ON BEING A *GAIJIN*:

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE JAPANESE WORKPLACE

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To Melissa

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the construction and utilization of 'outsider' identities in an intercultural workplace setting. The participants are American university students employed as summer interns in companies in Japan where the primary language spoken was Japanese. The data come from roughly 50 hours of audio recordings taken during observations of the daily work routines of six interns in four different locations, as well as supplemental field notes and interviews. This study takes an Interactional Sociolinguistics approach which ties macro-level structures to micro-level interaction by analyzing the use of contextualization cues which index sociocultural knowledge. This allows moment-to-moment discursive practice to be understood within various contextual frames in an investigation of 'outsider' identity in professional environments.

The central questions of this study are twofold: 1) How are interns linguistically constructed as *gaijin* 'foreigners' by themselves and others and 2) In what ways is the notion of *gaijin* used in the accomplishment of goal-oriented social interaction. In answering these questions, the theoretical framework of this study draws from a social constructionist perspective of language and social identity. Identities are seen not as pre-existing monolithic entities but as objects which can be dynamically performed, negotiated, and transformed within interaction. Discursive work is a central tool in accomplishing such activities. The investigation focuses on identity work accomplished through the use of three particularly prominent contextualization cues: 1) names and other forms of reference 2) addressee honorifics and items associated with ideologies of politeness and 3) the use of English in an otherwise Japanese environment.

This study has implications for sociolinguistic work on intercultural communication in which the notion of 'identity' has been fruitful for understanding how differences in

sociocultural backgrounds lead to different interpretations of linguistic cues and cause misunderstanding. This study expands knowledge in this area by also considering how identities are used as a tool in the accomplishment of local activities. It finds that the embodiment of stereotypes can actually be effective for both challenging outsider positions as well as strengthen intercultural relationships by providing an opportunity for shared experience.

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LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Adapted from Jefferson (1985, 2004).

Symbol	Meaning	Notes
[ ]	overlapping speech	Brackets indicate where two (or more) speakers' talk overlaps. A left bracket shows starting point while a right bracket indicates the end of an overlapping sequence. No right bracket following a left bracket indicates that overlapping occurs until the end of the utterance.
=	no break or gap	An equal sign indicates that the speech continues to the next line without a break. This can also indicate when one speaker stops abruptly and a second speaker interrupts and begins speaking immediately. Equal signs appear at the end of the first line and beginning of the second.
(0.0)	timed pause	Numbers in parenthesis indicate a pause timed in seconds and rounded to the nearest tenth of a second.
(.)	micro-pause	A period in parenthesis indicates a brief pause, usually less than one-tenth of a second.
-	abrupt stop	A dash indicates an abrupt stop, often occurring in the middle of a word.
:	prolongation	Colons indicate prolongation of the prior sound. Each colon corresponds roughly to one additional mora length, thus longer colon rows indicate longer prolongation.
text	stress	Underlining indicates a stress which may occur via pitch or amplitude. Note that stress may occur within a work (e.g., su<u>go</u>ku) or across several words (e.g., <u>chigau deshoo</u>).
.	falling intonation	A period indicates the falling intonation typical at the end of a sentence.
?	rising intonation	A question mark indicates rising intonation typical of interrogative sentences.
↑	high pitch	An up arrow indicates a shift into a relatively high pitch
↓	low pitch	A down arrow indicates a shift into a relatively low pitch
TEXT	loud sounds	Capital letters indicate sounds that are loud relative to the surrounding talk.
°text°	soft sounds	Degree signs surround sounds that are soft relative to the surrounding talk.
>text<	fast talk	Right/left carats surround utterances that are produced at a pace more rapid than the surrounding talk.

`<text>`	slow talk	Left/right carats surround utterances that are produced at a pace more slow than the surrounding talk.
`hhh`	outbreath	A series of lower-case 'h' symbol indicates an outbreath. Each 'h' corresponds to roughly one-tenth of a second.
`.hhh`	inbreath	A series of lower-case 'h' symbols preceded by a period indicates an inbreath. Each 'h' corresponds to roughly one-tenth of a second.
`haha`	laughter	A sequence of alternating 'h' and 'a' symbols indicates laughter. Longer sequences indicate longer periods of laughter.
`(   )`	unintelligible speech	Empty parentheses indicate portions of talk that was unintelligible to the transcriber.
`(text)`	dubious transcriptions	Parenthesis surrounding portions of talk indicate that the transcription represents the transcriber's best guess at hard-to-hear talk.
`((text))`	researcher comments	Double parentheses set apart comments and notes. Frequently this is used to indicate non-verbal gestures, actions, and important contextual information.
text	bold typeface	Bold typeface is used to indicate portions of the transcript that are important in the following analysis.
<u>text</u>	double underlining	Alternatively, double underlining is also used to highlight important points in the transcript, particularly when contrasting one feature with another feature indicated in bold.
→	point of interest	Arrows between line numbers and the transcribed text indicate lines containing points of particular interest and which is discussed explicitly in the analysis following the transcript.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS IN INTERLINEAR GLOSSES

Adapted from Iwasaki (2013).

ABL	ablative		INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative		LOC	locative
ADV	adverbial		MAS	affective marker (*desu/masu* form)
ASP	aspectual marker		MOD	modal expression
ATT	attributive		NEG	negative
BCH	backchannel		NML	nominalizer
CAS	causative suffix		NOM	nominative
CLS	classifier		POT	potential suffix
COM	comitative		PRP	purposive
COP	copula		PST	past tense marker
CND	conditional		PP	pragmatic particle
DAT	dative		PSV	passive suffix
DES	desiderative		Q	question marker
EMP	emphasis marker		QT	quotative particle
GEN	genitive		TE	conjunctive (-te) form
HES	hesitation		TMP	temporal
HON	honorific		TOP	topic marker
INJ	interjection		VOL	volitional suffix

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL IDENTITY, INTERACTION, AND *GAIJIN*

When I met David at Taguchi Technologies, an engineering firm in Japan, the first thing I noticed was his bright, hot pink shoelaces. A full head taller than his two Japanese colleagues who flanked him, he sauntered over, tossed a hand up in the air, and gave a loud, "What's up?" David's carefree attitude and bright attire contrasted sharply with his Japanese companions who approached silently, even nervously, with crisp shirts tucked sharply into neatly pressed slacks. David welcomed me—in English—while the others, one of whom turned out to be his supervisor, nodded quietly and politely ushered me to a comfortable chair. David's pink shoelaces have become a symbol in my mind of everything a *gaijin*[1] is believed to be. They don't quite fit in and certainly stand out. Yet somehow they enhanced the picture, adding a bit of color to a monotone scene. David's friendliness complimented his colleagues' courtesy, even while his loudness clashed with their careful politeness. To me, this scene has come to represent a microcosm of the cultural diversity that is increasingly found in workplaces throughout the world.

Indeed, the forward march of technology steadily brings those from different cultural backgrounds into daily contact with each other (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Gunnarsson, 2012; Heller, 2003; Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2007; C. Roberts, 2007). While this brings many new challenges to the workplace, it also brings opportunities. For every intercultural encounter resulting in discrimination, alienation, or misunderstanding, there is another in which people learn new perspectives, forge new relationships, and enhance the vibrant diversity that makes the modern workplace such an interesting, exciting, and important venue for improving intercultural

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[1] In modern Japanese, *gaijin* translates to 'foreigner'. While the default format in this dissertation will be to provide an English gloss of all Japanese terms in single quotes following the Japanese word in italics, several words which are central to the analysis and thus occur with relatively high frequency will be used without glosses after they have been introduced and defined. These include *gaijin* 'foreigner' as well as *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside' and so on.

understanding (e.g., Bührig & ten Thije, 2006; Marra & Holmes, 2007; Miller, 1994; C. Roberts, Davies, & Jupp, 1992; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2008). The benefits of improved intercultural relationships are many. We learn more about ourselves as we learn about others. We view the world through new perspectives. We question things otherwise taken for granted. We learn new approaches and develop innovative solutions. We come to see the different as familiar and others as just the same as us.

Even Japan, which has historically resisted foreign influences (Oka, 1994), has been shaped by globalization in the modern world. During the 'bubble economy' of the 1980's, rapid businesses growth brought international attention as foreign companies saw opportunities to access new markets. Foreign-owned firms brought both managers and regular workers from overseas, expanding Western influences into the Japanese economy (Mori, 1997; Ogawa, 2005; Oka, 1994; M. Yamada, 2010). Despite the economic downturn in the mid-1990s, connections between Japan and Western economies have continued to persist and today elements of Western culture can be found everywhere, from McDonalds restaurants to English scattered throughout the media to Westerners touring Japan, working in Japanese companies, and teaching in Japanese schools (McClain, 2002; Seargeant, 2009, 2011). Elements of Japanese culture have also pushed their way West, as seen in the recent popularity of anime and manga (Kelts, 2006).

Yet despite close contact between Japan and the West—or perhaps because of it— sociocultural stereotypes occupy a major piece of the ideologies and Discourses[2] surrounding each culture. Japanese are sometimes portrayed as evasive and indirect while Americans are as aggressive and selfish (H. Yamada, 1992). Even if modern sociological reality is that the two cultures are not all that different, perceptions of differences are pervasive and play a major role

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[2] Gee (1990) distinguishes between 'little d' discourse and 'big D' Discourse. The former are micro-level interactive practices between two or more interlocutors, while the latter are macro-level beliefs regarding what it means to be a member of some group or community. I follow the convention of capitalizing the later to highlight this distinction.

in shaping the day-to-day realities of intercultural interaction. This can be seen in an explosion of popular literature instructing Westerners in the proper way to behave in encounters with Japanese, teaching Americans the 'Japanese Way' (Alston & Takei, 2005; Bucknall, 2006; Condon & Masumoto, 2011; De Mente, 2006; Goldman, 1994; Itasaka, 1996; H. Kato & Kato, 1992; Kumazawa, 1996; Sieg, 1994; Stevens, 2009; Yoshimura & Anderson, 1997).

But while there are broad perceptions of cultural differences between the East and the West, do they matter for the realities of American-Japanese interpersonal communication and interaction? In answering this question, language is a critical locus of investigation. As H. Yamada (1992) puts it, "Language is the expression and experience of people; it simultaneously glues people together, and yet sets them apart from one another" (p. 1). Language is a potent tool for managing sociocultural experience and injecting cultural values into interaction; It is through language that ideologies and identities are constructed, maintained, challenged, transformed, or even ignored (cf. Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Hymes, 1986). People use language to engage with each other, establish boundaries, and manage presentations of self and other as they discursively negotiate relative positions, patterns of communication, and the relevancy of cultural ideologies.

In the modern workplace, language is also a valuable commodity. Indeed, a survey by Webb et al. (1999) found that managers of international firms in the U.S. consider knowledge of a foreign language and internship experience with foreign firms as more important qualities of new hires than that of obtaining a college degree. Business scholars further emphasize that the new workforce needs skills in communicating across cultural divides; skills which goes well beyond learning a foreign language (Bush & Bush, 1999; Prestwich & Ho-Kim, 2009; Tange & Lauring, 2009). For this reason, scholars and managers both point to the benefits of real-world experience gained in international internships (Adler & Loughrin-Sacco, 2003; Bush & Bush,

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1999; Churton & Tanaka, 2008; Nohara et al., 2008; Prestwich & Ho-Kim, 2009). Given the value of such internships in developing skills for intercultural communication and the central role of language in managing sociocultural identities, there is a clear need to better understand the experience of interns from a local, interactional perspective. International interns are not only novices in the language and culture, but also in the workplace generally, and face the task of simultaneously establishing their positions relative to the local sociocultural environment and with respect to the institution and their future career goals (Chapel, 1998; Duff, 2008; Taylor & Finley, 2010; Vickers, 2007). To my knowledge there are only a few studies on sociolinguistic practices of international interns (e.g., Marra, 2012), and none within a Japanese context.

The present study addresses the need to better understand novices and outsiders in the workplace by studying language use among American student interns working in Japanese companies. It also seeks to make theoretical contributions in intercultural communication by centering the analysis on the utility of linguistically constructed identities in professional settings. The approach is ethnographic in scope in that it seeks to understand the interns' patterns of self-expression primarily from their own individual perspectives as foreigners in the workplaces. This perspective is important as it allows the critical meanings and categories of analysis to emerge from the behaviors of the participants, rather than being imposed on the data by the researcher. Here, this is done through a careful observation and analysis of how student interns use Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) in naturally-occurring interactions with native speaking co-workers.

This work is situated in two major fields in the sociolinguistic literature: studies on language and identity and studies on intercultural communication in the workplace. As such, the investigation can be summarized with two questions. First, what language resources do Japanese learners use to build their social identity, in this case that of 'foreign outsider' or *gaijin*, and how

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is this accomplished in interactions with native Japanese interlocutors? Second, how do discursively constructed identities function as tools for accomplishing interactionally-situated work-related and social goals and how does this influence intercultural communication generally? In exploring these questions, this study contributes to work on social identity by viewing identity as a resource for managing interaction in the modern, global workplace. Additionally, though not the central question of this study, the data analyzed here may also carry implications for better understanding workplace discourse, Japanese pragmatics, and the experience of language learners in real-world contexts outside of the classroom.

To develop these ideas, this chapter will proceed in three parts. I first discuss identity as a situated, interactive, linguistic construct and how performed identities are used to accomplish goal-oriented activities. This discussion will include an outline of Interactional Sociolinguistics, the methodological framework that guides the present study. Second, I consider the idea of group membership, particularly in-group and out-groups (*uchi* and *soto* in Japanese) as markers of social identity. Finally, I discuss the specific identity at the heart of the study: *Gaijin*.

1.1. CONSTRUCTING AND USING IDENTITES

The basic premise of this study is: Language constructs identities and identities are resources for interaction. In John Gumperz's book, *Language and Social Identity*, it states:

> We customarily take gender, ethnicity, and class as given parameters and boundaries within which we create our own social identities. The study of language as interactional discourse demonstrates that these parameters are not constants that can be taken for granted but are communicatively produced. Therefore to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political, and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982, p. 1).

This premise sees identity not as a pre-defined category but as a fluid structure that is performed and shaped by linguistic interaction. It is concerned with identity as an activity, not a label (Auer,

2007; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006b). This is not to say that categories such as gender and ethnicity or sociocultural ideologies do not play a role in shaping identity, but rather highlights the role of language as the medium through which such macro-level knowledge is occasioned for local purposes.

The first claim that "language constructs identity," is concerned with the semiotics of language as an index of social information and as a set of tools for accessing and transforming that information through participation in communicative events. Though a person may simultaneously occupy categories such as 'female', 'American', 'dog-owner', and 'police officer', the relevance of these in an interaction and how they are interpreted is a matter of the ways in which interlocutors present themselves and others via language. Thus identity is an organizational device; a means for interlocutors to group people into categories and arrange the world into easily identifiable "collections of things" (Sacks, 1972, 1992). Regardless of what categories may apply to a person generally, local meaning making is concerned with how these categories are implemented and how people are portrayed relative to them.

The second claim that "identities are resources for interaction," is to then view linguistically-constructed representations and performances as situated, goal-oriented action. When interlocutors use linguistic patterns to contextualize and embody sociocultural information, ideologies, and identities, they do so with a purpose relevant to the situation at hand (Angouri & Marra, 2011; Auer, 1998; Benwell, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006b; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Hansen & Liu, 1997; Rampton, 2010). For example, if one is cast as a 'police officer', they gain access to resources, such as the ability to enter a crime scene, which do not depend on other categories also occupied by the person, such as 'female' or 'American'. However, the same person could then, in the next instant, be cast

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as 'dog-owner' which would then entail an entirely different set of resources and implications based on whatever is conventionally associated with people who care for dogs.

This perspective is 'language-first' in that it investigates identities by uncovering their discursive realizations before attempting to connect them to larger structures. Thus language is seen as a primary tool for *constructing* identity in interaction. Furthermore, as a discursively occasioned construct, identity can be a tool for interlocutors to achieve various objectives. In this sense, identities are not seen as pre-determined by macro-level variables but rather as *occasioned* structures for interactional purposes, though in creating identities speakers may certainly draw from contextual variables such as the institutional setting (i.e., a particular workplace setting) and sociocultural environment (i.e., pervasive ideological assumptions about, say, ethnicity, gender, occupation, etc.). That is, though language as an abstract set of symbols resides outside of any particular context, it is invariably *used* within one and, as such, is able to access sociocultural knowledge. In this manner, language links micro-level interactional practices with macro-level sociocultural information. This is summarized in Figure 1-1.
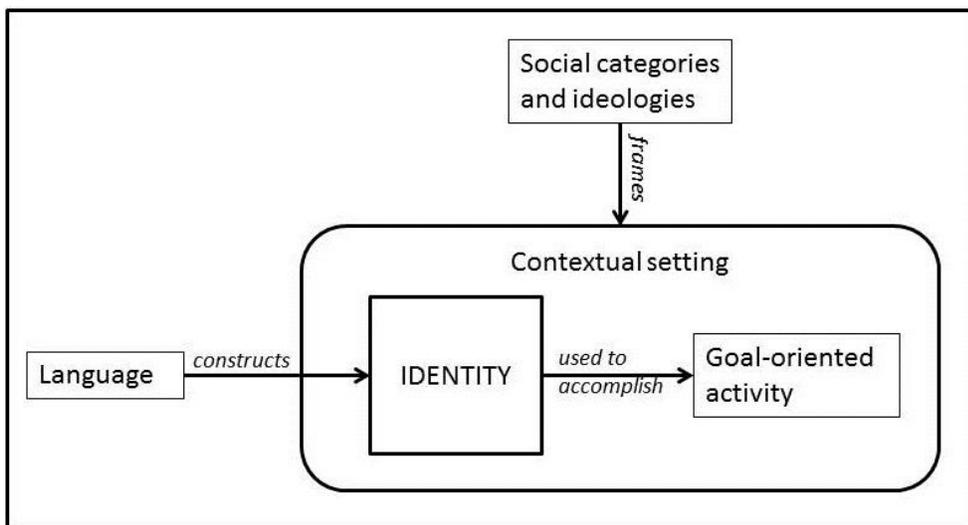
Figure 1-1. Social identity in interaction

Note that at this point the notion of 'context' is oversimplified. In reality, it is a complex structure with many layers. For example, an encounter wherein one worker asks another for help on a project may draw from information including, at a minimum, the local discourse level (e.g., interactional roles such as 'speaker' and 'hearer'), the institutional level (e.g., relative positions of interlocutors within a company hierarchy), and the sociocultural level (e.g., shared cultural values and ideologies) (cf. Gunnarsson, 2009). Information from these, or other, contextual frames is a potential resource for creating meaning at the local level. I will use the somewhat imprecise term, 'contextual setting', as a catch-all to refer to the sum total of these contexts, i.e., *all* of the contextual information and resources available to participants in an interaction at any level.

This perspective on identity draws from *social constructionism* and uses the following four principles as the theoretical foundation of the present investigation (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006a).

1. Language is *indexical* of social meaning and as such is a tool for *contextualization* and constructing identity.

2. Language represents and *performs multiple identities in context* during the interactional task at hand.

3. The construction of identities is a *situated, goal-oriented* activity undertaken for reasons pertaining to the local events at hand.

4. The process of identification is recoverable through a careful analysis of *discourse patterns and structures in context*.

After a brief introduction to social constructionism, I will elaborate on each of these items and conclude this section with an outline of the analytical framework of Interactional Sociolinguistics.

1.1.1. Social constructionism

The broadest umbrella under which this perspective falls is social constructionism which

De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006a) define as follows (cf. P. Berger & Luckmann, 1966):

> [Social constructionism is] the assumption that identity is a process that (1) takes place in concrete and specific interactional occasions, (2) yields constellations of identities instead of individual, monolithic constructs, (3) does not simply emanate from the individual, but results from the process of negotiation, and entextualization (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) that are eminently social, and (4) entails "discursive work" (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1970). (p. 2)

In contrast to variationist approaches which categorize participants before analyzing their

language patterns (e.g., Labov, 1972), social constructionism is concerned with how discourse

practices interactively frame, define, and transform the conceptualization of self with respect to

other interlocutors (cf. Benwell, 2006; De Fina, 2011a; Fairclough, 1989; Gumperz, 1982b;

Hansen & Liu, 1997; Heller, 1987, 2003; Ochs, 1993). Kendall and Tannen (1997) refer to

identity as being "maintained and (re-)created through social practices, including language

practices" (p. 83), and Schnurr and Zayts (2011) explain that identity "is not viewed as an

individual act but as a fluid process that involves others" (p. 41).

Social constructionism draws attention to identity as a set of social actions which are

collaboratively undertaken by participants in interaction, rather than psychological or ideological

constructs. Consideration is especially given to the central role of discourse practices and

linguistic structures as the epicenter for bringing identities into being and negotiating their

relevancy for the activity at hand (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 2011; Fairclough, 1989). This

perspective has spawned a large volume of research taking an anti-essentialist view of identity

and emphasizing the importance of local communicative practice (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Hall,

1995; Holmes, 2007b; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999; Kroskrity, 2000; Schnurr & Zayts, 2012), all

of which highlights the primacy of language as a means of identification.

1.1.2. Indexicality and contextualization

A natural question at this point is to ask *how* language does identity work in interaction, and the concept of 'indexicality' provides one such model. Ochs (1993) argues that language is related to identity through an indirect process of mediation whereby particular linguistic acts and stances become resources for accessing cultural conventions and community knowledge. In this function, language is indexical; it is socially organized and creates social meaning (Cook, 2008b; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Hanks, 1999; Nunberg, 1993; Ochs, 1990; Silverstein, 2003). Indexes are deictic, meaning they must be interpreted in context and are based on generally shared knowledge. For example, smoke clouds above a house could mean a disaster, while smoke clouds above a barbeque grill could suggest that dinner is ready. An example of a linguistic index is the possessive pronoun 'his'. If someone is watching a presidential debate and says, "His policies are stupid," it is known that 'his' refers to one of the candidates in the debate, but if the same person later says in reference to a friend who happens to be a chef, "I really like his food," 'his' now refers to the friend. The token 'his' is indexical because it refers to different people in different contexts.

Indexes such as pronouns are called 'referential indexes' because they contribute to the denotational, or referential, meaning of an utterance. Perhaps more potent for managing identities are 'non-referential indexes' which do not contribute referential meaning, but instead function to bring social knowledge into local discourse (Hanks, 1996, 1999; Nunberg, 1993; Ochs, 1990; Silverstein, 1976). These include things such as honorifics, prosody, accent, discourse markers, and so on. While their presence (or absence) does not affect propositional content, they create meaning and context by pointing to information that is salient within some larger pool of knowledge. Silverstein (1976) argues that "the indexical token in speech performs

its greatest apparent work [by becoming] the very medium through which the relevant aspect of the context is made to 'exist'" (p. 34). Conceptualizing language as a 'tool' is a reference to this function. When one shifts, say, from casual to honorific speech patterns, the entire setting is reinterpreted, even if nothing other than the speech style has changed. For example, Cook (1998) shows how a television host interviewing a chef uses shifts in honorific speech patterns to seamlessly change from the frame of 'presentation to a television audience' to one of genuine interaction between a chef and restaurant guest.

Thus indexicality provides a means of modeling the link between micro-level interaction and macro-level knowledge. This link can be clearly seen in the two-step model of indexicality proposed by Ochs (1990, 1993, 1996) and discussed by Cook (2008b). In this model, indexes are first seen to directly reference *stances*, which are linguistic expressions of attitudes, feelings, degrees of commitment to a proposition, judgments, assessments, etc. (cf. Biber & Finegan, 1989; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989), and *acts*, which are goal-oriented behaviors, such as disagreeing, complimenting, assessing, apologizing, and so forth. This link is said to be *direct* in that it is unmediated by contextual factors. In the second step, the original index *indirectly* creates social meaning based on the way that stances and acts are presented in context. For example, the particle *zo* in Japanese is frequently thought to be "male speech" (McGloin, 1990). However, Cook (2008b) suggests that is not directly related to gender, but rather, in the first step, marks an assertive attitude. Assertive attitudes may then be ideologically associated with gender, and thus *zo* indirectly points toward masculinity via the direct indexing of a stance (cf. Okada, 2008).

In this way, non-referential indexes frequently act as 'contextualization cues', which are a central locus of investigation within frameworks under the umbrella of Interactional Sociolinguistics. Gumperz (1982a) describes contextualization cues as "constellations of surface

features of message[s] . . . by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (p. 131). Key to understanding the notion of contextualization is the concept of 'presupposition'. Silverstein (1976) describes 'indexical presupposition' using the noun 'table'. Although the idea of a table is cognitively identifiable, absent a demonstrative such as 'this table' or 'that table', the token 'table' is not attached to an identifiable object. In his words, "the token of the deictic presupposes the physical existence of an actual object which can properly be referred to by *table*, or it presupposes a prior segment of referential discourse which has specified such a referent" (p. 33).

Likewise, contextualization cues make a 'contextual presupposition' wherein speakers assume that social and cultural knowledge exists within macro-level structures and (presumably) shared knowledge between interlocutors. The "constellations of surface features" that do contextual work, then, index this information for the purposes of creating meaning in local interaction thereby mediating, as Ochs (1993) says, between the micro-level interaction and macro-level social meaning. When indexes signal contextual information, they frame the talk within some "set of propositions taken for granted by the participants" (Levinson, 2002, p. 33)[3]. Thus, in their function as contextualization cues indexes are situational variables which allow for macro-level information to be embedded into a message.

1.1.3. Performing multiple identities in context

A natural consequence of the indexical nature of language and a perspective which views identity as a discursively negotiated activity is that a person may take on any number of identities variably and simultaneously as micro- and macro-level structures intertwine (De Fina, Schiffrin,

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[3] Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (2011) prefer the verb 'framing' in order to highlight the dynamic and transitory nature of this process.

& Bamberg, 2006b). On the one hand, people may occupy a number of broadly-defined categories. For example, Ethan, one of the participants in this study, could accurately be described as 'male', 'student', 'American', 'teacher', 'son', 'younger brother', 'engineering major', 'foreigner', 'Caucasian' and so on. On the other hand, many of these identities are not always relevant to the task at hand. When he asks questions of his co-workers, Ethan is 'being a student', but when they ask him about an English translation, he 'becomes a teacher'.

This is also true of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identities, which may be emphasized or suppressed depending on local interactional needs. Here, it is helpful to distinguish between 'portable' or 'brought along' identities and 'situational' or 'brought about' identities (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006a). Portable identities rely on static classifications and are relatively unchanging across situations (De Fina, 2011b; Georgakopoulou, 2006). Being classified as a *gaijin* 'foreigner' is certainly one such example, as are other categories of gender, ethnicity, and so on. These classifications bring with them certain sets of ideologies and stereotypes and, as such, provide an exogenous basis on which interlocutors may represent them in discourse. In terms of interactional influence, however, these categories are not given and immutable, but may be negotiated, transformed, and transgressed. This is what is meant by the notion of 'situational' or 'brought about' identities (Auer, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Cashman, 2005; Fukuda, 2010, 2014; Gafaranga, 2005; Rampton, 1998, 2010; Schiffrin, 1996). For example, one intern admitted to trying to "be Japanese" in order to gain social acceptance. Thus, rather than being stuck with exogenous categories, identity can be endogenously created by context and interaction.

As another example, consider David, the intern with the hot pink shoelaces. After several hours working on a project, during which he repeatedly called his supervisor to ask step-by-step questions, he made the following comment (Excerpt 1-1).

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Excerpt 1-1. Well, I'm a *gaijin*

I feel bad calling him for absolutely everything, but, I, I really don't know what to do. Er, if he has any ideas on something to do. ((long pause)) <u>Well, I'm a *gaijin*, I don't understand anything. I'm just gonna go with that</u>. Yep.

This remark shows that David feels that by playing into what he thinks others would expect of a

gaijin—namely that they are naïve and clueless—he can be forgiven for his constant questioning.

It is of no consequence whether or not his supervisor was actually bothered by his questions, or

whatever expectations of *gaijin* he may have actually held. The point is David believes this and,

as such, he intentionally performs in accordance with behaviors he assumes are expected of a

gaijin. Whether or not this strategy is effective or how it influences intercultural communication

are empirical questions that will be addressed in later chapters.

1.1.4. Doing things with identities

Holmes and Marra (2002b) have pointed out that "individuals draw on different aspects

of their social identity in different interactions; different in-groups and out-groups may be

brought into focus in different contexts, or even at different points in the same interaction" (p.

378). This begs the question, "Why?" As David's quotation in Excerpt 1-1 above also illustrates,

there is a purpose for performing certain identities. In his case, he intentionally 'becomes a *gaijin*'

in order to excuse his repeatedly asking questions. Thus his goals are local in orientation. In data

to be analyzed later, he clearly exaggerates perceived stereotypes of *gaijin* in order to do a

number of things, including getting help and creating humor, even while he rejects these

stereotypes as reality. For him, being a foreigner is simply a tool for interaction.

In some cases, playing up the fact that one is an 'outsider' helps to achieve positive goals,

such as accommodating, helping, making requests, or building relationships, though it may also

have negative results, such as marginalizing or ridiculing (Chun, 2009; Higgins, 2007b, 2009b;

Hill, 1995; Holmes, 2006b; Holmes & Marra, 2002b; Li, 2000; Marra & Holmes, 2007). Or, it may be preferred to avoid dwelling on outsider status and instead emphasize commonalities in order to, for example, make the other feel comfortable or assimilate to a dominant culture (Armour, 2001; Riley, 2006). I therefore take, as a basic assumption, that it only makes sense for a person to construct an identity in a local setting if such an identity is helpful for accomplishing some task. Of course, the task need not be virtuous, (e.g., C. Roberts, Davies, & Jupp, 1992), nor must it be consciously undertaken. Rather, the assumption is simply the idea that all discursive constructions of identity are goal-oriented, whatever that goal may be.

