend was romantically interested in the Japanese man, and that she felt that the Canadian's public display of affection violated her norms.

To summarize the sociolinguistic deviations that were noted, depending on the individual personality and experiences of the Japanese learner of English, they may negatively evaluate the content of a conversation initiated by a NJES friend as being inappropriate. However, their lack of familiarity with the content of the conversation can result in a negative evaluation of their own background knowledge, leading the participants to not always note 'Switch-on Rule' deviations, instead focusing on the "Content Rule" deviations relating to strong opinions and a lack of background knowledge, as they seemed to determine that their NJES interlocutor(s) are somehow more knowledgeable or an authority on the topic being discussed. From the interviews, the Japanese participants reported that the content of conversations which they have with their NJES friends included large-scale employment problems such as striking teachers, old music, sex, religion, and politics, which indicates that the Japanese participants can find themselves involved in conversations on a wide range of topics they have not necessarily discussed prior or with their Japanese friends. The Japanese participants seemed to justify their lack of knowledge of topics by attributing it to their age, experience or culture. This may be reflected in the age differences between the Japanese participants and their NJES friends, however, JM8's view that he feels Japanese are somehow less knowledgeable than non-Japanese echoes the view that "native" speakers of English retain a position of authority in Japan, reflecting the idea of

English speakers being a "gate keeper and it [influences] various aspects of Japanese language, culture, and society" (Kubota, 1998, p. 304). That English does have a hegemonic position in Japan, especially focused on the 'native speakerism' phenomenon (Holliday, 2006) which places native speakers, especially native-English teachers, in a superior position over non-native speakers, is clearly reflected in JM8's assessment that Japanese are somehow less knowledgeable and regarding non-native Caucasians as native speakers . He seems to view his knowledge of the world as an "us" verses "them" phenomenon. Both the complexity of native-speakerism and linguistic hegemony of English in Japan are topics far too large for this study, but it should be noted that views of 'native speakers' as being Caucasian and somehow superior in their linguistic skill with English are not the only points that Japanese EFL learners need to develop critical awareness of.

As Kubota (1998) argues Japanese need to develop critical awareness, as well as English skills, in order to communicate with English speakers. Without understanding how a language such as English can influence and dominate other languages, cultures, etc., then Japanese EFL learners will continue to view native speakers uncritically as the standard to follow, potentially leading to them to "reinforce global inequality and a biased view of language, race, and culture" (p. 304).

From the negatively evaluated deviations relating to opinion giving, the Japanese participants demonstrated that they are at least somewhat aware of the need to critically evaluate or reflect on their own and others' cultures, thereby attempting to achieved a "third place" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 236). While at times, they negatively evaluated direct opinions, the source of the negative evaluation was not always focused on the NJES violating the Japanese participant's norm, as they either expected the NJES to give direct opinions or they re-evaluated their understanding of why the NJES behaved in such a manner. This was demonstrated by the fact that two of the participants negatively evaluated their views of

Japanese native norms regarding giving opinions. Finally, while only one participant negatively evaluated a deviation relating to "Channel Rules', acts of non-verbal communication such as touching can cause misunderstandings between interlocutors as such acts can lead to miscommunication since they are idiosyncratic behaviours and subject to different interpretations.

4.2.2.3 Sociocultural deviations

This section will focus on the negative evaluations of deviations noted by the participants which can be categorized as a result of sociocultural behaviour initiated either by the participant or their interlocutor(s). Sociocultural deviations are deviations which are non-language-related and include deviations relating to cultural elements such as customs, practices and the values of participants (Neustupný, 1997).

The Japanese participants did not report many negative evaluations of deviations relating to sociocultural behavior. During JF2's interaction with her group of NJESs friends at the izakaya (Japanese pub), she noted that some of her friends are 'Japanized', although she did not feel that all of them have acquired Japanese cultural norms. She recalled that she arrived late to the drinking party, and as she sat down she realized that she did not have chopsticks or a plate at her place on the table. When she asked her friends if there were any available, one of her American friends suggested taking them from a nearby table. This she noted and evaluated negatively. One of her other friends, also an American, but one who has resided in Japan for more than five years, chastised the first American, saying that such an action was not an acceptable behaviour in Japan.

JF2: *"Some are Japanized but others aren't. For example, in the drinking*

party, I didn't have chopsticks or a small plate. And one friends said let's

steal from the other table and another said, no! This here is Japan, so you

have to do in a Japanese way. And I thought, ah she is Japanized or she is

quite conscious about Japanese customs or how Japanese people behave

in a restaurant or izakaya."

In her positive evaluation of the second friend's comments, JF2 negatively evaluated the first friend's saying that they could just steal chopsticks and a plate from another table. JF2 further explained that taking a plate and chopsticks from another table would bother her. She was also clear that it was not the suggestion of 'stealing a plate and chopsticks' that was the issue as immediately after, she said:

JF2: *"I would [have gotten] upset, because you know the people, the*

workers in the izakaya will notice that we stole. [I would feel]

embarrassed a little bit and I don't want to be meiwaku (cause trouble) to

the staff."

Her norm of not wanting to cause trouble for the staff would have been violated by the first American's actions had he taken a plate and chopsticks from another table.

JF6 also noted a sociocultural deviation when, in arranging one of her monthly parties for the residents of her dormitory, she invited one of her American friends. Her friend indicated that she would attend the party, however, in the end she did not. This caused JF6 some disappointment, and she attributed the action to her friend not following her idea of Japanese norms.

JF6: *"Japanese can be overly serious, foreigners are more positive. For*

example, we held a party, but my NJES friend did not come to the party.

She did not tell me."

While JF6 uses the word "positive' to describe foreigners, the emphatic "She did not tell me" gives the impression that she did not view the behaviour of her American friend

positively. She relates the difference in her expectations of behaviour between Japanese and Americans to be cultural in origin, implying that a Japanese friend would have contacted her. Her describing Japanese as being overly serious possibly means that she is directly translating *majime* which can be translated into English as serious, earnest or diligent, implying that a Japanese person would be more diligent in keeping an engagement.

While this section focuses on Japanese participants noting deviations, the non-Japanese participants also noted sociocultural deviations. FF2 negatively evaluated two sociocultural deviations which are worth discussing as they were points which all the non-Japanese participants reported on and also seemed to negatively evaluate. The first negative evaluation originates from the tendency in Japan for meetings between friends to take place outside of the home. This deviation was noted by FF2 when talking about how she has never visited one of her Japanese friend's home. She explained:

> FF2: *"I <u>can't think of a time</u> when I have been to someone's home. Maybe it's because, like me they live in <u>a tiny place</u> and it just might be, I mean, a lot of my friends live all over the city. I <u>guess it is just too hard</u> to meet at their place."*

She seemed to negatively evaluate her not having visited her Japanese friends' homes, however, she attempts to offer an explanation. First, she equates her not visiting her Japanese friends' homes to the fact that they might live in tiny places, which is quite different from her experience with apartments in America. Secondly, she postulates that it is likely her Japanese friends might live scattered throughout Tokyo, which can make it inconvenient for travelling from one part of the city to another since Tokyo is quite a large city spread out over a vast area.

Another sociocultural deviation noted by the non-Japanese participants also related to the tendency in Japan for meetings between friends to take place outside of the home. The

need to meet outside of the home requires interlocutors to find a place to meet which naturally ends up being a café, bar, izakaya or restaurant. As shown on pp. 57-58, FF2 in having to meet friends outside, explained that when she first came to Japan, she had to adapt to the Japanese norm of meeting outside, which she seemed to negatively evaluate because of the expense involved, and perhaps because of the repetitiveness of eating and drinking being 'all you do in Japan'. From her point of view, it is not uncommon to invite friends to one's home to spend time with them, and for her in America going out for dinner and drinking is less common, which is why she feels that once a month or every other month is acceptable. This provides insight into why it can be difficult for interlocutors to understand sociocultural deviations such as not receiving an invitation to a friend's home. As FF2 attempted to justify why the deviations occur, such as the reasons she gave for not being invited over to visit, it is apparent that the participants are likely to hypothesize the cause of such deviations, which could result in overgeneralizations. For example, there may be many other reasons for a lack of invitation, including the host not wanting to have to entertain guests or to prepare food and drinks for their guests, or the person's desire to maintain their personal space as private. In other words, understanding others' norms can be difficult.

To further illustrate, JF2's negative evaluation of her American friend's wanting to take a plate from another table, is not necessarily a violation of a Japanese norm, even though she stated that she didn't want to cause trouble for the staff and her other friend said that it was inappropriate behaviour in Japan. It is a native norm for JF2, however, the researcher, having lived in Japan for six years, has seen Japanese in izakayas actually committing such an act. The overgeneralization of Japanese being more diligent than Americans by JF6 seems to be related to her being unfamiliar with her interlocutor's norm, which is possibly that it is not necessary to contact the host if they cannot attend an informal party. This overgeneralization of native norms is similar to FF2's point about having not visited her

Japanese friends' homes and having to eat out with them all the time. Neustupný (1985) argued that when interlocutors are unfamiliar with each other's norms, they are more likely to note deviations. Fairbrother (2000) has further argued that interlocutors "do not always share the same norms and evaluate others' behaviour in the same way" (p. 40). A person's individual norms can depart from members of their own culture or nationality and there are likely to be many variables such as age, gender, background and experience which can impact how much an interlocutor's norms deviate from others in their particular cultural group (Fairbrother, 2000).

In summary, the participants noted and negatively evaluated a range of deviations in their interactions with their NJES friends. The linguistic problems which the participants encounter seem to focus on the comprehension of their interlocutors' speech which they attribute to their own lack of proficiency. The participants primarily noted instances where they felt that they lacked the necessary vocabulary and grammar to understand what their interlocutors were saying. They also indicated that, because of their lack of proficiency, they need to "study English more". This is likely due to the Japanese participants holding themselves to a 'native-level' standard, comparing their English skill with that of their NJES friends.

The sociolinguistic problems which they encounter primarily focus on their lack of background or content knowledge relating to the topics of conversations during interactions with the NJES friends. Additionally, they reported that the directness of opinions of their NJES friends was sometimes a problem. While this seems to be apparent for all the Japanese participants, a few of them compared, and negatively evaluated their Japanese friends' tendency to usually agree or give the same opinion as other Japanese participants in conversations, saying that discussing topics such as politics with Japanese is less interesting than talking about them with foreigners. Another sociolinguistic problem which the

participants reported in their interactions with NJES is that some of them felt that they were not fully able to participate in the conversations, indicating that they typically took a passive role, listening and participating when they could. While the participants did not overtly evaluate this deviation as negative, they attributed their lack of ability to participate to their lack of background knowledge and not to their difficulties with turn-taking. Also, a deviation relating to non-verbal behaviour (touching) was noted and negatively evaluated by one of the participants demonstrating that interlocutors are likely to have different ideas about what is appropriate behaviour in public. Whereas in the mind of one person, an action such as touching someone ones' arm during a conversation can be seen as demonstrating affection, for another it can cause them to feel uncomfortable as they think that it is inappropriate behaviour.

