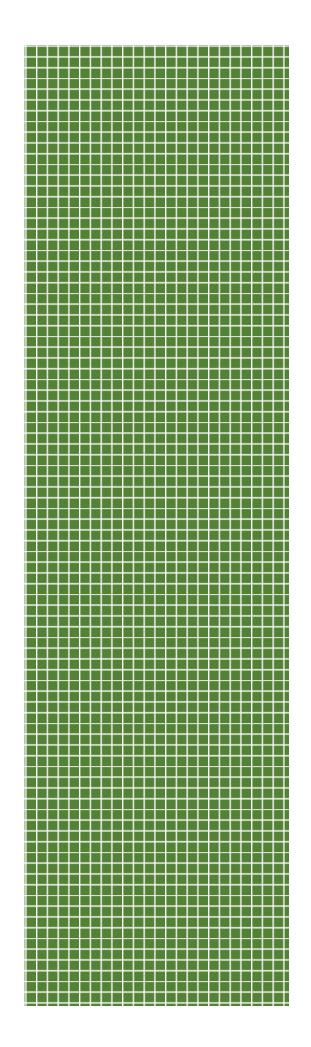
SOPHIA TESOL FORUM

Working Papers in TESOL

Volume 9

2017

ISSN 1884-1139



Sophia TESOL Forum:

Working Papers for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Vol. 9

March 31, 2017

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Sophia TESOL Forum

7-1 Kioi-cho Chiyoda-ku Tokyo, Japan 102-8554 http://www.sophia.ac.jp

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Meeting a Canadian: A Japanese Perspective on a Contact Situation in English

Wayne Devitte

Abstract

Anytime members of different cultures come into contact with each other, they are likely to notice differences in sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours which are different from their own. With the fluidity of movement and the possibility of foreign nationals staying for extended periods of time, or migrating to Japan, the opportunities for Japanese to interact and communicate with people in languages other than Japanese is increasing. As such, studies that focus on describing how people notice, ignore, and react to the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours of speakers of other languages, may offer insight into how to provide language education that encourages and enhances Japanese language learners' ability to interact with speakers of other languages. This paper examines one such situation between two women; one Japanese and one Canadian. It details and discusses the instances where the Japanese women noted and evaluated the interaction and argues the need for the implementation of intercultural communicative competence in EFL classrooms.

Introduction

Anytime members of different cultures come into contact with each other, they are likely to notice differences in sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours which are different from their own. With the fluidity of movement and the possibility of foreign nationals staying for extended periods of time, or migrating to Japan, the opportunities for Japanese to interact with and communicate with people in languages other than Japanese is increasing. As such, studies that focus on describing how people notice, ignore, and react to the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours of speakers of other languages, may offer insight into how to provide language education that encourages and enhances Japanese language learners' ability to interact with speakers of other languages. Such examinations of individuals behaviour towards linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural acts during interactions can develop our understanding of how learners of English understand and adapt to the behaviours of speakers of English. Such research can be used to assist language learners to achieve competence in

intercultural interactions which has been advocated a a necessary requirement of language learning (Byram, 1997, 2008; Kramsch, 1994, McKay, 2002, 2003).

This paper uses Language Management Theory (Neustupný, 1997, 2004, 2005) to examine, from the perspective of a Japanese woman, a contact situation between a Japanese and Canadian woman. From the one hour interview withthe Japanese participant, a number of sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours of the Canadian were identified as deviating from her native norms. While the participant seemed to indicate that it was overall a pleasant and interesting experience, she noted several deviations in which she found the behaviour of the Canadian did not meet her expectations and found that her own ability to react to the behaviours was limited.

Contact situations

Three different types of contact situations have been described by Fan (1992); 'partner situations', 'third-party situations' and 'cognate situations'. The primary characteristic which determines the type of contact situation an interlocutor encounters is the different languages or varieties of languages which are used during the interaction. Fan (1992) defines partner situations as being a situation in which one of the interlocutors is a native speaker of the primary language used during the interaction (i.e. a Canadian English speaker and Japanese speaker using English). In contrast, third-party situations describe interactions where none of the interlocutors are native speakers of the language being used (i.e. two Japanese speakers using English). Finally, a cognate-language contact situation refers to a situation where the language primarily used is one where both interlocutors are native speakers of the language being primarily used, however the language is of different varieties (i.e. a British English speaker and an American English speaker using English).