Examples of people accomplishing things through identity work can be found throughout the literature. Schnurr and Chan (2011) find that identity is an effective tool for doing leadership, showing that when disagreements arise between co-leaders of a group, avoidance strategies (e.g., "yes, but") are used in negotiations to establish who is, for that moment, 'in-charge' and who is 'second-in-command' which is an effective way of resolving conflicts. While this goal is explicit, Holmes and Stubbe (2005) provide an example of a goal that is not at the forefront of interaction. In their study, code-switching in New Zealand workplaces enacts social and ethnic identities in a way that strengthens social relationships among work colleagues, but rather this is accomplished implicitly through subtle in-group alignments marked by linguistic variation. Of course, the goal need not be effectively realized, as noted by Marra (2012) who shows that migrant workers' attempts to disagree with native workers are reinterpreted as unintentional proficiency-related errors. In a well-intentioned attempt to accommodate them, the native workers orient to the 'foreigner' identity of migrant workers and, by so doing, inadvertently misinterpret complaints as misunderstandings and thus restrict access to resources by making it difficult for migrants to express ideas forcefully.

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So in claiming that identity construction is a goal-oriented activity, I am not claiming that this is explicitly oriented to by interlocutors or that it is successfully accomplished. The claim is only that interlocutors have some contextually-relevant and locally-embedded *reason* for presenting identities. Moreover, objectives may change rapidly and dynamically in order to manage the often overlapping social and work-related goals (cf. Angouri & Marra, 2011; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998a; Cashman, 2005; Cook, 2013; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Higgins, 2007a; Holmes, Marra, & Vine, 2011; Iino, 1999; Ochs, 1993; Schnurr & Zayts, 2011). By considering identity work as a goal-oriented activity, we are better able to untangle a rather complex constellation of social and institutional identities and practices. However, it is also critical to consider whether identities are ascribed by others or embodied willfully by self. In the first case, identity may not be as easily leveraged in the accomplishment of interactional goals. This will prove to be a major theme in the analysis of this study and a central point for discussion.

1.1.5. Interactional Sociolinguistics and contextualization cues

The discussion so far has been to argue that language creates identities, particularly through its indexical properties and the process of contextualization, and that this has a purpose in local settings. As such, it is reasonable to expect that identities are recoverable through an analysis of discourse. Indeed, researchers from a number of interaction-oriented traditions emphasize significance of discourse data for investigating identity. Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a), working in Membership Categorization, state that identity is "visible in the people's exploitation of the *structures of conversation*" (p. 3). From Interactional Sociolinguistics, Gumperz (2001) says, "We assume that information about contextual frames is communicated as part of the process of interacting, and therefore it becomes necessary to be clearer about the specifics of *what happens in the interaction*" (p. 218, emphasis added). Van Dijk (2001), in the

field of Critical Discourse Analysis, states that research should provide "a glimpse of the many ways in which power and domination are *reproduced by text and talk*" (p. 363, emphasis added). And Heritage (2005), from Conversation Analysis, describes identities (and other social orders) as "talked into being", implying that the evidence for identities is embedded in the discourse.

The present study adopts Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) in approaching the data. Ethnographically-grounded studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics have been fruitful for studying issues in social identity and intercultural communication (e.g., Chick, 1995, 1996; Scollon, Scollon, & Jones, 2011), and trace their roots back to the seminal work of John Gumperz (1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1999, 2001). This perspective links micro to macro primarily by looking for contextualization cues in the data. These resources may be any linguistic item, broadly defined, including morphological and syntactic structures, prosody, lexical and code choice, interactional particles, and even gesture, provided that the resource signals some "contextual presupposition" (Gumperz, 1982a, p. 131). Broad social and cultural knowledge is also drawn into a discussion of meanings created by these resources and their implications for the unfolding conversation. But while it taps into macro-level social information, including ideologies and stereotypes, it begins by first considering the local communicative event and recovering identity claims in the interactions themselves. Then, using surrounding evidence in co-occurring resources, the analysis attempts to describe the contextualization process and how linguistic resources are used and interpreted by participants. Based on this evidence, it then draws conclusions about how language creates meaning and accomplishes interactional goals.

This study therefore approaches the data by first attempting to recover identity claims via an analysis of talk, rather than assuming the relevancy of particular identities and imposing this on the data. This is a chief premise of social constructionism. However, I also draw from meta-

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comments in interviews with interns, as well as knowledge from my own personal experience as a *gaijin* intern in Japan, to shed some light on what interpretations might be available to the interlocutors in an interaction, and to contrast the meaning a *gaijin* intern might have intended to create with the meaning that is actually realized. That said, I will offer these perspectives as discussion points. The central conclusions are justified by empirical evidence in the talk itself.

1.2. GROUP CATEGORIZATIONS AND BOUNDARIES

Identity, as an interactional phenomenon, is inseparable from ideas of group membership. Sacks (1972, 1992) emphasizes language and identity as an organizational device for making sense of the world by grouping things into categories. Membership categories are a means of using broad social types in order to create order locally (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998b; Hester & Eglin, 1997; Schegloff, 2007), while at the same time drawing boundaries between groups of people, creating solidarity among some while setting them apart from others. Membership in a group is not immutable, but can be re-aligned and resisted in interaction as Higgins (2007a) illustrates in talk among Tanzanian journalists. In one sequence, a junior employee is cast as an outsider based, in part, on his co-workers' making reference to his ethnicity, but he resists this classification by performing, via linguistic alternation, in such a way as to draw attention toward his identity as an immature youth with a bad, but forgivable, attitude. This effectively de-emphasizes his ethnic membership in favor of a position that allows him to rejoin the in-group. In fact, he achieves a number of identity shifts, including junior colleague, illegitimate worker, immature juvenile, and so on, as a means of managing his integration with others. The variability of group membership is thus a key component of one's identity.

1.2.1. In- and out-groups, *uchi* and *soto*

Perhaps the most general, yet salient, type of categorization is 'insider' and 'outsider'. In a pair of studies, for example, Holmes, Marra, and Schnurr (2008) and Marra and Holmes (2008), show that ethnic minorities in the workplace co-construct distinctive identities for themselves in order to strengthen their own in-group solidarity and resist elements of the dominant culture. Furthermore, different groups can exist simultaneously, as in an earlier study by Holmes and Marra (2002b), where a group of workers collaboratively jokes around issues of gender in a way that strengthens their own bonds while also constructing male-female categories. That is, participants simultaneously build identities around a common in-group relation as co-workers, but also show alignment to separate groups based on gender.

In Japanese, the culturally-important terms *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside' bring to mind this notion of alignment with various in- and out-groups. These concepts have been used to explain a number of phenomenon in Japanese language and culture from interpersonal relationships to sources of social knowledge (Bachnik, 1998; Bachnik & Quinn, 1994). Bachnik (1994) claims *uchi* and *soto* can be seen in the relationship of self to society, the linguistic means by which these relationships are indexed, and in culturally shared epistemics, arguing that the *uchi/soto* distinction provides a lens through which Japanese sociocultural values can be understood. While these claims are sometimes criticized for being overly essentialist, there are certainly a large number of expressions which contain the words *uchi* and *soto* (Quinn, 1994a, 1994b; Wetzel, 1994) and these concepts are often invoked when describing various social architectures (Lebra, 1976; Rosenberger, 1994).

Research has identified a large number of linguistic devices used to manage group boundaries in intercultural contexts. Some examples include code-switching, a prominent

contextualization cue used to index group membership and strengthen in-group solidarity (Auer, 1998; Blommaert, 1992; de Bres et al., 2010; Higgins, 2009a, 2009b; Holmes & Stubbe, 2005; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Sebba & Wootton, 1998), narratives which provide a rich, extended means of exploring identity through content, form, and behavior (De Fina, 2011b; Georgakopoulou, 2007; Holmes, 2006b; Marra & Holmes, 2008; Mishler, 2006; Ochs & Capps, 2001; C. Roberts, 2009), and explicit references to persons, ethnicities, and other markers of group membership which are used to place self and others into particular categories marked with a single label (Higgins, 2007a; Holmes & Marra, 2002a, 2002b; Schnurr & Zayts, 2012). The present study will consider, in turn, address forms (Chapter 4), honorifics (Chapter 5), and English (Chapter 6).

1.2.2. 'Ethnification' and 'gaijinization'

Frequently, insider and outsider positions are constructed via an appeal to other more specific membership categories. Furthermore, while membership categories are not contextualization cues, they can be instantiated by them. In other words, the use of indexical resources to point toward macro-level structures is a useful means of creating categories in local practice. In this way, categories might be said to emerge in interaction as people refer to broad social structures in order to either assign them to others or embody them themselves.

Day (1994, 1998, 2006) refers to the interactional emergence of categories, particularly those of ethnic backgrounds, as 'ethnification'. According to Day (1998), people prefer to be viewed within the relevancy of the local setting, and the placing of people into an ethnic category generally results in decreased access to resources by setting them apart from the rest of the group. As such, when one is assigned an ethnic category by other participants in an encounter, they might react by challenging and redefining the category in order to maintain membership in the

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in-group. In the Japanese *uchi/soto* context, Iino (1996) and Fukuda (2010) both discuss a similar notion which they call '*gaijinization*' and which is essentially the process of ethnification applied to the emergence of a *gaijin* category specifically. Fukuda (2010) explains this as a phenomenon in which "non-Japanese are formulated as linguistic and cultural Others" (p. 13), and are thus pushed into a *soto* position.

Iino (1996) gives an example of a Japanese host mother laughing when an American exchange student attempts to properly use a formulaic utterance. Though the American is tying to assimilate to Japanese customs and thus move toward the *uchi*, the mother's laughter indicates that this is not expected and actually results in a strengthening of the student's position in the *soto*. Thus even while the student is trying to fit in and resist being an outsider, the category of *gaijin* emerges and is implicitly, but clearly, assigned to the student. I recall similar encounters from my own experiences working in Japan. In a failed attempt to use Japanese honorifics correctly, I once referred to the passing of a prominent world leader with the expression *o-nakunari-ni narimashita* 'to pass away'. Though at the time I thought I was trying to conform to social conventions of using honorifics toward a respected person, I was surprised by the reaction of my colleague who laughed out loud and then, after composing herself, complimented me on my Japanese. It seems that she found humor in my use of honorifics either because it was unexpected coming from a *gaijin* or else was incorrect or inappropriate for the context. Either way, her reaction seemed to strengthen my position in the outside, despite efforts to the contrary.

Many of the interns in this study shared similar anecdotes. Susan, who was obsessed with learning new vocabulary words, explained that she would get frustrated when asking people to explain some obscure word she did not understand, only to be told that it was uncommon and she did not need to know it. *Gaijinization* occurs here as she tries to develop her language

proficiency but, due to her position outside the circle of native Japanese speakers who are using some technical term, she is unable to fully access the language. Mike, who actually spoke Japanese with extremely high proficiency, said he felt that whenever he tried to speak politely it sometimes caused confusion because it was unexpected. Frequently, interns try to use Japanese in ways that are not only grammatically correct but also sociopragmatically appropriate, yet the reactions of others results in *gaijinization*. This will be a reoccurring theme in this study, illustrating the feeling that the harder a *gaijin* tries to fit in, the more they actually stand out.

1.2.3. Agency, voice, and transgressing group boundaries

Just as people attempt to resist being ascribed to particular categories, or challenge, negotiate, and transform them through talk, they may also transgress them by stepping into categories to which they do not normally belong. For example, Rampton (1995, 1998) talks about 'language crossing', a practice through which speakers use another group's code to perform as a member of a group to which they do not belong, effectively transgressing what might be seen as an un-crossable boundary. Quist and Jørgensen (2007) tie the notion of 'crossing' to those of 'stylization' and 'double-voicing', discussing how various groups of people appropriate words that 'belong' to others in order to achieve a variety of rhetorical effects, noting that "transgressions are . . . open and observable *acts* performed with a purpose" (p. 386).

The *gaijin* interns in this study are often in positions where they apparently feel a need to behave and act 'Japanese' even though they are clearly not. Ethan, for example, tried to talk to me in Japanese out of fear that if he spoke English he would make others uncomfortable. He explained that "it's important to fit in" (although, as will be seen in Chapter 5, he often violated this ideal). There was a general desire among the all of the interns, with the possible exception of David, to speak and behave like a *nihonjin* in order gain acceptance with their co-workers. I

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experienced this myself, and even today find myself holding back occasionally out of fear that I might say something the way I assume a *gaijin* would. The interns are non-native speakers who do not have ownership over Japanese and this creates a perceived lack of agency as they try to conform to some set of ideological beliefs.

This is seen most clearly in the interns' use of honorific speech styles. Due to overly essentialist pedagogical approaches and general social ideologies (e.g., Cook, 2001; Ishida, 2007, 2009), honorifics are an aspect of the Japanese language where the interns are especially concerned about using language properly (Chapter 5). However, the opposite situation occurs when English code-switching emerges and the interns gain relatively more power than their co-workers (Chapter 6). Thus the use of codes, honorific speech styles or English code-switching, will prove to be an area where shifts between categories of *gaijin*, to which they do belong, and *nihonjin*, to which they do not belong, become particularly salient, and where they can be seen to switch between their own voices, when they have agency, and the voices of others, when their agency is relatively restricted (Ribeiro, 2006).

1.3. WHAT IS A *GAIJIN*?

I now turn to consider the central identity in this study: That of *gaijin*. What does the term denote? To whom does it apply? What ideologies does it entail? This section will consider these questions broadly through a discussion of the stereotypes that are perceived to exist in Japanese society. But first, a warning from Nishizaka (1999).

> When one uses categories like "East" and "West," "Japanese" and "foreigner" or whatever as the starting and the end points of analysis, as is usually in the case of "intercultural communication" studies, the result is not only to hinder "the human encounter," but to hamper the very "interculturality" of intercultural communication from being investigate in its own right (p. 236).

The data analysis in this study adopts this perspective which views interculturality and identity as constructed in discourse. Thus this section lays groundwork by describing macro-level ideologies which inform the context of this study but not the central object of investigation. It will then turn to the concept of *gaijin* from an interactional perspective.

1.3.1. A brief etymology

Although the term has been around for centuries, since the economic boom of the 1980's *gaijin* has emerged as an important concept in popular literature, media, entertainment, and business (De Mente, 1997; Huddleston, 1992; Kishi & Russell, 1996; Metraux, 2001; Miller, 1995a; Sieg, 1994). Taken literally, it refers to any non-Japanese national living in Japan. However, in colloquial usage it more commonly refers to Caucasian English-speakers from America or Europe (Curtis, 2011; Ishii, 2001). Descriptions of the word *gaijin* invariable point to its composition in Japanese orthography (Aldrich, 2009; Curtis, 2011; Gottlieb, 2005a; Huddleston, 1992; Ishii, 2001). *Gaijin* is composed of two characters, 外 and 人. In isolation, the characters follow Japanese pronunciations, respectively, *soto* 'outside' and *hito* 'person'. When compounded together, they take on pronunciations of Chinese origin and are thus read *gaijin* or 'outside person'. Many take this as a convenient definition of 'foreigner' (Fukuda, 2010; Kishi & Russell, 1996; Metraux, 2001; A. Suzuki, 2009).

It is often assumed that *gaijin* is a contracted form of *gaikokujin* (Curtis, 2011; Ishii, 2001; Perkins, 1991), the latter of which emphasizes the country of origin by inserting the character for 'country', 国 *kuni*, in between those for 'foreigner' and 'person'. Commentators invariably point out that *gaijin* is informal or even "brusque" (Aldrich, 2009, p. 299), in contrast to the less harsh *gaikokujin*. But while this description generally captures the intuition of most speakers of modern Japanese, in terms of etymology it is probably incorrect. The term *gaikokujin*

emerged just prior to World War II to distinguish people from countries outside the Empire of Japan from those within (such as Koreans and Filipinos) who were referred to as *naikokujin* 'people from inside countries' (Frédéric & Roth, 2002; Perkins, 1991). Following the war, *gaikokujin* was officially designated as the legal term for any non-Japanese national (Gottlieb, 2005b; *Jiyu Kokumin Sha*, 1993; cf. "*Kokuseki-hoo*," 1950).

Gaijin, on the other hand, can be traced back further, appearing as early as the 12th century in the well-known epic *Heike Monogatari* 'The Tale of the Heiki' where it references warriors from enemy clans within Japan. Those from a foreign country were instead called *ijin* 'different person' and *keto* 'barbarian' (Ishii, 2001; Murdoch, 2004; Takagi et al., 1959). Thus the term 'outsider' is more in line with the origins of *gaijin*, implying that the referent is 'not one of us', regardless of the country of origin. It then evolved to later become more specifically connected to Caucasian, European or American English speakers (Curtis, 2011). Of modern usage, Ishii (2001) explains:

> In terms of their denotative meaning, the two terms *gaijin* and *gaikokujin* may be used synonymously . . . and safely applied to all persons we do not possess Japanese citizenship, including Chinese and Korean residents in Japan. Connotatively and sociopsychologically, however, the *gaijin* in contemporary usage is to be differentiated from the *gaikokujin*; the former means those rare "*gaikokujin*, especially from Europe and America" (Nippon Daijiten Kankokai, 1987b, p. 969) (p. 151).

Given this association with specific ethnic and linguistic categories, *gaijin* is sometimes considered discriminatory language (Gottlieb, 2005b) and is generally avoided in official documents and journalism. It also occasionally appears with honorific forms such as *gaijin-san* 'Mr./Mrs. Foreigner' or *gaijin no kata* 'a foreign person'. Nevertheless, it is a high-frequency word that is familiar to any foreign resident in Japan, especially those who fit the stereotype.

1.3.2. Ideological representations of gaijin

Those who have discussed the ideologies attached to *gaijin* point out that they have little

to do with characterizing foreigners per se, but are better understood as a commentary on

Japanese ideologies of their own *nihonjin*[4] 'Japanese' identity (Armour, 2001; Fukuda, 2010;

Kitahara, 1989). For example, Cook (2006) explains that "the folk belief that no foreigners can

eat *natto* (fermented soybeans) because it is uniquely Japanese gives an explanation to the

generalization that foreigners cannot eat *natto*" (p. 122) and points out that such folk beliefs are a

manifestation of "an ideology that states that the Japanese are unique and different from the rest

of the world, in particular the western world" (p. 123). Likewise, Yoshino (1992) points out that

Japanese ideologies of foreigners are built around their perceptions of themselves, noting that

such perceptions emphasize "the 'non-logical', non-verbal and emotive mode of communication

of the Japanese as opposed to the logical, verbal and rational mode of Westerners" (Yoshino,

1992, p. 11). Another example is the phrase *hen na gaijin* 'strange foreigner', an almost

idiomatic expression that is applied to foreigners who try to behave according to Japanese social

conventions and are, therefore, strange. This can be seen both in data discussed by Nishizaka

(1999, p. 242), wherein a foreigner is labelled as a *hen na gaijin* for knowing more about

Japanese characters than her native Japanese conversational partner. So while *gaijin* is used to

define a particular group of foreigners, it simultaneously defines how the Japanese view their

own culture. In this way, the association of *gaijin* with Western cultures is really a commentary

on the extent to which Western cultures are believed to contrast with Japanese norms.

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[4] As a general rule, I will use the English term "Japanese" when referring objectively to the language, ethnicity, or culture of the people of Japan. However, I will use the Japanese term *nihonjin* when referring to sociocultural and psychological ideologies and identities which operate broadly in Japanese society. This is intended to both provide clarity in the terminology and also provide an explicit contrast with the identities surrounding *gaijin*.

Broad ideologies of *gaijin* can also be found in the many colorful definitions produced by authors, scholars, commentators, and media personalities. Literature targeting Western audiences often takes a cynical tone, such as De Mente (1997) who defines *gaijin* as "harry barbarians today" (p. 92) and argues that it is "indicative of the extreme ethnocentrism of the Japanese" (p. 93). This same commentator also describes the phrase *gaijin kusai* 'smelling like a foreigner' which is applied to Japanese who have lived abroad long enough to acquire Western-like traits (De Mente, 2004). Kondo (1990), a Japanese-American, claims that *gaijin* who speak Japanese well are treated as "repulsive and unnatural" (p. 11). Others find it amusing, such as Sieg (1994) who shares several humorous anecdotes from his time as an executive in Japan to illustrate that *gaijin* often provides an excuse for inappropriate behavior. A popular comic-book-turned-movie in Japan, *Daarin wa Gaikokujin [My Darling is a Foreigner]*, also provides an interesting window into the way *gaijin* are conceptualized by depicting an American protagonist who is overly enamored with things seen as being uniquely Japanese, such as the writing system, sushi, and tiny, miniscule details of social customs that are even unknown to most Japanese (O. Kubota, 2010).

The most notable scholarly attempts to investigate the ideologies invoked by *gaijin* are Curtis (2011) and Ishii (2001). Curtis' (2011) statistical analysis of speech patterns among Japanese communities in Australia finds that *gaijin* is used to label those who are white, tall, and do not speak Japanese and that it occurs frequently in topics comparing Japanese and non-Japanese persons. Ishii's (2001) investigation into Japanese folklore corroborates the notion that *gaijin* typically refers to those of different physical characteristics.

It is the presence of these ideologies in interaction that is of central importance to the present analysis of foreign interns in Japan. American and Japanese workers are no doubt aware

of these ideologies through the broad Discourses in which they participate and which pervade the

social environment, and they certainly encounter them in their daily routines. While this could

lead to discrimination and stereotyping, it may also be embraced to help facilitate interaction.

Thus, as Nishizaka (1995) emphasizes, it is necessary to consider whether or not participants

actually orient to them in local interaction, and if they do, to what end (cf. Zimmerman, 2007).

Studying how these ideologies and identities are talked into existence within the constraints of

situated workplace interaction is thus the central concern of the present endeavor.

1.3.3. *Gaijin* **identity in interaction**

As the discussion so far argues, the category of *gaijin* is so pervasive in the ideological

fabric of society that it is something of a looming, ever-present entity, even within local

communicative contexts. It stands to reason that local interaction is influenced by beliefs

surrounding the notion of *gaijin*. Anecdotally, at least, it seems that this is indeed the case. For

example, there is a term called *gaijin paawaa*[5] 'foreigner power' that circulates among foreigners

in Japan, even while it is not generally used—or even known—by most native speakers. It refers

to a self-perceived ability to 'act like a *gaijin'* in order to gain privileges or access otherwise

inaccessible resources. A web page with advice for exchange students preparing to go to Japan

gives the following entertaining description:

> When you go to Japan as a foreigner, you *will* get special treatment. This special
> treatment is good in some ways, and bad in others. As an exchange student you will have
> a more enjoyable time once you learn to control your newfound, 'gaijin powers'. . . .
> Some foreigners in Japan think they can get away with anything, just because they are
> foreigners. The trouble is, being a foreigner in Japan *will* allow you to get away with
> certain things. It is up to you, as an individual, to know when it is time to buckle down
> and learn to do things the 'Japanese way'. . . . Be aware however, gaijin power corrupts
> even the best of people. ("Being an exchange student," 2014)

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[5] The word '*paawaa'* is not a Japanese word, but rather the English word 'power' pronounced in the Japanese
phonetic system. However, the American interns who use this phrase invariably pronounce it this way, and so I write
it as '*paawaa'* here to reflect this.

Gaijin paawaa can thus become a local tool to accomplish interactional goals. I was once with a fellow *gaijin* friend at Narita Airport in Tokyo where we were scheduled to meet my sister. Because we missed the meeting time and could not find her, we used our best Japanese to an airport employee to page her, but were turned down due to airport regulations. So my friend commented that we should use our *gaijin paawaa*, and approached another employee using English. The employee relented and paged my sister. The point here is twofold. First, regardless of whether or not our ideological beliefs about *gaijin* accurately reflect social reality, they nevertheless shape linguistic choices and interactional strategies. Second, beliefs surrounding *gaijin*, in this that *gaijin* do not speak Japanese or understand Japanese rules and customs, can be leveraged in order to gain access to resources. In this sense, *gaijin* identities, like other identities, are, according to Nishizaka (1999), "social objects in the double sense: they are socially constituted and socially usable" (p. 247).

To the best of my knowledge, no studies have used direct observation to explicitly investigate how learners of Japanese tap into their own *gaijin* identities as a tool for local linguistic interactions. However, there are two threads of literature that provide a foundation from which to depart. The first thread uses surveys and interviews to investigate foreigners' beliefs regarding how their position as a *gaijin* influences their communicative interactions. The second thread uses naturally-occurring data to analyze the emergence of folk theories and the process of *gaijinization*. I will briefly review major studies in each of these threads.

1.3.3.1. Beliefs regarding gaijin *and interaction*

The first group of studies shows that learners believe *gaijin* to be relevant in interpersonal encounters. Armour (2000, 2001) draws from interviews with JFL students to investigate 'identity slippage', defined as "shifting from one's enculturated identity to displaying

characteristics of an acculturated identity which has been activated by the learning and subsequent 'use' of an additional language *in situ*" (2001, p. 2). For example, one learner talks about how observing the mannerisms of a *gaijin* celebrity on Japanese television made him realize the importance of embodying physical gestures and expressions as part of "being Japanese" (Armour, 2001), while another learner-turned-teacher consciously performed a *nihonjin* persona as a pedagogical strategy (Armour, 2000). While this does not demonstrate interactional consequences, it at least points to salient ideological differences of *gaijin* and *nihonjin* that are identifiable in patterns of behavior.

However, this is not to suggest that *gaijin* and *nihonjin* are ideologies are manifested consistently. Kinnear (2001) reports that students in Japan of mixed parentage experience difficulties managing "who they are", arguing against a *gaijin-nihonjin* dichotomy and pointing to a complex process of balancing language, self-identification, ideologies, cultural values, and relationships. Similarly, Kondo's (1990) ethnography of her experiences in Japan reveals wide variation between being accepted as a member of the community and feeling unable to overcome foreignness. So although *gaijin* identities and ideologies may influence interaction, there is no single way this occurs. Rather, it is a product of context, personality, language and ideology.

1.3.3.2. *Interactive co-construction of folk theories and ideologies of* gaijin

While these studies suggest the potential for *gaijin* identity to influence the local context, they do not demonstrate what this looks like. The earliest empirical study of *gaijin*-in-interaction is Iino's (1996) dissertation on *gaijinization*. As with the above mentioned Japanese host mother who laughed at a student's use of a formulaic phrase, he finds that host families frequently

modify language in ways that orient to the *gaijin* status of students, often unintentionally. For

example, consider a host father who offered beer to a student (Excerpt 1-2[6]).

Excerpt 1-2. Offering a drink (Iino, 1996, p. 200)

```
1   Host Father:        biiru nonde     ii    desu
                        beer  drink.TE good COP.MAS
                        'you may drink beer'

2   Host Brother:       zettai eigo    muke   no  nihongo  ya na
                        sure   English facing GEN Japanese PP PP
                        'I'm sure you're speaking Japanese for English (speakers)'
```

This sequence is significant because the host father's initial utterance to offer beer is

different than what might be expected if he was offering it to a native speaker (e.g., *biiru doozu*

'beer, please'), and this is explicitly noticed by the host brother. Regarding this, Iino (1996)

comments that the host family's presentation of Japanese is "'hyper-normalized' or

'*gaijinized*,' . . . so that it fits the 'correct' image of standard Japanese as it should be heard by

foreigners" (p. 201) or possibly other outsiders who are listening in (Blackledge & Creese, 2008).

In other words, the host family conforms to macro-level ideologies regarding *gaijin* and *nihonjin*.

Following Iino's work, others have also considered how *gaijin* emerges in interaction,

primarily through the co-construction of folk theories regarding the uniqueness of Japanese

culture (Cook, 2006; Fukuda, 2010, 2014; A. Suzuki, 2009). In the first of these, Cook (2006)

analyzes how cultural ideologies are challenged during dinnertime conversations between

exchange students and Japanese host families. For example, one host mother explains that

Japanese always drink *sake* 'rice wine' during springtime flower viewing festivals, but the

authenticity of this is challenged by a learner who does not think that the two activities go well

together. Also, the belief that only Japanese like to eat *natto* 'fermented soybeans' and foreigners

cannot tolerate it is reconsidered when an American student claims to enjoys it, although he is

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[6] I have modified Iino's (1996) transcription to conform to conventions used in this study.

also cast as a less-than-ideal *gaijin*. Both of these beliefs are challenged linguistically through the use of referent labels (e.g., *hen na gaijin*) and other resources such as hesitations and pragmatic particles. In a later study of the same data, Cook (2008b) also shows that identities are constructed by addressee honorifics.

A. Suzuki (2009) builds on Cook (2006) using CA to illustrate *gaijinization* in an conversation about blood types. Japanese speakers collectively build the folk theory that blood type is a piece of information with which only Japanese are concerned, but are challenged by an American student who claims she does, in fact, know her blood type. However, the challenge is not taken up Japanese participant who strengthen their orientation to *gaijin* by using code-switching to the word 'blood type' in English, despite the fact that everyone had been using the Japanese word *ketsueki* up to that point. These studies illustrate the interactive ways in which ideologies of '*gaijin* vs *nihonjin*' are constructed and deconstructed on a moment-to-moment basis. As Suzuki argues, "ethnicity is not concrete or stable, but rather negotiable and . . . cannot be a priori presupposed to be constantly relevant to an individual or a group of people" (2008, p. 162). Other studies also highlight the impermanence of *gaijin* identities in interactional contexts (Cook, 2008b; Fukuda, 2010; Greer, 2010; Iino, 1999; Morita, 2004).

So while considerations of *gaijin* ideologies in the local context are few, they provide important insights into the nature of this identity. Those which rely on interviews show that *gaijin* is a multi-faceted structure that is ever present in the concerns of language learners (Armour, 2000, 2001; Kinnear, 2001). Those which explore data from natural interaction conclude that *gaijin* is made relevant or irrelevant fluidly throughout the course of interaction via a variety of linguistic resources and strategies (Cook, 2006, 2008b; Iino, 1996; A. Suzuki, 2008, 2009). However, there are yet unanswered questions, such as what *gaijin* actually *do* with their

linguistically-constructed identities. The present work attempts an answer by considering *gaijin* not only as an interactionally constructed identity, but also as a socially useable tool. This will further understanding of the place of *gaijin* in society generally and workplaces specifically by refining it as an ideological structure and an interactional device.

1.4. TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF *GAIJIN* INTERNS IN JAPAN

In short, this study investigates discursive representations of identity as a resource for managing intercultural interaction between American interns and their Japanese co-workers in a workplace setting. Using a social constructionist perspective of identity, an indexical understanding of the linguistic resources which construct it, and an Interactional Sociolinguistics approach to the data, I explore the resources through which interns manage their *gaijin* position for the purposes of facilitating local interaction. This view of language and identity is conducive to an exploration of intercultural communication as it allows us to see how cross-culturally salient macro-level structures, ideologies, and stereotypes are manifest in local discursive patterns and how they help or hinder meaning making and interpretation.