Finally, the Japanese participants encountered some sociocultural problems relating to the behaviours of their NJES friends, which resulted in overgeneralizing in some cases, and they compare their NJES friend's behaviour with their native norms, specifically by comparing them to what they believe Japanese people would do in similar situations. These norms focused on attending events and how to behave in izakayas. On the other hand, the non-Japanese participants noted that they have not visited many of their Japanese friends' homes, which was an issue for some of the non-Japanese participants. They also seemed to overgeneralize their ideas about Japanese native norms.

This section detailed some examples of the deviations which the Japanese participants noted and evaluated negatively and provided some answers to the second research question.

4.2.3 Positively (or other) evaluated deviations

Deviations are not always evaluated negatively, as interlocutors can also evaluate deviations positively or in other ways, which can include instances where the deviations are evaluated as 'interesting', 'different', or 'surprising' (Fairbrother, 2000).

4.2.3.1 Linguistic deviations

This section will focus on presenting deviations noted and evaluated positively (or other) by the participants which can be categorized as a result of linguistic behaviour initiated either by the participant or their interlocutor(s).

Prior to presenting the positively evaluated deviations, a point about accents, and how the participants did not report any deviations relating to accents or varieties of English (such as British English or American English), should be made. Yamada (2015) has pointed out that Japanese learners of English have experience with American English through their education and in daily life. However, they have less exposure to other native varieties, such as British English and Australian English (Kachru, 1992). In the Japanese participants noting of linguistic errors, only JF3 reported noting any differences in accents or varieties of English when she described her British friend's accent as being a Manchester accent and that now she has no problem understanding him. The participants who have Canadian or Australian NJES friends did not report any deviations in regard to being able to understand the vocabulary or grammar in the variety of English spoken by their NJES friend.

While the Japanese participants sometimes noted their own linguistic deviations, they did not always evaluate them negatively. This is not to say that they evaluated their English ability positively, and in fact as previously mentioned, they used vocabulary such as "frustrated" and "anxious" to describe their feelings about making grammatical or lexical errors. They did, however, evaluate their NJES friends' behaviour towards such deviations positively. In some cases, they also positively evaluated their own behaviour towards such deviations.

The participants positively evaluated their ability to make corrections or ask for clarification during or after an interaction. For example, when JF2 is unable to clearly articulate her ideas or finds that she lacks vocabulary or the necessary grammar, she is able to

take time to consider her mistakes and correct them after the fact, which she indicated that she cannot do with her Japanese friends. She evaluated this positively saying:

> JF2: *"I can be <u>open with foreigners</u> more because you know, I can <u>make</u> <u>repair</u> after a conversation. "It's not what I mean, but...my true feeling is this". If I do that to Japanese, they don't believe me."*

The activity of repairing her speech afterwards and her association that foreigners are not going to evaluate her negatively for doing so, implies that she feels comfortable with her English skills and that her NJES friends will understand her. JF3 reported that she also has a similar feeling to this, although her evaluation of her linguistic skill was less positive.

> JF3: *"I think my English <u>is okay</u>. If I have any question, or I can't say what I want to say, I just ask him, <u>so, that is okay</u>."*

Similar to JF2's positive evaluation of her ability to repair her language, JM9 also noted that he is able to clarify information when it is delivered too fast for him by his NJES friends. The positive evaluation of his ability to ask clarifying questions, while a sociolinguistic feature, is related to his linguistic ability. While he recognized that he is limited by his current English vocabulary, he did not negatively evaluate it as such, and provides an explanation for the source of the deviation in that he does not possess the same level of vocabulary in English as he does in Japanese.

> JM9: *"When they were talking together, it was so fast. I couldn't catch. So I just asked 'What did you say? What was that?' <u>Maybe in Japanese I have more words to express things. Maybe it comes from a vocabulary thing</u>."*

The ability of the Japanese participants to be able to rely on their NJES friends for assistance when they noted linguistic deviations was also evaluated positively. This was reported by most of the Japanese participants however, JF7 said it the most succinctly.

JF7: *"My friend helps me. I speak English, she speaks Japanese and if I*

don't <u>know words she tell[s]l me</u>. If it [is too] difficult, I can speak

Japanese. She understands well."

In the participants' evaluations, they appear to be evaluating their linguistic and

sociolinguistic behaviours potentially in relation to their previous experiences with linguistic

deviations. The implication is that the positive evaluations that the participants noted suggests

that they are potentially noting deviations in the differences between their prior English

interactional proficiency, which is different from what they may have previously experienced

when their proficiency was lower. In other words, the process of noting and evaluating

deviations can potentially cause interlocutors to re-evaluate their prior linguistic deviations

and when their attempts to correct a problem have been implemented successfully they

evaluate their progress positively.

While the Japanese participants did encounter linguistic difficulties, they did not

always evaluate their own linguistic deviations negatively. At times, the Japanese participants

evaluated their NJES's efforts to help them with their linguistic problems positively. At other

times, they noted and evaluated themselves positively or neutrally because they now

possessed the linguistic resources that allow them to correct or clarify unknown,

misunderstood or unfamiliar vocabulary and grammar, which they had noted as deviations in

their prior experiences.

4.2.3.2 Sociolinguistic deviations

This section will focus on positively (or other) evaluated deviations noted by the

participants which can be categorized as a result of sociolinguistic behaviour initiated either

by the participant or their interlocutor(s). It will present positively evaluated deviations which

relate to code-switching, the content of conversations, giving opinions, advice, and the use of

humour in interactions.

Variation Rules: Code-Switching

As discussed in the previous section on positively evaluated linguistic deviations, the Japanese participants noted and evaluated the behaviours that their NJES friends demonstrated in correcting or adapting their language to their Japanese interlocutors. The use of variations of language such as so-called 'foreigner talk' includes "sets of communication means that occur together, such as languages (such as Japanese or English), dialects, styles, ways of speaking, and how participants select for them" (Neustupný, 1997, pp. 4-5). Generally, these were evaluated positively by the participants. Adjustments made to language, such as the labelling of language, hesitation, or various types of correction (Neustupný, 1997) which facilitate communication (Management Rules) also seemed to be evaluated positively by the Japanese participants. All the Japanese participants noted and positively evaluated their friends when they reformulated their language if they were unable to understand, however, they reported that their NJES friends typically code-switch from English to Japanese and vice versa instead of using 'foreigner talk'. Other Japanese friends, when present, were also willing to assist the Japanese participants in their communication and used code-switching to facilitate conversation.

JF7 noted the use of code-switching and evaluated it positively when she reported that she was having difficulties with her husband and had asked her Australian friend for advice. Since the content of the conversation is both deeply personal and potentially complicated, JF7 and her NJES friend changed their primary language of communication to Japanese.

JF7: *"Lately, I speak only Japanese, because I am talking about girl's talk."*

JF7 said that often, she will speak English and her Australian friend will speak in Japanese. On the other hand, when they are talking in English, if she has difficulty with vocabulary or grammar, her friend helps her by translating what she wants to say.

> JF7: *"My <u>friend helps me</u>. I speak English, she speaks Japanese and if I*
>
> *don't know words she tell me. If it [is too] difficult, I can speak Japanese.*
>
> *She understands well."*

Interestingly, this is not a phenomenon that only the Japanese participants reported. One of the non-Japanese participants provided a very clear example of code-switching, which he experienced when he communicates in Japanese with his friends, whereby his wife provides assistance by translating what he is trying to say.

> FM1: *"If our friends or she doesn't understand, I'll explain it to her in*
>
> *English, she <u>translates it into Japanese</u> and sometimes even when I speak*
>
> *Japanese, because my Japanese communication is broken but effective,*
>
> *<u>she'll take what I'm saying as I'm saying it and ram it up to native</u>."*

The other non-Japanese participants also positively evaluated the use of code-switching in order to facilitate conversation. Typically, they said that they will use English and Japanese on a case-by-case basis, even with their friends whom they usually communicate with in English and that their Japanese friends seem to appreciate the effort. In order to facilitate conversation and ensure that each other is understood, the uses of code-switching are examples of participants following Nakayama's (1997) strategies of 1) 'care'- in that the interlocutors seek to ensure that each other is understood, 2) 'share' – as they are sharing the burden of ensuring that messages are transmitted and received appropriately, and 3) 'co-operate' – as the interlocutors are cooperatively working together in order to facilitate interaction which is likely the result of the participants having been friends with their NJES friends for more than a year.

Content Rules: topics of conversation

Another sociolinguistic deviation which the Japanese participants evaluated positively was the content of the conversations in their interactions with their NJES friends.

First, they reported that they have an opportunity to discuss topics which they are potentially

unfamiliar with or they typically are unlikely to be able to talk about with their Japanese

friends. While JF2 initially negatively evaluated the topic of marijuana in her interaction due

to her lack of background knowledge, she reported that she realised that it was an

opportunity to learn something about other peoples' views of the subject.

> JF2: *"I liked the marijuana topic because it is totally new to me and I can*
>
> *learn at least something about other countries or how people think about*
>
> *marijuana."*

She indicated that she enjoyed the conversation about the topic as it was new to her

and unlike what she had previously experienced. This is not to say that she necessarily

changed her original negative evaluation of the topic, but rather that she positively evaluated

the opportunity to talk about a controversial issue.

Similarly, some of the Japanese participants (JF4, JM5, JF6, JM8, and JM9)

expressed that they positively evaluated topics that they were unlikely to discuss with their

Japanese friends, and that being able to hear differences in opinion was a positive experience.

As JF4 explains:

> JF4: *"With NJES, firstly, we talk about their life or their country. Then we*
>
> *talk about some personal views or talk about political issues. When I talk*
>
> *with them about political issues, and hear their opinion, we share our*
>
> *opinions. I feel really close."*

While giving direct opinions was sometimes evaluated negatively, this was not the

case in all instances. Giving opinions was also evaluated positively by some of the

participants. Just as JF4 noted that controversial topics are 'interesting' when discussed with

NJES friends, JF7 noted that her Australian friend was quite good at adapting her language,

including knowing when to be direct and when not to be, based on the situation. She reported

that she noted and positively evaluated the fact that she feels that her NJES friend is better

than her at switching between Japanese and non-Japanese norms.

> JF7: *"She is almost always direct. Sometimes not always direct, because*
>
> *she knows Japanese people and she knows Japanese culture and Japanese*
>
> *girls. So, we often talk in a "soft" style. She is good at kukki wo yomu*
>
> *(reading the air). She is better than me, because she can kukki wo yomu to*
>
> *English people and Japanese people. She knows most Japanese [culture*
>
> *and language], so I [don't need to] explain Japanese [culture or*
>
> *language] to her."*

Similarly, JF6 in evaluating her NJES friends' opinions as interesting, indicated that

she doesn't typically evaluate their actions or language use negatively.