Neustupný (2004) further classifies contact situations into two more categories. The first of these are contact situations which are characterized by ethnic, social, gender, age, use area, degree of competence, and other similar features are termed "internal contact situations". As an example, two Japanese speakers using different forms of Japanese (e.g. honorifics) based upon their differences in age or social status would fall into this category. The second type of contact situation for Neustupný are 'external contact situations' which, he describes as "so-called intercultural contact situations, defined by a cluster of features that operate across boundaries of national networks" (p.10). Intercultural contact situations may

have multiple features such as age, gender, etc., which have an influence on the behaviours of the interlocutors during the interaction. The action of the interlocutors can also be influenced if one or more of the interlocutors is a non-native speaker of the primary language being used.

Problems in contact situations

How interlocutors notice, ignore, react can affect the outcome of an interaction (Neustupný, 2005). Fan (1992), points out that interlocutors may experience and notice behaviours that are unexpected and are different from a participant's expected ideal of normal behaviour. Since problems in communication can occur in any contact situation (Neustupný, 1978, 1985), positive and negative interactions with native speakers from the perspective of a language learner, may reinforce or adjust a language learner's stereotypical image of native speakers of the language use in the contact situation. L2. From studies by Asaoka (1987), Marriott (1988, 1989), and Neustupný (1985) it is evident that both linguistic and nonlinguistic problems are encountered by interlocutors. These problems may derive from various linguistic (L), sociolinguistic (SL), and sociocultural (SC) behaviours linguistic behaviours such as competence in the language of use (Asaoka, 1987). Sociolinguistic behaviours can include forms of etiquette and politeness (Marriott, 1991, 1995) and greetings, or leave taking (Asaoka, 1987). Furthermore, through these encounters with behaviours that are unfamiliar or unusual based on their own norms, there is a potential that learners may evaluate, either negatively or positively, their own ability to communicate or understand non-Japanese speakers of English. This could potentially impact their confidence and desire to interact with interlocutors in English in future situations.

Problems

When behaviours present as not meeting the expectations of the participants in an interaction, they can be viewed as so-called 'problems' which, as defined by the Collins English Dictionary, are "anything, matter, person, etc., that is difficult to deal with, solve, or overcome." When a non-verbal or verbal behaviour is perceived as different from what is expected, interlocutors may view it as a problem. In Language Management Theory, such problems are defined as negatively evaluated 'deviations' (Neustupný, 2005). Deviations, in essence, are differences in exceptions between behviour an interlocutor expects, and what

they experience. Positively evaluated deviations are unlikely to be adjusted (Fan, 1994) and are not considered to be problems by interlocutors. The author of this paper makes a distinction between behaviours that are self-initiated and other-initiated. In this, a participant who notes a self-initiated problem may recognize a behaviour they have used which does not meet their own expectations. On the other hand, a participant who recognizes an other-initiated problem may note a behaviour by another participant as negative. Both types of behaviours may or may not be noted, but when they are assessed negatively by one or more of the participants, they are viewed as problems. Interestingly, not all noting of behaviours may be seen to be problems if they are evaluated neutrally or positively. In interactions between Japanese and non-Japanese, researchers have identified sociolinguistic behaviours which might occur and be noted and evaluated by interlocutors.

Sociolinguistic behaviours

Neustupný (1997) defines sociolinguistic competence as "the ability to specify who speaks to whom, when and about what" (pp.1-2). Having sociolinguistic competence implies that an understanding of the appropriateness of a behaviour is possessed by an interlocutor. For example, differing expectations and understandings of appropriate forms of etiquette and politeness can be noticed by participants in interactions (Marriott, 1991, 1995). Participants in Marriott's (1991) study of an interaction between Japanese and Australians during a business luncheon found that formal verbal forms of etiquette proved to be problematic. One of the participants (Japanese) in her study reported having difficulties determining appropriate conversational (polite) content during the final stages of the meeting. In essence, the participant negatively evaluated their lack of knowledge as to what to say when leave taking. Greetings, competence in the language of use, and leave taking were examined by Asaoka (1987) in a study of Japanese and Australian interactions during a dinner party. Asaoka reported that the Japanese participants had "some difficulty with the use of names in their verbal greetings with the Australians" (p.19). While the Japanese participants noted the differences between them and their counterparts, the Australians did not note this lack of use of names. Additionally, the Japanese noted that the Australians made use of names during initial greetings and as a result evaluated their lack of use as negative. Self-initiated recognition of problems, or other-initiated problems, may or may not be noted by participants

such as when the Australians in Asaoka's study who failed to note the lack of use of names by the Japanese participants.