This dissertation will proceed as follows. A literature review in Chapter 2 will highlight important studies in intercultural communication, identity, and the workplace and position this study relative to them. Chapter 3 will then lay out the specifics of the study design, data collection, analysis, and also introduce the participants. The following analysis will then be concerned with three particular sets of linguistic resources that are used to construct identities. Chapter 4 looks at reference terms, specifically names and labels. Typical patterns in how interns and their co-workers are addressed show how interns are constructed as *gaijin* by 'default' and then how they use this position for various interactional purposes. Chapter 5 will focus on honorifics and formulaic phrases tied to beliefs of politeness and appropriateness in the minds of

the *gaijin* interns. Through the use of such phrases, the interns attempt to blend in with others in the workplace, though often with the result of standing out even more. Finally, Chapter 6 will explore the use of bits of English, particularly as it positions *gaijin* as 'novices', 'experts' and foregrounds *gaijin* identities in order to invoke *gaijin paawaa*. Chapter 7 will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for understanding intercultural communication in the workplace and how identity helps to achieve successful communication across linguistic and cultural divides.

CHAPTER 2

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND IDENTITY IN THE WORKPLACE

I now pivot from discussing identity as a discursive construct to the idea of identity as a communicative resource for intercultural communication in the international workplace. This chapter will survey this literature in four particular areas. First, I examine the notion of 'commodification' of language and identity in the modern 'new work order' (Farrell, 2001; Heller, 2003) and describe its relevance for intercultural communication. Second, I zoom out to consider several general sociolinguistic theories of intercultural communication. Next, I review studies exploring how identities are foregrounded or suppressed in order to facilitate intercultural workplace communication. Finally, I conclude with a review of studies that represent sociolinguistic perspectives on American-Japanese workplace interaction specifically.

2.1. COMMODIFICATION OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Identities are assets with social value as is the language that constructs them. This is emphasized by work on the multilingual workplace, which also discusses the 'new work order' and 'fast capitalism' (Gunnarsson, 2010, 2012, 2013; Heller, 2003, 2007, 2010; C. Roberts, 2007, 2010). The 'new work order' refers to language and social change brought about by economic shifts toward technologies that focus on communication and the assembly of words rather than, say, traditional forms of manufacturing (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996). Likewise, 'fast capitalism' highlights the competitive need for rapid language production, as in advertising and corporate branding[7] (Agger, 2004; Gee & Lankshear, 1995). Iedema and Scheeres (2003) describe a recent shift "from doing to talking work" (p. 335) wherein language is more than a

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[7] Indeed, to see the importance of words in the new economy, one need look no further than social movements fueled by social media which itself is simply a forum for exchanging words (Shirky, 2011).

mode for transmitting messages, but an *action* that *accomplishes* work. Moreover, workers must increasingly deal with interpersonal and communicative issues in a "textualised workplace" to manage "what they do and who they are" and "construct themselves in new ways and . . . set themselves apart from their peers" (p. 335). In fact, some describe a "*word*force" and refer to the "new *word* order" (e.g., Heller, 2003).

The demand for competency in intercultural communication is, therefore, higher than ever as globalization brings the new work order into a context where intercultural contact is becoming the norm (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen, 2002; Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2007, 2010; Tange & Lauring, 2009). The business community is increasingly emphasizing the value of foreign language in the new economy (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, & Welch, 1999; Piekkari et al., 2005; Snow et al., 1996; Vaara et al., 2005; Webb et al., 1999; Welch, Welch, & Piekkari, 2005). This makes language a commodity; an asset which provides access to valuable resources (Heller, 2010). Heller (2003), for example, discusses an increased need for French-English bilingual abilities in a Canadian city due to a shift in economic emphasis to tourism and communication sectors over manufacturing. This gives real value to locals who possess such skills, as well as a motivation and means for maintaining their identity with the community, though it also contributes to tensions between political motives (i.e., maintaining a shared community identity) and economic ones (i.e., the production of genuine cultural products). As a result, language and identity become *commodified* in that they are resources used for political, economic, and social purposes.

This is especially true in intercultural settings where sociocultural identities are more salient. For example, many of the interns in this study shared stories about how their identity as an English speaker was a benefit, even though the reality of being a non-Japanese speaker was a

hindrance. Although novices in terms of language and cultural background, which might

contribute to marginalization, because they have access to a valuable commodity—English—

they gain some advantages[8]. Thus their identity is a *gaijin* is also a commodity with market value.

To illustrate with a personal anecdote, I recall reading the annual report for a company I worked

for in Japan. A full year after completing my own internship, I stumbled across my name under

the heading "Contributions to Society." The blurb boasted the company's educational and

environmental outreach programs, using me as one highlight of their international engagement

(Daifuku, 2005). This publication was a major, corporate-level pamphlet with wide distribution,

despite the fact that I had worked at a small branch location and did not even realize that I was

known by personnel in headquarters. Though brief, the article was clearly intended to construct a

particular image of involvement with the international community. In that sense, my identity as a

gaijin returned real economic value (in terms of building a corporate image) to the company.

2.2. FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

But what does all of this have to do with intercultural communication? The new work

order is constantly increasing intercultural contact (Gunnarsson, 2012; Heller, 2010), and

intercultural communication fundamentally involves the negotiation and management of

identities as communicative resources. It follows that the commodification of identities as

valuable social capital exerts an important influence on the way people express those identities in

communicative encounters, as identities become entangled with issues of economics and politics.

To develop this idea, it is helpful to consider more general sociolinguistic models of

intercultural communication. The first of these, which also represents one of the earliest and

most influential sociolinguistic perspectives on identity in intercultural communication, is the so-

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[8] I will look at this issue in close detail in Chapter 6.

called 'crosstalk model' put forth by John Gumperz and his colleagues (Gumperz, Jupp, & Roberts, 1979). After explaining this model, I will mention three other concepts that will be convenient for explaining some phenomenon the data of the present study: Issues in cross-cultural variation in discourse and pragmatics as discussed by Clyne (1996) and C. Roberts, Davies, and Jupp (1992), Spencer-Oatey's notion of 'rapport management' (Spencer-Oatey, 2000a), and the achievement of intercultural understanding discussed in Bührig and ten Thije (2006).

2.2.1. Crosstalk

The term 'crosstalk' comes from a video and training manual designed by John Gumperz and his colleagues who investigated why different ethnic groups made negative judgments about each other. Their goal was to learn how to overcome misunderstanding in intercultural interaction (Gumperz, Jupp, & Roberts, 1979, 1980). This project focused on speakers of British, American, and Indian English, leading to the development of Interactional Sociolinguistics as a framework for analyzing contextualization in communication (Gumperz, 1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1999). The central finding is that trouble in intercultural communication is often not a product of impolite behavior *per se*, but of differences in conversational style, strategies, and other 'contextualization cues' which have a variable interpretation in different sociocultural contexts.

For example, Gumperz (1982a, p. 148) discusses an Indian student who complained that American English speakers constantly interrupted him. An analysis of one recorded exchange revealed that when the student tried to contribute a substantial comment, he did so by placing stress on markers of the background information and then, before he could present new information, he was cut off by an American interlocutor. It turns out that prosodic patterns of Indian English put increased emphasis on preparatory and background statements, but reduce

stress when presenting main points, while in American English, this pattern is reversed. So when the Indian student stressed background information in preparation to a more substantial comment, this inadvertently signaled to the American students that he had made his central point and was finished. The resulting interruption is then blamed on Americans' rude cultural habits, and this contributes to the stereotyping of cultural differences.

This model has inspired a vast literature seeking to explain trouble in intercultural settings. Among these, Chick (1996) discusses a South African English-speaking teacher who placed a rise-fall pitch movement on a word to indicate the end of an utterance, but this was understood by a Zulu student to indicate the beginning of a comment. As a result, the student did not take up the next turn and the teacher consequently assumed the student did not know the answer. Similarly, Nakane (2006) shows that silence by Japanese seminar participants, which is an index of respect and thus a face-saving strategy, is incorrectly interpreted as a face *threat* by Australian lecturers and contributes to a belief that the students are incompetent because they cannot answer simple questions. These and many other studies make the point that differences in the interpretation of contextualization cues are frequently responsible for breakdowns in intercultural communication.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) summarize three areas for possible trouble:

    (1) Different cultural assumptions about appropriate behavior within a situation

    (2) Different ways of structuring information in a conversation

    (3) Different linguistic conventions (e.g., contextualization cues)

These three perspectives provide a foundation for the present study by linking macro-level ideologies and assumptions about behavior to micro-level interaction. Item (1) suggests that macro-level assumptions vary, and items (2) and (3) highlight how these assumptions are

brought about in local conversation. Thus, by analyzing the use of linguistic indexes and contextualization cues, we are able to shed light on the ways in which large identities become relevant as tools in local interaction. Given the particularly strong link between macro-level ideologies of *gaijin* and interactions between American interns and their Japanese co-workers, the context of the present study is a rich source for exploring this issue.

2.2.2. Cross-cultural variation in speech acts and pragmatics

A distinct but complementary area examines cross-cultural variation in speech acts and pragmatics. This line helps to understand how identity emerges in intercultural interaction by describing cultural variation in the organization of speech acts (e.g., complimenting, apologizing, etc.) and other discourse structures (e.g., narratives). Consistent with the crosstalk model, these differences are likely sources for communicative breakdowns (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Clyne, 1996; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Scollon, Scollon, & Jones, 2011; Stadler, 2012).

Kerekes (2007), for example, analyzed speech acts in job interviews and concluded that successful candidates use devices which co-construct an act and, consequently, establish co-membership with the interviewer. However, this requires a high level of proficiency, which disadvantages cultural outsiders and may even lead to discrimination in job hiring (cf. C. Roberts, Davies, & Jupp, 1992). C. Roberts (2009) gives an example of a Filipino job candidate who uses an inductive narrative structure, beginning with background information and delaying the climax to the end. Although this style is common among Filipino speakers, it is different than Westerners who typically begin with a summary of the main argument. Because the Filipino narrative does not match the job interviewer's expectations, the interviewer interrupts with additional prompts, disrupting the narrative and positioning the worker as an incompetent outsider. The result is a failed interview, which has tangible consequences for the candidate.

The main thrust of this line of research is to highlight that it is not necessarily cultural differences or low language proficiency that causes problems. Instead, differences in the structure of speech acts and discourse organizations lead to misinterpretations of the intended message. This is inseparably related to the ways differences in indexical reference and contextualization cues also causes misunderstandings. Because speakers are generally not consciously aware of these aspects of communication, they might instead blame intercultural trouble on broad ideologies and stereotypes of cultural differences (Gumperz, 1982a). In this way, identities may emerge as a salient resource for dealing with these challenges.

2.2.3. Rapport management

Another framework for intercultural interaction is what Spencer-Oatey calls "rapport management" (2000b). She summarizes this perspective with three assumptions: 1) language influences interpersonal relations, 2) people try to manage interpersonal relationships discursively, and 3) different cultures have different conventions for appropriate behavior (Spencer-Oatey, 2000a). Extending work on politeness by Brown and Levinson (1978), she proposes that people deal with disharmony in communication using 'face management', which involves claims to positive social value and expected entitlements. That is, people are concerned with both managing how they are valued personally and with how fairly they are treated based on societal expectations and this is evident in their communicative patterns. For example, Spencer-Oatey (2000a) talks about a British teacher who took offense at being asked "Where are you going?" by a Chinese student because she felt it was too personal. As it turns out, in Chinese contexts the question is a greeting and does not require a specific answer in response.

This and other examples make the point that it is within the illocutionary force of an utterance that intercultural communication breaks down. Generally, problems with syntax and

semantics do not contribute to miscommunications to the extent that problems with pragmatics do. Thus culture is an "explanatory variable" as it predicts variation in communicative patterns (Bond, Žegarac, & Spencer-Oatey, 2000). This framework is consistent with other perspectives, such as the crosstalk model, and the predictions are similar: communication in intercultural settings is best understood by considering the illocutionary domain and how cultural conventions influence the interpretation of locally occasioned linguistic indexes.

2.2.4. Understanding in intercultural communication

Noticing that most of the intercultural communication literature has focused on explaining and overcoming problems, Bührig and ten Thije (2006) criticize the tacit message that intercultural communication is primarily comprised of misunderstandings and trouble (cf. Piller, 2011). Studies in their edited volume show merit in studying how mutual understanding is achieved, as opposed to why it breaks down. For example, Shi-xu (2006) shows that presentations of a "cultural Other" is an effective tool for resisting cultural domination and Bubel (2006) discusses how co-constructing cultural information results help to avoid misunderstandings. By engaging with one another, even while drawing boundaries between people, participants in interaction are able to test theories and correct misconceptions. Moreover, they are also able to *use* identities as a tool to avoid trouble, and not simply suppress and/or ignore them. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue in their work on Sociocultural Linguistics, cultural beliefs and values themselves can be used as resources for social interaction. It follows that differences in sociocultural backgrounds need not always lead to misunderstanding but can in fact be leveraged for purposes of facilitating successful outcomes as well.

This represents a particular theme in my data as well. While there is certainly trouble, more often than not interns use their *gaijin* status as a means of gaining access to resources, as

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suggested, say, by the concept of *gaijin paawaa*. By foregrounding ideologically-loaded

stereotypes, a large amount of cultural information can be transmitted in ways that encourage

understanding. Nevertheless, studies specifically concerned with successful interactions remain

relatively rare in comparison to those that focus on trouble spots. As such , in this study, I hope

to show that identity can be a tool for overcoming problems and contribute to the realization of

positive interactions and good work rapport.

I conclude this discussion with a brief note concerning 'successful' and 'unsuccessful'

communicative encounters. Gumperz (1982a) describes 'noncommunication' as a situation in

which no message is transmitted and 'miscommunication' as one wherein the message received

was not the intended message. This provides some basis for evaluating the successfulness of an

interaction as follows: 1) whether or not the intended message was received properly and 2)

whether or not the message was interpreted similarly by all participants. To these, I will add a

third criterion for this study: Whether or not the intended *action* was accomplished.

2.3. FOREGROUNDING AND SUPPRESSING IDENTITIES

A number of studies have investigated intercultural communication in the workplace

using these perspectives. Workplaces involve a large variety of activities in which language and

communication is central, including participating in meetings (Murayama, 2012; Saft, 2004,

2010; Svennevig, 2012; H. Yamada, 1992), requesting help from others (Koester, 2006; Li, 2000;

Vine, 2004), negotiating transactions (Ehlich & Wagner, 1995; Firth, 1994), and building

congenial working relations (Higgins, 2007b, 2009b; Holmes, 2006a; Holmes & Marra, 2002a;

Spencer-Oatey, 2000a; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003). As sociolinguistic perspectives on

intercultural communication suggest, the form and structure of these activities is influenced by

sociocultural knowledge which may or may not be shared between interlocutors.

To illustrate, work from New Zealand shows that Maoris use humor, group and ethnic labels, narratives, and assessments to orient to in-group/out-group differences with Pakeha (the white majority) while engaging in work-related tasks (Holmes, 2005, 2006b; Holmes & Marra, 2002b; Holmes, Marra, & Schnurr, 2008; Marra, 2012; Marra & Holmes, 2007, 2008). In some cases the result is enhanced social relationships, creativity, and job performance, while in others, it is marginalization, misunderstanding, and interpersonal tension. Other data from meetings between British and Chinese employees reveal a number of different cultural expectations, such as when one British manager failed to express gratitude for the Chinese company's patronage, focusing instead on the benefits of British-Chinese relationships, which the Chinese interpreted as a threat to their equal social positioning (Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003, 2008).

In managing these settings, workers can respond by foregrounding some identities and suppressing others. In the New Zealand examples, Maori participants frequently highlight their minority, but common, ethnicity as a means of strengthening their community around shared experiences[9]. In the British and Chinese examples, stereotypes were reinforced due to the misinterpretation of culturally-defined activities. Yet in other settings, foreign workers may downplay their "outsider" status in order to focus on effectively accomplishing work. This is suggested by Schnurr and Zayts (2012) who show that British managers in China adjust their native leadership styles in order to more effectively relate with subordinates and assimilate to local practices. Thus multilingual interactions in the workplace involve a complex layering of identities and positions as people are faced with the task of accepting or rejecting the labels, identities, and social stereotypes that may be applied to them.

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[9] Although in other situations Pakeha and Maori participants stylize language in ways that allow for them to diminish group boundaries by creating a shared space for interlocutors from both backgrounds (de Bres et al., 2010).

The choice to foreground or suppress an identity is a particular concern for the *gaijin* interns in this study. The idea of *gaijin paawaa* 'foreigner power' captures situations in which it is advantageous to exaggerate beliefs regarding sociocultural behavior. However, the interns just as frequently feel a need to overcome their *gaijin* status. Joe told a story about requesting permission from his superior to allow a friend to visit the company. Although he was given permission, when his friend arrived at the company they discovered that his access would be restricted to the lobby area. In recounting the experience, he commented that he "assumed too much, like an American" and that had approached his superiors in a more "Japanese-like manner," he would not have run into trouble. This challenges claims that *gaijin paawaa* is always effective, instead showing that there are times when suppressing *gaijin* is more likely to yield access to resources than foregrounding it. Balancing this is a common concern for all of the interns.

2.4. DISCOURSE IN AMERICAN-JAPANESE WORKPLACE INTERACTION

I conclude this discussion of intercultural communication with a look at some studies that explore contact between American and Japanese workers. Business scholars have long been interested in the U.S.-Japan relationship (Alston & Takei, 2005; Bucknall, 2006; Kumazawa, 1996; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1985). However, such studies frequently draw from ideological notions of cultural differences, sometimes encouraging an essentialist view of Western (*gaijin*) versus Japanese (*nihonjin*). Much has been said about American workers preferring clearly delineated agendas, individual initiative, and directly resolving differences which makes Japanese view them as aggressive and rude, and of a Japanese preference for pre-planning and indirectness which makes them seem evasive and indecisive (e.g., Alston & Takei, 2005; Yoshimura & Anderson, 1997). The problem is these singular views of American and Japanese

culture try to view cultural differences as an explanation for behavior, rather than something that

is *brought about* for local purposes.

That said, the importance of interactional context, rather than so-called 'cultural

differences' was implied early on by business communication scholars such as Howard and

Teramoto (1981):

> Among the many differences in between Japanese and Western management, that which really matters is not cultural so much as "meta-cultural". The difference lies not in social practices as such (though of course there are differences there too), but rather in the ability to understand the functions of social practices. The Japanese, through their culture, understand how decisions are made. Westerners do not. (p. 19)

Consider, for example, the practice of *nemawashi* 'consensus building[10]', a semi-formal process

that involves circulating individually to stake holders in a project to gain implicit consent prior to

an official meeting (Asakura, 1982; Saito, 1982). This practice has been blamed for tension in

meetings as Americans view meetings as a primary forum for discussing and modifying

decisions, when for the Japanese this has already been done and the meeting is only to confirm

pre-determined plans (Goldman, 1992). Miller (1994) further shows that *nemawashi* encourages

pragmatic failures. In her study, when an American worker called a meeting, his Japanese co-

workers hesitated. He interpreted this as indecisiveness about the content of the business matter,

when they were really indicating they did not have time to carry out *nemawashi* protocols.

A later example from Miller (2008) involves the specific hesitation marker *kangaete*

okimashoo 'let's think about it'. Though a clear refusal in a Japanese sociocultural model, in one

case it was interpreted literally by an American worker who was confused later when he learned

his proposal has already been rejected. The author concludes, "Although the same structure for

giving a negative assessment is found in English and in Japanese, speakers of one language may

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[10] Literally, *nemawashi* translates to 'going around the roots' and is a reference to preparing a tree for transplantation.

not always recognize the prefaces and hesitation markers of the other language" (Miller, 2008, p. 243). Studies such as this suggest Americans and Japanese are not as inherently behaviorally or psychologically different as some have suggested (Alston & Takei, 2005; De Mente, 1997, 2006; Sieg, 1994). Instead, cultural differences are perceived as a result of variation in the situated interpretation of linguistic indexes rather than differences due to biological or psychological characteristics related to ethnic background. This is not to say that sociocultural background does not matter, but that perception of differences may be strengthened or exaggerated by the ways that language cues are interpreted.

Another study by H. Yamada (1992) makes use of the crosstalk model to compare topic management strategies between Americans and Japanese meetings. She claims Americans follow a 'within-group independence' model, meaning that interlocutors balance competing expectations for individual contributions and group unity. Japanese, on the other hand, follow 'nonconfrontation' or rhetorical strategies that balance a preference for silence as an indicator of "the sharedness of the emotional experience in interaction" (p. 42) and the need for talk as a medium of communication. These different goals lead to differences in the management of topic shifts through variation in things such as backchannels and hesitation markers.

While the studies by Miller (1988, 1994, 1995b, 2008) and H. Yamada (1992, 1997) represent much of the sociolinguistic work on American-Japanese intercultural workplace interaction, there are at least three other studies on Japanese intra-cultural workplaces worth mentioning. A dissertation by Murayama (2012) uses Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine turn allocation in Japanese meetings to show that small bits of formulaic messages in Japanese such as *ijoo desu* 'that's all' orient strongly to institutional expectations. Saft (2004, 2009, 2010) also uses CA to exploring meetings, in his case among university faculty members, to explore

the organization of conflict, arguments, and concessions[11]. Though this work stresses the local organization of disagreements, the author notes the importance of larger cultural models for explaining differences in this organization across contexts. For example, meetings preceded by more *nemawashi* activities express different turn-taking formats than others (Saft, 2004). Finally, Yotsukura (2003) examines telephone conversations among Japanese professionals, highlighting the importance of honorifics and sentence-final particles for establishing *uchi*/*soto* positions between caller and receiver.

In short, our knowledge of Japanese workplace discourse comes from three areas of inquiry: studies on exclusively Japanese workplaces (Murayama, 2012; Saft, 2009, 2010; Yotsukura, 2003), cross-cultural comparative studies (H. Yamada, 1992, 1997), and studies on face-to-face intercultural encounters (Miller, 1988, 1994, 1995b, 2008; Thompson, 2006). Though these studies highlight the importance of sociocultural and institutional knowledge in the creation, transmission, and interpretation of meaning, none of them have explicitly focused on the notion of identity as a central communicative tool. Moreover, most have been limited to the relatively structured discourses of meetings and phone conversations. The present study thus contributes to our understanding of the Japanese workplace by taking an in-depth look into the previously unstudied context of American student interns with a focus on day-to-day routines which occupy a more significant portion of workers' time than do meetings and phone calls. It also contributes by focusing on identity work, which is lacking in sociolinguistic studies of Japanese workplaces.

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[11] In Saft's data, there is an American faculty member present, technically making these intercultural meetings. However, he is concerned with describing the architecture of Japanese workplace discourse, does not often detail the impact of sociocultural variation, and there is generally no orientation to the American's *gaijin* status in the data he reports. As such, I have grouped this with other intra-cultural studies.

2.5. CONCLUSION: A BRIEF NOTE ON THE WORKPLACE CONTEXT

By now it should be abundantly clear that a recurring theme in sociolinguistic studies of identity and intercultural communication is the importance of context and local framing processes. I therefore conclude this chapter with one final discussion of the specific context of the international workplace and then relate this to the setting in the present study.

Gunnarsson (2009) proposes a model to capture the complex relationship between professional discourse and the surrounding environment. In her model, local communicative events are situated within several organizational layers: 1) the goals of a working group or team 2) expectations associated with the institutional structure, and 3) the macro-level social environment. Professional talk pulls from information and assumptions that resides in any or all of these layers. The author also identifies four frameworks which influence professional discourse: technical-economic, legal-political, sociocultural, and linguistic. That is, any instance of talk might additionally be constrained by technology, economic change, legal regulations, ethical codes, cultural values, language policies, linguistic communities, and so on. Gunnarsson (2012, 2013) then extends this to multilingual workplaces, introducing even more complexity. Cultural differences may lead to a situation wherein two people in the same local space operate under a different set of assumptions, which further constrains the making and interpreting of meaning in interpersonal talk.

The international internships that are the focus of this study introduce even further complexity to the already multifaceted multicultural workplace environment. International interns are faced with the double challenge of adjusting to a new workplace and an unfamiliar cultural environment (Bousquet, 2010; Bush & Bush, 1999; Chapel, 1998; Churton & Tanaka, 2008; Paulsell, 1991). Interns generally are also positioned as learners, rather than contributors.

Indeed, in my own internship I was frequently referred to as 'student'. However, as some anecdotes above have pointed out, *gaijin* interns may also enjoy some privileges. They are seen as English experts, and English is a skill often emphasized in Japanese companies (Koike & Tanaka, 1995; LoCastro, 1996; Seargeant, 2011). Thus these internships occur in an interesting environment where identity-related issues of insider-outsider, teacher-student and senior-junior all dynamically intersect in a multidimensional context.

Interns must, therefore, deal with interactions on multiple levels. There are local concerns in the interaction at hand, such as how speaking turns are allocated and how discourse patterns are structured. There is also the context of the team or workgroup, and thus interactions generally have some overriding work-related purpose, such as coordinating collaborative efforts or asking for help on a project. These work goals are in turn situated within a larger institutional environment which sets rules for corporate behavior, provides guidelines for work-related activities, and establishes an overall atmosphere in which employees interact. Finally, this is all set within a particular sociocultural framework, which entails economic, legal, and cultural constraints. Therefore, linguistic resources may contextualize information at any of these levels, and all of it becomes a potential resource for managing intercultural communication.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS OF INQUIRY

To investigate sociocultural identity as a resource in intercultural communication, I collected audio recordings from six student interns employed in Japanese companies. This study is a discourse-centered analysis of interactions between those interns and their Japanese co-workers[12]. Interpreting language as indexical of social information, I explore the data looking for contextualization cues in an attempt to link macro-level representations and ideologies of various identity-related structures with micro-level meaning making practices in localized, situated interaction. Studies such as Cook's (2008b) analysis of home-stay settings, have employed a similar perspective to investigate interactions between American JFL students and native speakers of Japanese, and I follow a similar pattern here, specifically using the analytical framework of Interactional Sociolinguistics.

This study seeks primarily to view interactions from the emic perspective of the interns and accomplishes this through detailed observation of the interns. The data are cross-sectional, taken from six interns in different companies, though they are not longitudinal as it was only possible to obtain permission to observe each intern over a period of 1 or 2 days[13]. Observations generated recorded interactions between interns and their co-workers as the primary database. Furthermore, in keeping with the ethnographic spirit of this study, I also collected information from interviews during and after the observations, meta-comments made by interns during

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[12] For simplicity, I will often refer to the native Japanese speakers in this study as the 'co-workers'. This should be understood to refer to any of the Japanese employees with whom the interns interact and not just members of their immediate workgroup. When the specific relationship between the intern and a give co-worker is relevant for understanding an interaction, this will be noted explicitly in the analytical narrative.

[13] Japanese companies are somewhat notorious for being closed to outside observation, and obtaining intimate access often requires years of networking and trust-building (Durlabhji & Marks, 1993; Yoshimura & Anderson, 1997). As in other workplaces, these restrictions are justified by the possible exposure of sensitive proprietary information (Mullany, 2007).

recorded observations, and reference my own experience as a *gaijin* in a Japanese company. But while these data are not well-suited to track, for example, the development of learners' interactional competence in real-world settings, they provide a nice comparative look at the various strategies different people use to manage similar identities and have much to contribute in that area. Also, to my knowledge this is the first study to use sociolinguistic data to investigate *gaijin* interns in Japanese companies and in this sense it represents a unique contribution to work on professional intercultural relationships between the U.S. and Japan; a relationship which is growing in importance in the era of globalization.

3.1. STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

The setting of this study is American interns in Japanese companies, which is a rich setting for obtaining discourse data where issues of social identity and intercultural communication are salient. It is also a useful context for viewing the real-world experiences of language learners, particularly as they deal with the important task of managing self-presentation and positions relative to other individuals and groups. Audio recordings, interview data, and field notes form the primary database. Although the number of interns who participated is small (n=6), the observations produced a substantial 50 hours of total recordings.

The data were collected in two rounds during the summers of 2012 and 2013, during which I took an ethnographic approach by shadowing the interns as they managed their daily work routines. Observations generally began in the morning when the intern arrived at work and continued until the end of the work day, and I spend one or two days with each intern. The length of the visits, and the areas within the office space where I was allowed to conduct observations, was determined by the various companies (see 3.1.2 below for more details). On two occasions, I was also able to continue observations after work, in one case when an intern (Joe) met with

other co-workers for a social gathering and in another case for a cultural presentation an intern (Susan) gave to members of the local community.

3.1.1.   The Setting: Internships in Industry and Japan

Internships are an increasingly important fixture in the business world and are strongly encouraged by many major companies. Though not required for obtaining employment, they greatly increase a candidate's chances of success and are associated with higher starting wages (L. Berger, 2012; K. Roberts, 2012). Given increases in globalization and workforce mobility, internships abroad are especially increasing in popularity (Adler & Loughrin-Sacco, 2003; Chalou & Gliozzo, 2011). Students who complete an international internship and develop proficiency in a foreign language are valuable commodities in business and are actively recruited (Bush & Bush, 1999; Webb et al., 1999). Additionally, some scholars credit international internships with helping students become more marketable by developing cross-cultural awareness (Mineault, 2014; Roose, 2001).

Ostensibly, internships exist for the purpose of helping students gain real-world work experience not available in traditional educational settings (Bush & Bush, 1999; K. Roberts, 2012). There are at least two reasons why companies host interns. First, it gives an opportunity to essentially audition new employees without being committed to a long-term contract (L. Berger, 2012). Second, it helps them build recruiting networks with universities and gain access to more potential employees. However, it is also a common notion that interns occupy the lowest hierarchical rung, leading to tongue-in-cheek depictions of interns only being useful for serving coffee and making photo copies, though such mistreatment is accepted by interns who see it as a necessary cost of long-term success (L. Berger, 2012; Schwartz, 2013).