> JF6: *"Maybe, I am not typical Japanese. I can accept English speaking*
>
> *people's behaviour or what they say."*

Her expression that 'maybe I am not typical Japanese' is interesting in that she seems

to evaluate her own behaviour as not meeting a typical Japanese norm, which she also seems

to evaluate positively.

Content Rules: Giving advice, sharing personal information & using humor

Another deviation which the participants evaluated positively related to giving

advice. When the participants asked their NJES friends for advice on their personal

problems, they generally evaluated the giving of advice positively. This was demonstrated in

two ways; 1) the advice was similar to what their Japanese friends would give, or 2) the

advice was different from their personal experiences. One of the participants (JF7) noted and

positively evaluated the fact that the advice that she received from her Australian NJES

friend was similar to the advice she had received from her Japanese friends.

JF7: *"Girls' talk is so similar. It is the same between Japanese girls' talk and Australian girls' talk. My husband was so bad, so I said to her that I want to [get a] divorce, what do you think? She said break up while you still can. You can find a good guy. This is the same as my Japanese friends. Girls' talk is global."*

On the other hand, JF5, who reported that he has told his NJES friends extremely personal information which he has not disclosed to his Japanese friends or family, positively evaluated the advice his NJES friends gave and noted that they seemed more likely to offer advice than his Japanese friends.

JM5: *"[I don't think that my] Japanese friends like to talk about personal stuff. But I think that, but I find that a lot of foreigner are willing to do that. I guess that I am more like an open person. I do find it difficult to express myself. I think it is [a part of] of my personality and sexuality. [In Japan] I have to hide it from everyone."*

Later in the interview, he added, *"We often talk about [relationships], but some of them have experiences I don't have. So, I ask them for advice."*

He also positively evaluated instances where his NJES friends shared personal information with him. He explained that he is not the type of person who has many friends and prefers having a small network of friends which feels close.

JM5: *"I know or realize that I have a close friend when I can talk about personal stuff with them. Ah. When they give me like, personal information about themselves, I definitely decide that I can be open with them."*

Third, the presence of joking, banter and humour was evaluated positively. JF3 and JF5 evaluated humour as a sign that two people are comfortable with each other. In JF3's interview, she noted that she only uses such humor with her good friends and that since she

uses it with her NJES British friend, they are close. She gave two specific examples in her interview. After explaining that she teased her NJES friend about his needing to wear a suit and tie to a job interview he was preparing for, she later explained:

> JF3: *"As I told you before about his suit and tie. <u>That is a kind of banter.</u> <u>And his back pain, I sometimes make fun of him</u>. I do that with some of my good Japanese friends. He jokes with me all the time. Actually, I make fun of him all the time. He asked me, 'Why do Japanese universities give me a lot of interviews?' 'Why do they want to know so much about me?' I said, maybe they are checking your criminal record?"*

More generally, JF5 noted that his Canadian and American friends will joke with him which he evaluates positively.

> JM5: *"<u>It is most welcome</u> when my foreign friend joke or tease with me. It is kind of my thing."*

The fact that the participants positively evaluated the use of humour and banter between friends suggests a level of mutual understanding and an attention to the care of their partner's feelings. This requires knowing them well enough to be able to negotiate language so as not to offend or cause emotional discomfort which is in line with Nakayama's (1997) findings that 'trust' and 'care' are important strategies for Japanese in their development of closeness.

In summary, not all deviations noted by participants will be evaluated negatively. In many contact situations, interlocutors are likely to follow their L1 norms, not only in how they behave, but also in how they might evaluate the behaviour of others (Marriott, 1990). However, as many of the Japanese participants positively evaluated the deviations regarding code-switching, the content of conversations, giving opinions, advice, and the use of humour in interactions this suggests that the Japanese participants changed their evaluations through

their friendships with NJES. Their positive evaluation of deviations suggests that they are gaining insight into their own culture through exchanges of cross-cultural information (McKay, 2002), for example when JF4 learned her NJES friends are able to give opinions which are different than her own. This is different from her experiences with her Japanese friends. In the case of JM5, he felt that he can talk about deeply personal issues such as sexuality more openly with his NJES friends than with his Japanese friends. Some of the Japanese participants also found that their NJES friends may give advice which is similar to their Japanese friends, such as in JF7's comment that "Girl's talk is global". By exchanging opinions, advice, and using humour, the Japanese participants are examining the hidden values and assumptions stemming from their own culture through their interactions with their NJES friends.

This section presented the positive or other deviations noted by the participants which are sociolinguistic in nature. The deviations noted by the participants related to the use of code-switching, the content of conversations, the giving of opinions and sharing of advice, and the use of humour in their interactions with their NJES friends. These positive evaluations suggest that through their exposure to interactions with their NJES friends they are learning about their own and others' cultures through the exchange of cross-cultural information.

4.2.3.3 Sociocultural deviations

This section will focus on the positively (or other) evaluation of deviations noted by the participants, which can be categorized as a result of sociocultural behaviour initiated either by the participant or their interlocutor(s).

Of the nine Japanese participants, JF2, JF3, JM5, JF7, JM8, and JM9 indicated that their close or good NJES friends have typically resided in Japan for an extended period of time. During JM5's recall section of his interview, he talked about the behaviour of his NJES

friend, whom he had recently met at a bar, where they had been chatting about topics which focused on news and politics. He reported that his NJES friend's behaviour did not seem to be different from what he would expect from a Japanese person. He described it as just two men having a couple of beers in a pub. When asked to explain, he elaborated by saying:

> JM5: *"Most of my [NJES] friends have been living in Japan for a relatively long time. I think that makes them Japanized. The longest [one of them has been living] has been thirteen years. They are usually in their thirties. I rarely meet someone in their twenties."*

His positive evaluation of not only that particular friend's behaviour, but also the behaviour of many of his other NJES friends that he regards as 'Japanized' implies that he feels they know and are willing to adapt to Japanese cultural norms. JF2 and JF7 also evaluated the 'Japanization' of their friends positively as with JF2 noting that one of her American friends understands Japanese culture, and JF7 noting that her Australian friend is better at reading both Japanese and non-Japanese people. In other words, the participants positively evaluated a lack of deviation because their NJES friends usually act in a manner which they view as similar to Japanese.

The Japanese participants also positively or neutrally evaluated deviations in their interactions with NJES that relate to differences in age. JF2, JM5, JF6, JF7, JM8, and JM9 all reported that they have NJES that are in some cases ten or more years older than they are. JF3 noted that her British friend is younger than she is, which deviates from the norm that Japanese often make friends with their peers who are of similar age. JM5 reported that all his NJES friends are older than him, and paused as he thought about how old FF2 was.

> JM5: *"All of my NJES friends are older than me. FF2 is in her thirties. Maybe? Anyways it is not an issue."*

The Japanese participants noted the age deviations between themselves and their NJES friends, with many of them being older than they are, however, they seemed to either evaluate or re-evaluate it as unimportant. In fact, JF6, whose friends are younger than she by a few years said that her NJES friends do not seem to feel age is important. This was similar to JF3, whose friend is also younger than she by more than a few years.

> JF6: *"When I speak with my NJES friends, <u>they don't care (about) my age</u>. I am older than other Japanese [university students]. <u>They don't care at all</u>."*

According to Neustupný (1987) friendships between Japanese can occur between older (senior) and younger (junior), and in fact it can be quite common. However, these friendships can be quite complicated in how they manifest with different levels of informality, consideration and interest in private affairs (Neustupný, 1987). The Japanese participants' evaluation of the differences in ages between themselves and their NJES friends suggests that, while they may follow their native norms in making friends with Japanese, they have an expectation that friendships with NJES do not necessarily follow those norms. Interestingly, the positive evaluation of deviations by the Japanese participants relating to how 'Japanized' their NJES friends are may be noted because of the application of "contact norms" (Neustupný, 1985; Fairbrother, 2009). Since the Japanese participants are interacting with NJES in a contact situation, it is likely that they are noting deviations relating to how 'Japanese' the NJES acts as a result of their expectations of how NJES should behave. The positive evaluation of the lack of deviations implies that the Japanese participants either recognize and or appreciate the efforts of the NJES friends' attempts to adapt to Japanese norms or they expected their NJES friends to not be able to adapt to Japanese norms and positively evaluated this lack of deviations. This suggests that they are possibly learning to see and understand others' views of the world which is a characteristic of Kramsch's (1993)

notion of "different ways of seeing" (p. 229). This also implies, as Fairbrother (2000) suggested, that age, gender, background and experience, and continual contact with NJES friends do have an effect on how the Japanese participants depart from their original expectations. As Fairbrother and Masuda (2012) suggest, the psychological conditions of the interlocutors have an effect on whether or not, and how, a deviation is noted. While some Japanese may note and negatively evaluate NJESs who behave in a 'Japanese' way, those who are familiar with the NJESs may feel comfortable around them so that either they do not notice deviations about how 'Japanese' they act, or they view it as the NJESs showing closeness by demonstrating the strategies of 'care' and a 'sense of belonging' (Nakayama, 1997) to their friends in Japan.

This section presented the sociocultural behaviour findings from the interviews with the Japanese participants. The sociocultural deviations which they evaluated positively centered on the ages of their NJES friends and how long and how adapted to Japanese norms they have become.

While the Japanese participants did note linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural deviations in their interactions, the use of code-switching, or completely changing from English to Japanese, or vice versa, was not seen as a problem by the participants and in fact were reported to be used quite commonly in their interactions with their NJES friends. Additionally, the topics of conversation did not present a problem to the participants in that they enjoy talking with their NJES friends about a wide range of topics which can include NJES and themselves giving opinions on controversial subjects. The giving of advice, sharing of personal information, or the use of humor by the NJES friend was also evaluated positively and seen as a development of closeness. This is likely due to the familiarity which the NJES friends of the participants have with them. Finally, for the participants of this study,

sociocultural factors such as age and how Japanese NJES friends act seem to be elements of the friendships which the Japanese participants liked.

This section detailed some examples of the deviations which the Japanese participants noted and evaluated positively or neutrally, and discussed deviations that the participants did not see as problems and what they liked about their friendships with NJES.

Chapter 5. Adjustments

This chapter will present the adjustments made to deviations which the participants in this study reported on in their interaction interviews. It will first present a section on adjustments to deviations to provide clarification and to further outline the following sections. This will be followed by a section on adjustment plans and then a section on the adjustments actually implemented, including the strategies used. The final section will be divided into two subsections: adjustments to linguistic deviations and adjustments to sociolinguistic deviations.

5.1 Adjustments made towards deviations

This section will present details of the adjustments participants made towards deviations they noted. Adjustment plans are the plans made to attempt to remove a deviation (Neustupný, 1997). Some examples of this are: thinking about using a dictionary, thinking about asking for clarification, or thinking about asking how to say something. Such adjustments plans may or may not be implemented. As Fan (1994) argues, a positive evaluation normally does not require adjustment. On the other hand, negative evaluations can result either in the interlocutor disregarding the negative evaluation or planning and implementing an adjustment to remove the deviation. An adjustment 'strategy' is used to implement an adjustment (Neustupný, 2005) and is the action used to remove the problem, such as actually consulting a dictionary, asking for clarification, or asking how to say something.