To further demonstrate an other-initiated behaviour during an interaction, in Japanese, non-Japanese may view having to use referent honorifics (*irassharu* vs. *iku*, etc.) as being "flattery" (Neustupný, 2005, p. 310) and denoting a demonstration of inferiority for those who have to use them. This failure to understand that the use of such language forms does not in fact denote inferiority and are a form of politeness. Japanese who note that Japanese language learners are failing to use them appropriately can potentially view this behaviour as a problem.

Sociocultural behaviours

Sociocultural competence is the ability "to apply culture rules other than grammatical or sociolinguistic rules" appropriately in intercultural interactions (Neustupny, 1997, p.2). These behaviors can include, but are not limited to; physical proximity during conversation, the bowing or shaking of hands, the assumed manner in which to hand out business cards, the arrangement of communication networks, or seating arrangements. From Asaoka's study (1987), one such example shows that there seemed to be a tendency of married Japanese women to not seat themselves with men who are not their husbands, which was noted by the Australian participants, but it did not seem to be viewed as a problem. Gift giving, physical posture, and the treatment of racial groups were examined by Fairbrother (1999). As an example, from her study, one of the Australian participants had brought a gift of boxed sake to a party and presented it to a Japanese participant, however that individual elected to not open the gift. This other-initiated behaviour was viewed negatively by the Australian who took offence at the failure to open the gift.

It is important to elucidate that sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours that fail to meet the expectation of participants will not always be noted to be problems during interactions, and in point of fact, not all participants may not even note that a problem occurred, such as is potentially the case between the Australian and the Japanese participants concerning the karaoke event. Participants may also decide to ignore a problem during an interaction, only noting and re-evaluating what had happened after the fact.

Methodology

This study followed a qualitative approach in that data was collected through an interaction interview with a female Japanese participant.

Interaction Interviews

Interaction interviews have been used by Neustupný (2003), Muraoka (2001), Fairbrother (1999, 1990) and Asaoka (1987) in language management studies. An interaction interview was used as the study focuses on establishing the process of noting and evaluation on the part of the participant in her interaction with a native English speaker, it was determined that interaction interviews have a number of advantages over general recall interviews. Neustupný (2003), outlines the limitations of recall interviews saying that interaction interviews circumvent the memory limitations on the part of the participants, help to off-set the interference of attitudes and aims of the participants, and are not hindered by the limitations of the participants' speech system as they are not required to know or be familiar with any nomenclature specific to the field of inquiry for which the interview is being used.

Interaction interviews are useful for "captur[ing] the processes such as noting and evaluation of deviations" (Neustupný, 2003, p. 127) as they focus "on capturing an act of interaction as much in its original form as possible" (p. 128). This style of interview attempts to accomplish these through the use of three stages. These stages do not have to be sequential and may be used simultaneously throughout the interview in order to highlight and identify the features (such as deviation and noting) that are being examined.

According to Neustupný (2003), the initial stage of 'situational mapping' has the participant reconstruct their schedule by recalling from memory and reporting on situations which they experienced. This can be details of their schedule leading up to and after their interaction. The second stage involves having the participant "explain and/or describe the purpose, content, participants and any other relevant information for each situation" pp. 128-129). Finally the interviewer has the participant report their entirety of their awareness of situation at the time of the situation through direct and indirect elicitation of the participant's thoughts, feelings, impressions and opinions of the verbal and non-verbal behaviours which occurred during the interaction. Through this staging the participant is able to report on behaviours which they noted during the interaction and assessment of how they evaluated

any noted deviations (negatively or positively) maybe determined by the researcher through an examination of their behaviour towards the deviations.

Language Management Theory

This paper uses Language Management Theory to analyze the data collected from the participant. The rationale for using Language Management Theory, as a theoretical framework, is that it seeks to describe and detail the processes, in a coherent way, of interlocutors' behaviour towards language as well as non-verbal behaviors. It allows for extensive analysis of contact situations and the language used in contact situations (Neustupný, 2005) by defining problems that occur in interactions as "commencements with deviations from norms" (Neustupný, 2005, p. 310). In this, according to Neustupný (2005), "deviations are noted and negatively or positively evaluated by participants, adjustment is sought and finally implemented" (pp. 310-311).