Although internships have existed in the United States and other Western economies for over a century, they have only become a widely accepted arrangement in Japan since about 1990. As the idea of internships gained momentum in Japan during a time that coincides with increased global focus, the programs that have led the push for internships are also oriented toward work experience abroad (T. Kato, 2005). Many of the internships in Japan take place in large, international companies, and involve an element of cultural exchange. In fact, the interns in this study entered Japan through a government-sponsored cultural activities program, not on a student or worker visa. Some were also asked to teach English to other employees, and one intern that I observed gave monthly cultural presentations for the local community at the city hall building. All of the interns were actively encouraged by their host companies to participate in corporate and community social events. So while cooperative education between industry and academics is a goal of these programs, the cultural exchange aspect of them is also heavily emphasized.

The internship program which provided the participants for this study is a long-running program administered by a large, private university in the Western United States. The program has been in operation for roughly 25 years, though due to recent economic downturns in Japan the number of regularly participating companies has declined from some 20 companies when the program began to just four or five now. Students apply to the program through a competitive process and the resumes of successful applicants are provided to participating companies who select the student they wish to host each year. Applicants are accepted from all fields of study and potential interns are evaluated based primarily on academic achievement, Japanese ability, and how well their present skill set meshes with the needs of each company. Some companies may decline participation in a given year if there are no students with their desired skill sets. The

companies hosting interns are generally engineering and technology firms, banks, and newspaper publication offices. As such, most interns who successfully enroll in the program are pursuing degrees in finance, business, engineering, computer science, or Japanese.

The students receive a monthly stipend from the companies though they must provide for their own airfare, travel, and other expenses. Most stay in company-owned dormitories or other company-provided arrangements. In a few cases, the interns are housed through a home-stay program with local families. Participating companies are located throughout the country and most interns do not live close enough to contact each other, though some occasionally arrange group activities on the weekends. As a school-sponsored activity, the students also receive six academic credits for participating. These credits are granted under a generic label: 3 credits for international studies and 3 for language studies[14]. The courses count toward degree requirements for those majoring in Japanese or general electives for those in other majors[15]. These credits are graded and so they must pay tuition costs and complete several requirements, including a reading list of Japanese materials, an oral presentation to the company, a written report to the university, and several hours of community service while in Japan. Additionally, in the semester prior to the internship, all of the interns participated in a 15-week course on Japanese business language.

There are no pre-requisites for participation in the internship program, and even beginning learners may join. However, in practice, nearly all of the students who actually enroll have completed more than this and many have also had prior experience living in Japan. As such, the proficiency level of the students tends to be quite high. Lower proficiency students wishing to gain in-country experience tend to be directed to the university's study abroad programs

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[14] The course catalog numbers are International and Area Studies 201R and Japanese 399R, entitled "Cultural Survey" and "Academic Internship" respectively.

[15] Most participants are not Japanese majors, but instead are majoring in a field specific to the industry in which they do the internship, usually engineering, business administration, or finance.

instead. Though for a small handful of interns, such as Susan who participated in this study, the internship experience is actually their first time in Japan.

The actual duties assigned to the interns depend on the company where they are employed. Most host companies usually give them a specific project that they can develop and present at the end of the internship. This may be a set of reports, a single product, an analysis, or something similar. The project usually has real value to the company as well, as opposed to an educational task that is discarded when the interns leave. In many cases, interns are also asked to document their job responsibilities in both Japanese and English for the benefit of interns in the future. Interns are also assigned to work with a specific workgroup and given a mentor. Thus much of their time is spent meeting with the workgroup, observing their co-worker's job duties, and receiving training and supervision from their mentor.

Interns in the study were expected to work with Japanese as the primary, default language. Almost always, the intern is the only English-speaker in the workgroup and they generally have no interaction with people other than native Japanese speakers. Thus all conversations are carried out in Japanese, with the exception of occasional instances of code-switching and language play. Most interns were also required to write reports in Japanese, and received their job instructions and training in Japanese.

3.1.2. Participants

There are three categories of participants in this study: the interns, the Japanese co-workers, and the companies, of which the interns are the focus. Here, I will describe the interns and their companies which participated in this study. I will introduce co-workers as necessary when they appear in data excerpts in subsequent chapters. Participation was negotiated with the companies through the administrator of the internship program. He initially made contact with

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company representatives and if they expressed willingness to participant I subsequently contacted the interns directly. Upon obtaining the intern's agreement, I negotiated the terms of the visit with company representatives. Several companies declined participation, but all of the interns in consenting companies gave permission. Research visits were requested as a personal favor and no compensation was offered to the companies or interns, though I did provide a small gift of appreciation when I visited. Although I asked to visit for several days at the beginning and end of the internships, I was only able to get permission from companies to visit one time for one or two days. Also, due to concerns with the exposure of confidential information none of the companies agreed to allow video recordings, though two allowed a few still pictures.

3.1.2.1. The interns

The interns range in age from 20 to 24 and include four males and two females. All of them had at least two years of Japanese study in the same university curriculum. Five of six interns previously lived in Japan as exchange students, for study abroad, and/or for participation in church service activities. Though proficiency was not measured directly, I estimate that all interns had at least an intermediate level of Japanese ability, though most were probably more advanced. The internships took place from the beginning of May through the end of August during 2012 and 2013. Though individual reasons for participating in the program vary, the interns all mentioned that they were exploring the possibility of work in Japan as a future career.

The richest data were obtained from David and Ethan, who both worked for the same company which was largely open to allowing access for data collection. They constantly interacted with other co-workers and I was able to shadow each of them for two full days. These observations alone comprise a over half of the corpus. I also obtained a good set of data from a one-day observation of Susan as well, who worked as a reporter in a newspaper company.

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Due to restrictions at other companies, data from the other three interns was not as useful, though they do provide some interesting supporting examples and evidence. Joe and Mike both worked for the same company which only allowed me to stay at the intern's desk where the interns usually worked alone. However, I was able to accompany Joe to a sushi restaurant and later a *nomikai* 'drinking party' after work and was able to record some of those interactions during what was a work-related social event. In the case of the sixth intern, Olya, I was not allowed to visit the company at all, but did obtain permission to have her to record a single meeting in which she participated. A summary of all participating interns is given in Table 3-1[16].

Table 3-1. Participating interns

Name	Age	Gender	Major	Company	Internship Duties	Days Observed
David	23	male	Engineering	Taguchi Technologies	product testing	2
Ethan	22	male	Engineering	Taguchi Technologies	product testing	2
Susan	20	female	Japanese	Nagano News	news reporting	1
Joe	24	male	Economics	Mochi Co., Ltd.	product analysis	2
Mike	23	male	Finance	Mochi Co., Ltd.	translation	1
Olya	24	female	Finance	Bank of Gifu	product analysis	0†

†The company at which Olya worked only allowed for one meeting to be recorded by the intern.

David was employed at Taguchi Technologies during the summer of 2012. A Caucasian from California, at the time of observation he was an electrical engineering major in his junior year. David has a very outgoing, friendly, and loud personality, as well as an excellent command of Japanese. When I met with David's supervisor, he joked that David would be a poor research subject because he spoke Japanese as well as anyone else in the company. David regularly participated in social events after work, and was often then instigator of these events.

Ethan was employed at the same company as David, but one year later during 2013. He was also an electrical engineering major. Due to his father's work, Ethan spent most of his

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[16] The interns, companies, and co-workers are identified with pseudonyms.

growing-up years moving throughout the world, particularly Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Guam, though most of his time was spent in American communities and he self-identifies as an American. At the time of observation, his parents were living in Okinawa and he visited them for one weekend during his internship. His father is Caucasian American and his mother is Japanese, though they only spoke English at home and he learned Japanese at school. Physically, he appears Caucasian and noted that people are always surprised to learn he is half Japanese. Ethan is more mild mannered than David, relatively soft-spoken, diligent, and considerate of others. He constantly expressed worry that his presence made others uncomfortable. He did not participate in much social activity outside of work and lamented that he did not feel close to his co-workers. Though he was quick to stress that he had a wonderful experience during his internship, he said he came to believe that Japan is not a comfortable place for him to live on a long-term basis.

Both Ethan and David had similar responsibilities assisting in the development of prototypes of various mechanical products. They would also test these prototypes to evaluate quality, such as how well the products withstood stress and heavy use, and to ensure they met customer's specifications before mass production. They also prepared documentation on the prototypes' design and presented these designs to other group members weekly. They worked independently, but frequently interacted with other team members to receive help and training. They participated as regular team members in meetings and presentations. In practice, they often had long stretches of time with nothing to do and spent a significant amount of time asking others for assignments. It is possible that efforts to find projects were exaggerated by my presence, whereas otherwise they may have been satisfied to use spare time for personal things.

Susan was the only intern living in Japan for her first time. At the time of observation she was majoring in Japanese, though after the internship she changed to business. She worked in a

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regional newspaper company as a guest reporter and wrote a weekly column which focused on her experiences as a cultural novice in Japan. She would spent the first part of her week traveling around the city and attending cultural events and the later part writing about her observations. Her articles were edited by a native speaker before being published in the newspaper[17]. She also gave monthly cultural presentations in English to interested members of the local community, especially those who worked in the tourism industry. Susan is Caucasian, a sophomore in college, and had an interest in other cultural generally. She appeared to be very inquisitive and constantly peppered her co-worker with questions about Japanese language and society.

Joe is an economics major who did computer programming for his company during 2013. Like David, he participated actively in company social events, going to dinner and sporting activities once or twice a week. Most of his time at work, however, was spent alone on computer programs. He is Caucasian, had lived in Japan for two years prior to the internship, and hoped to find a career in which he could occasionally do work in Japan. Joe's observation did not yield much useful data from his at-work routines but did yield interesting data from his participation in an after-work dinner meeting. Mike also worked for the same company as a translator during the summer of 2012. He was relatively introverted and did not participate with the company's social programs. Like Joe, most of his work was individual and he said he did not interact frequently with his co-workers. This is unfortunate because, of all of the interns, Mike's Japanese proficiency was very high, having spent two years in Japan in high school.

The final intern, Olya, is an American-born person of Russian parentage who completed her internship during the summer of 2012. I was not able to personally visit her company and

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[17] I was able to obtain copies of several of these articles as part of my observations. Though a careful analysis of her writing is beyond the scope of this study, the themes on which she wrote provide insight into perceptions of her position in the company and society (for example, she often wrote comparative pieces about American and Japanese cultures). I use this information to provide contextual background in later chapters.

only obtained a one-hour recording of a meeting in which she participated. This meeting does yield one or two interesting examples, and as two Chinese employees were also present, is the only sample in which more than one *gaijin* participated.

3.1.2.2. The companies

Four companies allowed observations: Taguchi Technologies, an engineering firm, Mochi Co., a robotics firm, Nagano News, a newspaper office, and the Bank of Gifu, a financial institution. A summary is given in Table 3-2 and a map of their locations in Figure 3-1.

Table 3-2. Participating companies

Company	Location	Industry	Data Collected
Taguchi Technologies	Chiba, Japan	Engineering	Audio, field notes, still pictures
Nagano News	Nagano, Japan	Newspaper	Audio, field notes, still pictures
Bank of Gifu	Gifu, Japan	Banking	Audio
Mochi Co., Ltd.	Aichi, Japan	Robotics	Audio, field notes
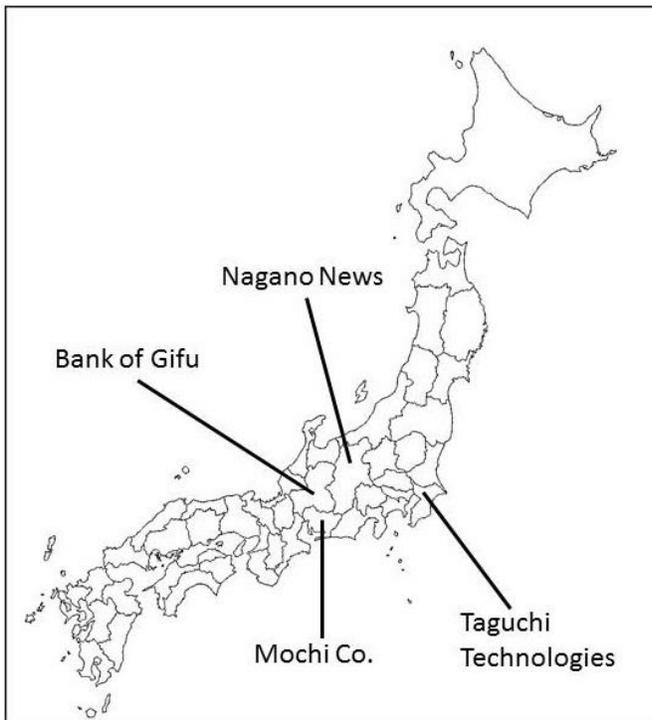
Figure 3-1. Location of companies

Taguchi Technologies is a large, multinational company which produces small, high-tech mechanical products, headquartered near Tokyo. Out of privacy concerns, and because they are well-known internationally, Taguchi Technologies asked me to not identify their main product and thus I will simply refer to it generically as a 'mechanical product'. Taguchi Technologies employs over 40,000 workers worldwide with branches concentrated primarily in Japan, the US, and China. Their products are marketed in every industrialized country in the world. The corporate headquarters where the internships took place primarily deals with product research, development, and logistics and employees tend to be well-educated with most holding a Master's degree or higher in an engineering-related field. Taguchi began hiring international interns as part of a broader corporate initiative to push into global markets, a plan that also includes a strong focus on English as the language of international business. Workers are required to take the TOEIC exam annually and the company provides free English conversation classes to employees and the interns participated as teachers one night each week, though they did not have training as a language instructor. They consider themselves a modern, international company, and make efforts to project this image. In contrast to traditional Japanese companies, employees are not required to wear ties or uniforms. Consistent with traditional Japanese companies, most employees voluntarily work long, unpaid overtime hours, often until 9:00 or 10:00 pm.

As mentioned, Taguchi Technologies was the most open to data collection. I was granted access to every place the interns were allowed, which included both the corporate office area and workshops where employees built and tested products. I was occasionally allowed to take still pictures of the overall office layout, the interns' work stations, and some of the machinery. The campus is large with two primary buildings: an office building and a factory building. The office building uses a modern, cubicle-style layout, though the cubicles are low and open so employees

easily have a view of everyone in the full office area. This contrasts with traditional Japanese

companies where employees are arranged in a rows headed by each department leader (see the

layout for Mochi Co. below for an example). The office building is quiet, though conversations

are frequent. Supervisors are constantly present. The factory building, in contrast, is loud with

lots of industrial noise from machinery. Workers in the factory building generally sit at

workbenches with several other employees, and supervisors are not present. A diagram of the

campus layout and the office building is given in Figure 3-2 below.
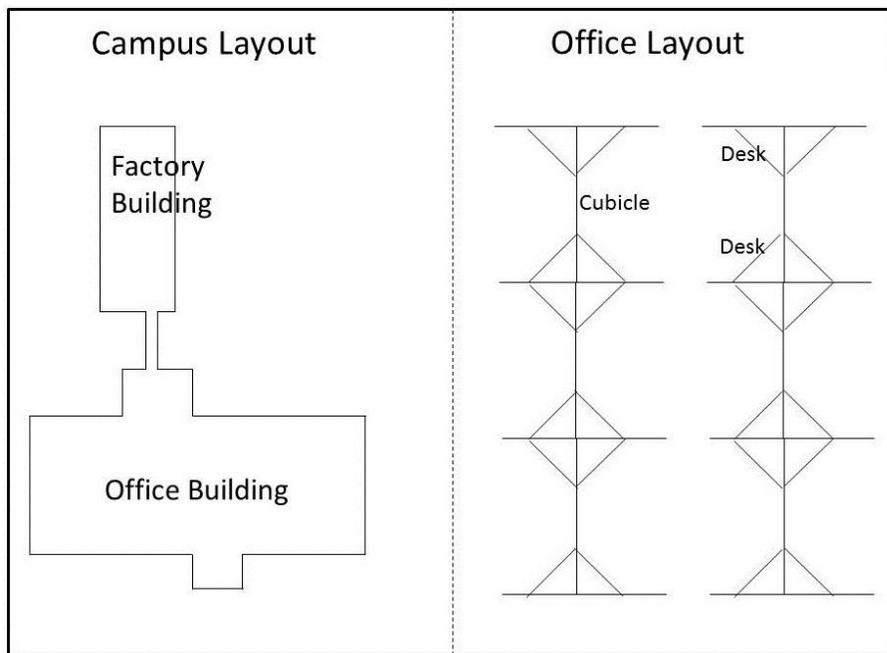
Figure 3-2. Taguchi Technologies

Nagano News is a small newspaper office in a small town in Nagano Prefecture with

fewer than 70 employees. It publishes a weekly newspaper that services the local area and

markets the town's history to tourists. The office building is an old, small, two-story structure

with a reception and administrative offices on the first floor. The second floor is a large open

area with desks for reporters, writers, and editors and is the main center of writing and editing

articles[18]. The room was cluttered with stacks of papers and boxes and had busy atmosphere with people hurrying around and conversing in urgent tones. The intern's desk was near the main door, and Susan would always greet others as they rushed in and out. Her work in the office was mostly solitary, though a large amount of her time was spent outside with reporters and photographers as she prepared material for her own articles. I was able to follow her on location to conduct an interview and there was extensive conversation between her and one photographer in Japanese as we drove through the town. A map of the city is provided in Figure 3-3 which shows the location of the company and marks two places, a farm and an area near a river bed, where they stopped to take pictures and conduct interviews. Also, as mentioned, I was also able to observe and record a cultural presentation Susan gave to the community. Though in English, it provided some insights into Susan's perceptions of herself in relation to Japanese society.
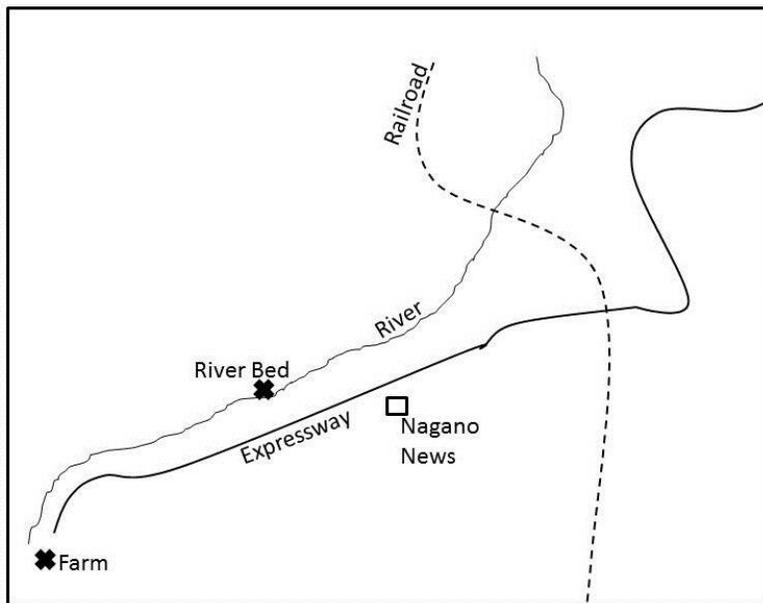
Figure 3-3. Nagano News

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[18] Physical printing of the newspaper occurred off-site.

Mochi Co. is a large, international robotics firm headquartered in Osaka. The internship took place at a the main research and development center in Aichi Prefecture. Mochi Co. produces robotics equipment for a variety of purposes, primarily automobile fabrication, semiconductor manufacturing, and warehouse management systems. The Japanese-owned company has various production facilities located throughout Asia and North America. In contrast to Taguchi Technologies, which used a more Western-style office layout with private desks and cubicles, the office area at Mochi Co. follows a pattern typical of traditional Japanese companies where each team sits in neighboring desks arranged in blocks. The section head sits in front with a full view of each worker's computer screen. A diagram of the office and campus is provided in Figure 3-4.
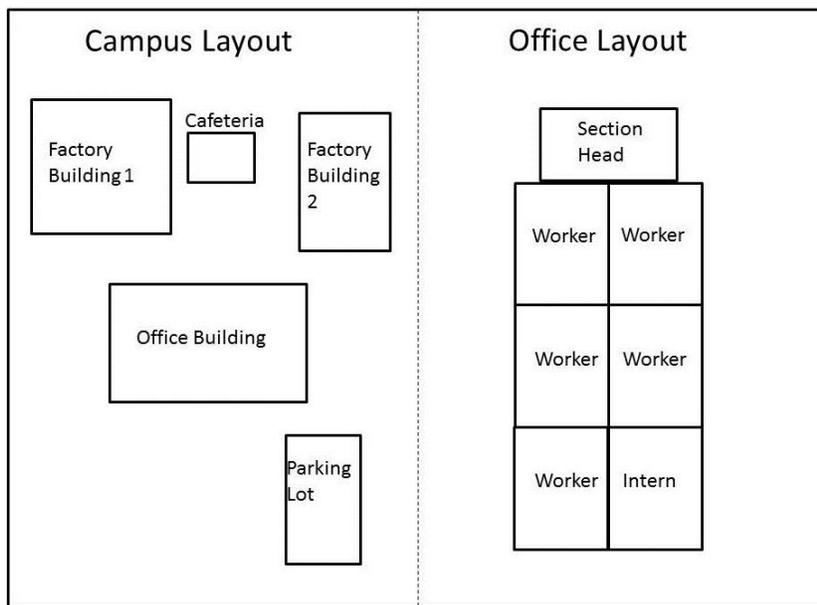
Figure 3-4. Mochi Co.

Finally, the Bank of Gifu is a regional bank located in Gifu Prefecture. Because I did not visit the bank in person, I was not able to obtain details about the location, layout, etc. However, as mentioned, they allowed one meeting to be recorded, the purpose of which was for junior employees, including the intern, to receive feedback on projects from their peers and supervisor.

3.1.3. Data collection

Although the main data of interest is the recordings of interactions between interns and their co-workers, in keeping with an ethnographic spirit I also collected as many supplemental materials as possible. The data considered in this study therefore include transcribed audio recordings, field notes, formal and informal interviews with interns during and after the visit, materials from companies including some e-mails, brochures and informational publications, a few still pictures, and my own knowledge and experience, including a journal I kept during my time as an intern. The study primarily is a discourse analysis of the recordings using field notes and interviews to inform the context and background of each interaction. Other information, such as company brochures, were used to understand institutional perspectives on globalization and corporate identity, such as a publication that boasted Mochi Co.'s involvement in the internship (among other programs) as evidence of international engagement. I referred to my own journal as a means of stimulating and recalling thoughts I had when I was in similar situations to the interns in this study. This was helpful at times for trying to better develop ideas about how the *gaijin's* self-perceptions and helped me to generate questions on such topics in interviews.

The interns and a company representative both signed an informed consent form. The co-workers were informed about the recording procedures through an e-mail circulated by a manager who consented on behalf of all of the workers. Each co-worker was given the option to opt out of being recorded, but none of the workers chose to do so. The consent form was prepared in English as that is the native language of the interns and the company representatives who arranged the visits also had high English proficiency. A description of the research in Japanese was also provided to the company representative. A copy of the consent form is provided in the Appendix. At Taguchi Technologies, I was also asked to sign a non-disclosure

document provided by the company each time I visited which outlined specific pieces of information that I agreed to keep confidential.

3.1.3.1. *Audio recordings*

Audio recordings were taken with two digital voice recorders. One was connected to a small lapel microphone and placed on the intern, while I carried the other to record talk from co-workers that might not have been picked up by the interns' microphone. When possible, a third recorder was placed in a central location as a backup. Most interns worked alone, but would interact with other co-workers frequently and for a clearly definable purpose. For example, an intern might be working on a project and need to ask a co-worker for help or guidance, or an intern might pass someone in the hall and stop to chat. As such, the data is easily split into a series of encounters with a clear beginning and end. Therefore, after each observation, I synced the recorded files and then split them into individual encounters, which I will call 'sequences' and which correspond roughly to 'speech events' as described by Hymes (2001). These sequences were logged into a spreadsheet which I coded for important information. Coding procedures are discussed in more detail Section 3.2 below. Table 3-3 summarizes the size of useable data in the corpus.

Table 3-3. Sequences in the corpus

Intern	Number of sequences	Average length of sequences
David	149	00:03:16
Ethan	147	00:04:04
Susan	58	00:08:12
Joe	36	00:04:13
Mike	28	00:03:57
Olya	1	00:43:10

Finally, I note that it was difficult to ascertain the extent to which my presence influenced the interactions. Though the interns invariably told me they felt the observation proceeded like any other day, there was some evidence that people were aware of being recorded. Several interns commented to others they were being recorded, such as Ethan who jokingly told a co-worker not to say anything strange and David who pretended to be an FBI agent when someone noticed the lapel microphone. Some of the Japanese workers approached me to introduce themselves and ask about my research, but this was not usual and only happened during break times when the atmosphere was casual and relaxed. While the researcher being invisible is sometimes desired in order to ensure that data is natural, many have noted that this is not always possible, leading to the so-called 'Observer's Paradox'. Thus, rather than ignoring my influence on the data, I take interactions in which my presence was acknowledged as legitimate data following De Fina (2011c) who argues that interactions orienting to an interviewer or researcher are also a natural communicative encounters in their own right. Indeed, as an observer I was also a *gaijin* in the company, and some things can be learned from exchanges in which I was a ratified participant (cf. Aldrich, 2009; Goffman, 1967).

3.1.3.2. *Field notes*

It is well-known that non-verbal actions such as gesture and gaze are important in understanding a whole communicative event, as language is a multi-modal, multi-semiotic resource (Burdelski, 2006; Goodwin, 2000; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). As such, because I lacked video recordings I attempted to focus my field notes on non-verbal actions. This is not as refined as video, but it does provide some information regarding the positioning of people in the interactional space, the direction they faced while talking, movements into and out of the area, and prominent gestures and non-verbal expressions. I noted the time in the margins of my notes

as well to make it easier to sync notes with recordings and refer to them in the analysis. Key non-verbal actions are integrated as commentary into transcriptions.

3.1.3.3. Interviews

I held formal interviews with David, Ethan, Susan, Joe, and Mike both during the observation visit and following the completion of their internships. These interviews were carried out in English. During the visit, I asked them questions about their experience with a focus on how they identify themselves in the company, what they think *gaijin* means, and how it influences their social relationships. I also asked about their experience and ideologies regarding the Japanese language, particularly honorifics, formal phrases, politeness, and English code-switching. In follow-up interviews, I asked them about specific sequences in the data to elicit their beliefs and intuition regarding what occurred in particularly interesting encounters. These interviews were recorded and portions transcribed. I use them to help understand the interns' perspective and intent. These data are useful for interpreting how particular sequences are potentially influenced by ideologies and stereotypes. I also had informal conversations (also in English) with the interns while they worked, and these conversations are also considered.

Generally, the Japanese co-workers were not available for interviews, though prior to each visit I had a brief meeting with the interns' supervisors to explain my research project. During this time, I would also ask about the supervisors' impressions of the intern and how they fit in with the company. These conversations occurred in Japanese. I also had a few informal opportunities to talk to other workers, especially during lunch and break. During this time, I attempted to elicit thoughts about *gaijin*, the Japanese and English languages, and so on. These conversations also took place in Japanese. However, as the interns were also present during these encounters, it was difficult to probe beyond generic impressions. The Japanese co-workers also

frequently engaged in spontaneous meta-commentary about language and culture while chatting

with each other and the interns. For example, cultural differences between Japan and the United

States seemed what a common lunchtime topic. These conversations also provide a chance to

explore some of the ideologies that are shared among employees.

3.1.3.4. *Other materials*

I obtained some e-mails from Mike and newspaper articles composed by Susan, which I

also examined. Also, each company, with the exception of the Bank of Gifu, provided me with

informational pamphlets, brochures, and other publications. Although these materials do not

provide insights into interactions, they give some information about the company background in

which the interactions occur, as well as the type of image the companies seek to maintain. For

example, these materials suggest that Taguchi Technologies is concerned with maintaining an

international image and encouraging their employees to speak English. This helps to understand

the environment in which workers are constrained.

3.1.3.5. *Personal knowledge and experience*

Finally, as mentioned earlier, I also rely on my own knowledge and experience as a *gaijin*

intern. Although I try to draw all of my conclusions from the data itself, I will, at times, speculate

and discuss possibilities based on my own intuition. I referred to a journal of observations I kept

when I was an intern to help me remember experience I had which were similar to those that I

observed. I allow for my own perspective in the analysis in hopes that it provides another

perspective on the data that might not be immediately available within the constraints of

transcribed conversation alone. That said, I privilege the linguistic data as my primary source of

information.

3.2. DATA PREPARATION, CODING, AND ANALYSIS

To select the excerpts for examination in the body of this dissertation, I developed a system of coding which I tried to follow as rigorously as possible and which helps to ensure that the examples are representative of typical interactions. Sequences are selected for analysis based on the prominence of linguistic resources used (e.g., reference terms, honorifics, code-swithing, etc.). Once selected, I then analyzed them carefully and brought in contextual information based on interviews, field notes, intuition, meta-comments, and other sources. This is consistent with an Interactional Sociolinguistics framework and a perspective that looks for identity in the discourse first, rather than pre-imposing assumptions of identity on the data before analyzing it.

3.2.1. Transcription and coding procedures

Substantial portions of the audio recordings were transcribed by myself with the help of several native speaking colleagues on particularly troublesome passages. The transcriptions follow a three-line format. The first line is a romanized transcription of the actual utterance, with symbols to mark important elements of prosody, stress, laughter, breath, pauses, hesitations, and so on. Below this line is an interlinear gloss which provides a direct English gloss for each word and notes important syntactic elements. The third line gives a full English translation with unexpressed elements and clarifying notes in parenthesis. In cases where the original utterance is in English, glosses and translations are omitted. The conventions for transcriptions generally follow Jefferson (1985, 2004), while abbreviations for interlinear gloss and the romanization system follow Iwasaki (2013) with a few minor alterations[19]. An annotated example is provided in Figure 3-5 below.