This section will provide examples of adjustments plans which the participants made to deviations. This will be followed by a section on the adjustments which the participants implemented in their intercultural interactions and will conclude with a brief discussion of how the particular adjustment strategies they used might be beneficial to other Japanese EFL learners.

5.2 Adjustments plans made to deviations

The Japanese participants made adjustment plans towards difficult vocabulary, grammar and idiomatic expressions typically by making use of their NJES friends' knowledge. They all explained that through being close to their friends, they find that it is okay to simply ask their friends for clarification, just as they would normally do in their mother tongue. This was clearly articulated by all the participants, however, JF3 said it most succinctly.

> JF3: *"I think my English is okay. If I have any question, or if <u>I can't say</u>*
>
> <u>*what I want to say, I just ask him*</u>*, so. That's okay."*

While feeling that they can rely on their NJES friends to help them, some of the Japanese participants felt that they have to study English more in order to improve, as JF6 explained when she said, *"I think <u>I have to learn English more</u>, because what she said was difficult to understand"*. Whether or not they actually commit to the act of studying English more, the participants indicated that they thought about it, and for them this seemed to be a common adjustment plan.

In their negative evaluations of their skills in English, especially concerning listening, some of the participants explained that they do not always have a plan in mind during interactions to manage problems they encounter and that they "only try to understand". This may or may not involve the participant thinking to ask for clarification during interactions with their NJES friends. While their feelings can sometimes cause them to feel ashamed or frustrated about their English, the participants noted that it was something that they had to overcome in their interactions, as JF6 commented:

> JF6: *"Sometimes my hearing skill is not good. I hear and it sounds like*
>
> *one word. When I talk to my friends, I only try to understand. I don't have*
>
> *room to feel my English skill is bad. To understand, <u>I have to try to say</u>*

sorry can you repeat that word, or <u>what did you say</u>. Sometimes I feel

ashamed, but I have to say this to understand."

As previously stated, in instances where linguistic deviations were noted by the participants, they appear to adopt an adjustment plan which makes use of their interlocutor's knowledge of the target language. In other words, in their interactions with NJES, the Japanese participants may think of relying on their NJES friends to help them by following a host-guest partner contact relationship (Fan, 1994). While not always implemented, the Japanese participants seem willing to rely on their NJES friends to take the role of being an authority on English and therefore guide the Japanese participants through any linguistic problems they might have. Additionally, the Japanese participants may plan to put more effort into studying English.

5.3 Adjustments made to deviations

As previously mentioned, adjustments are the implementation of adjustment plans which are used to remove deviations. This section will present the adjustments which the participants reported that they implemented to remove problems they encountered.

5.3.1 Adjustments made to linguistic deviations

A common strategy for JM8 and JM9 when they encountered linguistic deviations, was that they made use of their smartphones either to check facts, or quickly research something that they did not know about, or to use an on-line dictionary. JM9 indicated that he was not troubled at all by needing to use his smartphone, and this was echoed by all the participants in this study.

JM9: *"If I don't know something. <u>I just google it.</u> Or <u>look up the word in a</u>*

<u>dictionary</u>."

The participants also demonstrated that they sometimes used a strategy of directly asking their NJES friends to clarify, explain again or repeat when they did not understand. As

an example, JM9 reported that he was likely to be more direct in English in dealing with such situations. He reported that while he and his NJES friends were attending a summer festival, sometimes he couldn't follow their conversation. As a result, he just asked them directly. He also reported that recently he feels that he has become more direct when using English in his internship.

> JM9: *"When they were talking together, it was so fast. I couldn't catch. So* <u>*I just asked 'What did you say?*</u> *What was that?' Maybe in Japanese I have more words to express things. Maybe it comes from a vocabulary thing.* <u>*I am more direct I think*</u>*. Especially these days, I am working in sometimes in English. I don't know if it is polite or too causal."*

His uncertainty of his use of directness implies that he has not fully decided whether or not this is an acceptable adjustment to deviations, at least in his job, however he seems to accept that it is an appropriate adjustment with his NJES friends.

Code-switching was also a common adjustment to deviations for the Japanese participants and their NJES friends when the Japanese participants encountered linguistic problems during their interactions. From the data collected during the interviews, it became apparent that the NJES friends of all the Japanese participants, and other Japanese friends when present, were willing to assist the participant in their communication, either by codeswitching from English to Japanese or vice versa or changing completely from one language to the other. As an adjustment strategy to facilitate communication between friends, and possibly to keep the conversation moving fluidly, code-switching helped the Japanese participants in their interactions.

JF1 reported that her English is 'not good', and that most people she knows speak Japanese. While the Canadian friend that she met did not speak Japanese well, at that time she was with a Japanese friend whom she reported as having "good English" and that during

the conversation, if she didn't know vocabulary, he translated for her. Also, as previously discussed on p. 84, JF7 said that her Australian friend uses Japanese which helps her communicate better, especially when she is talking about her problems with her husband.

> JF7: "*Lately I speak only Japanese, because I am talking about girl's talk.*"

When participants encountered linguistic deviations, they used three strategies to remove the problems. These strategies included using their smartphones, directly asking for clarification, and code-switching.

5.3.2 Adjustments made to sociolinguistic deviations

In their adjustments to sociolinguistic deviations where participants noted their lack of knowledge or unfamiliarity with the content of a topic of conversation, or their NJES interlocutors gave 'strong' opinions, the Japanese participants typically made adjustments and implemented them based on their own personal preferences. JM8 indicated that when he encounters a situation where he is unfamiliar with the topic, such as the discussion he had with his Austrian friend on immigration, he does some research on the topic after the fact which he can use for future conversations.

> JF8: "*Later, I will read some magazines. Think about it and then, I want to discuss it with [my NJES friends]. That's the kind of thing I do all of the time.*"

While he indicated that he typically feels frustrated by his lack of knowledge or background information on topics, his adjustment strategy to deal with his frustration is to use that opportunity to actively gather information to broaden his knowledge and learn more about the subject thus allowing him to give his own opinion in future interactions with his NJES friends. Noting deviations from a norm, evaluating them and thinking of an adjustment plan and implementing it in anticipation of potential problems in a future interaction is a common feature not limited to researching background knowledge (Nekvapil & Sherman,

2009). It can also include looking up phrases or words in a dictionary, consulting an expert in the language such as a teacher (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009), or it can also include checking the Internet for videos about culture, language or places, or preparing a list of questions that they wish to ask their interlocutor. Essentially the individual makes effort to remove problems by anticipating that they will encounter problems and making an adjustment prior to the interaction.

JF2, on the other hand, reported that she asks her NJES friends to help her understand what she is unfamiliar with. She provided an example when she reported on one of her Australian friends telling her about a teachers' strike in his home country. She waited until after the interaction to ask her Australian friend for clarification.

> JF2: *"One of my friends talked about strike by teachers and I remember.*
> *But he was talking about striking teacher or you know teachers' protest*
> *against local government and I didn't have any background knowledge so*
> *I couldn't follow what they were talking about, but later [I asked my*
> *Australian friend and he] explained to me how teachers' organization is*
> *strong in Australia."*

Asking for clarification and listening to others' opinions may not always signal that a Japanese person agrees with their NJES friends' opinion. As JF4 found with her unfamiliarity with some Americans' anti-Japanese views, her lack of background knowledge resulted in her not being able to give her opinion. This caused her to make an adjustment to "accept" what her friend had said. She did emphasize, however, that she felt that if she had given her opinion, it would not have negatively impacted their friendship.

> JF4: *"The only thing I could do was accept it and [focus on] making a*
> *close friendship with my friend. I didn't give any details. I believe our*

bond is <u>*strong because sharing opinions*</u> <u>*is a very effective way to know*</u>

<u>*each other*</u>. *With her, I don't worry about giving my opinion.*"

As previously mentioned, it is possible that the Japanese participants are unfamiliar with the turn-taking norms of their NJES friends as turn-taking can vary across different cultures (Sacks et al., 1974; Yamada, 1992), so, when they make a negative evaluation of their lack of knowledge the Japanese participants may sometimes forgo their turn in favour of listening, and later seek clarification either through their interlocutor or from another source. Also, when interacting with their NJES friends and finding that those friends have an opinion which is "shocking" (JF4) or "oppressive" (JF8) to them, Japanese may just accept their friends' opinion as being different from theirs, and see it as a means to express oneself and a way to get to know people better.

JF4: *"When I hear a strong opinion. Firstly, I ask them to explain more.*

Then I explain my way of thinking. <u>*Sometimes we can't reach*</u>

<u>*[agreement]. But, it is not a bad thing.*</u> *The important thing is* <u>*to accept*</u>

<u>*each other*</u>. *Have [an] open mind.*"

These adjustment strategies may be used to mitigate what the Japanese participants view as behaviours which can cause unnecessary friction in friendships, however, some of the participants (JF4, JM5,JM8, and JM9) seem to insist that sharing opinions, even ones which are different from one's own, is an act which demonstrates openness and is good for the friendship.

JF4: *"I like talking about political issues and hear[ing] their [my NJES*

friends] opinions. <u>*When we share opinions, I feel very close*</u>.*"*

The Japanese participants seem to view their interactions with NJES as opportunities to learn about other peoples' opinions and world views. Considering that they seemed to seek out information, either by researching or asking questions, it is clear that how people respond

to direct opinions and not knowing the necessary background information, is related to their

individual preferences.

Another adjustment strategy the Japanese participants reported in response to

sociolinguistic deviations was using questions in their interactions with their NJES friends

when they felt that they could not participant fully in conversations. Three of the participants

(JF1, JF3, and JF4) reported that they ask questions to their NJES friends to maintain

conversations and JF2 indicated that she will use questions sometimes when she does not

know enough about the topic. JF3 reported that, while her friend talks about 60% of the time

in conversations, she prefers to ask questions to him.

JF3: *"I like asking him questions. I want to know his opinion. I think it's*

very interesting"

FF2 also reported that one of her Japanese friends has recently taken to asking

questions of her. She described a change in his interactions since the last time they met.

FF2: *"I could tell that he has grown up. This is the first time he has asked*

me all of the questions. He doesn't usually ever ask anything personal. But

if I volunteer information, that's okay. I was kind of surprised that he

asked me about my work, how things are going etc."

From the adjustments made by the participants, it appears that problems can be

removed as they learn to negotiate language with their interlocutors through learning to ask

questions or code-switching, which allows them to adjust their behaviour to norms that are

acceptable to both (Fan, 1994).

The final type of adjustment strategy which the Japanese participants demonstrated

during their interactions with their NJES friends was to address problems directly. As

previously discussed on p. 78, JF6 reported that she had invited a friend to a party who did

not attend, which had caused JF6 some disappointment. By simply talking to her, JF6 tried to

remove the sociocultural deviation by expressing directly how she felt when her friend did not attend the party and failed to notify her.