Language Management Theory was developed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) and while it has undergone revision since its initial creation, it emphasizes six key stages of a process which interlocutors engage in interactions.1. Norm is an expectation (socially-shared or individual) of appropriate behavior. Linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours or 'norms', which interlocutors find acceptable, according to Neustupný (2005) have been further explained in terms of four types. 'Native norms', which are behaviours that are familiar and acceptable to one of the interlocutors differ from 'contact norms' which are "special norms which are applied only within contact situations" (Marriott, 1991, 1993; Fairbrother, 2000; Neustupný, 2005, p. 313). Additionally norms may be classified as 'dual norms' which are "the simultaneous usage and acceptance of norms from two different systems" (p. 313). Finally there are 'universal norms' which can be described as universally valid behaviours that forgo cultural systems and which may be acceptable by all. 2. 'Deviations' are the behaviours of an interlocutor which deviates from an expected norm. 3. 'Noting' involves whether or not a deviation is noticed. 4. 'Evaluation' is the participant evaluating as positive, negative or neutral the noted derivations. 5. 'Adjustment design' is a plan is made by the participant to attempt to remove the problem (negatively evaluated deviation). 6. 'Implementation' is the act of implementing the adjustment plan to attempt to remove the deviation.

The data collected during the interaction interview was analyzed according to LMT and is presented in a format that should make clear the sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems that occurred during the interaction between the participant and the Canadian and provide details of how, when and if the participant made and implemented adjustments in her reactions to the behaviour of her interlocutor. As is demonstrated in this study, between stages four and five there may occur another step in which the participantre-evaluates their initial evaluation of the deviation. This may be done more than once.

Participant

The participant for this study was a Japanese (Aya) female in her late twenties who had received English language instruction primarily from her junior and senior high schools. In her adult life, seeking to improve her English, she attended private lessons off and on, once a week for approximately one year and attended an ESL school in the UK for just under one month. While at one point she was involved in a romantic relationship with an American man for about one year, she maintains that the primary means of communication and interaction for that relationship was in her native language as her partner at the time was heavily involved in studying Japanese. Presently, the participant works in a Japanese company and has little opportunity to use her English in any capacity.

The one hour interview took place in a small, quiet cafe in a suburb of Tokyo. In the interview, the participant describes a partner- contact situation involving the participant, a Canadian woman (Jane) in her early 20's, and the participant's Japanese male friend. The Canadian is a friend of the male Japanese friend and they have been friends for an unknown length of time. The Japanese male and the participant, having met in a local Japanese pub, have been friends for approximately one year.

Research Questions

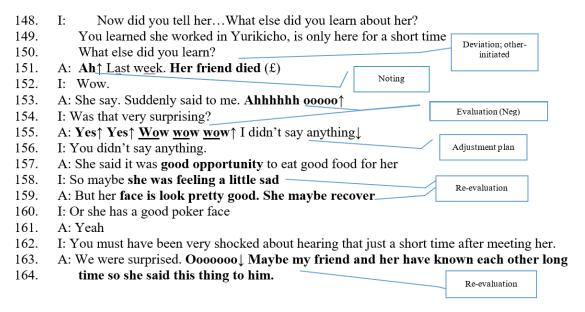
This paper attempts to answer the following research questions:

- 1. What problems in sociocultural or sociolinguistic behaviours might be noted by the Japanese participant in an interaction with a non-Japanese in a first-time contact situation?
- 2. How might the participant evaluate the deviations?
- 3. How might the participant adjust to remove the problem?

Results and Discussion

In the interaction between Aya and Jane, a number of deviations were noted by Aya. Most prevalent among them were the sociolinguistic behaviours; sudden and unexpected disclosure of personal information on the part of the Jane (lines: 148-164), complaints by Jane about the Japanese male friend (lines: 243-254), and the sociocultural non-verbal behaviour of Jane towards Aya's male Japanese friend (lines: 206-236).

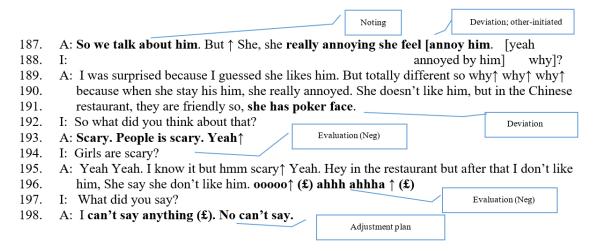
Even as a sociolinguistic behavior, the sudden disclosure of the death of a friend is not a usual situation upon first meeting someone. When Aya met Jane and their Japanese male friend, within a short time of the interaction, Jane told Aya and the Japanese male friend that her friend had recently passed away. This part of the interaction took place after Aya had greeted Jane and they begane talking and getting to know each other. Aya's Japanese male friend had asked Jane how she had been recently. This other-initiated behaviour was strongly noted (line 151) and evaluated negatively by Aya as can be seen in lines (153, 155) by the sudden rise in intonation and the exclamatory responses.