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[19] Lists of transcription conventions and abbreviations are provided in the front matter of this dissertation.
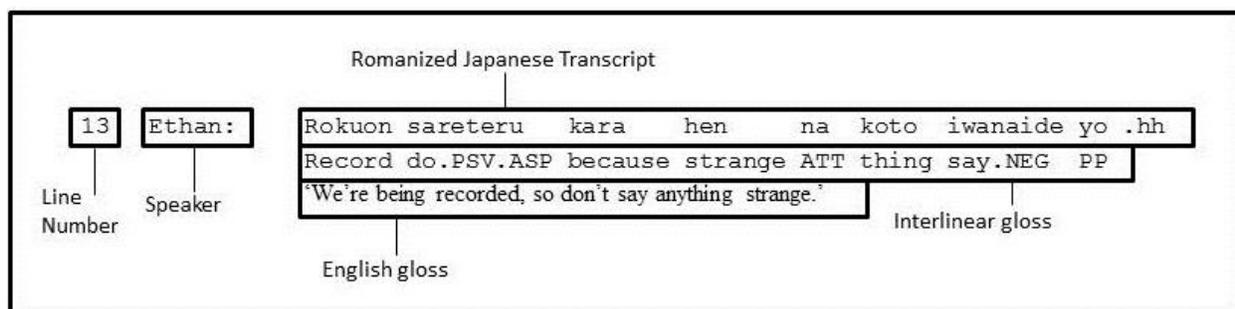
Figure 3-5. Transcription example

Transcriptions were prepared using the open source program Transcriber[20] and a three-step process. First, I transcribed the data into the basic unit of analysis, the 'intonational unit (IU)' and coded these units for the appearance of linguistic elements of interest. Second, I collect the IUs into full utterances and arrange these into interactional sequences which are further coded based on the activities which take place during the interactions. Finally, I select the sequences of interest for my analysis and produce fully glossed transcriptions.

3.2.1.1. Basic unit of analysis

After syncing and separating the audio into sequences, I transcribed the recordings by intonational unit (IU). An IU is burst of language produced in a single, smooth intonational contour, typically containing one thought or piece of new information (cf. Chafe, 1988, 1994). Iwasaki (1993, 1997) has argued that this as a particularly useful approach to transcribing Japanese data and I found it helpful for providing a basic unit for analysis. Because IUs contain easily identifiable components, they are a useful basic unit for locating specific linguistic elements and then expanding the perspective to see how these elements are located in the full utterance.

Transcribed IUs were copied into a spreadsheet where I marked each for the presence of linguistic elements central to this study: various reference terms (names, titles, ethnic labels, etc.),

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[20] Transcriber is freely available from *<trans.sourceforge.net>*.

honorifics, and instances of English use. I also noted other items that are known to be heavily indexical of social information in Japanese, such as sentence-final pragmatic particles, hesitation markers, pauses, laughter, and other 'discourse markers' (Schiffrin, 1987). Although these later items are not a central focus of my study, no single resource creates social meaning and does contextualization work in isolation, so it is important to remain aware of other key elements. This coding scheme allows me to quickly identify sequences with high frequencies of the structural elements of interest and focus my analysis on these sequences.

3.2.1.2. *Larger unit of analysis*

As a larger unit of analysis, the IUs are combined into utterances and arranged sequentially into full interactional sequences or speech events. Each speech event was also logged into a spreadsheet and coded with labels to indicate both the type of activities that occurred (e.g., asking for help, making a presentation, giving an explanation, attending a meeting, reporting results, socializing, etc.) and specific actions nested within these activities (e.g., question-answer pairs, greetings, apologies, invitations, etc.). These labels allow me to gather like sequences together for analytical purposes and select representative excerpts based on the frequency with which various sequences occurred. Thus these sequences form a larger unit of investigation and are the basis for data excerpts presented in the text of this study. I also combined these units with information from field notes, interviews, and other sources to provide important contextual information.

3.2.1.3. *Final transcriptions*

In the third step, the sequences that I identified as representative of typical interactions and relevant to the analysis are extracted and given full interlinear and English glosses. Other contextual information is embedded into the transcripts at this point, in the form of comments

and notes. These finished sequences are formatted and included in the text of this dissertation to provide foundational examples for the analytical narrative.

3.2.2. Approaching the Data

Once the data was transcribed, I examined the transcriptions to produce the analytical narrative in the text of this dissertation. This approach follows an Interactional Sociolinguistics framework. Following the two-step model of indexicality, I examined the linguistic elements of interest in two steps: I first attempted to describe how the element functions on a micro level to create a situated stance or act and then, second, I look at additional evidence to understand how these stances or acts implicitly point to social knowledge based on their variance across contexts. Here, comparisons between interns were very useful[21]. After isolating the element, I thus consider its function as a contextualization cue and attempt to discover the interpretive frame. It turns out that this is a difficult task, and for this reason I rely on information from interviews, field notes, and other data that go beyond the transcription in order to assist with an interpretation of the talk. However, a note of caution is warranted here. Data generated through interviews and other macro-commentary is likely to be influence by the ideological perspective of the informant and thus the analysis will need to account for the source's perspective. But as the goal is to understand the interpretive framework communicated by a contextualization cue, it is helpful to understand the use of language from the perspective of those who are using it. Thus I supplement the analytical narratives with appeals to information gleaned from these other sources, and each of the following chapters contain a section surveying relevant aspects of interns' ideologies for each topic. In this way, I hope to shed more light on the possible micro-

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[21] Comparing David and Ethan, in particular, was very fruitful and will be a common theme in the following chapters.

macro connections inherent in the transmission and interpretation of the messages being exchanged in the present data.

The final, and most central, task of this analysis is to then determine the utility of identity representations in accomplishing goals and facilitating intercultural communication. The purpose of an interaction, and therefore the meaning created within it, may draw from any of the levels of contextual framing. For example, when an intern talks to their co-worker, such as to ask a question for help on a project, it involves a number of simultaneous activities. There is, of course, the local, immediate goal of formulating a question and eliciting help. Then, as help would not be needed if the intern had not been assigned to a project, the accomplishment of these local goals is part of the fulfillment of responsibilities that operate at team and institutional levels. At the same time, as students, the interns are often concurrently concerned with both using language properly and learning job tasks to further their education and career goals. They are also striving to develop and maintain good working relationships and to build rapport with others. Finally, they also must manage their perceptions of cultural differences and appropriate behaviors.

Therefore, taken together, the purposes of a single, local interaction is a situated microcosm of a web of contexts and purposes. 'Acting like a *gaijin*' may be a way to excuse inappropriate behavior on a social level, it may be a way to put on a humorous performance in order to build rapport, it may be a tool to elicit help for work-related purposes, or it may be a way access social capital. I consider evidence for identity as a resource in any of these contextual levels. Indeed, as the data will show, performances of a *gaijin* identity function on many interactional levels and identity is a very useful tool, both interactionally and socially.

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3.2.3. Research questions

The approach to the data, therefore, is to use an Interactional Sociolinguistics framework to answer my central research questions, which are as follows.

1) How do the interns manage interactions with their co-workers, and what role, if any, does their *gaijin* identity play in this? What linguistic resources are used to construct these identities, and how are they used?

2) What are the primary goals of the interaction? Is the linguistic presentation of *gaijin* identities useful in accomplishing these goals? If so, in what way does it facilitate them?

Then, as a point for discussion, I consider what the answers to these questions mean for issues of intercultural communication in professional environments.

These questions are approached from the position that *gaijin* identities may be useful for accomplishing goals at all levels of interaction. They can be a local discursive strategy to communicate complex information efficiently, they can facilitate the accomplishment of work-related tasks, and they help build social relationships and reach across perceived cultural barriers. By performing *gaijin* identities based on social ideologies and stereotypes, the interns and their co-workers not only challenge these ideologies, but use them as a means strengthening intercultural understanding. Thus a theme of this study is that stereotyped social identities can, in fact, be used to bring about positive, successful communication in intercultural contexts.

3.3. SUMMARY

In summary, by using a careful, structured process of transcription and analysis of interactional data combined with several sources of contextual information at the corporate and social level, this study proceeds with an Interactional Sociolinguistic framework to investigate

the emergence of *gaijin* identities in local encounters between American interns and their Japanese co-workers. The primary data comes from the case of three interns, David, Ethan, and Susan, with additional supporting data from Joe, Mike, and Olya. This line of inquiry contributes to knowledge on sociocultural identities as a resource for intercultural communication, and also provides a new, in-depth look at the important educational setting of international internships. It is hoped that the insights contained here will contribute in some small way to the common human goal of improving intercultural relationships and understanding.

CHAPTER 4

CONSTRUCTING AND USING *GAIJIN* IN REFERENCES TO SELF AND OTHER

Perhaps one of the most explicit ways the social category of *gaijin* is assigned and used in interaction is through direct references to self and other. References are lexical items that point to a particular individual and may take many forms such as vocatives, occupational titles, honorific titles, first and last names, nicknames, pronouns, ethnic labels, references to place of origin and residence, and so on. Variation in the use of these items is an obvious tool for identity work. For instance, a parent might highlight when a child is acting the role of 'obedient child' by labeling them explicitly (e.g., "Are you being a *good little boy*?") but by switching to a full name, they might reposition the child as disobedient (e.g., "*John Billy Smith*, get over here right now!").

In institutional contexts, reference terms are often used to locate individuals within the organizational hierarchy. In some workplaces, using a first name might highlight a more collegial relationship than using job titles which orient toward a senior-junior position (Kleifgen, 2001). Explicit references to persons in their institutional and social settings are consequently used to manage identities, construct in- and out-groups, and even resist categorization (Day, 2006; Higgins, 2009a; Killian & Johnson, 2006; Orbe & Drummond, 2009; Wallerstein, 1987; Warren, 2011). Also, in contextualizing one's social identity in different situations references also function as tools for using institutional and sociocultural knowledge to in accomplishing the goals of a given interaction (Behin & Shekary, 2013).

Furthermore, identity construction in discourse is not unidirectional. By positioning others, speakers simultaneously position themselves. So when a parent refers to their child by full name to mark them as disobedient, they are concurrently constructing their identity as, say, a disciplinarian. This is also true of the identities of 'outsider' or *gaijin*, the definition of which

depends on the ways that people refer to both themselves and those with whom they interact. As such, this chapter looks at how American interns, who are outsiders on an institutional level (i.e., they are temporary student employees) and a sociocultural level (i.e., they are *gaijin* in Japan), are positioned by others and themselves in negotiating and using their *gaijin* identity.

Although there are an almost endless variety of ways to refer to people linguistically, this chapter will take up just two of the more prominent forms in my data: names and labels. Naming conventions are important to consider because American and Japanese forms differ in interesting and insightful ways. In the workplace, Japanese generally refer to each other by last name with various honorific suffixes, whereas Americans tend to use first names without other titles. This can lead to confusion about how to refer to people in American-Japanese contact situations and is a fruitful area in which to consider the emergence of *gaijin* identities. Exploring typical naming conventions in the companies will illustrate how the interns are usually positioned by their co-workers in ordinary, daily routines; in other words, their 'default' position.

After looking at how they are usually categorized, I then consider a few examples of how the Americans interns respond to their position as *gaijin* once it has been established; that is, what they do with their identities. One especially noticeable way this happened was through the use of non-standard address forms in references to others as well as creative ways of using labels to refer to self. By 'labels' I mean an item that directly recalls some social characteristic of another person as a means of referring to them, often their position in a hierarchy (e.g., "I'm just an *intern*, what do I know?") or an ethnic description (e.g., "That *American* says strange things.") (McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Unlike names, labels are not a standard tool used in mundane, daily situations. However, some interns, most notably David, harnessed them as a means of reinterpreting and challenging their position on the outside. Looking at a few examples of this

reveals how interns respond to being positioned as *gaijin* and also sheds light on the fact that *gaijin* is not an immutable structure, but something that can be used dynamically in interaction.

Thus the overarching question of this chapter is to ask 1) how the interns are constructed as *gaijin* in usual daily interaction with a focus on naming conventions and 2) how the interns might respond to their 'default' position as *gaijin* through labels of self and other. The chapter proceeds as follows. In the next section, I describe the naming conventions in Japanese society generally as well as how both names and labels can be used to construct identities. Then in the following section I survey the interns' ideologies of their positions within the company based on interview data. After that, Section 4.3 will lay out the usual, though asymmetric, use of naming conventions between American interns and their Japanese co-workers, showing that even in typical routines the interns' *gaijin* position is evident. Then in Section 4.4 I look at how labels are used to respond to this positioning and do various kinds of identity work. A final second concludes with a brief discussion of implications for intercultural communication.

4.1. REFERRING TO SELF AND OTHER IN JAPANESE

References toward others can be broadly divided into what has been termed 'address terms' and 'reference terms' based on their function and syntactic position (Braun, 1988; Kitayama, 2013). Address terms are defined by Thomas (1995) as "the form used when talking *to* someone" (p. 11). Vocatives are one such example, such as when getting someone's attention (e.g., "*Mr. Smith*, do you have a second?"). Address terms are not fully incorporated into the syntax of a sentence, but are usually prefixed onto an otherwise complete unit (Axelson, 2010; Levinson, 1983; T. Suzuki, 1982). On the other hand, reference terms are "the form used when talking *about* someone" (Thomas, 1995, p. 11). These could be references to an interlocutor (e.g., "How are *you*?"), a third-party (e.g., "I hear *the boss* isn't coming in today."), or even a social or

ethnic group (e.g., "I met a *Canadian* the other day."). Variation in address and reference terms are known to correlate with social identities and categories (McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Neumann, 1999; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003). For example, when one refers to someone by a position title their institutional role is brought to the foreground, but when using a nickname the orientation is more toward a personal relationship.

4.1.1. The Japanese suffix *san* as a default in references to others

In Japanese, there are several possible ways to refer to others, all of which may function either as vocatives or syntactically-integrated reference terms. Following Niyekawa (1991), some examples of the most common items are given in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1. Examples of common address terms in Japanese

Address term	Examples	English equivalent
Last name + suffix	*Tanaka-san*	Mr./Mrs. Tanaka
	Miyagawa-kun	Miyagawa (casual suffix)
	Saito-buchoo	Director Saito
First name + suffix	*Kaori-chan*	Kaori (casual suffix)
	Hideki-san	Hideki (neutral suffix)
	Jiroo-kun	Jiroo (casual suffix)
Title	*sensei*	teacher
	buchoo	manager
	shachoo	company president
Title + suffix	*oisha-san*	doctor
	omawari-san	police officer
Familial relationship	*okaa-san*	mother
	aniki	older brother
	imooto	little sister
Second-person pronouns	*anata*	you (impersonal)
	kimi	you (intimate)
	omae	you (informal/masculine)

Which of these address terms is most appropriate is a function of context, though the most general form used across most situations is 'last name + *san*' where *san* is an honorific

suffix that has been compared to 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' in English (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986). This form is perhaps the most standard way to refer to any adult regardless of age, gender, social position, and so on. When meeting someone for the first time or in reference to someone with whom the speaker does not share a close relationship, 'last name + *san*' is preferred. It is also used frequently in formal or official settings even among people with a long standing relationship.

San has been described loosely by some grammarians as a marker of "respect, modesty or politeness" (Makino & Tsutsui, 1989, p. 344). Okamoto (1999) relates an interesting exchange that occurred in an opinion column of a newspaper. An older gentleman wrote to criticize teachers who did not use *san* in reference to their students, calling the practice disrespectful. In response, a younger female student wrote that when *san* is dropped, she felt it was easier to relate to the teachers. So while *san* is ideologically tied to respect, it also contributes to the construction of barriers between individuals, establishing a more impersonal, distant, or *soto* context. As Kitayama (2013) says, *san* is "polite", "formal", and most importantly, "standard".

Perhaps the most striking thing about *san* is its almost universal application. An examination of Table 4-1 illustrates that it is very pervasive, and may be appended to nearly all form of reference, including last names, first names, job titles, familial relationships, and so on. In a workplace setting, Thompson (2006) describes the use of *san* as egalitarian because it is frequently applied across different statuses, ranks, and positions. He argues that it may reduce social distinctions, but that this also suggests "*san* in Japanese is more likely to be used for out-group reference and address, where rank and status cannot be so easily determined" (p. 189). Hence its use as a default means of referring to someone and its general association with distance and *soto* positions. It is used when there are no other social reasons for preferring a different term. In this sense, rather than saying *san* indexes an outside *soto* context directly, it may be more

precise to say that *san* simply indicates a lack of orientation to some other salient aspect of interlocutors' interpersonal relationship, *uchi* or *soto*. It is the unmarked, default way of referring to someone (cf. Kinsui, 1991; Niyekawa, 1991; Peng, 1973).

There are several other suffixes that are used with some regularity as well, and because these deviate from the standard *san*, they tend to index particular identities. In more intimate, casual, friendly, or otherwise informal settings, the suffix can be changed to the more familiar-sounding *kun* (for first or last names) or *chan* (for first names only). These suffixes are also widely used between co-workers, especially when the referent is younger than the speaker. In contrast, the suffix *sama* is used to elevate the referent, such as when the person is a customer or occupies an especially high status. It is also possible for *sama* to be attached to names of, say, popular media personalities as a means of showing infatuation rather than respect *per se* (Jung, 2006). Finally, suffixes may be dropped altogether, especially in more intimate groups such as families. That point is, because these forms deviate from the standard *san* they indicate something about the relationship that is different than a default, indifferent context.

4.1.2. Standard naming conventions in Japanese and English

Another key feature of references to others in Japanese is the prevalent use of last names. In contrast to many Western societies, where first name references are common even in distant or professional relationships, last name is more frequent in Japan. Among adults, especially in official work settings, it is the norm, and even personal acquaintances use last names, though not exclusively and they might also drop *san* and/or replace it with *kun* or *chan* (Niyekawa, 1991). Children are referred to by their last names at school, pointing both toward the pervasiveness of using last names in society and to the fact that Japanese are socialized into this practice from a very young age (Cook, 1999; Miyazaki, 2004). Because last name is standard, deviations from it

are likely to entail identity work. For example, in casual settings or between close friends it is possible to use first names, or even a contracted first name with a suffix (i.e., *Hide-chan* for *Hideki*), which has the effect of foregrounding a personal relationship. In workplaces, last names are by far the most common[22] (Kitayama, 2013).

In contrast, in American workplaces first names tend to be preferred, even between people of different status or power relationships where last name would be expected in Japanese (e.g., a subordinate addressing their boss) (cf. Cotton, O'Neill, & Griffin, 2008). First names are even something of a default between people who do not know each other well or just met for the first time. As such, it is the use of last names in English tends to contextualize certain situations, such as a particularly formal setting, when referring to a person of high status by title (e.g., President Smith), or other similar contexts such as students addressing their teachers. This is opposite of the situation in Japanese, and may consequently lead to confusion in interactions between Americans and Japanese. When I was an intern, my neighbor in the company dorms called me "Steve" for a month until he noticed the name card on my door and was surprised to learn that it was my first name. He then apologized for being rude to me (even though I had not really noticed). Unless a Japanese speaker is familiar with American names and vice-versa, there is no reason they would recognize, based on phonetics alone, which name is which.

Note that, to reflect the difference in typical naming conventions, in all of the data transcripts in this dissertation I have used first name pseudonyms for the American interns and last name pseudonyms for the Japanese employees.

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[22] In fact, in my data I could not find any case of native speakers referring to each other by first name, though the intern was always present so this could likely influence my results. When I was an intern, I did have a colleague who was consistently called by his first name. He was the youngest person in the group, a fresh college graduate, and the most junior of the full-time employees. He complained to me that others treated him like the 'baby' of the group.

4.1.3. Referring to others in the Japanese workplace

Regarding the overall distribution of address and reference terms, including *san* and the use of first and/or last names in the context of Japanese workplaces, the only studies I am aware of are a dissertation by Thompson (2006) who touches on them in a small part of one chapter, and a paper on vocatives by Kitayama (2013) using data from scripted depictions of Japanese workplaces in television shows and movies. Thompson (2006) corroborates the notion that 'last name + *san*' is a default way of referring to others, also noting that in the workplace it signals a "deferential attitude but not excessive respect" (p. 189) and that *san* is replaced with *kun* when referring to younger males. He does not look closely at other forms of reference or address beyond names and suffixes.

Kitayama (2013) quantifies the distribution of vocatives across contexts of 'subordinate to boss', 'boss to subordinate', and 'co-worker to co-worker'. Though not spontaneous, real-world conversation, the sheer volume of data he analyzes provides useful insights into what terms might be expected in native speaker discourse. Like Thompson (2006), he also finds that 'last name + *san*' is the most common form across all situations, including boss to subordinate and subordinate to boss. He also finds that bosses are more likely to use bare last names (i.e., names with no suffix), the suffix *kun*, and the second-person pronoun *omae*[23]. In contrast, in addition to 'last name + *san*' regular employees tend to use position titles when talking with bosses and bare last names when addressing colleagues. Deviations from these patterns, the author argues, are face-saving strategies. In his words, "the commonly accepted use of vocatives is found to deviate when one has to face an 'out-group' member who he/she is not confident of comfortably dealing with" (p. 471). It follows that breaking from the standard pattern is a

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[23] There is a fairly large set of second-person pronouns in Japanese, including *anata*, *kimi*, and *omae*, among others. These are often described as correlating with gender, social positions, formality, and distance between interlocutors. Of these, *omae* is one of the more informal options.

potential means of constructing identities through manipulating in-group/out-group (or *uchi* and *soto*) positions.

4.1.4. Labels, references, and identity

References to others, such as 'last name + *san*' and its many variants, are useful for establishing positions within the workplace by orienting to relevant *institutional* hierarchies and interpersonal relationships. Other forms of reference draw more explicitly on *cultural* differences by referring to others with 'labels'. Labels may include things such as *gaijin* 'foreigner', *nihonjin* 'Japanese', *hakujin* 'white person', *Amerika-jin* 'person from America', and so on. In this chapter, these terms are considered when used to refer to a specific participant in an interaction. For example, if someone says, "I am/you are a *gaijin*," the label *gaijin* refers to the speaker, but in the utterance, "All *gaijin* speak English" the reference is to a general group. The former are the terms of interest. Also, these items are not considered because they are used frequently, but because they provide some insights into how *gaijin* interns respond to their position as outsiders through direct attempts to contextualize and challenge it. Naming conventions establish the usual way in which Japanese and American interns position themselves and each other. Labels provide a look at some of the possible ways in which they deviate.

An important contrast between reference terms, including names and labels, is in how they contextualize identities. Reference terms point first to particular individuals and then identities emerge through variation in the terms used to refer to others. When someone mentions *Tanaka-san*, they are referring directly to a person with the surname Tanaka and, if it is uttered at work, might also establish an official context. But if they later shift to calling Tanaka by, say, first name plus a familiar suffix (e.g., *Hide-chan*), they are still pointing to the same referent, but do so in a way that foregrounds personal identities. That is, names point first to a person and then

indirectly index an identity. Labels, however, seem to work in the other direction. They refer

directly to macro-level structures and then identities may, depending on context, be applied to

different individuals as a means of identification. For example, in "That person is a *gaijin*," the

label *gaijin* refers first to the social identity and then is subsequently applied to a person or group.

Thus references, including both names and labels, are used to manage interpersonal

relationships and co-construct identities. They also have a tendency to be associated with in-

group and out-group memberships, and as such might interface with the way that *gaijin* interns

manage their positions as institutional and cultural outsiders. After discussing some common

ideologies among interns regarding their positions in the company, I will then turn to some

extracts from the data to illustrate these points.

4.2. INTERNS IN THE COMPANY HIERARCHY

Interns' choice of terms may reflect how the interns see themselves fitting in to the

institutional structure as well as how they desire to be perceived by others. To uncover common

themes in relevant ideologies held by the interns, based on interviews this section will briefly

survey these beliefs in order to frame the interpretation of the follow data.

David had a bit of a cynical view of his institutional position within the company and

seemed to feel that he was capable of doing more than he was trusted to do. For example, he was

not given a username and password to log into certain databases and had to have a co-worker log

in for him when he needed access. He commented on this to me saying, "It's like I'm here

working for this company but you guys don't trust me to access anything. It's like, well that's

not a slap in the face." But while he felt marginalized in terms of institutional positioning, he did

feel very welcome socially. He frequently mingled casually with other employees, and would go

to dinner and community events with people in his workgroup probably once or twice a week. In

fact, when I first arrived at the company, his department manager expressed concern that David would not be a good subject to study for a research project on *gaijin* because he was so well-integrated with the others. Nevertheless, David was explicit in his feelings about being an intern in the company: "I just wish they trusted me a bit more."

Regarding the linguistic management of identity, in an interview I asked David about his feelings using language according to social hierarchies as taught in school. He explained that he was taught to address people properly, using job titles and honorifics, but when he started working at the company he realized that names and other forms of casual speech were more prevalent. Referring to the ideologies that led him to believe there is a rigid way of referring to others, he exclaimed, "That was the biggest 'they lied to me' moment. . . . the biggest lie of my life." Based on his experience in the company, he came to believe that the system of reference is more flexible that what he had been taught. He even commented to me that it is "fun" to use language creatively and in a way that is inconsistent with the ideologies he was taught in school.

But while David appeared to be comfortable going against the rules he was taught in class, this is not true of all the interns. Ethan, in particular, expressed the opposite ideology. A much less extroverted personality than David, Ethan felt it more important to use language according to his perceptions of social appropriateness. When I asked how comfortable he is using so-called informal speech forms (such as dropping honorific titles), he remarked, "I'd be a little bit nervous. I feel like I understand [informal speech markers] and could use them appropriately, but it would take a lot of effort." For this reason, he preferred to err on the side of using the more formal forms he learned in school. However, like David, Ethan felt that his intern status puts him on the outside, but his *gaijin* position may help to overcome this.

Excerpt 4-1. I'm still an intern

> I've always enjoyed *gaijin paawaa* and it doesn't go away even in the company. But you have a little less freedom in the company. Ya know, unless you have a higher status in the company. I'm still just an intern. But having said that, I do feel like they treat me better than they would treat a Japanese intern. They're more understanding of mistakes. They seem more kind to me. They're a little more patient with me. . . . If I weren't an intern, I would feel *uchi*. It's not that I'm an American that puts me on the outside, it's the fact that I'm an intern and I'm only here for a few months.

So Ethan felt that institutionally he is an outsider, but that socioculturally, people made more efforts to integrate him into the group.

Susan, in contrast, claimed to not pay much attention to being a *gaijin*. The lowest in Japanese proficiency of the interns, Susan was the only one in Japan for her first time. For that reason, she usually appeared more focused on learning the language than getting along socially. In terms of her relationship with her co-workers, she had nothing but good things to say about how warmly they welcomed her and helped her to learn succeed at her job. However, she was clearly labeled as an outsider. For example, as a reporter for a local newspaper, she wrote columns discussing her perspective on culture issues she encountered and they were published under a recurring weekly feature with the heading, "A perspective from the outside." In this sense, she was marketed as an outsider who provides unique cultural insights into the local community as she encountered things for the first time[24].

Other interns described similar views. Joe admitted to feeling like he was marginalized as an intern, but that he felt accepted on a personal level. Like David, he was an active participant in the company's social activities, and like Ethan he attributed this acceptance to the fact that he was a *gaijin*. Mike was a bit more ambivalent. He said that he felt like any other worker and there was nothing remarkable about being a *gaijin*, though he later acknowledged that he was

---

[24] The content of her articles included things like her first experience going to a *matsuri* 'festival', visiting the local castle, riding the bullet train, and so on. She occasionally wrote on political and legal topics as well, but always with a cultural comparative aspect, such as an article contrasting gun laws in American and Japan.

probably treated differently because of it. He said that being a *gaijin* is something one cannot

really escape, but argued that his colleagues seemed more interested in the work he is doing than

in who he is or how well he speaks Japanese. He was opposed to going against conventions

taught in school, saying that while native speakers might not conform to those so-called rules,

there was no good reason to risk being impolite as a junior worker.

In summary, the interns show awareness of being positioned as an outsider on two levels:

institutional and sociocultural, or intern and *gaijin* respectively. Interestingly, there was a

tendency to associate lack of integration and 'outsider-ness' to the notion of 'intern' while

attaching acceptance and accommodation in their interpersonal relationships to the notion of

gaijin. For the most part, there seemed to be two general attitudes toward *gaijin*. Either it was

something that gained them more friends and helped them to integrate, or it was a non-issue. No

one expressly indicated that being a *gaijin* was a hindrance, instead associating difficulties with

their own linguistic and cultural shortcomings rather than, say, racial discrimination.

Finally, it is worth noting that these attitudes may derive, in part, from perceptions of

ethnicity and race in the interns' native country. Being Caucasian carries different meaning in

America where they are a majority, and possibly privileged, group and as such, they may tend to

downplay the significance of race and ethnicity. That said, on occasion interns would reference

their ethnicity in order to make jokes, such as David who teased several people during lunch for

discriminating against him because he is white. While intended as a joke, it does point to feelings

of marginalization in some circumstances, although this was not admitted explicitly.

4.3. POSITIONING INTERNS AS 'OUTSIDERS' IN THE INSTITUTION

A look at the data will now demonstrate how American interns are referred to typically in

the Japanese workplace. This is compared to normative forms of used between native-speaking

co-workers. The first goal of this analysis is to uncover the intern's 'default' position with respect to their identity as *gaijin* outsiders. The following section will then look at what the interns do with this identity once established.

Using names to refer to people is one of the most common forms of reference in the companies. The data here focus primarily on variations in the use of first and last names. There are three points to be made: 1) Japanese workers use last names with each other, usually with the *san* suffix, 2) American interns conform to this convention in references to their Japanese co-workers, and 3) Japanese co-workers use first names when referring to American interns, which is consistent with references in America but not in Japan where these interactions take place. Even if this is an attempt to accommodate the interns by using American reference conventions, it still has the effect of highlighting the fact that the interns are positioned differently that the Japanese workers. This suggests that the interns tend to try to fit in with local customs, but yet are marked as *gaijin* by others.

4.3.1. Normative pattern between Japanese native speakers

The first task is to establish how native speakers typically refer to each other in the companies in order to establish a baseline for comparison of interactions involving interns. Because my observations were centered on the interns, the only direct evidence I have of discourse between native speakers comes from background conversations that occurred within range of the microphone or interactions where the intern was present but not addressed[25]. An analysis of these conversations suggests that native speakers used references to others in patterns largely consistent with Kitayama's (2013) results with the exception that I did not find many

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[25] This usually occurred at Taguchi Technologies where the office building was arranged in small, open cubicles and environment was generally very quiet.

instances of addressing someone with a position title. 'Last name + *san*' was the predominant

form in references to others. A typical example follows[26].