> JF6: *"Japanese can be overly serious, foreigners are more positive. For example, we held a party, but my NJES friend did not come to the party. So, I talked to her, and she said sorry and told me next time she will tell me she won't come to the party."*

In direct response to his not feeling that he had enough opportunity to speak English at work, JM9 said that he has tried to make a point of going to his previous place of employment, where he knows he can meet his NJES friends. Both these participants found that being proactive in their interactions and responding to problems directly was helpful for removing problems.

> JM9: *"Actually I speak in English at work sometimes, but it's not enough. I try to meet my friends twice a week. I still go to the Irish bar."*

For Japanese learners of English, the strategies employed by the participants would be beneficial for them to incorporate into their own skill sets. The use of smartphones, directly asking for clarification, and code-switching were commonly used in the interactions between the Japanese participants and their NJES friends and can be employed by Japanese learners of English in their own interactions especially since the focus, as in the case of the participants, of their interactions was on communicating ideas, thoughts and opinions. Additionally, researching unknown information and having an open mind are both valuable strategies for Japanese learners of English. While Japanese learners may feel that they need a high level of proficiency in English in order to interact with NJES, they should become aware of the debatable assumption that they need to or should seek to acquire a native level of English (McKay, 2002, 2003; Byram, 2008). As the participants demonstrated in their interactions, they focused on trying to understand others' opinions and ideas, which is in line with Byram's (1997) concept of being

'*intercultural speakers'*. While they do need to have linguistic proficiency in English, which is helpful for their interactions, they should also know that their NJES friends can provide linguistic support so that they may focus on communicating their ideas. Using the Internet to supplement their lack of background knowledge is also useful for them to maintain conversations and to inform themselves, however, developing their critical thinking skills to assess what they learn from the Internet or their friends is important as they may focus on their lack of linguistic skill as opposed to being able to critically evaluate the information. As Kubota (1998) argues, they need to have critical awareness of language and its role in culture and society, especially so that they may combat the myth of 'native speaker' superiority (Holliday, 2006). In other words, the Japanese participants' deference to their NJES friends' knowledge is an aspect of their interactions which they need to critically evaluate as they reflect on their own and others' cultures and move to the position of being individuals who have an understanding of the relationship between their own language and culture, as well as that between others' language and culture. This should also be extended to foreigners as they too need to realize that, argumentation, for example is socially looked down upon in much of Japanese culture. This will help both Japanese and non-Japanese to become better mediators in contact situations (Byram, 2008).

This chapter presented the adjustment plans and adjustments implemented by the participants in their interactions with their NJES friends. Concerning the adjustment plans that may or may not have been implemented by the participants, they seemed to focus on linguistic deviations and involve making use of their NJES friends' knowledge of English. When they feel that their English proficiency is insufficient, they make an adjustment plan to study English more in order to improve their vocabulary or grammar.

The adjustments the participants implemented include adjustments made to remove linguistic problems such as asking for clarification, or using technology to check vocabulary or other unknown linguistic information, and using code-switching or changing the language of communication to Japanese. Some participants reported that they have become more direct in their interactions with their NJES friends and use this adjustment strategy to remove both linguistic and sociocultural deviations. Finally, when participants found that they lacked background knowledge or found that their NJES friends gave strong opinions some of them elected to actively research what they did not know, while others asked their NJES friend for clarification after the conversation. In some cases, they also elected to accept what they were being told in favour of viewing the new information or opinion as a demonstration of closeness. Some Japanese participants adjusted for their lack of participation or lack of knowledge by asking questions. These strategies used by the Japanese participants would all be beneficial to all Japanese learners of English with the caveat that they should know that they should not fully rely on the authority of their NJES friends and that in order to fully develop their intercultural interactional competence, they would benefit from being able to critically evaluate both the opinions of their NJES friends and the information which they gather from other sources.

Chapter 6. Participants advice for dealing with problems

During both the interaction interview stages and the general recall stages of their interviews, the participants offered suggestions and advice for making friends and maintaining friendships. This chapter will present the advice which the participants gave during their interviews and these suggestions can be can be categorized into 5 main themes: 1) making time, 2) involving one's extended social network, 3) making opportunities to meet new people, 4) frequenting the same places multiple times, and 5) taking risks. Some of these pieces of advice correlate with their adjustment strategies which they used to remove problems.

6.1 Making time

Not being able to make time to meet specific friends more regularly was a point addressed by some of the participants, such as JM5, JM8, and JM9 who indicated that this is important to maintain friendships. While JM5 noted that it was important to not wait for messages from friends.

JM5: *"Call your friends. Message them. If you don't you can't know if they are free or not."*

On the other hand, JM9 made a point about how often he tries to meet his friends he made at the Irish bar where he worked part-time.

JM9: *"I go to my Irish bar <u>every week maybe</u>. I can see my friends a lot."*

The importance of making time to meet friends was exemplified by JM8 during his interview, as he realized that he is not as close as he used to be with FF2 as a result of not contacting her as often. As he thought about it, he provided an explanation.

JM8: *"I am not so close with my NJES. Not as much as Japanese guys, because we <u>can't meet as frequently</u> as I can with my Japanese friends. One of the reasons is distance. When FF2 was my teacher [in Fukoka], <u>we</u>*

frequently contacted with each other, but now we don't have any

community or common friends.

The non-Japanese participants (FM1, FF2, FM3, and FM4) also offered advice about taking the initiative to invite friends to events in which they are interested. FM1 focused on pointing out that it was important to follow through by exchanging contact information and from his point of view, spontaneity was important.

FM1: "*When you, as a foreigner in Japan, start conversing with locals or*

people in a social environment, you'll get 20 people adding you on Line or

Facebook. But from there, you'll probably not hear back from more than 2%.

It is too tentative. Not spontaneous enough."

As this point seemed particularly important to him, he said it a second time during his interview as he talked about why it was important to stay in contact with friends.

FM1: "*In Australia, if you make decent friends with someone, if you share a*

hobby, occasionally you will receive, you know, contact, [someone calls you]

to say if you want to come here to do this, to do that. But here, in Japan, it

almost seems to be that very rarely do I get contacted out of the blue. To

participate, I have to actively want to participate."

This account is similar to that of JM9 who directly approached the problem of not having enough opportunity to use English and his desire to meet his NJES friends by making a point to visit his previous place of employment.

6.2 Involving one's existing friendship networks

Inviting friends to events that involve one's extended social network was also a point which was addressed by several of the participants, especially the non-Japanese. Indirectly, except in the case of JM8 who indicated that he has invited his Costa Rican friend to sporting events, the Japanese participants seemed to feel that this was helpful. JM5 said that, because

he has met his friends many times over several years, it is important to be patient and that Japanese should meet their NJES friends and introduce them to their other friends. However, JM8 said plainly:

> JM8: *"I like soccer. So, I met the Costa Rican guy who likes soccer. So, all of the time, we meet to play football. And then, he invites someone, I invite someone. That kind of circle is always created. That kind of situation happens."*

The participants made use of several types of activities which served as venues for mixing and extending their friendship networks such as 1) going to cherry blossom viewing / fireworks summer festival events, 2) arranging international get-togethers, and 3) inviting friends to meet people for dinner/coffee or an event such as a live concert. Some events included activities such as FM4 inviting friends over to his home to play games.

> FM4: *"I invited him to play DnD [with some other friends]. He had never played before, but didn't seem nervous. It was his first time to play, but I don't think English was a problem. He seem a bit nervous, but not because of his English. I think he had a good time. Though, I haven't talked to him in a few days since."*

Arranging a party and inviting friends of friends, which while only mentioned by one participant (FM1), is a situation that might not work for all Japanese EFL learners. However, the fact that FM1's Japanese wife was reported by him as being happy about just such a gathering, implies that this is an activity which some learners might wish to try.

> FM1: *"So a friend of mine, from the bar, called me up and said, hey you wanna go to the restaurant and I'm like, of course, I'll invite [Japanese] wife. And they [Japanese friends] invited more friends from the bar we used to meet at and this was actually the first proper random, mish-mash*

gathering of all these friends. My wife was incredibly surprised because

she thought it was just going to be me and her. So when she saw all of the

other friends, she was like, ah this is great!"

Inviting friends to events they might not know about or have never had the

opportunity to attend was suggested by more than one participant. The afternoon prior to his

interview, JM9 had taken a group of his NJES friends to a summer festival. While none of

them speak Japanese, he also decided to invite some of his Japanese friends along.

FM9: *"I took some of my NJES friends to a matsuri (summer festival).*

They wanted to see Japanese things. I invited a couple of my Japanese

friends to come too.

While not all the Japanese participants reported that they have invited friends along to

such events, two (JM8 and JM9) seemed to indicate that they thought that it was a good

experience and is something which they do when they can.

6.3 Making opportunities

In terms of increasing opportunities to meet new NJES, JM5, JM8, and JM9 all

reported that meeting new people using international parties, online apps and student

committees could be helpful. They suggested that the following was something that Japanese

English learners could do:

JM9: *"Join meet-ups, and for students there is an international committee,*

they should join. Do language exchanges. Young people don't use

Facebook or meet-up. Maybe they use Japanese apps, so they can't find

each other."

His noticing that Japanese may not use the same apps as NJES seems to suggest that

he feels that if Japanese wish to contact NJES, they should use English applications.

The non-Japanese also reported that they thought it was important to be willing to try new things and that Japanese interested in making friends with NJES should not worry about what to say. They recommended attending new events and activities in which Japanese English-language learners are interested. They implied that conversations will naturally develop.

> FM4: *"Get out there. Try new things. Get a new hobby. Take up video games, go to an arcade and talk to people. I think people are people. They just want to have good friends and you can't find good friends if you don't look."*

FF2 added a caveat that Japanese, especially women, interested in making NJES friends should be selective in the events that they attend. She implied that some events might not be appropriate for everyone as the intentions of the attendees might not match the intentions of Japanese who are looking to make friends because some attendees might be in search of a romantic partner.

> FF2: *"Go to international parties something like that. If you choose wisely. You should choose what you feel comfortable with. Oh. International cafes are safe."*

Her caveat about international parties implies that she feels that if a Japanese English speaker wishes to make NJES friends, they should follow what makes them feel comfortable, and that if they are not interested in meeting people at international parties, there are many other options available to them.

6.4 Frequenting the same places multiple times

From the interviews, it was apparent that FM1 and JM8, who both claimed to have extensive social networks of many friends, have frequented the same venues over an extended period of time which has helped to contribute to building familiarity with their present friends whom they met at those particular venues.