While Aya evaluated the other-initiated problem of sudden disclosure of personal information as negative and indicated that she was unable to make any comment (adjustment plan), it is interesting to note that she justified why Jane told her by re-evaluating the deviation in three instances (lines 157,159, 163), each time moving towards an explanation that possibly makes sense to her eventually settling on the possibility that because Jane and

her Japanese friend have known each other for some time, Jane is in fact not specifically telling Aya, but rather speaking to the Japanese male friend. Not knowing what to say in this situation, is likely as sociolinguistic problem and not a sociocultural problem as this type of situation is potentially difficult to negotiate regardless of language.

Toward the end of the interaction Aya also noted and evaluated a deviation which could be seen as an other-initiated sociolinguistic problem by Jane. As the two of them talked in the train station, Jane began to complain about the Japanese male friend (lines 243-254).



Aya's indication that Jane's "poker face" was a deviation and that the fact Jane was annoyed by the Japanese male friend was "scary" to Aya. Again, Aya evaluated the situation as negative using non-lexical expression. Again, her adjustment plan was not to say anything thus avoiding confrontation or making the situation more problematic.

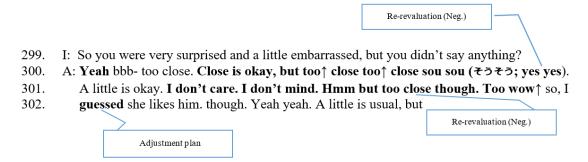
A particularly poignant noting and negative evaluation of Jane's sociocultural behaviour that Aya made during the interaction can be seen in lines 206-236. This evaluation of Jane's physical behaviour towards the Japanese male friend focused on the Canadian repeatedly making physical contact with the Japanese male friend, putting her arm around him and touching him. Aya noted the deviation suddenly (in line 206) after having talked considerably about the long conversation that the three of them had had about Chinese food.

206.	A: But, sometimes Chinese food. Oh no ↑ I was surprised she touch him many times.				
207.	But not te- te- like (XXX) toka (とか; this).	Noting		Deviation; other-initiated	

She begins to negatively evaluate it negatively in line 211, continues to negatively evaluate it in 218.

A: Very close] Wow \(\). **I was surprised**. I know him for one year. But I **didn't** [li218. A: I'm feel a **little embarrassed** to [see.

As with the previous evaluations, Aya adjustment plan was to not say anything and she re-evaluated the problem by providing a rationale for why the problem occurred as in lines 230-232.



On the surface, the overall impression of Aya's and Jane's interaction could be viewed as potentially negative. Although Aya noted several deviations from her native and contact norms throughout the interaction, an outcome of the interaction was that Aya felt Jane's behaviour was interesting as indicated in lines 278-281. This was evident by how Aya talks about the possibility of future interactions between Jane and Japanese men other than the one present during their meeting.

- 278. I: Okay. Do you think she would make an **interesting** friend?
- 279. A: Yes. Yes. Yes
- 280. I: Why do you think that?
- 281. A: Ah↑. Because she is young, so she has a good opportunity to meet Japanese guys. I am
- 282. Interested to hear that thing.

Considering that there is only about four or five years in age difference, Aya potentially views Jane as being young, outgoing and therefore likely to have an easy time meeting people. Her explanation as to why she would like to meet Jane again is also interesting in that it is possibly due to Aya's perceived differences in behavior with Jane being outgoing as she indicated in lines 282-287.

```
283. I: Why are you so interested in hearing about her meeting other guys?
284. A: Because recently, young Japanese boy, guy, guy is not active, active?
```

- 285. I: Aggressive?
- 286. A: Yeah. Aggressive, but, the Japanese guy who she knows is aggressive, so interesting↑
- 287. (£) because they are young, but they are aggressive to her.
- 288. I: And you think that she is aggressive too?
- 289. A: sou sou (そうそう; yes yes)

What becomes apparent from this is that there is a potential for interlocutors evaluating other-initiated problems negatively, however when they evaluate the overall interaction it may not be evaluated negatively and in fact may be seen as an opportunity to learn new ways of thinking or behaving. Aya's negative evaluations of Jane's behavior does not seem to impact her overall view of the interaction as she concludes that it would be interesting to meet Jane again. This could be interpreted in that she genuinely likes and wants to get to know Jane more or she is re-evaluating her experience with Jane as a result of her re-evaluations during the interview.