Excerpt 4-2. Addressing others in official contexts

```
Setting: Ethan is working at his desk alone. Miyazaki's cubicle is on the
other side of his. Noda approaches Miyazaki to ask if he can borrow
something.
```

```
1→  Noda:      Miyazaki-san (.) kore tsukatteru?
                name-HON         this use.ASP
                'Miyazaki? (Are you) using this?'


2   Miyazaki:  ah:: (0.2) hai
                HES        yes
                'Uh, ya.'


3   Noda:      chotto ii?
                little good
                'Is it okay? (=Do you mind?)'


4   Miyazaki:  eh: doozo
                BCH please
                'Go ahead.'
```

I could not see what Noda was referring to in Line 1, nor is it indicated in my field notes,

but apparently Noda asked Miyazaki if he could borrow something. Most of the workers had an

assortment of tools on their desks for measuring and drawing diagrams, so he was most likely

asking to borrow one of those. Regardless, to get Miyazaki's attention he addressed him by his

last name and the *san* suffix. The use of 'last name + *san*' was typical in official, work-related

tasks when addressing a second person.

The next example from Mochi Co. further illustrates the pervasiveness of last names in

official contexts. The following is from one side of a phone conversation and contains both a

first- and a third-person reference, both of which use last names in work-related talk.

---

[26] In excerpts in this chapter, references to self and other are marked with double underlining for convenience.

Excerpt 4-3. First- and third-person references on the phone

```
    Setting: While Mike works at his computer composing e-mails, Kato, the
    manager of a different workgroup, takes a phone call. Kato sits in the row
    of desks behind Mike.
```

1→ Kato: >moshi moshi< (0.9) ah <u>Kato</u> desu:. (.) doomo.
                hello   INJ name COP.MAS   thanks
                'Hello? This is Kato. Oh thanks.'

2   ((listening to the speaker on the other end of the call))

3   Kato: etto:: eigyoobu   kara renraku ga atta   kana
                INJ   sales.department from contact NOM have.PST Q
                'Uh, I think I just got a call from the sales department.'

4   ((listening to the speaker on the other end of the call))

5   Kato: AH::: tasukarimashita::.
                INJ   help.MAS.PST
                'Oh! That (really) helps!'

6   ((Kato listens to the speaker on the other end))

7→ Kato: ano: (0.3) <u>Kaneda-san</u> no hoo   kara (   ) kuru to omoimasu.
                INJ   name-HON   GEN direction from   come QT think.MAS
                'Well, I think (it will) come from Kaneda.'

8   ((Kato listens to the speaker on the other end))

9   Kato: hai yoroshiku o-negai shima::su.
                okay well.ADV HON-wish do.MAS
                'Okay. Thanks so much (lit. I wish you well).'

When Kato answered the phone he identified himself by his last name in Line 1. Suffixes are not used in first-person references. Several lines later, Kato refers to Kaneda by her last name plus *san*. Kaneda is a member of the general affairs department and helped manage matters with internal communications[27]. It seems that she is known to the person on the other end of the phone call as Kato does not include any other identifying information beyond her name. So in referring

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[27] Kaneda was a name I recognized because she was also the person with whom I had arranged the research visit. Her real name is unusual and easily recognized.

to her with 'last name + *san*' despite her being familiar to the interlocutors, Kato orients to the

official context of this conversation.

However, the typical use of 'last name + *san*' is not limited to official contexts, but was

also used in casual settings as well. The following is taken from social chat during lunch at

Taguchi Technologies. In this segment, the Japanese workers are speaking to David, but make a

reference to a third person who is also present at the table. Just prior to this, David had jokingly

asked them to try and translate English phrases into Japanese.

Excerpt 4-4. Referring to others at lunch

```
    Setting: David and he co-workers are talking during lunch. David teases
    them by asking them to translate English phrases into Japanese.

67  David:        ((to Yamamoto))  tsuuyaku     doozo    (0.4)   ganbatte
                                   translation please            good.luck.IMP
                  'Translation please. Good luck.'

68  Yamamoto:    muri.       [haha]
                 impossible
                 'Impossible.'

69→Morita:                   [haha]  Miyamoto-san nara dekiru kedo
                                     name-HON     CND  can.do but
                                     'Miyamoto can do it.'

70  David:       nande  Miyamoto-san?
                 why    name-HON
                 'Why Miyamoto?'

71  Miyamoto:    eh  kiitetara-      kiitetara      dekiru kedo haha
                 HES listen.ASP.CND  listen.ASP.CND can.do but
                 'Uh, if (I'm) listening. I can do it if (I'm) listening.'
```

Just prior to this segment, David tried saying some English phrases to see if anyone could

understand them. Morita suggested that Miyamoto could do it. Miyamoto had a reputation for

having better English skills than others in the workgroup. He chimes in in Line 71 to say that if

he is listening carefully to David's English then he can probably understand the meaning of it.

This segment is laden with laughter, the environment in the cafeteria was very loud, and this is clearly a casual, unofficial interaction, but yet the reference to Miyamoto was also formed with the typical 'last name + *san*' pattern. This suggests that the 'last name + *san*' pattern is used across a wide range of people and contexts. However, it is important to recognize the reference to Miyamoto is contained in an utterance directed toward David. So the use of the generic 'last name + *san*' could very well have been an orientation to David as an outsider, rather than representative of how workers usually speak about each other amongst themselves in similar settings. If so, this example may not demonstrate typical native speaker forms of reference in informal settings, but rather that the Japanese co-workers framed themselves with a bit more distance from the interns.

I was unable to find any instance in the informal settings in my data of one worker referring to another when the intern was not present. As such, it is impossible to separate the possibility that 'last name + *san*' is typical of this group of workers from the possibility that the workers are orienting to the presence of the *gaijin*. My feeling is that these data are more likely to be a result of the later explanation than the former. However, regardless of which explanation is correct, it is still true that the workers predominantly used 'last name + *san*' pattern in front of the interns. Thus, from the interns' perspective, it is the normal pattern.

These data are consistent with the conclusions of Thompson (2006) and Kitayama (2013) who suggest that 'last name + *san*' is the most common way of referring to others in the workplace and is associated with official or formal tasks. Last names are used in reference to self, and last names with the *san* suffix are used in reference to second- and third-person others. Having established the normative patterns of references using names among native Japanese

speakers in the workplace, the next section looks at how American interns typically refer to their

co-workers.

4.3.2. Typical form of reference used from American interns to Japanese co-workers

Like their native-speaking counterparts, the interns also most commonly referred to

others using 'last name + *san*'. If anything, the interns use this form too frequently, including in

very casual or informal settings. The next set of examples illustrates. First, consider the

following in which Ethan uses his co-worker's name as a vocative in a way that mirrors the

native speakers in Excerpt 4-2.

Excerpt 4-5. Addressing others from intern to co-worker

```
Setting: Ethan is asking his manager, Hayashi, about a report he will give
at the end of his internship. Ethan approaches from across the room.
```

```
1→  Ethan:      Hayashi-san.
                name-HON
                'Hayashi?'


2   Hayashi:    hai?
                yes?
                'Yes?'


3   Ethan:      raishu::  (.) kayoobi desu    yo ne.
                next.week     Tuesday COP.MAS PP PP
                'Next week Tuesday, right?'


4   Hayashi:    eh.
                Yes.
                'Ya.'
```

This was by far the most common way for any of the interns to approach another worker.

Interns frequently got the attention of other workers by calling them by their last name plus the

usual suffix *san*. In this example, Ethan is talking to Hayashi who also happens to be his

manager. However, the use of 'last name + *san*' was not reserved only for those in supervisor

roles. Interns also used it to refer to other workers as well. Consider the following where David

references his co-worker when reporting to his group during a meeting.

Excerpt 4-6. Reporting in a meeting

```
Setting: David is attending a meeting with his workgroup and reporting on
his activities over the past week.

1   David:      e:tto. (0.2) konshuu   desu    ne. (0.4) ano:::
                HES          this.week COP.MAS PP        HES
                'Uh, so this week, well...'

2→             Noda-san to: (0.3) sono:: (0.4) sanjigen         no:
               name-HON COM        HES             three.dimensional GEN

               (0.6)  uchuu    tenkaizu     to iimasu  ka ne?
                      universe exploded.view QT say.MAS Q  PP
               '(I worked) with Noda to... umm, is it called a 'three-dimensional exploded view
               diagram'?'

3              ats- ano:: (.) tsukue ni  aru   yattsu to. (0.5) ano::
                    HES        desk   LOC exist thing  and        HES

               konshuu    sore o.   (0.4)  ano: (0.3)  tsukuri-dashimashita.
               this.week that ACC          HES          make-turn.in
               'That- the thing on the desk. This week, I finished that and turned it in.'
```

Here, in an official report to his co-workers, David makes a reference to Noda, a regular

employee. He is reporting that they worked together to complete a three-dimensional diagram.

Noda was also present during this meeting, though David's utterance is directed toward the

entire group. As this demonstrates, in second- and third-person references in official tasks the

interns use the standard 'last name + *san*' just as their native-speaking co-workers do. Interns

also defaulted to this form in informal settings. The following is an example from Susan when

she offered a part of her lunch to her fellow co-worker.

Excerpt 4-7. Sharing lunch

```
Setting: Susan and Akagi have been taking pictures for a news article and
stop for lunch. Susan opened her lunch which had several packages of
konjac jelly, which she offered to share with Akagi.
```

```
1   Susan:      hai (.) Akagi-san (.) doozo.
                INJ     name-HON      please
                'Okay, Akagi. Please (=Here you go.)'

                ((hands a package of konjac jelly to Akagi))

2   Akagi:      oh::: arigatoo  gozaimasu.
                      thank.you COP.MAS
                'Oh! Thank you very much.'
```

Again, the intern in this excerpt uses 'last name + *san*' in reference to her co-worker, this time in the casual context of sharing food during lunch. Although it should be noted that Susan is offering something to Akagi and so the act being performed is somewhat more official than just friendly chat. That said, I found very few instances of an intern using a suffix other than *san* in any setting and no instances of one using a co-worker's first name.

In fact, the tendency for interns to use 'last name + *san*' was so pervasive that they used it when talking about their co-workers to me in English when no one else was present, as Mike does in the following.

Excerpt 4-8. Referring to co-workers in English

```
Setting: Mike is talking to the researcher about the people in his group
that he works with.
```

```
42→Mike:        °often° (0.4) well you see Seki-san in the corner there? (0.6)
                uh:: so she often- er (.) we work on projects together a lot.

43  Researcher: she's the one from earlier?

44  Mike:       ya
```

Here, Mike is talking to me about Seki, a translator that he worked with often and who had been at his desk earlier asking questions. But even though I was talking to him in English

and no one was sitting nearby, he still referred to her as *Seki-san* using the typical Japanese convention of 'last name + *san*'. Carrying the Japanese form over into English was extremely common among the interns, all of whom would refer to their co-workers with 'last name + *san*' when talking to me in interviews and other conversations and points to how pervasive and consistent this pattern is. It shows that this is the usual way for interns refer to their Japanese co-workers in any situation, regardless of the formality level or context of talk. Thus the American interns invariably conform to the typical patterns that they see native speakers using as well.

Given the egalitarian nature of 'last name + *san*' and its frequent use as a default way of referring to others, from the interns' perspective it is a safe form to use. It is almost always acceptable, even in situations when native speakers might tend to prefer some other more specific form. By adopting it as their default form of reference as well, the interns seem to by trying to adapt to their perceptions of normative patterns in the target language and culture. They are not trying to stand out as *gaijin*, but to fit in appropriately as junior workers.

4.3.3. Typical form of reference from Japanese co-worker to American intern

The normative pattern of reference between Japanese co-workers is to use 'last name + *san*' and the interns conform to this convention, even though it is different than the conventions in their native language and culture. However, the opposite is true when the Japanese workers refer to the interns. In this case, they nearly always used first names, both with and without the suffix *san*. This creates an asymmetry that orients to the interns' identity as *gaijin* because they are referred to differently than the majority group in the companies. The following illustrates.

Excerpt 4-9. First name as a reference from co-worker to intern

```
Setting: Taguchi uses temperature control champers to run tests on certain
items. Here, Tanaka is explaining that a particular chamber will be set on
80 degrees Celsius for the rest of the time Tanaka will be at the company.
```

```
51→Tanaka:      >Issan ga  kaeru  made<  hachijuu-do    ga  tsuiteru
                 name  NOM return until  eighty-degrees NOM turn.on.ASP
             '(The chamber will be) turned to 80 degrees until you go home.'


52  Ethan:       ah  soo   ne
                 INJ right PP
             'Oh, that's right.'


53  Tanaka:      zutto          hachijuu-do.
                 the.whole.time eighty-degrees
             '(It will be) eighty degrees for the whole time.'
```

In this sample, Tanaka was explaining to Ethan that the temperature chamber, a device

used at Taguchi Technologies to test product performance in extreme environments, will be set

at a certain temperature for the rest of Ethan's time in the company[28]. In it, Tanaka integrates

Ethan's first name as the subject of the sentence in Line 51 and used a Japanese pronunciation.

No suffix, such as *san*, is appended. First names were also used as vocatives when addressing the

interns, as in the following when Miyazaki stopped by David's desk to ask a question.

Excerpt 4-10. Addressing *gaijin* interns with first name

```
    Setting: David is seated at his desk when another worker stops to ask him
    to send a report.


1→ Miyazaki:    Dabido?
                name
             'David?'


2   David:      hai hai
                yes yes
             'Ya?'


3   Miyazaki:   sakki   no  deetaa?
                just.now GEN data
             'That data from just now?'
```

---

[28] I am told that adjusting the temperature in the chamber is a fairly major thing and it can take several days for the
temperature to stabilize once it has been set. As such, they had a set schedule of when it would be set to particular
temperatures.

```
4   David:       hai
                 yes
                 'Ya.'

5   Miyazaki:    (0.6) choodai
                       receive
                       'Send it to me. (lit. '(I will) receive it).'

6   David:       okay
                 okay
                 'Okay.'
```

In this sample, Miyazaki calls David by his first name (also with Japanese pronunciation) in order to get his attention. Once he has it, he asks some data that David compiled earlier and then after a short pause in Line 5 tells David to send it to him by saying *choodai* 'I will receive it/give it to me' which is a sort of polite demand[29]. In approaching David in what is a brief, direct request, he is treating him like a junior worker. He did not ask for the data with a lengthy preface or any explanation, nor did he express gratitude at the end. So while there is nothing rude about this, it certainly seems to orient to David's position as an intern.

The identity of *gaijin* emerges in these settings due to the use of bare first names. In both of the excerpts above, the interns are referred to by their first name and without a suffix. This is a stark contrast to talk both between native speakers and from intern to co-worker, both of which tend to use last name with the *san* suffix. Moreover, using a bare name like this is contrary to typical Japanese social norms in official situations, and yet both of these interactions are official work situations. Thus this differential way of formulating names toward the American interns indexes their cultural outsider-ness; it is an instance of *gaijinization*.

Now, it could be that the workers are simply trying to refer to the interns with the conventions that would be most familiar to them. That is, it could be an attempt at

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[29] *Choodai* is written with two Chinese characters, which mean 'to humbly receive' and 'to give thanks'. So in this sense it literally means something like 'I will gratefully receive it' though it is used as a polite demand of sorts.

accommodation. But regardless of whether this is positive accommodation or whether it leads to feelings of inequality, the point is that it clearly orient toward *gaijin* because at the very least it acknowledges differences in the use of names. By employing a different pattern when referring to the interns, the interns are marked as being different than others in the company.

As a general rule, interns were usually referred to by their first names with no suffix. However, there were a few times when *san* was attached, and this seemed to happen in situations that were especially formal or involved particular speech acts. To illustrate, consider the following example where Susan and Akagi had just arrived at a farm where they were scheduled to conduct an interview. When we first walked in to the farm house, Akagi introduced both me and Susan to the owner.

Excerpt 4-11. Introducing the *gaijin* to others

```
Setting: Susan and Akagi just entered the home of a farmer who they will
be interviewing for a story. Akagi had already met the farmer, so he
introduces both Susan and the researcher.

12→Akagi:      ((gestures toward Susan)) Susan-san to:: (.) Suteibu-san
                                         name-HON  and       name-HON
                                         'Susan and Steve.'


13  Farmer:     hi.  ((shakes hands with Susan and the researcher))

14  Susan:      yoroshiku o-negaishimasu.
                well.ADV  HON-wish.MAS
                'Nice to meet you.'

15  Farmer:     nice to meet you

16  All:        hahaha
```

Prior to this excerpt, we had entered the farm house and Akagi greeted the farmer while we stood quietly in the background. After the greetings were exchanged, Akagi turned to introduce us, referring to us by our first names plus *san*. In Japan, when introducing two people

who have not met previously, last name would almost certainly be used. So the presentation of our first names immediately points to the fact that we are not Japanese[30]. Indeed, the orientation to *gaijin* is then further strengthened as the farmer greeted me and Susan in English. This farm house was in a very rural area in the mountains, about one hour from what was already a small town. It is likely that there are not many *gaijin* visitors to the area, so our presence was unusual and, consequently, oriented to in the interaction.

An important difference between this example (as well as others using *san* in reference to the interns) and the prior ones is that this context is more formal and involves the act of introducing others. Akagi is presenting us to someone we have not met before. Moreover, we were there on official business to conduct an interview for a newspaper. So *san* seems to orient to this situation. However, in typical Japanese native speaker interaction, *san* may not be used to introduce a colleague to someone outside of the company because, as an honorific suffix, it is not appropriate to use it in reference to one's in-group members when talking to someone in the out-group, just as it is not appropriate to use it in first-person use of one's own name (cf. Niyekawa, 1991). Thus *san* also puts distance between us and Akagi and the farmer, and in this sense may help strengthen our outsider position.

Additionally, the situation is also complicated by my presence. Akagi and Susan might work for the same company, but I did not. Moreover, from Akagi's perspective Susan and I were probably seen as belonging to the same in-group since we are both Americans and both associated with the same internship program, Susan as a participant and me as an observer[31]. In

---

[30] Although it is possible that the farmer did not know these were our first names, especially if he did not have a good sense for typical American first and last names. As it turns out, the farmer spoke relatively decent English, so it might be reasonable to think that he was familiar with American names, though this is impossible to say for sure.

[31] Because my visits to the company were negotiated in part with the help of the director of the internship program, it is likely that I was seen by the workers as a representative of the internship program and not just as a third-party researcher.

this case, the use of *san* is also indexing our position as *gaijin* visitors, not as Akagi's colleagues. So the use of first names points toward *gaijin*, and the additional use of *san* strengthens the presentation of *gaijin* in an introduction to others.

To summarize, in the case of native speakers referring to interns, first names were most common. Though *san* was not used often when it was it seemed to further contribution to the emergence of *gaijin* by creating additional distance between the worker and the intern. Moreover, this pattern is not consistent with the typical usual pattern in Japanese of referring to co-workers by last names plus *san*, especially in official situations. Because these practices were typical (though not entirely exclusive) throughout the daily routine and across the different internships, it follows that the 'default' position of American interns is that of *gaijin* outsider.

4.4. IDENTITY WORK THROUGH DEVIATIONS AND LABELS

Having established that, through variations in the use of first and last names and the suffix *san*, interns are regularly positioned as *gaijin* in the workplace, this next section looks at some of the ways that the interns might respond to this positioning. This is a shift in focus from how interns are constructed as *gajin* to an investigation into how they utilize, redefine, and challenge this identity interactionally. For the most part, the interns held closely to patterns that conformed to their beliefs regarding appropriate behaviors in Japanese society. However, at times they broke from these patterns and engaged in various styles of identity work. David was by far the biggest culprit of this, and given his feelings about using language to "be funny" and project his personality this comes as no surprise. Other interns, like Mike, almost never strayed from the patterns of reference laid out above which is also expected given his strong beliefs about using language properly.

Admittedly, the several examples to be analyzed below are exceptional; deviations from normative patterns are, by definition, atypical. Some interns used their *gaijin* identity more than others. But while these might not be typical in terms of daily routines, considering several examples provides important insights into the type of identity work opens a window into the many possible ways that one can manage their identity for specific interactional purposes. These examples challenge the implication inherent in the data presented above that because *gaijin* is assigned to the interns by default, they are stuck with it. They show that, while *gaijin* is not something that can be completely overcome, it is possible to use it to one's advantage. This has implications for understanding the role of identity in the successful or unsuccessful achievement of intercultural communication.

I will consider four excerpts in this section. The first two items come from David who often deviated from the patterns above in his references toward others. They demonstrate how deviations from normative pattern can be used to exaggerate the insider/outsider divide in order to accomplish some interactional goal. Then the second two items, one from Susan and another from David, then look at how creative references to self (rather than other) can be used to achieve similar effects[32].

4.4.1. Using *gaijin* in exaggerated references to others

One way interns responded to their position as *gaijin* was to exaggerate differences in order to be playful and build rapport with co-workers. David would frequently do this by teasing his co-workers through atypical use of references and labels. Consider the following, where David and his co-worker, Miyamoto, are sparring light-heartedly during lunchtime talk about the

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[32] The ways that identity is transformed and challenged were many and varied greatly with individual personalities. David was by far the most aggressive in using references as a means of directly mounting challenges to *gaijin* identities. Ethan, Joe and Mike also dealt with *gaijin*, but through approaches that were more subtle and implicit. Their individual strategies will be seen in more detail in the following chapters.

proper English translation for the Japanese word *undookai*[33]. Prior to this excerpt, David had been criticizing a Japanese-to-English dictionary that the workers at Taguchi Technology used to prepare for the TOEIC exam. He took particular issue with the noun *undookai* which was glossed as 'athletics meeting'. Miyamoto suggested 'sports festival' as a better translation and David agreed. After some playful banter, David shifts to a sarcastically formal tone, referring to Miyamoto as *Miyamoto-sama* which exaggerates a status difference in order to mock him.

Excerpt 4-12. Miyamoto-sama

```
    Setting: David, Miyamoto, and others are discussing the quality of English
    translations in a dictionary used by employees at Taguchi Technologies.

68  David:      nanka sports festival no   hoo       ga  ichiban     ii   kana
                HES   sports festival GEN  direction NOM number.one  goon Q
                'So, I think 'sports festival' is the best, probably.'


69  Miyamoto:   mane       sunna  yo oi.
                imitation do.NEG PP hey
                'Don't imitate me! Hey!'


70  All:        hahaha


71  David:      mane       shitenee   yo.
                imitation do.ASP.NEG PP
                'I'm not!'


72  Miyamoto:   ore ga  itta    yatsu sore wa.
                I   NOM say.PST thing that TOP
                'That's what I said. (=I suggested 'sports festival' first.)'


73  David:      datte (.) sakki    no  supootsu fesutaburu ga  ichiban     ii
                but       recently GEN sports   festival    NOM number.one good

                to itteru   n    janai?
                Q  say.ASP NML COP.NE1G
                'But wasn't I just saying that 'sports festival' is the best one?'
```

---

[33] An *undookai* is an athletic meet where schools hold various sporting competitions and other performances, somewhat reminiscent of field days held by some K-12 schools in America.

```
74  Miyamoto:    mane      sunna  yo.
                 imitation do.NEG PP
                 'Don't imitate me!'

75  David:       chotto (.) mane      shitenai.
                 INJ        imitation do.ASP.NEG
                 'Hey, I'm not.'

76  Miyamoto:    orijinaritii dase     orijinaritii.
                 originality  show.IMP originality
                 'Show some originality. Originality.'

77→David:        so   ka (.) hai sumimasen.
                 that Q     yes sorry.MAS.NEG
                 'Okay, I see. I'm so sorry.'

78→             Miyamoto-sama no  oshatta          (0.5)  sports festival ga
                 name-HON      GEN honorably.say.PST       sports festival NOM

                 ichiban     tadashii to omotte   orimasu.
                 number.one  correct  Q  think.TE humbly.exist.MAS
                 'I am of the humble opinion that Miyamoto's wonderful suggestion of 'sports
                 festival' is the most correct answer.'

79  All:         hahahahahahahahaha

80  David:       DOO desu    ka? (.)  sore de.
                 how COP.MAS Q   that INS
                 'How's that? Okay?'
```

The excerpt above is taken from the middle of an ongoing dialogue, starting in Line 68

where David agrees with Miyamoto's suggestion to translate *undookai* as 'sports festival'.

Miyamoto, however, apparently thought David was presenting it as his own suggestion and so he

teasingly responded by telling David not to mimic him. They bantered back and forth with

Miyamoto insisting David is trying to use his suggestion, while David insists that he is merely

confirming that Miyamoto's suggestion is a good one. The conversation is very casual and the

language is a bit rough, with Miyamoto producing items like *sunna* (Line 69), a coalescence of

the verb *suru* 'to do' and negative imperative marker *na*, and also referring to himself with the

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masculine-sounding *ore* 'me' in Line 71. David also uses a similar speech style in his retorts, such as *shitenee yo* (Line 70), which is a coalescent form of the verb *suru* 'to do' and the negative aspectual marker *inai*. However, David makes a noticeable, and clearly intentional, shift in style in Line 77. In the line just prior, Miyamoto told David he needs to be more original in his choice of English terms and in response, David shifts from a rough, casual pattern, to an overly exaggerated formal one.

A key part of this shift in style is David's reference to Miyamoto as *Miyamoto-sama* in Line 78 following a clearly sarcastic apology. This reference replaces the typical title *san* with *sama*, a higher honorific title which is usually reserved for situations such as shopkeepers addressing customers (e.g., *o-kyaku-sama* 'honored guest') or in references to deity (e.g., *hotoke-sama* 'The Buddha'). While it is true that Miyamoto is more senior than David, *sama* is way over the top and would never be used between co-workers of any level, at least not in typical daily conversation. By employing it here, David is exaggerating his outsider position within a junior-senior relationship in a way that performs a mock display of deference toward Miyamoto. This effect is further strengthened by David's use of a humble verb *orimasu*, which further lowers himself, and a referent honorific, *oshatta* 'to honorifically say/to proclaim' which further elevates Miyamoto. The entire utterance also reflects a shift from speech with lots of coalescence and abbreviated forms to a clearly enunciated and overdramatically prim-and-proper utterance.

Thus David is using irony in overstating Miyamoto's position as superior to himself in order to poke fun at Miyamoto and also gives him a bit of power in the interaction. After all, David is sarcastically deferring to Miyamoto regarding an English translation—something that the native English-speaking *gaijin* would usually have more authority over than the Japanese-speaking co-worker. So when David puts on a sarcastic and exaggerated performance of

deference to some higher authority, the underlying force of his utterance is to actually make a

claim to authority over English translations. This ironic humor is clearly evident to everyone

watching this interaction, as immediately after David's challenge the entire table burst into

laughter (Line 79). This sequence is funny precisely because David is an English-speaker,

otherwise the irony is lost. Thus is contributes to the construction of his *gaijin* identity. More

importantly, by overemphasizing the senior-junior relationship, David actually challenges his

marginalized *gaijin* position in this context.

In addition to challenging the position of *gaijin*, another common function of deviations

from the typical 'last name + *san*' pattern to alter forms of address in a way that mitigates

imposition on others. In the following example, David uses the label *sensei* 'teacher' as a

vocative when interrupting a co-worker.

Excerpt 4-13. Sensei

```
Setting: David is attempting to build a small mechanical item but has a
question about the diagram he is following. He approaches Nakata, who has
been officially assigned as his mentor.
```

```
1→  David:    sensei
              teacher
              'Teacher?'


2   Nakata:   hai?
              yes
              'Yes?'


3   David:    burasshi wa (0.4) hazushite   mo  (.) oomu ga  tsuiteru
              brush    TOP      take.off.TE even.if ohm  NOM turn.on.ASP

              kara (.) ano: shoo-keesu hazusenai        n   janai    desu    ka
              so       HES  small-case take.off.POT.NEG NML COP.NEG COP.MAS Q
              'Even if (I) take off the brush, since the ohms are turned on (I) cannot take off the small
              case, right?'


4   Nakata:   nukenai
              remove.NEG
              '(You) can't remove (it).'
```

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The function of *sensei* in Line 1 is to get Nakata's attention. But rather than addressing

Nakata with a typical expression, David uses the title *sensei* 'teacher'. Though *sensei* is, in fact, a

common title used as an address term it typically refers to people in an instructor or educator role

and would usually not be expected in a workplace setting (cf. Kitayama, 2013). That said,

Nakata was in fact officially assigned as David's mentor during his internship and thus actually

did hold a sort of instructor role with respect to him[34]. Interestingly, I only found one other

instance when he used *sensei* to address someone other than Nakata, though he used it with some

regularity toward Nakata. This suggests that David is, to some degree, orienting to Nakata as his

mentor, though even if this is the case, calling him *sensei* in a workplace intern-mentor

relationship is still unusual and seems to overemphasize Nakata's role.

David later explained to me why he would open conversations with Nakata (and others)

using this and other similar strategies, offering two reasons. First, he said it was easier to "try to

be funny" than attempt to use proper forms of politeness in a second language. He said he did not

want to worry about addressing people politely and found it easier to make jokes instead. In this

sense, using *sensei* may be a strategy to avoid language he is not comfortable with. Second, he

said that it is also simply his personality to "be friendly." He is probably aware that *sensei* is not

a typical term to use, but he does it anyway because he does not want to take things too seriously.

However, what is missing in the above excerpt is Nakata responding in a playfully

toward David. This could be a manifestation of Nakata's personality, or it could be that David

---

[34] Outside of his role mentoring David, Nakata was otherwise a regular line worker and did not hold any managerial positions. It was common practice in these internships to officially assign a peer-level co-worker to mentor the interns, although the extent to which any mentoring actually occurred varied greatly. In my observations, David did not seem to interact with or receive assignments from Nakata any more frequently than other workers.

has referred to him as *sensei* so consistently that it has become expected[35]. In the only case that I found where David used this same term in reference to a worker other than Nakata, it was clearly understood as a joke as the worker laughed out loud when David said *sensei.*

Excerpt 4-14. Hi Sensei

```
Setting: David approaches Noda to ask about reserving a machine used for
testing.
```

```
1→ David:      hi sensei.
                  teacher
              'Hi teacher.'


2→ Noda:       eh  hahaha (0.3) nani?
               INJ                what
              'Huh? Hahaha. What?'


3   David:     nan  deshoo     ka?
               what COP.MAS.VOL Q
              'What is it? (=What do you think?)'


4   Noda:      a- haha

5   David:     can you guess?

6   Noda:      hahahaha .hhh
```

The use of *sensei* here is similar to Excerpt 4-13, though the humor is more apparent. For example, David uses other playful strategies such as code-switching to English and Noda laughs more freely than did Nakata. David also plays around by asking *nan deshoo ka* 'what is it?' in Line 4 to make Noda guess the reason for David's interruption. This more clearly demonstrates David's intention to be funny as a means of getting his co-worker's attention. In both cases, he is discursively presenting his relationship with his co-workers as one of 'student' and 'teacher', rather than one of 'foreign intern' and 'co-worker'. This is not a suppression of *gaijin*, but rather

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[35] An alternative possibility worth mentioning is that Nakata could have been distracted. According to David, Nakata had an unfortunate personal incident at home several days earlier and had just returned to work the day I arrived. He was apparently still resolving the issue.

a way to transform it into something that is enough of a deviation from the actual relationship to contextualize playfulness. As such, it functions effectively as a means of intruding on someone without being burdensome. In fact, the use of identity work to create humor as a means of mitigating intrusions or other face-threatening acts was one of the most frequent ways that *gaijin* was used by many of the interns, and more examples of this will be seen in the chapters to follow.