FM1: *"I <u>try to at least once a month</u>. Go to one of the Futsal events or go back to the old bar to meet up and hang out. My wife and I actually intend on having a little gathering party there to thank everybody because it's kind of where we met. But, yeah, at the end of the day, it's hard to keep tabs, and to meet up with them regularly, <u>but I have to try</u>."*

As JM9 mentioned several times, and as discussed as an adjustment strategy in section 5.3.2, he frequents his previous place of work because he sees it not only as a place to practice English, but also as a place to keep in contact with his friends. The point that JM9 makes on p. 105 about trying to find time, from his point of view is best served by going a few times a week to the same place. Similarly to what FF2 reported, there are international cafés indicating that there are many options to appeal to a wide range of tastes and interests.

6.5 Taking risks

While there were similarities between how the non-Japanese and Japanese participants reported making friends, JM5, JM9, FMF1, FF2, and FM3 were quite direct in giving advice, advocating that Japanese interested in making friends with NJES should take risks, and they try to believe in themselves. JM9 said that Japanese should not worry about things that they do not know or do not understand, saying:

JM9: *"If you don't understand things, <u>ask other Japanese friends or ask them</u> (your NJES)."*

This directly relates to the adjustment strategies of code-switching, and asking for clarification, etc., as discussed in section 5.3.1. Considering the fact that, he and JM8 both make use of the Internet as a means to overcome both linguistic- and knowledge-based problems, a useful strategy for Japanese learners of English would be to use smartphones and other information technology during interactions with NJES. For the participants of this

study, it seems that such strategies are advantageous when dealing with some of the problems which they encounter.

The participants also gave some vague advice that is open to interpretation. For example, JM5, who had indicated that he has more NJES friends than Japanese friends, promoted the idea that Japanese should not worry what other people think, by saying:

JM5: *"Be yourself. Don't worry. People will like you."*

This seems to be based on the fact that he has shared deeply personal information with his NJES friends and found that they accepted what he had told them.

FM4 was also direct in his advice, implying that if people want to make friends, they have to take chances and do things that they might not otherwise do by saying "Take risks. Believe in yourself."

Through the analysis of the positively evaluated deviations, some strategies which seem to be beneficial to the development of intercultural competence include the use of exchanging opinions, advice, and using humour, as this allows the sharing of ideas between people. Additionally, using code-switching and asking for clarification, which were positively evaluated by the participants, seem to have a beneficial impact on language development in terms of helping to facilitate communication.

For Japanese learners of English that are interested in making friends with NJES, it is interesting that some of the advice directly offered by the participants correlated with the adjustment strategies the participants actually used to remove problems in their interactions. As language learners are potentially interested in making friends with 'native-speakers', they should be aware that what advice they might seek from teachers, etc., may not be reflective of what could help them make their interactions to be more successful. While the participants offered advice about how to make friends, which related to what they did to remove problems such as frequenting the same places multiple times, their advice did not reflect the fact that

they make extensive use of code-switching and technology to handle linguistic problems. Their advice about using existing friendship networks and frequenting the same places multiple times (i.e., using a shared location) was similar to Kudo & Simkin's (2004) finding that Japanese participants in their study, who had frequent contact, especially through a shared location and shared friendship networks, were able to establish familiarity with NJES. Similar to the participants of this study, the participants of Kudo and Simkin's (2004) study found that people who share similar values or characteristics contributed to developing friendships, however, similarity in age, while a determining factor for the participants of their study, was not a point that the participants of this study reported as being necessary and in fact seems to be a point which they like about their relationships with their NJES friends.

This chapter presented the advice about making and maintaining friendships which the participants gave during their interviews. The advice by participants in this study focused on: 1) making time to meet friends and taking the initiative to contact them, 2) involving their extended social networks by inviting friends of friends to gatherings and events, 3) making opportunities to meet new people through active participation in meet-ups and by going to international cafés, 4) frequenting the same places multiple times to meet the same people again and again, and 5) taking risks. This final advice involves several sub-strategies that were employed by the participants of this study. They include the use of exchanging opinions, advice, and using humour as a means to 'get to know' people, as this allows for the exchange of ideas and can help in cross-cultural exchanges which correlate with Nakayama's (1997) process of developing closeness which involves multiple appraisals of an interlocutor's behaviour and language. Additionally, Japanese EFL learners should know that code-switching and asking for clarification are typical in intercultural interactions and that they have a beneficial impact on language development in terms of helping to facilitate communication in intercultural interactions.

Chapter 7. Factors affecting the development of closeness

This chapter will discuss factors which relate to the development of closeness in social networks. First, it will examine the factors which help develop closeness as it relates to the findings of this thesis. Then, it will examine the factors which limit the development of closeness.

7.1 Factors promoting the development of closeness

This section will discuss the factors which influence the development of closeness in social network formation of Japanese EFL learners from the perspectives of the participants. Several factors have a positive influence on Japanese EFL learners developing closeness within their social network formation with NJES friends. The factors that became apparent from the data were 1) all of the Japanese participants except for JF1, initiated and maintained social networks with NJES, who are familiar with Japan/Japanese culture/language, 2) as demonstrated, but not limited to JM5 and JF7, they self-disclosed personal information by talking about personal topics, 3) they adapted to being able to talk about sensitive or controversial topics (all), and 4) they learned to joke, banter and use humour with their NJES friends (JF3 and JM5). These strategies are developed over the duration of the friendship and renegotiated based upon the behaviours witnessed by the interlocutors. As all the Japanese participants in this study have social networks which have been in place from between six months to several years, typically with multiple NJES friends being involved, they have had many opportunities to meet and reflect upon their interactions. They have had time to consider if the NJES friends that they have provide them with a sense of community, emotional stability, communication, and provision of help while allowing them to maintain their self-esteem, which Duck (1991) describes as being vital to developing closeness. As Nakayama (1997) found, interlocutors developing closeness are likely to follow a continual process that involves 1) evaluations of the performance of acts participants carry out, and 2)

evaluations of the initial and subsequent estimations which precede each act. This was evidenced by the participants, especially JF2 in her re-evaluations of her own and her interlocutors' behaviour at the drinking party in the izakaya in regards to the topic of conversation (the legalization of marijuana). The length of duration of residence in Japan of the Japanese participants' NJES friends possibly has an influence on the minutia of this process as the NJES are more likely to be familiar with the Japanese participants' native Japanese norms as, JM3 and JM5 explained, their friends have resided in Japan for a long time, implying that they have experienced interacting with Japanese and therefore have some understanding of Japanese native norms. This potentially allows the interlocutors to more accurately gauge the feelings and motivations of each other, thereby allowing for appropriate interpretation of their partner's verbal and nonverbal behaviours.

Nakayama's (1997) Maxims of Shitashisa (closeness) - 1) Be emotionally close, 2) Be mutually comfortable, and 3) Be socially close, - and by association Nakayama's seven strategies of care, share, trust, relax, be stable, co-operate and belong together, appear to be the norms that Japanese participants apply in determining the potential closeness they may develop with their NJES friends. Through the Japanese participants' self-disclosing of personal information, such as problems relating to their spouses or their sexuality, they demonstrated, to individual degrees, instances of Nakayama's (1997) strategies of sharing, trusting, and being relaxed. In line with this, the Japanese participants who have developed an interest in being able to talk about personal, sensitive or controversial topics, while indicating that they have anxieties concerning their lack of background knowledge and skills in English, also show that they have developed a level of trust with their NJES friends to share their opinions and feelings, and for the most part seem to feel comfortable doing so, as shown by JM5, JF4, JF6 and JM8. Additionally, having such discussions with others involves co-operation, as each interlocutor must contribute to the discussion which the Japanese

participants found to be difficult at times, but also indicated that when they could not contribute they either decided to make a learning opportunity of it, or asked questions, or their NJES friend provided assistance in the form of clarification or code-switching. Finally, being able to joke and use humor with one's interlocutors requires that interlocutors understand and care for their partner well enough to be able to negotiate language well enough to not overtly offend or cause hurt. This implies that there is a level of stability that is felt by the participants and that they have a sense of belonging with their NJES friends.

Another aspect of the data that became apparent was the degree to which the non-Japanese and Japanese participants have acquired intercultural communicative competence. To reiterate, Byram (1997) outlined five competencies which intercultural speakers of English (or any language) need to acquire if they are to have successful intercultural interactions. The competencies are: 1) be cognizant of their own and others' attitudes, 2) have knowledge of the self and of others on both an individual and societal interactional level, 3) be able to interpret and relate, 4) be able to discover and interact, and 5) have critical cultural awareness (Byram, 1997).

Through establishing social networks that include individuals that are likely to be familiar with Japanese norms as a result of their having lived in Japan for an extended period of time, the Japanese participants are less likely to encounter deviations from their own native norms. For the Japanese participants, the first competency (being cognizant of their own and others' attitudes) seems to manifest through their willingness to talk about sensitive or controversial topics, as was the case with JF4, JM5, JF6, and JM8. This was particularly the case with JM5 who had talked about having to hide his sexuality from his Japanese friends, but not his non-Japanese friends.

Whether the participants actively disclose their opinions or act more passively by listening to their NJES friend, they seem to be showing an interest in their partner's attitudes

and reflecting on their own as was the case with most of the Japanese participants. The second, third and fourth competencies (having knowledge of the self and of others on both an individual and societal interactional level, being able to interpret and relate, and being able to discover and interact) seem to be reflected in their efforts to explore the ideas of others in discussions which can lead to learning to understand themselves and their interlocutors through the self-disclosing of personal information, discussing controversial issues and learning to joke in English with their friends. On the other hand, in regards to having critical cultural awareness, the Japanese participants appear to be less familiar. They often lacked the necessary background knowledge to critically evaluate claims and information presented to them about their respective NJES friends' cultures and points of view. They were, however, seemingly willing to listen to other perspectives in order to access the information by keeping an open mind. This was evident in how JF2 found the conversation about marijuana to be initially shocking, but found her NJES friends' opinions interesting and informative, as from her perspective, the topic is taboo in Japan. JF4, JM5, JF6 JM8, and JM9 also all seemed to particularly understand the need to inform themselves and took such situations to be opportunities to learn more about the world around them and the views and opinions of their friends.

The non-Japanese participants also tried to understand behaviours in their interactions with their friends that did not meet their expectations. This was the case with FF2 and her point about the fact that she has not visited her Japanese friends' homes, and the data suggests that the Japanese participants' NJES friends and the non-Japanese participants have more than a passing familiarity with day-to-day life in Japan and use that knowledge to try to understand Japanese norms. They are working towards an awareness of Japanese native norms along with potentially being proficient in Japanese, which has allowed these

individuals to have acquired to one degree or another many of these competencies through their experiences as expatriates living in a foreign country.