Aya noted towards the end of the interview when she was asked by the interviewer if she had disclosed much information about herself, she indicated that she did not (lines 290-297).

```
Deviation; self-initiated
                                                           Noting
290.
          A: Myself? Myself. Ahhhh. My job. Huh? my job deshou (でしょう; you know) ah. 291.
Where do I live. What do you do? What do I do? Wow Few things . Because ahhhh the
292.
          conversation almost about her.
          I: Why do you think the conversation was almost all about her? Was that [because
293.
294.
                                                                           because I'm curious (£)
295.
          A: I'm really curious so I always ask her questions. Hmmmm
                                                                                  Evaluation (Neg)
296.
          I: Did you want to tell her more about yourself?
297.
          A: Ahhh \want to? Hmmmmm. Ah. but she didn't ask me a lot of questions.
```

Aya's noting (line 290) of her self-initiated deviation of her lack of self-disclosure is attributed to be the result of Jane not asking a lot of questions of Aya and her own curiosity. She seemed to evaluate her own behaviour negatively as in lines 291 and 297. This could be interpreted that while Jane's openness was one of the major points that she noted and initially negatively evaluated such as with the sudden self-disclosure of the death of Jane's friend, Aya did not seem to see it as a negative aspect of Jane's personality stating as a matter of fact:

301. A: If I have her situation, I never say my situation to her. It's her character. She is open.

In concluding the interview, Aya expressed that to be as open as Jane with someone, she had two criteria for disclosing personal information:

304. A: I want to know the person well. And she needs to be a girl. I don't have any close guy friends."

Aya's adjustment plan for being open and disclosing personal information may present as needing time to get to know and feel more comfortable with a person over an extended period of time. From the data in the interview transcripts, it is possible that Aya saw Jane as someone whose openness was worthy of admiration.

Concluding Remarks

The sociocultural or sociolinguistic deviations that were noted by the participant in this first-time partner-contact situation seemed to focus on the general content of the conversations and in the non-verbal behaviour demonstrated during the interaction. While the participant evaluated many of the other-initiated deviations negatively, there were several instances of re-evaluation during the interview process, although these re-evaluations did not result in a change from the initial negative evaluation. Interestingly, the participant adjusted to remove the problem in all cases by not saying anything. This suggests that her adjustment plan for removing problems was based on a strategy of avoidance. Her lack of addressing the problems could be seen as either a lack in her linguistic ability to properly state her feelings or a desire to avoid potential conflict. She also seemed to evaluate that one of the reasons for her own lack of self-disclosure was that she was curious and asked may questions, but later indicated that because she did not know the Canadian well, she was unwilling to provide as much personal information as her interlocutor. Aya expressed that she thought that Jane was interesting and it is possible that she viewed that the interaction was a positive and interesting experience even though there were elements which she did not feel completely comfortable with and even though she could not be as open about her feelings as her Canadian interlocutor.

This study, while presenting insight into how a Japanese woman may perceive and react to the sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviours of non-Japanese which deviate from

her norms, is limited in several ways. Primarily, the participants' English proficiency level limited her ability to articulate in rich detail information about the interaction. This resulted in the interviewer having to use a considerable amount of backchanneling and clarification to elicit from the participant her evaluations. At times there were points of confusion between the interviewer and the participant and while they were eventually clarified, this did detract from the amount of time that was spent on detailing information the participant's evaluations of the deviations that she noted during the interaction. Second, the study is limited to one participant, and thus it is not generalizable with reactions cited in this study being restricted to the norms of the participant, however, this study does however highlight the fact that negative evaluations of deviations may not necessarily equate to a negative perception of an interaction.

The participant indicated that there were some positive elements of the interaction with the Canadian woman, in that she said that she would make an interesting friend, unfortunately, this study only examines one interaction between the participant and the Canadian woman and as such would benefit from being expanded to a longitudinal study focusing on the development of the relationship between the Japanese participant and the Canadian. This would help to determine if indeed Aya would make attempts to follow up on her interest in meeting the Canadian again and whether or not she would come to disclose more personal information to Jane and how that might occur.

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SOPHIA TESOL FORUM Working Papers in TESOL Volume 9

発行 2017年3月31日 編集・発行 上智大学 代表者 渡部良典

印刷所 株式会社 プリントボーイ

発行所 上智大学言語科学研究科 言語学専攻 英語教授法(TESOL)コース
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