4.4.2. Identity work in references to self

These two examples from David suggest, if anecdotally, ways that one might deviate from the typical patterns of referring to others in a manner that exaggerates and negotiates relationships. In other cases, interns used labels as references to reposition *themselves*. These examples are also somewhat anecdotal in that they did not occur regularly. But as with the previous items, they provide insights into how similar identity work can be accomplished not through reference to other, but through reference to self. Here I consider two final examples.

The first excerpt comes from Susan. After interviewing the farmer, Susan and Akagi took some pictures in the area to include in their article. They took a break for a few minutes to sit down on a bench they found that had a nice view of the city. After a few minutes, Akagi asks if Susan wants to head back to the office. During the exchange, she uses references to both Akagi and herself to position her as helpless to make the decision, thus pushing responsibility back to Akagi.

Excerpt 4-15. A simple intern

```
    Setting: Susan and Akagi have recently finished taking pictures at a farm
    and are taking a break on a bench with a view of the city.

1   Akagi:      uh: koko de  nonbiri: (.)   shite- yasumu ka:.
                INJ here LOC relax      do.TE rest   Q
                'Uh, (should we) stay here and relax- take a break?'
```

```
2   Susan:       uh:
                 BCH
                 'Uh.'


3   Akagi:       moo      kuruma ni  notte    orichau    ka?
                 already car   DAT ride.TE descend.ASP Q
                 'Or get in the car and go back?'


4   Susan:       oh  (0.1)  do-       dochira demo   ii desu
                 BCH            either.one good   COP.MAS
                 'Oh, either way is fine.'


5→               Akagi-san no  meirei  ni  shitagaimasu kara.
                 name-HON  GEN command DAT follow.MAS    so
                 'I will follow Akagi's orders.'


6   Akagi:       ha[hahaha


7   Susan:          [hahaha


8   Akagi:       >watashi meirei dekiru koto ga  areba    ii   n   da  kedo<
                  I        command can.do thing NOM have.CND good NML COP but
                 'That'd be great if there was something I could order.'


9→  Susan:       watashi wa  tada (0.4) no  kenshuusei     desu     kara
                 I       TOP simple    GEN trainee/intern COP.MAS so
                 'I'm just a simple intern.'


10→Akagi:        iie  (0.5)  watashi wa  kyoo  wa  tada no  gaido shiteru
                 no          I       TOP today TOP just GEN guide do.ASP

                 dake desu    kara
                 only COP.MAS so
                 'No. I'm just a simple guide today, so...'
```

When Akagi first asked if Susan wanted to stay and take a break or head back to the office, rather than stating her preference Susan tried to return the decision to him by playfully saying in Line 5 by saying she would follow his "orders." Note that she refers to him with the standard 'last name + *san*' form. Because this is used in an utterance that positions Akagi as having authority to give orders, the standard reference supports the foregrounding of an institutional relationship in which Akagi is senior to Susan. Of course, this utterance was

intended as a joke, and they both laughed in the following lines, but at the same time it transfers power for decision-making to Akagi.

Susan then continued her playfulness with a second reference, this time to herself as *tada no kenshuusei* 'a simple intern' (Line 9). This label is particularly meaningful. Not only does she explicitly categorize her as a *kenshuusei* 'intern/trainee', she modifies it with *tada* 'simple/mere' which emphasizes the lowly, almost helpless position of an intern. It projects a sense that she has no choice but to follow Akagi's orders because of her low hierarchical position. Thus Susan is transforming her identity as a *gaijin* outsider in a way that playfully focuses on notions of cluelessness or helplessness. Like David, she exaggerates the distance between herself and Akagi by overemphasizing the distance between herself and her co-worker. But unlike David, this is done through a combination of references to both Akagi (Line 5) and herself (Line 9). The goal here seems to be to use project a marginalized position as a means of deferring to her co-worker and, therefore, avoiding the responsibility for deciding whether they should stay or go.

As a final note on this excerpt, Akagi's response in Line 10 is also quite meaningful. He actually pushes back on Susan characterization of their relative positions by referring to himself as a *tada no guide* 'a simple guide', which labels him as a 'tour guide' and also uses the same modifier *tada* 'simple/mere', thus again redefining their relationship. On our drive to and from the farm, Akagi had taken a few liberties to show us some of the historical sites in the area, and in this sense really had been acting as a guide. By making this explicit, rather than 'commander' and 'subordinate' as Susan had framed it, they are now positioned as 'tour guide' and 'tourist'. This also orients to Susan's *gaijin* identity, but does so in a way that elevates her. As a tourist, she is a foreigner and Akagi is the guide because he has knowledge of the area that only an insider would. However, if Akagi is a tour guide then that makes Susan a customer which is

actually an elevated position. So by making Susan an 'elevated outsider' Akagi is actually shifting the decision-making power back to Susan. This back-and-forth shuffling of identities final ended when, after a period of somewhat awkward silence following Line 10 Akagi suddenly blurted out loudly *ja IKIMASU KA?* 'Well, shall we go?'

Here, the use of *Akagi-san*, *tada no kenshuusei* 'a simple intern' and *tada no gaido* 'a simple guide' functions to reinterpret their relative positions in a way that fluidly shifts the role of decision maker back-and-forth between Akagi and Susan. Thus the identity work being done through references to self and other has implications for the actual decision-making process. In doing so, Susan's position as a *gaijin* outsider is subtly transformed into 'subordinate/lowly intern' and then 'customer/elevated outsider'. In this way it is utilized as a tool in the interaction.

In one final example from David, he explicitly uses *gaijin*, but this time not to reinterpret or use it, but to mount a very direct challenge to it. In the following, David and Yamamoto had been searching for a tool to fit an oddly sized bolt. Yamamoto thinks he has found the right one, but David insists that it is not. Not believing him, Yamamoto tries to use it anyway and it turns out that David was right. In interpreting Yamamoto's actions as an indication that he is not being taken seriously as a *gaijin* intern David jokingly, but directly, calls this into question.

Excerpt 4-16. Baka na *gaijin*

```
Setting: Yamamoto is looking through a tool box to find a wrench of a
certain size. He finds one, but David tells him it is too big. Yamamoto
tries it anyway.

38  David:      nai ne. (1.5) that- (.) o- ooki-sugiru.
                NEG PP                   big-too.much
                'Nothing. That's too big.'

39  Yamamoto:   ooki-sugi?
                big-too.much
                'Too big?'
```

```
40                 ((tries to use the tool anyway, but it is immediately clear
                   that the wrench is too big and will not work))

41  David:         shinrai-shite kure      yo::::.
                   rely.on-do.TE give.IMP PP
                   'Hey, trust me!'

42  Yamamoto:      hahaha (.) hai.
                   okay
                   'Okay.'

43→David:          baka    na        gaijin    deatte mo (0.2)  sonnani
                   stupid COP.ATT foreigner even.if            that.kind.of

                   baka    janai   ssu yo::.
                   stupid COP.NEG COP PP
                   'I might be a stupid foreigner, but (I'm) not that stupid.'

44  Yamamoto:      haha (.) kore de  yaru?
                            this INS do
                   '(Can you) use this?'

45                 ((hands David a wrench they tried earlier that was too small,
                   but managed to turn to bolt with some effort))

46  David:         ah:: s::ore de  yatte  (1.4)  hai kore de  yarima:su.
                   HES  that   INS do.TE         yes this INS do.MAS
                   'Oh, use that? Okay, (I'll) use this.'
```

When Yamamoto tries to use the wrench (Line 40) David counters by imploring him to
trust him (Line 41). Recall from the discussion in Section 4.2 that David would complain about
what he perceived to be a lack of trust. Here, he makes that complaint explicit to a co-worker. He
then follows this up with an interesting way of positioning himself in Line 43 when he directly
refers to himself as a *baka na gaijin* 'stupid foreigner'. This is a pretty strong statement, and is
clearly for the purpose of challenging them as he goes on to say in the same utterance, *sonnani*
baka janai ssu yo '(I'm) not that stupid'. By modifying *gaijin* with *baka* 'stupid/foolish', David
is confirming his position as an outsider and admitting to being culturally naïve. But, he is also
pushing back against any implication that this lack of cultural knowledge necessarily means he is

lacking in job-related knowledge. This is exactly what David complained about to me in interviews, and here it is represented in his discursive interaction with Yamamoto.

As was shown in Section 4.3, the 'default' position of the interns is on the outside. In something as basic and pervasive as naming conventions, the interns are referred to with a form that deviates from the normative patterns in native speaker talk. Here, David harnesses that position, makes it explicit, and in so doing uses it not to challenge *gaijin* stereotypes *per se*, but to challenge what he believes is a tendency in the company to not trust him to be able to do his job. Using *gaijin* in this way is an effective way to mount this challenge because it uses something that is so obvious in such a dramatic way that it becomes a self-deprecating joke that carries the force of complaining about marginalization. In fact, Yamamoto chuckles a little in response, though this could just as easily be Yamamoto commenting on David's acting like a silly *gaijin* thus pushing him even further to the outside.

These two excerpts from Susan and David are anecdotal in nature, but help to problematize the suggestion that just because the normative patterns of reference place them on the outside that they are stuck on the outside. Using other types of labels and references, they either use this position to their advantage (e.g., when Susan pushes the responsibility for decisions away from herself) or to mount a challenge to it (e.g., when David insults himself in order to push back on his position). Certainly other ways of using *gaijin* are also possible, depending on the many contextual variables in a situation and the personalities of those involved. The point here is simply to highlight a few of the creative and dynamic ways in which an outsider identity can be transformed and used in interaction, thus illustrating that identity is not a monolithic entity that is merely oriented to or marked in interaction, but can be used as well.

4.5.   SOME BRIEF IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

This chapter explored a few ways in which references to self and other are used in the discursive construction and utilization of *gaijin* identities. Regarding the typical positions of interns, the data revealed three patterns: 1) native Japanese speakers use 'last name + *san*' as a standard way to refer to each other in the workplace, 2) American interns almost exclusively use 'last name + *san*' in references to co-workers of any status and 3) Japanese employees refer to the American interns by their first names. This pattern suggests that interns are constructed as *gaijin* through asymmetry in the intern/co-worker use of names and in the way that co-workers deviate from Japanese naming conventions when addressing the interns. Also, in using interns' names *san* is usually not appended, but when it is it may have the effect of further positioning them as outsiders. Thus interns 'default' to an outside position.

Next, using several examples from David and Susan, I argued that the interns may be able to use this identity in various ways. In these examples, *gaijin* is used by over-exaggerating it as opposed to, say, explicitly trying to ignore it. David uses it in ways that shows mock deference while making claims to authority, as a means of mitigating impositions by being humorous, and to mount a direct complaint about not being trusted. Susan uses it to deflect responsibility for making decisions. There are certainly many other ways in which *gaijin* can be redefined, transformed, and used for various purposes. Thus these four anecdotes serve to demonstrate that, even though the standard patterns of using names makes *gaijin* default to the out-group, it is still a discursively-produced entity that can be used to their advantage.

Based on the data here, there are at least two points regarding intercultural communication worth mentioning. First, just as the standard practice in reference terms is oriented toward the interns' positions as *gaijin*, in many intercultural settings one of the

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participants is seen as an outsider. But for the person in the outsider position of an intercultural contact situation, the question of relevance is not how they *establish* their position but rather how they *manage* it. They may choose to confront it directly, to ignore it, to redefine it, or to challenge it. But to some extent, they must deal with it. Differences in sociocultural backgrounds are salient due to differences in linguistic patterns, social behaviors, and even physical characteristics. Identity is at the very heart of intercultural contact.

Second, even though a given identity is established by 'default' due to typical practices, it can be dynamically transformed and challenged. More to the point, it can be *used*. So, as with David and Susan, 'being a *gaijin*' is not just a reality, but a tool. It can be harnessed, exaggerated, and challenged in ways that facilitates the achievement of interactional goals, from mitigating intrusions to avoiding responsibilities to complaining about perceived unfair treatment. Not only is the management of identity central to understanding intercultural communication, it is the very means by which it can be made successful (or not).

Finally, I think it important to note that the ways in which *gaijin* is managed in several examples examined here are frequently characterized by humor and playfulness. This may suggest that self-mockery and over-exaggeration of one's outsider position does not always lead to more marginalization, but may also lead to friendly interaction and mutually shared laughter. Such social encounters in the workplace have been shown to be effective for building effective working relationships and establishing good rapport (Holmes, 2006a, 2007a). By engaging with each other this way, the participants may benefit from increased cultural awareness and stronger interpersonal relationships. Indeed, based on my observations, those interns who seemed more willing to engage with humor and playfulness also seemed to be more involved in social events outside of work as well (David and Joe in particular).

CHAPTER 5

'FITTING IN' AND 'STANDING OUT' THROUGH STYLE SHIFTING

A major area where *gaijin* interns can be seen to worry about issues of self-presentation is in resources tied to ideologies of politeness. Learners of Japanese are often taught to attend to details of social hierarchies and interpersonal distance when determining which linguistic structures they should use (cf. Ishida, 2007, 2009; Tokuda, 2001). They are taught to be polite to someone who is superior, older, or occupies some role that demands respect and then led to believe that violating these conventions will cause offense or present a bad image. In reality, Japanese native speakers themselves shift between so-called 'polite' and 'casual' speech patterns in ways that do not always conform to these ideological conventions (Cook, 1996b, 1998; Jones & Ono, 2008b; Megumi, 2002; Okamoto, 1998, 1999). Nevertheless, interns' attempts to assimilate to a group or present themselves appropriately by conforming to the rules they were taught creates a rich environment in which to investigate the interplay between linguistic form, social ideologies, and interactional constructions of identity.

This chapter studies alternations in the use of addressee honorifics and similar structures associated with a 'polite' speech style as interns attempt to either 'fit in' with the group or 'stand out' for some purpose. The central questions ask how interns 1) shift between what they perceive to be 'polite' and 'casual' speech as a means of negotiating their position as *gaijin* and 2) using this position to accomplish interactional goals. As notions of politeness are so prominent in ideology and interaction, this will show how beliefs about language both support and hinder the management of identity in professional contexts.

5.1. POLITENESS AND IDENTITY IN JAPANESE AND THE WORKPLACE

Many studies in Japanese make it clear that honorific resources are associated with a variety of social identities (Cook, 1996b, 1997, 2008b, 2013; Geyer, 2008; Hori, 1986; Ishida, 2009; Jones & Ono, 2008a, 2008b; SturtzSreetharan, 2006; M. Yoshida & Sakurai, 2005). They play an important role in the negotiation of insider/outsider boundaries (Bachnik, 1992; Cook, 2008b; Okamoto, 1999), while also tending to be ideologically associated with notions of politeness and social hierarchies (Hori, 1986; S. Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; Niyekawa, 1991; Pizziconi, 2003; Shinoda, 1973; Wetzel, 2004, 2008). Some have even claimed that it is impossible to construct any utterance in Japanese without using honorifics in some way, an observation which led Matsumoto (1988) to declare that "there is no socially unmarked form[36]" (p. 418) (cf. Coulmas, 1992). Yet honorifics are not merely resources which point to values regarding politeness, but do extensive conversational work within local interactions.

5.1.1. Addressee honorifics and ideological politeness in Japanese

Linguists divide Japanese honorifics into two categories: *addressee* honorifics, which show respect to the person being talked to and *referent* honorifics which show respect to the person being talked about (Comrie, 1976; Harada, 1976; Hori, 1986; Martin, 1975; Shinoda, 1973). In many contexts, these are often the same person. By far, the most commonly used and frequently studied are addressee honorifics, the presence of which is marked grammatically through fairly straightforward verbal morphology, as shown in the following two Japanese sentences. The morpheme indicating addressee honorifics is underlined.

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[36] Though Matsumoto seems to think this is a unique feature of Japanese, it is more likely that most, if not all, languages make social choices in every utterance. The difference lies in how they are encoded in syntax, semantics, morphology, phonology, prosody, etc. Matsumoto's argument is may be simply an observation that Japanese encodes social information into verb-final morphology in a rather overt way.

(1) No addressee honorific ('plain' form)
```
mise  ni iku
store to go.MAS
```
'(I) will go to the store.'

(2) Addressee honorific ('*masu*' form)
```
mise  ni ikimasu
store to go
```
'(I) will go to the store.'

Both sentences are identical in terms of their referential meaning, but differ in the way they index the relationship between speaker and addressee (Harada, 1976; Martin, 1964, 1975). Structurally, the different is that in (1) has no addressee honorific, but (2) does. In (1), the verb *iku* 'to go' is in what is sometimes called 'plain' form or 'dictionary' form in Japanese textbooks. It is also called the 'informal' or 'casual' form, though it is also found frequently in impersonal writing such as scholarly articles and newspapers (Cook, 2002). It is regarded as the base form, representing the verb and its core meaning without any morphological alterations. In (2), the addressee honorific morpheme *masu* is used[37]. This morpheme attaches to the end of a verb with some phonetic adjustments depending on the form of the base verb (here the final /u/ in *iku* changes to /i/ before *masu* is attached). In the case of the copula, addressee honorifics are marked by replacing *da* with *desu* (e.g., *Tanaka-san wa gakusei da/desu* 'Tanaka is a student').

Furthermore, addressee honorifics primarily appear in the main clause of a sentence, except in very formal settings. Embedded clauses using addressee honorifics, while possible, are so formal as to be almost unnatural in many everyday situations. The following illustrates.

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[37] For simplicity, many refer to addressee honorifics as '*desu/masu* form', just '*masu* form', or 'polite' form. I will follow that convention here, with the exception that I try to avoid calling these 'polite' forms to avoid inappropriately invoking a model that associates addressee honorifics to politeness an unmediated, binary way.

(3) No addressee honorific in embedded clause
```
kusatta kudamono o   tabete shimaimashita
rot.PST fruit     ACC eat.TE complete.MAS.PST
```
'(I) ate the rotten fruit.'

(4) Addressee honorific in embedded clause
```
kusarimashita kudamono o   tabete shimaimashita
rot.MAS.PST   fruit     ACC eat.TE complete.MAS.PST
```
'(I) ate the rotten fruit.'

These examples contain three verbs: *kusaru* 'to rot', *taberu* 'to eat' and *shimau*, an auxiliary verb that indicates the completion of an action and often carries a negative connotation. The use of a *masu* form in the relative clause *kusarimashita kudamono* 'rotten fruit' of item (4), while possible, sounds strange in most contexts. *Masu* form would also not be used with *taberu* 'to eat' because it is followed by an auxiliary verb[38]. While there are other examples of *masu* forms in other types of embedded clauses that are fine, the point here is to illustrate that lack of an addressee honorific in embedded clauses does not necessarily indicate that a speaker's style has changed from formal to casual. Rather, the key indicator of speech style is the form of the final verb[39].

So while the presence of addressee honorifics do not alter the meaning of the verb or the sentence in which it appears (e.g., both *iku* and *ikimasu* mean 'to go'), it does index social meaning. Many scholars have referred to addressee honorifics as *teineitai* 'polite form', suggesting a direct relationship between the *masu* morpheme and some binary notion of 'politeness', i.e., politeness is either present or it is not based entirely on the presence or absence

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[38] Verbs are linked to auxiliary verbs in Japanese with a morphological pattern called *te*-form or connective form. It is grammatically possible to use an addressee honorific with *te*-form, as in *tabemashite shimashita* 'completely ate', but this is also so formal as to be unnatural.

[39] The definition of 'final verb' is difficult to pin down precisely in spoken interaction (e.g., Iwasaki, 1993, 1997). Generally, the indicator of speech style is the verb at the end of a complete thought of sort, such as a turn completion unit or other finite form.

of *masu* (cf. Matsumoto, 1988). This conceptualization of addressee honorifics was pushed by S. Ide (1989) in her critique of the influential politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978). They argue that speakers are concerned with mitigating threats to positive face (the desire to be appreciated and acknowledge by others) and negative face (the desire to maintain one's own private space). In this model, speakers strategically use politeness according to their own volition in order to appropriately manage certain social needs. However, interpreting *masu* as a direct marker of politeness, Ide noticed that addressee honorifics are used in utterances that are clearly not mitigating face threats under Brown and Levinson's definition. Based on this, she claims that their theory does not apply to some Asian cultures.

Instead, Ide uses the concept of 'discernment' (*wakimae* in Japanese) to develop her own model of politeness specifically for Japanese. She argues that in Japanese society people must know what social rules govern a given situation and then conform to those rules. That is, they exercise *wakimae* 'discernment' in the situation as opposed to employing volitional strategies. She proposes that politeness, i.e., the use of *masu* form under her interpretation, is obligated in four situations: 1) When speaking to some older, 2) when speaking to someone in a higher social position, 3) when speaking to someone with power and 4) in formal situations. This ideology is pervasive and has had much influence on the way Japanese is taught to learners.

5.1.2. Style shifting and an indexical model of addressee honorifics

A major criticism of the argument put forth by S. Ide (1989) is that it removes the role of speaker *volition*. Taken to the extreme, it implies that speakers have no choice but to conform to social rules through proper discernment. However, using a model of indexicality (Nunberg, 1993; Ochs, 1990, 1996) and an analysis of naturally-occurring data, Cook (1996b, 1998) found that *wakimae* 'discernment' is not sufficient to explain the realities of *style shifting*. Style shifting is a

phenomenon wherein speakers switching between different levels of honorific speech even when none of the key variables that should influence discernment (e.g., senior-junior relationships) have changed (cf. Cook, 1996a, 1997; Dunn, 2005; Jones & Ono, 2008b; Okamoto, 1998, 1999). For example, Cook (1997) shows that mothers use *masu* in some contexts when talking to their children, which clearly violates Ide's proposed rule that *masu* is used when speaking to an older person. The implication of these studies is that addressee honorifics are not simply markers of politeness, but are, in fact, resources used volitionally with local interactional purposes.

So rather than markers of 'politeness', *masu* forms are better understood as markers of affective stance which can be used to manage self-presentation (Cook, 1996b, 1998) and express formality or deference (Okamoto, 1998, 1999). According to Cook (2008b), *masu* directly indexes an on-stage self-presentational stance in a way that portrays "a positive social role to the addressee" (p. 46). This stance can then be used to perform social identities, e.g., someone with authority, someone with knowledge, or used, volitionally, to express politeness (Cook, 1996b, 1997, 1998). It can also be used ironically in playful, humorous sequences (Cook, 2008b). Regarding identities, M. Yoshida and Sakurai (2005) show that *masu* forms can be used as a tool to interactionally embody behaviors that are ideologically associated with roles such as wife, husband, teacher, and so on. One might use addressee honorifics when 'being a parent' but abandon them when such a role is irrelevant. However, it is not that they index identity directly, but rather that identities are performed based on their pattern of use (or non-use) during an unfolding interaction.

Attention to the non-use of *masu* form, or 'plain form' as it has been called, is also critical. Regarding plain forms, Maynard (1993) suggests they reflect low awareness of the addressee, and makes a distinction between plain form verbs that appear in an isolated, or

'naked', form and those that are used in combination with 'affect keys' such as prosodic manipulation and interactional particles. Cook (2002, 2008a) then uses this idea to show that, on an indirect indexical level, plain forms contextualizes informal contexts and close relationships, while directly indexing affect stance (in the case of plain forms plus an affect key) or informational content (in the case of naked plain forms).

But while honorifics are indexes which are used volitionally in interaction, rather than direct markers of politeness ideologies, the way in which they are deployed may still be influenced by macro-level structures. This is especially true in the Japanese workplace where it is not uncommon for workers to undergo etiquette training on how to speak properly (cf. Carroll, 2005). For example, in a study of employee seminars in Japan, Dunn (2011) finds that there is a focus on using proper linguistic forms when socializing employees into workplace behaviors. In fact, the ideologies taught in etiquette training are consistent with a sociocultural model that values discernment and conformity over self-expression and volition, at least in 'on-stage' contexts such as performing workplace roles. However, as Dunn (2011) stresses, though such training strengthens the ideologies that inform discernment, "it is how these new employees *choose* to implement the forms introduced in the manners training *in their moment-to-moment interactions* with clients, customers, superiors, and coworkers that individual volition is most likely to come into play" (p. 3653, emphasis added). The present chapter, therefore, adds to this work by exploring how *gaijin* deploy their own ideologies (which are probably not the same as those taught in employee trainings) as a volitional means to meet interactional ends.

5.1.3. Japanese language learners, politeness and identity

As mentioned above, honorifics are often a feature of Japanese that is emphasized in classroom pedagogy for their relation to social positions and identities. As such, non-native

speakers of Japanese are likely to lean on these forms when trying to manage their position as linguistic and cultural outsiders. Students of Japanese are frequently taught to use honorifics in accordance with social hierarchies and rules similar to those suggested by S. Ide (1989), i.e., use *masu* form when talking to your teacher, boss, or superior (Ikeda, 2009; Siegal, 1995). Similarly, other formulaic phrases are also taught as being tied to specific actions, e.g., you say *itadakimasu* (lit. 'I will partake') before eating food, *go-chisoo-sama deshita* (lit. 'it's been a feast') after finishing a meal, and *sumimasen* (lit. 'it's not finished') to apologize[40]. Given this pedagogical approach, learners are likely to develop beliefs that associate addressee honorifics and other similar items with ideologies of politeness, respect, social hierarchies, and discernment.

Cook's (2008b) book-length examination of speech style and socialization among homestay students takes a look at how addressee honorifics are used in conversations with language learners in constructing outsider identities. She shows that *masu* forms position foreign students as outsiders, while plain forms construct a more intimate 'insider' identity, recalling the *uchi/soto* dichotomy[41] (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994). In particular, *masu* indexes a *soto* 'outside' context when its use is 'marked', meaning when language learners use it in ways that diverge from typical native speaker patterns. For example, *masu* forms are used by homestay families when acting as an authority on Japanese culture, thus drawing attention to their lack of cultural knowledge and, therefore, foregrounding the students' *soto* position.

But while honorifics play a role in the interactive construction and manipulation of identities, they also perform specific conversational functions as well. Makino (2002) shows that speakers switch to non-honorific forms when engaging in self-directed speech, Megumi (2002)

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[40] I will refer to these collectively as 'social formulas'. These phrases may or may not make use of honorifics, but because they are often taught as set phrases governed by social rules, they are associated with similar ideologies.

[41] Cook's study is, to my knowledge, the only inter-cultural study of Japanese addressee honorifics that deals with issues of identity, though there are plenty that deal with learner competency and pragmatic awareness.

shows that *masu* forms direct turn-taking procedures and solicit feedback from others, and H. Tanaka (2000) shows that they signal the end of one turn and the beginning of another. Studies looking at the conversational management of Japanese honorifics are still a minority to those that focus on sociopragmatic functions, but make an important point: Linguistic elements that construct and reinterpret identities are also deployed for local purposes apart from social ones. In this way, they may simultaneously construct identity while also being used for other interactional purposes.

5.2. INTERNS' IDEOLOGIES OF POLITENESS

On an ideological level, the interns in this study all seemed to associate addressee honorifics with politeness and associated proper use of them with conformity to perceived social norms and positions. They studied Japanese in a curriculum which refers to *masu* as 'polite form' and were taught to speak politely all the time. The business Japanese class they took prior to departing for their internships taught that failure to use polite speech was inappropriate in Japanese workplaces and explicitly linked *masu* to this polite speech style. Additionally, they were taught that proper use of politeness markers is determined by social hierarchies, especially junior-senior relationships. Many reported that honorifics are a constant concern and were not comfortable knowing when to use them and when it was okay to use casual speech.

David was, based on my own observations, the most skilled at using style shifting to achieve particular rhetorical effects. Regarding politeness, he said the following.

Excerpt 5-1. Japanese politeness knows no bounds

> The people I work with are always like, "You're better at *keigo* [honorifics] than I am." Haha. It's like, "Sorry! That's what [my teachers] told me to use." . . . I don't think they really know how to interact with me, both on the language aspect and the personality aspect. . . . I absolutely hate honorifics, but it's still important, you know. I mean, Japanese politeness, man. It knows no bounds.

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Here, David first indicates that honorifics are something he first tried to use in accordance with how he was taught in school. But given that others commented on this, apparently his use garnered attention. This reminds me of a time when, as an intern, a member of my workgroup chastised me for speaking politely because, according to him, it put everyone on edge. The compliments given to David's could indicate that he is using them in accordance with commonly held ideologies, or that his use was different enough from standard patterns that his co-workers felt a need to compliment his efforts. Also, David connected honorifics to his personality, suggesting that he is using them to present his own identity, perhaps even intentionally.

In contrast, Ethan made clear attempts to use honorifics in accordance with the rules he had been taught. When asked about *masu* forms, he immediately connected them to politeness, saying that he felt it important to be polite all the time. He claimed that because he was "lower than pretty much everyone" *masu* form is the "safest." Later, when asked if he fit in with other workers and he admitted that fitting in is something he tries to do.

Excerpt 5-2. I hesitate and struggle

> I think that because I hesitate and struggle to be honorific, I think that [my co-workers] sense that, "Oh, he's trying to be polite. He understands that he should be polite." That's probably more important than the actual words, as long as they know you're trying to get it right.

In talking about how he tries to fit in, then, Ethan attaches honorifics to politeness, but puts more weight on effort than accuracy. By struggling to speak appropriately, he feels that he is more likely to be accepted into the group even though struggling with the language is likely to make him stand out for being different.