There are several factors which have a positive influence on Japanese EFL learners developing closeness in their social network formation with NJES friends. These factors are 1) they initiated and maintained social networks with NJESs who are familiar with Japan/Japanese culture/language, 2) they self-disclosed personal information by talking about personal topics, 3) they adapted to being able to talk about sensitive or controversial topics and 4) they learned to joke, banter and use humour with their NJES friends. Through these factors, the Japanese participants in this study were able to develop closeness with their NJES friends by learning to be understanding of others' opinions and values, learning to interpret and relate to their interlocutors` feelings and opinions, while at the same time learning to be able to discover and interact with their NJESs on a social level. In some cases, while they demonstrated some skill in critical cultural awareness, they certainly seemed to have learned how to acquire information which they did not possess previously, and potentially use that to evaluate and reassess their understanding of issues and topics which they discuss with their NJES friends. They demonstrated that they care, share, trust, relax, and cooperate with their NJES friends, which implies that the relationships have stability and that there is a sense of belonging, which are vital components of closeness (Nakayama, 1997).

From the data, while it is not clear what linguistic gains the Japanese participants have made in their English skills, what is clear is that through developing closeness with NJES, they are making efforts to broaden their world views and in turn are learning about intercultural interactions. As a result, they are coming to have an understanding of the differences in norms between themselves and their NJES friends.

7.2 Factors limiting the development of closeness

This section will discuss the factors which limit the development of closeness in social network formation of Japanese EFL learners from the perspectives of the participants. Two factors play seem to play a significant role in limiting or have a negative influence on established social network of friends. The first and most likely most important is time constraints. The second factor is needing to have, maintain or establish a common community.

Mendelson (2004) found that the duration and frequency of interactions, learner proficiency level, and motivation are factors that can impact the successful development of social networks with English speakers. This was similar to the findings from Kudo & Simkin's (2003) study which found that Japanese participants who had frequent contact, especially through a shared location and shared friendship network, were able to establish familiarity with NJES. The data in this study seems to support both of the previous findings, in regards to duration and frequency of interactions, as it suggests that from frequent and extended interactions Japanese EFL learners are able to develop closeness with their NJES friends. The difficulties in making time to meet and maintain friendships that the participants described suggest that it takes time to establish closeness, as without stability, such as being able to meet regularly, emotional distance is likely to become a factor that can negatively affect the relationship. One reason for this is the need for continual assessment and reassessment of others' behaviours (Nakayama, 1997). As JM8 reported that he meets his NJES friends about a few times a month, he also explained that he does not meet his NJES friends as often as he would like.

> JM8: *"I am not so close with my NJES. Not as much as Japanese guys, because we can't meet as frequently as I can with my Japanese friends. One of the reasons is distance [we live far apart]."*

As demonstrated by the Japanese participants, in that they have developed and maintained friendships with NJES, within the context of an EFL environment it seems possible for learners to enhance and extend the duration and frequency of their encounters with speakers of their L2 through the development of social networks. This can have a positive influence on their L2 development as it helps with their sense of community in that they have a diverse social network, their emotional stability in that they have close friends whom they can rely on, and provides them opportunities to find help (especially with English-related tasks) when they require it.

Furthermore, there is a need for common community, as demonstrated by the Japanese participants, specifically JM8 who said,

JM8: "*When FF2 was my teacher [in Fukuoka], we frequently contacted with each other, but now we don't have any community or common friends.*"

This suggests that the above criteria of closeness are essential components in social development formation. To reiterate, according to Milroy and Gordon (2008), social networks are "the relationships [individuals] contract with others … [reaching] out through social and geographical space linking many individuals" (p. 117). These links help to establish closeness as interlocutors interact with, come to be familiar with and recognize the need to be cognizant of others' needs and values which may differ from their own. As Nakayama (1997) explains, this helps to facilitate closeness, as being emotionally close means individuals share needs and make known their values. This leads to feeling mutually comfortable in that they feel they are understood by and understand their interlocutor (Nakayama, 1997). This allows for being socially close which implies that it is essential to involve others in important aspects of one's life. Also, if Japanese EFL learners are to develop their communication and language skills in English, they need to establish relationships with people with whom they are able to interact.

This chapter discussed the factors which influence the development of closeness in the social network formation of Japanese EFL learners from the perspectives of the participants. It showed that the Japanese participants have developed closeness with their NJES friends by making efforts to broaden their world views and in turn are learning about intercultural interactions. Typically, the development of closeness in their relationships has focused on several points: self-disclosing personal information by talking about personal topics, learning to talk about sensitive or controversial topics and learning to joke, banter and use humour with their NJES friends. Their relationships have developed over an extended period of time and have a sense of stability which is further enhanced by their own and their NJES friends' demonstrations of caring, sharing and trusting one another.

This chapter also showed that two factors can play a role in limiting the development of social networks of Japanese. The first and likely most important is time constraints. If time is not invested into the relationship, interlocutors may feel emotional distance with their NJES friends. The second factor is the need to maintain a sense of a common community which allows for interlocutors to be able to interact with, come to be familiar with, and recognize the need to be cognizant of others' needs and values. Having friends in common and sharing common interests helps to facilitate closeness as they are important elements of being stable and being comfortable and remaining socially close.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This chapter will present the conclusions of the study. First, it will present a summary of the findings. Second, it will discuss the pedagogical implications and then it will conclude with suggestions for further research.

8.1 Summary of main findings

This study has attempted to examine the development of Japanese EFL learners in the context of their making friends in Japan with non-Japanese English speakers (NJES) in English. Through the use of interaction interviews, thirteen participants were interviewed on the present state of their friendships with NJESs and the problems they reported were analyzed using Language Management Theory. The methodology used allowed the researcher to identify when and how participants noted deviations in their intercultural interactions with their NJES friends. It also allowed analysis of how deviations were evaluated, and what adjustments were made in response to problems and whether adjustments were made by either the participants or their interlocutors. The results of the analysis are as follows.

The answer to the first research question:

(R1) How did Japanese EFL learners establish friendships with NJES friends? is that the Japanese participants seemed to favour using places which they commonly frequent, and having a common interest or hobby as it is helpful for communication. Some of them use online apps and SNS sites to meet new people, however, none of the female Japanese participants reported doing so. Many of the friendships have been ongoing for several years which suggests that there is familiarity between the Japanese participants and their NJES friends and they are at least somewhat aware of each other's norms. While all the participants reported that it can be difficult to meet friends regularly, most manage to meet some of their NJES friends at least a few times a month. The non-Japanese participants focused on the fact

that meeting their Japanese friends was less spontaneous and was always outside of their homes.

The answer to the research question:

(R2) *What problems do Japanese EFL learners feel they encounter when interacting with their NJES friends?* is that the Japanese participants encounter linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems in their interactions with their NJES friends. The Japanese participants typically encounter linguistic problems relating to their comprehension of their interlocutors' speech which they attribute to their English proficiency. This was because they felt that they lacked the necessary vocabulary and grammar to understand what their interlocutors were saying which caused them to think that they need to study English more. This is likely because they are holding themselves to the standards of native speakers as they are comparing their English skills with that of their NJES friends. The strategies used by the participants to handle linguistic problems included learning to ask for clarification, or using technology to check vocabulary or other unknown vocabulary or grammar. Also, the use of code-switching, or completely changing from English to Japanese, or vice versa was not seen as a problem by the participants.

A lack of background or content knowledge relating to the topics of conversations during interactions with the NJES friends was a common sociolinguistic problem for the Japanese participants. Sometimes the directness of opinions of their NJES friends was also a problem. However, some of the Japanese participants compared this with their Japanese friends' tendency to agree with their opinions in conversations and concluded that talking about controversial or personal topics with Japanese friends is less interesting than talking about them with foreigners. While the participants sometimes felt that they were not fully able to participate in the conversations, they seemed to attribute this to their lack of

background knowledge and not to their ability in turn-taking which the researcher claimed could have been the source of some of their problems.

On the other hand, the participants enjoyed talking with their NJES friends about a wide range of topics because it was an opportunity for them to learn something which they knew nothing about or were fairly unfamiliar with. If they lacked background knowledge, some of them actively researched what they did not know, while others simply asked their NJES friend for clarification after the conversation. The giving of advice, sharing personal information or use of humor with NJES friends was valued and seen as a sign of closeness. Some Japanese participants adjusted for their lack of participation or lack of knowledge by asking questions and learning to be direct in getting across what they wanted.

The sociocultural problems encountered by the Japanese participants seemed to focus on their comparing their NJES friend's behaviour with their native norms. Sometimes, they specifically compared the behaviours of their NJES friends with their ideas of Japanese typical behaviour. There were also attempts to rationalize some behaviours such as when the non-Japanese participants all reported that have not visited many of their Japanese friends' homes, which one participant seemed to reconsider as she thought about it and attributed it to the size of apartments in Tokyo. Other sociocultural factors such as age, and how Japanese a NJES friend acts were not seen as problems by the Japanese participants. Additionally, the Japanese participants understood that some of their NJES friends have been in Japan for several years, and that this seems to have a role in their friendships. This is potentially due to the NJES friends being familiar with Japanese native norms and so therefore it is perhaps easier to establish closeness with them.

The answer to the research question:

(R3) How do Japanese EFL learners make adjustments to their own behaviour or to their interlocutors' behaviour in their interactions with the NJES friends? is that the

participants used adjustment strategies which involved asking for clarification, code-switching and using technology to remove linguistic problems. Some participants also used direct approaches to remove sociolinguistic problems such as simply being direct in their interactions with their NJES friends or by addressing a lack of chance to use English and spend time with friends by going to the same place every week. Finally, to address problems which were related to their lack of background knowledge, some of the participants actively researched what they did not know, while others asked their NJES friends for clarification or they asked questions. The adjustment plans made by the participants that may or may not have been implemented focused on linguistic deviations and seem to rely on their NJES friends' knowledge of the target language, while only some of the participants indicated that they thought about studying English more.

The answer to the research question:

(R4) What strategies would be beneficial for assisting Japanese EFL learners in their efforts to develop social networks? is that several of the adjustment strategies used by the Japanese participants were also advised in the research findings of Kudo & Simkin (2004) and that this suggests that some of the strategies employed in study abroad environments may be beneficial in an EFL context and in fact were used by the EFL learners in this study. Additionally, from the participants several pieces of advice could be helpful for learners: 1) make time to meet friends and take initiative to contact them, 2) involve one's extended social network by inviting friends of friends to gatherings and events, 3) make opportunities to meet new people through active participation in meet-ups and by going to international cafés, 4) frequent the same places multiple times, and 5) take risks. Only some of this advice correlated with the adjustment strategies employed by the participants in this study. The strategies used by the participants which would also be beneficial to Japanese EFL learners are learning to ask for clarification, making use of code-switching, and using technology to

remove linguistic problems. Additionally, learning how to effectively exchange opinions, ask for advice, and use humour as a means to 'get to know' people would also be useful skills for Japanese EFL learners to develop as these skills seem to assist with the development of closeness. The need for Japanese EFL learners to know when and how to access and critically evaluate information, especially unknown background information, would also helpful for them as they may encounter a wide range of conversation topics which they are unfamiliar with.

The answer to the research question:

(R5) "What factors influence the development of closeness in the social network formation of Japanese EFL learners? is that two factors contributed the most to inhibiting the development or maintenance of the Japanese EFL learners' social networks, the lack of time and the lack of common community. The impact of day-to-day life with work, school, other friends, family and other personal obligations poses a challenge to developing social networks. Japanese EFL learners have many more social obligations in their home country than they would if they were studying English abroad. While the NJES participants indicated that they felt the same, they were open to more spontaneous meetings and get-togethers. In line with time, at least one Japanese participant expressed that not having a common community or having common interests could create distance between friends. The non-Japanese participants indicated that finding time to meet their Japanese friends was also challenging and they also to a lesser degree expressed the same need to have a common community of friends. Some also implied that being able to combine their interests with people who are like-minded or being able to meet several friends in the same get-together helps to alleviate the need to balance schedules that are already busy.

Although it is clearly evident that Japanese EFL learners attempt to make friends and develop social networks with NJES, there are several factors which seem to determine the

development of closeness and being able to maintain friendships over an extended period of time. As the majority of the friendships were developed over a period of time and involved multiple meetings and gatherings, in order to develop closeness interlocutors` need time to observe and understand the behaviours of their friends. This process is accomplished through maintaining contact, self-disclosing personal information, talking with friends about sensitive or controversial topics, and making use of humour to foster a sense of caring, sharing, trusting and belonging together. As the participants took these actions, they found that they enjoyed the experience of learning new things and coming to understand new perspectives on various topics and could learn about their NJES friends through the sharing of ideas and feelings.

8.2 Pedagogical implications

This section will provide a brief discussion of the pedagogical implications of the findings. While there is a large number of non-Japanese English speakers who have resided in Japan for an extended period of time in cities such as Tokyo and Osaka, Japanese EFL learners are less likely to be able to encounter NJESs outside of large urban centers. As such, the need to help Japanese EFL learners, or any other learners of English, is paramount.

While a discussion of the rationale for why English should be learnt, or who is going to teach it, are well beyond the scope of this paper, it is immediately apparent that there is a need to develop techniques and strategies for guiding learners to be able to meet their needs in intercultural interactions. With the advances in information technology and SNS communications, Japanese EFL learners are more likely to contact, and be contacted by NJESs who may or may not be able to understand their native norms and vice versa. This includes NJES who are non-native speakers of English. It is clear that there are learners who take a more active role in their language education and who also use the Internet to supplement their knowledge when they encounter conversational topics they are unfamiliar

with. What is also clear is that the authority of English speakers, specifically 'native' speakers, influences Japanese learners' perceptions of language and what constitutes a role-model for the language. Potentially viewing 'native' speakers as an authority on language or information, as Holliday (2005) points out, stereotypes non-native speakers and their cultures as being viewed as "'dependent', 'hierarchical', 'collectivist', 'reticent', 'indirect', 'passive', 'docile', 'lacking in self-esteem' 'reluctant to challenge authority', 'easily dominated', 'undemocratic', or 'traditional' and, in effect, uncritical and unthinking" (p. 385).

These descriptors by Holliday are not necessarily reflective of the Japanese participants in this study in their interactions with NJESs. While, they did seem to follow the lead of their NJES friends in conversations, and relied on their NJES friends to assist them with their linguistic problems, their adjustment strategies implemented to remove problems were individually selected based on their preferences and are anything but passive. What they may benefit from is understanding that they need to develop not only their linguistic skills in English, but also their critical awareness of language and how it is used to further hegemonic discourse, influence culture and non-dominant languages, and how societies developing such skills can play a vital role in their intercultural communicative development (Kubota, 1998). Based on the fact that several of the participants make use of the Internet to check information, developing their critical thinking skills to determine fact from fiction and knowing how to assess and critically evaluate such information as well as what their NJES friends tell them would be invaluable to them. As a suggestion to this problem, in order for Japanese EFL learners to more fully develop their intercultural communicative competence, and as a result understand others' norms, they need ample meaning-focused exposure to topics and information that are cognitively accessible and relevant to their lives (Devitte, 2016), which could be delivered in classrooms or through real life intercultural interaction. Through such support, either via their teachers or friends, Japanese learners of English can

learn to improve their ability to negotiate intercultural interactions. If the goal of Japanese

EFL learners is to participate in intercultural interactions and for them to develop social

networks which include NJES, it is important to guide them to understand how other

communities may present themselves and to help facilitate skill sets that emphasize critical

thinking and critical awareness (Byram, 1997, 2008; Dunn, 2015; Kubota, 1998).

Building on their experiences or giving them a foundation to draw upon through

classroom activities which focus on helping learners identify and deconstruct stereotypes and

allow them to reflect upon their own cultural norms, or other such intercultural

communicative activities, is a vital part of language acquisition which will greatly enhance

their ability to negotiate linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems that they may

face. Through the development of such activities, Japanese EFL learners will become more

aware of what intercultural interaction means and how they might use what they learn in class

for their explorations in the outside world.

Finally, teachers seeking to assist or provide advice to their learners about how to

make friends should remind them that in order to become close, one has to meet people more

than just once. It may be better to advise learners to approach meeting and making NJES

friends from the perspective of finding activities and hobbies which they find interesting and

are willing to commit to doing on a regular basis. This will likely assist them in meeting

people who have similar interests and, since they are committed to going to the activity on a

regular basis, it will ensure frequent and extended contact which will help learners to

determine if they wish to establish and further develop their relationships with NJESs.

8.3 Suggestions for further research

This section will briefly present suggestions for further research. There were several

limitations to this research. Social network development research would benefit from future

endeavours with participants who are in the initial stages of development or who have yet to

develop social networks with NJESs. Additionally, it would be beneficial to conduct a similar study in the participants' L1. While most of the Japanese participants in this study were of intermediate level of proficiency or above, doing a study in their L1 could potentially yield more information as the participants would be able to elaborate on points which they make as they consider and reflect about the English interaction in their mother tongue.

Finally, while the qualitative data collected offers considerable insight into the perceptions of the participants as to what they view as problems in their interactions and helps to develop a context in which such deviations occur, a mixed methods longitudinal study focusing on examining the frequency of occurrence of these and other problems would potentially assist in determining the extent that social network formation positively affects the acquisition of language, which was not possible within this study. Included in such a study, the role of NJESs' use of correction, clarification and code-switching could yield interesting results. Additionally, a more focused qualitative study examining a small sample of participants which uses a narrative study approach in conjunction with Language Management Theory could identify differences between the adjustments participants make and they perceive problems, remove them or not and the results of those adjustments have on their friendship over time. This may provide insight into the relationship between social networks and language acquisition and how they feel that they improve their interactional skills in intercultural situations.

This study has examined, through a Language Management Theory approach, the experiences and the problems faced by Japanese learners of English and how they attempt to negotiate their interactions with their non-Japanese English speaking friends. It has shown that while they do encounter problems, through their interactions with their NJES friends, they have learned or are learning to adapt their behaviours to both negotiate language and to

maintain their friendships which obviously have great meaning to them. While the participants in this study cannot speak for the experience of all Japanese EFL learners, they do provide considerable insights into how they develop and maintain social networks with NJESs. This study also helps to qualify their experiences and relate them to the work of many researchers and teachers who are interested in intercultural communication and intercultural interaction. The range of intercultural communicative competence displayed by the participants of this study, while limited to a small sample size of thirteen individuals who self-reported their experiences, shows that Japanese EFL learners are both willing and trying to engage in the broader world through their second language and that they are making friends as they do it.

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Appendix A

研究参加の同意書

インタビューにご協力頂ける方へ

1.　研究内容と目的

私は上智大学大学院言語学専攻の大学院の学生です。私は修士論文のための研究を行っており、この度は私の研究に参加をお願いしたいと思っております。

私の研究は、日本の人々が英語で非日本人と友達を作る方法を模索することを目的とします。具体的には、さまざまな方法で彼らが非日本人と友達になろうとするその手法と、彼らの経験を理解したいと考えています。

2. インタビューのお願い
英語でのコミュニケーションの現状を知るためには、実際にお話を伺う必要があると考え、ぜひインタビューをさせて頂きたく、お願い申し上げます。プライバシー保護のため、実名は明かさず、録音データを含むすべての資料は、私が責任を持ってお預かりさせて頂き、私の研究（論文の発表、出版を含む）のみに使用させて頂くことをお約束致します。

何かご不明な点がありましたら、お手数ですが、デッビト・ウェインまでご連絡くださいますよう、お願い致します。

インタビューは４０〜６０分間でおこなわれます。その後フォローアップのためにお話させてください。

お忙しいところ、恐れ入りますが、ぜひご協力頂きますよう、よろしくお願い申し上げます。最後に、上記の内容にご同意頂けましたら、お手数ですが、ご署名をお願い致します。

年　月　日
上智大学博士前期課程外国語学研究科
言語学専攻　デッビト・ウェイン
wdevitte@eagle.sophia.ac.jp

ご署名　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　年月日

Appendix B

Letter of Consent

To Prospective Participants,

I am a graduate student in Linguistics at Sophia University (Tokyo, Japan). I am conducting research for my Master's thesis, and I would like to ask you to participate in my research.

My research aims to explore how people in Japan make friends with non-Japanese in English. I hope to understand the ways and what their experiences are when they try to make friends with non-Japanese.

Participants in my study will be asked to answer questions in one-on-one interviews with the researcher for approximately forty to sixty minutes and follow-up questions. Our interview sessions will be audio recorded to help me accurately capture your situation and insights in your own words. The recorded data will only be heard and kept by me for the research purpose including publication. Your identity as a participant will remain confidential and individual participants will not be identified.

If you wish to participate in this study, please sign this form. If you have any questions or concerns about your participation or about my study, please feel free to contact me at wdevitte@eagle.sophia.ac.jp. I appreciate your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Wayne Devitte
Graduate School of Foreign Studies
Sophia University

Signature   Date

Appendix C

Semi-structured Interview Questions for Recall Interviews:

1. How many non-Japanese/Japanese English speaking friends do you have? Which friends do you communicate with in English? Please tell me about them.

2. How did you first meet your non-Japanese English speaking friends? Can you explain?

3. (Where/when/how often) do you get a chance to socialize with your non-Japanese friends in English? Do you meet them in person?

4. What countries are your non-Japanese friends from? Do you ever notice a difference in how they communicate?

5. What sort of activities do you do with your non-Japanese friends?

6. How close would you say you are with your non-Japanese friends? Is this different from being close to a Japanese person? How so?

7. How would you describe your experiences making friends with non-Japanese English speakers?

8. Have you had any difficulties in communicating with non-Japanese English speakers?

Semi-structured Final Stage Recall Interview questions

These questions in conjunction with the other semi-structured interview questions may be used to have the participants answer any questions that the researcher might have.

1. Did you feel you could participate in the conversation? How did you feel about that?

2. If you couldn't contribute to the conversation what did you do? Please explain.

3. Are there any similarities between how your non-Japanese friend and how your Japanese friends communicate with you? Can you give some examples?

4. How often do you feel that these types of situations happen?

5. Do you usually do what you explained?

6. Do you have any advice for Japanese EFL learners?