Mike had somewhat different ideas. He spoke Japanese rapidly and with a high degree of proficiency. He seemed to have a confident command of honorifics. He felt that honorifics generally, and particularly addressee honorifics, were an essential component of workplace

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success. Once he said "It is extremely important to be polite. That's how you succeed in a Japanese company." He even blamed some miscommunications on failure to be sufficiently polite. Susan, on the other hand, was the only intern in Japan for the first time and her language proficiency was comparatively low. She rarely used anything other than *masu* forms, and told me she adheres to them because it is the only form she feels comfortable speaking. For Susan, more than ideology, her usage appears to be determined by competency. Though she also connected *masu* form ideologically to politeness and frequently referred to it meta-linguistically as "polite form," it was difficult to determine if she is actually using *masu* intentionally to be polite or because it's the only form she is comfortable producing in real-time.

In sum, all of the interns associate honorifics with politeness in some way, but some incorporate other beliefs as well. For David, it is a means of managing personality; For Ethan, a means of assimilating to the group. Mike considers politeness critical to success, while Susan struggles with proficiency. Joe and Olya both expressed similar ideas as well. The following sections look at how style shifting is deployed to manage identities in light of these beliefs.

5.3. STYLE SHIFTING AMONG NATIVE SPEAKERS IN THE WORKPLACE

Before considering how the student interns use addressee honorifics, it is informative to look briefly at the typical ways in which native speakers use them. Though she does not study addressee honorifics as a conversational management tool directly, Miller's (1988, 1994, 1995b) data from Japanese workplaces reveals a pattern in typical discourse structures. Encounters between co-workers broadly consist of an 'opening', which begins the interaction, a 'transaction', which contains the content and purpose of the encounter, and a 'closing', which wraps up the exchange. Japanese employees then normally use addressee honorifics in the opening as a means of getting someone's attention, introducing a topic, or interrupting another conversation. Then

they shift into a plain speech style to discuss the business at hand and accomplish the transaction.

Finally, they shift back to addressee honorifics to signal the end of a sequence and express

gratitude, apologize for the intrusion, or offer a closing salutation.

This patterned proved to be the norm in the companies I observed, and a typical example

follows. While Ethan was working alone, two of his co-workers next to him were working on

another project and Ethan's microphone captured the following[42].

Excerpt 5-3. Native speaker baseline use of style shifting

```
1   Setting: While Ethan works at his desk, Miyazaki and Hayashi discuss a
    project in the cubicle next to him.

2   Miyazaki:    Hayashi-san. chotto ii  desu   ka?
                 Name-HON     little okay COP.MAS Q
                 'Hayashi? Do you have a second?'

3   Hayashi:     hai hai
                 yes yes
                 'Yes yes.'

4   Miyazaki:    denki     noizu: no  (0.4) ano: (0.4) shuuhasuu-tai  goto
                 electrical noise GEN       HES         frequency-band each
                 'For each frequency band of the electrical noise...'

5   Hayashi:     ah  kore ga  ( )
                 INJ this NOM
                 'This is (unintelligible)'

6   Miyazaki:    hai. soo da  ne.
                 yes  so  COP PP
                 'Okay. That's right.'

7   Hayashi:     ano kyokutan ni  sa (.) nanka  sagaru      tokoro tte  aru
                 INJ extreme  ADV PP HES decline part/place Q    exist NML
                 'Umm, there's parts where it declines (=angles down) a lot.'
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[42] Because my observations were centered on the interns, conversations between native speakers without the intern being involved were not captured frequently and usually only in the background within range of the microphone attached to the intern.

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((46 lines omitted while Miyazaki and Hayashi continue to discuss the
problem using plain form predominately))

53  Miyazaki:    ah  soo iu  koto  ka?
                 INJ so  say thing Q
                 'Oh, so that's it.'


54  Hayashi:     hai.
                 yes
                 'Yes.'


55  Miyazaki:    wakarimashita.
                 understand.MAS.PST
                 '(I) understand.'
```

This sample demonstrates the typical pattern of shifts between *masu* form and plain form

in native speaker interaction at Taguchi Technologies. As in the studies mentioned above, they

begin with *masu* form to open (Line 2), conduct the transaction in plain form (Lines 6 and 7, as

well as throughout the omitted lines) and then switch back to *masu* form in the closing (Line 55).

That is, work-related content is accomplished in plain forms but conversational maneuvers

(opening and closing conversations, requesting, apologizing, and so on) are carried out with

addressee honorifics. This pattern is summarized in Figure 5-1.

Opening	Transaction	Closing
Masu Form	**Plain Form**	**Masu** Form
-opening salutation	-complete transaction	-thank or apologize
-introduce topic		-closing salutation
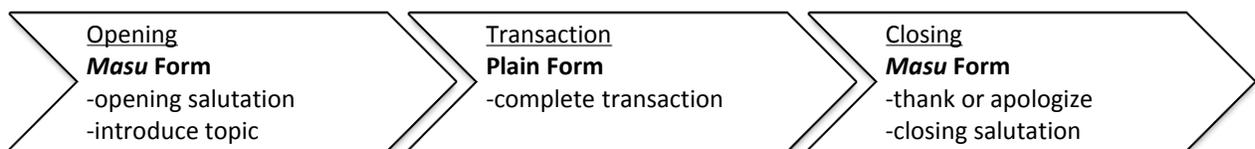
Figure 5-1. Typical pattern of addressee honorifics in Japanese workplace discourse

This pattern provides a baseline for comparing the extent to which interns follow this

structure and how their own usage might be marked.

5.4. INTENTIONAL AND UNINTENTIONAL EMERGENCE OF *GAIJIN* IDENTITY

To compare how interns patterned their use of addressee honorifics, this section will look at a comparison of David and Ethan's interactional styles. Both of them worked at Taguchi Technologies, the same company as the native speakers in Excerpt 5-3. David would use style shifting in constellation with other resources to foreground his *gaijin* identity for local purposes. Ethan, on the other hand, tried to use them to fit in, but due to usages that run contrary to typical native speaker patterns, ends up "being a *gaijin*" as well, though not with the same degree of volition as David. This comparison reveals that 1) style shifting is an important component of managing 'outsider' and 2) even attempts to 'fit in' by conforming to ideologies of appropriate politeness may not be successful in suppressing *gaijin* identities.

5.4.1. Embedding identity in typical patterns of style shifting

David would use addressee honorifics in a manner that was consistent with the typical baseline patterns described above, but would also employ style shifting in playful ways that had a tendency to foreground his position as a *gaijin*. A representative example follows[43].

Excerpt 5-4. Tsunagatte nee

```
    Setting: Morita is sitting on a workbench. David approaches from behind,
    places his hand on Morita's shoulder and bends down close to his face.

1→  David:      >hima?<
                free.time
                '(Do you have) some time?'

2   Morita:     un?
                huh
                'Huh?'
```

---

[43] For clarity, transcripts in this chapter mark addressee honorifics with a double underline and plain forms in positions where honorifics might have been used with a broken underline.

```
3   David:      >jikan<  (0.3)  sukoshi dake
                time              little  just
                'A little time.'


4   Morita:     un.
                ya
                'Ya?'


5→  David:      onegai  shite ii  desu   ka
                request do.TE good COP.MAP Q
                'May I request (some time)?'


6   Morita:     un
                ya
                'Ya.'


7   David:      sanjuppun      gurai.
                thirty.minutes about
                'About 30 minutes.'


8   Morita:     un
                ya
                'Ya.'


9   David:      ano::-
                Umm
                'Umm.'


10  Morita:     sanjuppun      wa  ooii desu    ne
                thirty.minutes TOP lot  COP.MAS PP
                '30 minutes is a bit much.'


11  David:      hahaha .hhh  (1.4)  sukoshi dake::  (0.4)  ano:
                                    little  just            Umm
                'Haha, just a little. Umm.'


12→             yuzaa    to  pasowado o   irete    moraitai     n  da  kedo
                username and password ACC enter.TE receive.DES NOM COP but
                '(I) would like to have you put in the username and password.'


13  Morita:     why?


14→ David:      hh haha why?  (0.2)  watashi haireNAI      kara
                                     I       enter.POT.NEG so
                'Why? Because I'm not able to.'
```

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15 Morita: ↑kore pasukon   tsunagatte nee zo ↓tabun (0.3) koitsu   wa
                  this   computer connect.ASP NEG PP probably   this.one TOP
                  'This computer is not connected (to the network), probably. This one.'

16 David: a   tsunagatte nee?
                  INJ connect.ASP NEG
                  'Oh, it's not connected?'

17 Morita: un tabun.
                  BCH probably
                  'Ya, probably.'

18 David: hontoo °ka:°
                  really Q
                  'Really?'

19 Morita: un.
                  BCH
                  'Ya.'

20 David: °hontoo ka:°
                  really Q
                  'Really?'

21 Morita: tashika.
                  certainly
                  '(I'm) sure.'

22   ((Morita tries to log in to the server.))

23 Morita: °tabun   tsunagatte nakatta°
                  probably connect.ASP NEG.PST
                  'It's probably not connected.'

24   ((Morita continues to type on the computer.))

25 Morita: tsunagatteta   ne:.
                  connect.ASP.PST PP
                  'It's connected.'

26 David: OH:::[::

27 Morita: [doozo
                       please
                       'Go ahead.'

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```
28→David:      arigatoo  gozaimashita   (0.3)   sukuwaremash:ita.
               thank.you COP.MAS.PST            save.MAS.PST
               'Thank you very much. I'm saved.'

29→Morita:     .h haha sukuwareta
                        save.PST
               'Haha, you're saved.'

30→David:      °soo desu°   kore de   .hhh   Miyamoto-san ni  sibakarenai::.
               so   COP.MAS this INS          name-HON    DAT get.mad.PSV.NEG
               'That's right. Now (I) won't get yelled at by Miyamoto.'

31  Morita:    hahaha
```

At first glance, David's use of honorifics appears to be similar to typical native speaker

use. That is, he uses *masu* form in an opening in Line 5 to ask a favor and Morita reciprocates.

He then switches to plain form in Lines 11 to discuss the transaction and closes by thanking with

masu form in Line 28. However, this typical structure is enclosed within two playful comments,

both in plain form. In Line 1 he gets Morita's attention with *hima* '(do you have) some time'

which omits honorific forms that might have been preferred (e.g., *sumimasen ga, chotto hima

desu ka* 'Excuse me, but do you have a little time?'). Then after thanking Morita using addressee

honorifics, in Lines 30 David finishes with an extra comment in plain form to jokingly suggest

that, due to Morita's help Miyamoto will not get mad at him[44]. David's pattern is summarized in

Figure 5-2 below which shows the additional comments at the beginning and end.

Pre-opening **Plain Form** *hima?*	Opening ***Masu* Form** *ii desu ka?*	Transaction **Plain Form** *da kedo, tsunagatte nee*	Closing ***Masu* Form** *arigatoo gozaimashita*	Post-closing **Plain Form** *shibakarenai*
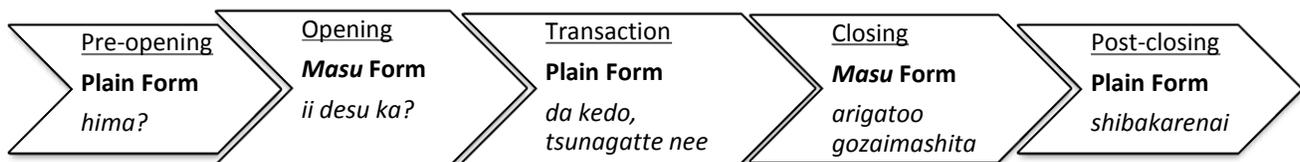
Figure 5-2. David's speech style pattern

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[44] Miyamoto had asked David to send a file to him, which is why David needed help logging in to the computer.

However, this is more than just the typical pattern book-ended by two off-topic jokes. A closer look reveals far more complexity. The first comment, *hima*, is produced quickly and with an exaggerated quality, which frames the entire sequence playfully. Then, despite formulating his request with typical addressee honorific in Line 5, David continues to play around in Line 7 joking that his request will take thirty minutes. Morita, who had been acknowledging with backchannels, picks up the joke in Line 10 and strengthens the playful mode in Line 13 by asking David 'why?' in English. To this, David states matter-of-factly that he does not have a network password. Because all of the full-time workers had a password, explicitly mentioning his lack of access brings his position as an intern to the forefront.

The interaction is also very casual and playful. In Line 15, Morita uses a colloquial negative form *nee* and the pragmatic particle *zo,* which often indexes a rough, masculine way of speaking. This shift in style probably marks this as self-directed speech, although David then appropriates this style in Line 16 and proceeds to jab at Morita in Lines 18 and 20 by sarcastically whispering *honto ka* 'really?' in mock disbelief. Morita is suggesting that the computer cannot log on to the network, but David did not believe him. David expresses this by playfully and repeatedly asking, at least rhetorically, if Morita is "really" sure. Note that David then reacts in a very exaggerated manner when Morita realizes the computer was, in fact, connected, exclaiming *OH::::* as if to say 'See, I'm right!' in Line 26.

Thus the work being done by these shifts in combination with exaggerated prosody, code-switching, aggressive speech and so on, suggests this is a work-related transaction embedded within a frame of friendly socialization. This is reflected in how David patterned his use of *masu* and plain forms. By surrounding the typical pattern of Figure 5-1 with two light-hearted plain

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form comments, the speech style also frames this as on-the-job task occurring within a light-hearted encounter between friends.

This pattern also appears to play on the idea of David as a sociocultural outsider, or *gaijin*, to some extent. In addition to his skillful use of style shifting, David also uses bits of language that are actually quite strange. For example, he suggests Morita has "saved" him using the verb *sukuwareru* (Line 29) which implies 'rescue,' 'to save a life', or 'salvation' and is incongruent with the present context of 'helping out with a favor'. David also produces *shibakarenai* 'get yelled at' in Line 31, a word more common in the Kansai area, not Tokyo where this took place. However, these lexical choices actually reflect David's background. He had previously worked as a Christian missionary in the Kansai region. As such, the verb *sukuu* 'to save' would be familiar from his church activities and *shibaku* 'to get mad' from the local dialect. His use of these words sets him apart from Morita, and Morita's apparently finds them funny as he laughs and repeats *sukuwareta* in Line 30.

But while the primary indexing of *gaijin* here is being done through lexical choice, not style shifting *per se*, addressee honorifics are a critical part of the overall identity work. In producing the unusual verb *sukuwaremashita* 'to be saved' David is using an addressee honorific, which is exactly what would be expected when thanking someone at the end of this sequence. So he employs style shift appropriately for the illocutionary force of his utterance (thanking), but does so in concert with odd lexical choices that play on his cultural 'outsider' position. This helps to create an overall effect that positions David as a goofy *gaijin*, but in a way that simultaneously demonstrates that he has the ability to appropriately open and close conversations. The overall discourse structure, therefore, is what might be expected in a typical interaction, but the contextualization that frames it is playful. This seems to be an effective way to accomplish

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the immediate goal of the interaction: to get help from Morita in a friendly way that mitigates any imposition that Morita might feel.

There is one other point worth discussing. As I have argued, in this interaction David accomplishes a work-related transaction in a playful way that may even help David and Morita strengthen their friendship. But David also seems to be subtly complaining about being a marginalized intern. In fact, after this sequence Morita left and David complained to me about not having a password. He said that it indicated a lack of trust in him on the part of the company. Going back to Line 14, David reminded Morita of this fact with an almost sarcastic emphasis on *haireNAI*, possibly suggesting that Morita should already know that interns cannot log in to the network. Moreover, through repetition of *hontoo ka* 'really?' to question the accuracy of Morita's belief that the computer is not connected, David makes the point that although he is just an intern he knows more about the network connection than Morita does. So, buried in the subtext of David's interactional otherwise standard use of style shifting and playfulness are tle attempts to challenge his 'outsider' position.

5.4.2. Emergence of *gaijin* through marked use of addressee honorifics

Now, compare the identity work being done by David with the typical strategy used by Ethan, illustrated in the following.

Excerpt 5-5. Shitsumon aru

```
Setting: Tanaka is sitting at his desk and Ethan approaches carrying an
item he is testing. Tanaka does not immediately see him coming.

1→  Ethan:      Tanaka-san  (0.7)   shitsumon aru   kedo
                name-HON            question  have  but
                'Tanaka, I have a question.'

2   Tanaka:     hai. ((looks up at Ethan))
                yes
                'Yes?'
```

```
3→ Ethan:      burashi: aamu no   (0.2)  tenshon (.)  hakatte    kudasai to
               brush    arm  GEN          tension      measure.TE please  QT

               (0.9)  iwareta n  desu    ga
                      say.PSV NML COP.MAS but
               '(I) was told to please measure the brush harm tension, so...'


4   Tanaka:    burashi aamu no  tenshon?
               brush   arm  GEN tension
               'The brush arm tension?'


5   Ethan:     burashi aamu no  tsu-  (0.9)  hakatta    koto (0.7)
               brush   arm  GEN                measure.PST NML

               hakari-kata       wakarimasu      ka?
               way.of.measuring  understand.MAS  Q
               'The brush arm... Have you ever... Do you know how?'


6   Tanaka:    (kore deshoo?)  ((points at device Ethan is holding))
               this  COP.VOL
               'This, right?'


7   Ethan:     ano  (1.4)  tenshon (.)  °to iu  ka°
               HES         tension      QT  say Q
               'Umm, tension, err well...'


8   Tanaka:    ah:: hai  hai  hai
               INJ  yes, yes, yes
               'Ah, ya, ya, ya'


9   Ethan:     futtsuu ni  tenshon meekaa de  dekiru n  desu    ka?
               usual   ADV tension maker  INS can.do NML COP.MAS Q
               'Can (you) do it with a tension maker like anything else?'


10  Tanaka:    iya (.) e:tto ne (1.2)  sore wa (0.9)  (kono- kono hen  dake?)
               No  HES PP              that TOP        this  this area only
               'No. Umm... that, just right here?'


11→Ethan:      ima dekiru?
               now can.do
               'Can (you help) right now?'


12             ((Tanaka stands up and both walk to the measurement machine))
```

In contrast to the typical native speaker pattern of Figure 5-1, Ethan often used the opposite pattern: plain form for the opening, *masu* form for the content, and plain form for the closing. In the specific example above, Ethan first gets Tanaka's attention in Line 1 using the plain form verb *aru* 'have', then switches to *masu* form to explain his problem (Line 3), ask Tanaka a question (Line 9), and otherwise carry out the business of the interaction. He then switches back to plain form in Line 11 in an utterance carrying the illocutionary force of a request when he asks Tanaka to demonstrate the test. Line 1, which involves getting another person's attention, would more likely be accomplished with a negative politeness strategy such as *sumimasen ga* 'Excuse me/I'm sorry' while Line 11 would involve *masu* to help mitigate the imposition of a request (Fuki, 2002; R. Ide, 1998; S. Ide, 1989; Murata, 1994; Sugimoto, 1998). Thus Ethan's approach is marked in the sense that it goes against normative expectations of native speakers in similar encounters. Following Cook (2008b), marked usages of *masu* indexes the *soto* 'outside' context and may therefore expose Ethan's outsider position.

To help understand why Ethan might use this pattern, it is helpful to consider his relationship with Tanaka. Ethan told me he thinks of Tanaka as his best friend in the company: "He's probably my favorite guy here. He's been the most, uh, helpful and friendly . . . we joke around and have fun while we work." Given that a friendly rapport exists between them, Ethan's use of plain form in Lines 1 and 11 may be interpreted as attempts to foreground this relationship, thereby creating an *uchi* context (Cook, 1998, 2008a; Maynard, 1993). At the same time, his subsequent switch to *masu* form to explain his problem appears to be connected to his beliefs regarding politeness in workplace settings, namely that one should be polite when conducting business. This is consistent with his beliefs about *masu* form and plain form, and in this way he

seems to be using addressee honorifics to contextualize a professional relationship, but plain

form to indexes a friendly one. Figure 5-3 summarizes.
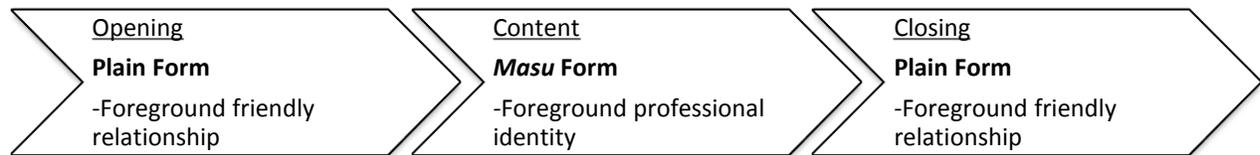
Figure 5-3. Ethan's speech style pattern

But although this pattern is consistent with Ethan's ideologies of politeness and social

hierarchies as well as his desire to 'fit in', it is exactly opposite of what native speakers typically

do in a similar context. That is, Ethan is trying to be a friend and a professional, but ends up

being a *gaijin* language learner. Interestingly, this seems to be a result of his using honorifics and

plain forms as direct markers of personal and professional identities in an attempt to 'fit in' with

ideological beliefs of politeness and appropriateness. This contrasts sharply with David who is

consistent with native speaker patterns but uses alternations intended to make him 'stand out'. It

is also noteworthy that David's approach seems to be more effective at contextualizing

friendliness. His affectively laden approach in Excerpt 5-4 is characterized by sarcasm, ironic

performances, and laughter, whereas in Ethan's case, Tanaka shows no signs reciprocal

orientations to a personal or friendly relationship.

So while Ethan attempts to be friendly with plain forms at the beginning, by switching

into addressee honorifics for the bulk of the transaction the exchange is a bit more distant than

David. David hijacks the typical native speaker pattern and infuses it with humor, whereas Ethan

inadvertently alters the entire structure itself. Thus David's identity of *gaijin* emerges as a

volitional act with a local purpose: create humor, mitigate imposition, and build rapport, while

Ethan's emerges implicitly through non-native-like patterns of usage. In a sense, David is

exercising volition while Ethan is exercising discernment. David builds rapport by acting like a

gaijin and Ethan tries to be friendly by fitting in with (incorrect) ideologies of how addressee honorifics should be used. Moreover, because Ethan's *gaijin* identity emerges unintentionally, he is unable to leverage it as an interactional tool in the way David does. To summarize, David successfully highlights his outsider position in a way that brings him closer to his co-workers, whereas Ethan attempts to directly create an *uchi* context without foregrounding his *gaijin* status. Ironically, when *gaijin* brought to the foreground intentionally as an interactional resource, as opposed to emerging implicitly through non-native-like speech style patterns, it seems to be more successful at 'fitting in' in the sense of building stronger relationships.

5.4.3. On the border of 'outsider': An intern, not a *gaijin*

A final distinct but related example concludes this section. The prior examples show that David intentionally foregrounds *gaijin* for particular interactional goals while Ethan tries to avoid it, though unsuccessfully. However, it is not necessarily the intentional use of *gaijin* that makes David's interactions possible. In the next example, David does something similar but seems to use his position as an intern—another type of outsider—rather than a *gaijin*.

Excerpt 5-6. Shirimasen

```
Setting: David has just walked into a room where the kaiten hendoo
(rotation machine) is located. Harada is in charge of managing the
reservation schedule for the machines. David is carrying a box full of
mechanical parts he is supposed to test with the machine.
```

```
1   David:      ah-  (0.7)  >ohayoo< gozaimas:u
                            good.morning
            'Ah, good morning.'


2   Harada:     ohayoo gozaimasu.
                good.morning
            'Good morning.'


3   David:      kono kaiten hen↓doo:: [wa
                this rotation.machine  TOP
            'This rotation machine...'
```

```
4   Harada:                              [hai
                                          ya
                                         'Ya?'


5   David:        yoyaku:: suru mono:: <desu   yo> (0.3)  ne::::
                  reserve   do   thing  COP.MAS PP          PP
                  '(It) needs to be reserved, right? (=lit. Is something to reserve.)'


6   Harada:       ichi- ichioo            wa  demo kyoo  haittenai     n
                        for.the.most.part TOP but  today enter.ASP.NEG NOM

                  janai  desu    ka
                  COP.NEG COP.MAS Q
                  'For the most part, but no one is signed up today, no?'


7   David:        hh haittenai     to omou  n  da  kedo:
                     enter.ASP.NEG QT think NOM COP but
                  'I think (no one) is signed up, but just now'


    ((27 lines omitted wherein David explains that Miyazaki asked him to run
    some tests in an hour and Harada leaves to check the schedule to see if
    the machine is available, which it is.))


34  Harada:       nani kaiten hendoo    hakaru no? nan  to  iu?
                  what rotation.machine measure Q   what QT  say
                  '(For) what (items) are you measuring rotations? What (is it) called?'


35→David:         SHIRIMASE:::N
                  know.MAS.NEG
                  'I don't know!'


36  Harada:       muzukashi soo   na      no?
                  difficult seems COP.ATT Q
                  'Does it seem difficult (to use the machine)?'


37  David:        tada  (0.3)  Miyamoto-san ni  kiite
                  just         name-HON     DAT ask.TE
                  'It's just, I asked Miyamoto.'


38                kaiten hendoo    wa   yatte kure    to itte
                  rotation.machine TOP  do.TE give.IMP Q  say.TE
                  '(He) said to do the rotation machine.'
```

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```
39              ja: yaroo  to omotta____n___da  kedo
                INJ do.VOL Q  think.PST NML COP but
                'So I was like, "okay, let's do it."'

40  Harada:     hahahahaha  (0.7) doozo  doozo
                                  please please
                                  'Please, please.'
```

David begins this segment with a typical approach, using addressee honorifics in a greeting which is reciprocated by Harada (Lines 1 and 2) as well as in his initial question in Line 5 which Harada also reciprocates. In Line 7, David then shifts to plain form to explain the reasons he needs to use the machine. During the omitted lines, David explains that another co-worker, Miyamoto, had asked him earlier to test a few devices and send him the report within an hour. He accomplishes the explanation entirely with plain forms as well.

A shift back to *masu* form does not occur again until much later in Line 35 when David responds to Harada's asking him what kind of devices he would be testing. The devices are sitting in a box next to David, but are not items that he worked with frequently. In response to her rather unremarkable question he responds loudly and with a lengthened final vowel, *SHIRIMASE::N* 'I don't know!!' This switch to *masu* coupled with the over-exaggerated presentation emphasizes David's lack of knowledge, although playfully. The use of *masu* here is essential for highlighting that he does now know what he is doing. Had David produced this with a plain form (e.g., *SHIRANAI::*), it probably would have sounded less natural. Furthermore, the question from Harada that prompted this reply was in plain form. It was related to the work transaction and is a typical way to focus on informational content and orient to the task at hand rather than institutional positions. When David suddenly responds loudly and with an addressee honorific, he momentarily adjusts the setting to be a bit more formal and distant. It makes

institutional positions relevant, if temporarily, and seems to help him create a self-presentation that claims he is just being a good intern by doing what was assigned to him without question.

It is important to note, however, that it is not just the style shift that helps David make the claim that he does not know what is going on. Following this utterance, he shifts back to plain form and, in a somewhat matter-of-fact tone, explains that his co-worker Miyamoto asked him to run the test. He reports Miyamoto's speech indirectly and presents it as an imperative as if he had been ordered to do something (i.e., he indirectly reports Miyamoto as having said *yatte kure* 'do it' in Line 38). Earlier, I observed David's encounter with Miyamoto and in reality he had been looking for something to do and Miyamoto accommodated him, saying he could run the tests but that it was not necessary. David further reports to Harada that his response was *jaa yaroo* 'well, let's (do it)', which makes it appear that David agreed because he had nothing better to do. This formulation seems to justify his lack of knowledge regarding the parts he is testing by appealing to a subordinate position. Interns are stereotyped as low-rung grunts who get ordered around (e.g., 'get me coffee!' or 'make these copies!'), and David plays into this image by playfully creating the impression that he is being pushed around. Though this image is developed by the way he characterizes his earlier encounter with Miyamoto, it is framed by the initial style shift in Line 35 that first establishes him as an unknowing and naive intern. Thus it seems it is better for him to position himself as an intern being bossed around than as an intern with either nothing to do or lacking in knowledge of what he should be doing.

As in Excerpt 5-4, David again seems to be creating particular identities for the purpose of joking around and building rapport. However here, he does this by foregrounding 'intern' not *gaijin*. In both cases, style shifting is a framing device that contextualizes both his playfulness and his 'outsider' positioning. Nevertheless, it is not clear that intern and *gaijin* are separable. If

a Japanese intern could use *shirimasen* 'I don't know' as a legitimate excuse in similar circumstances that would suggest *gaijin* is not relevant for justifying lack of knowledge. It is impossible to know this based on my data which do not include any observations of Japanese interns. However, my intuition is that *gaijin* is still an important part of this. Even though David might not be playing to his ethnic identity or different linguistic background, it seems that he can still get away with being funny while not knowing things because *gaijin* are expected to be naïve anyway. Even though David might not orient to *gaijin*, he is still using it.

These three excerpts make the point that outsider identities can be managed in many ways. In the first case, David uses it intentionally as a sort of mitigation strategy. In the second, Ethan tries to avoid it in favor of indexing personal and professional relationships, but his ideologies regarding how these relationships are indexed lead to a speech style that might actually bring *gaijin* to the forefront. Finally, the last sample speculates that even using other types of 'outsider' might still be attached to *gaijin*.

Finally, the role for style shifting in these interactions is that of a contextualization cue. In David's first example, opening with plain form frames the interaction playfully, while the otherwise typical pattern of style shifting shows that there is still a business-related transaction being accomplished. In the second case, Ethan appears to intend for shifts to contextualize his friendship with Tanaka, but the unnatural pattern actually indexes his *gaijin* position. Finally, in the third excerpt, the shift to *masu* in an exclamation helps David frame himself as a naïve intern. Thus speech style is used in marked and unmarked ways to contextualize information that helps present a variety of identities, professional and personal. However, as the data make clear, it does not function in isolation. Other items such as prosodic exaggeration, lexical choice, reported speech and so on, work together to achieve the overall effects.

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5.5. SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO 'FIT IN'

While addressee honorifics can be used in constellation with other resources to construct a *gaijin* identity and create good rapport, more commonly interns, like Ethan, try to use honorifics according to the rules and ideologies of politeness they have been taught in order to fit in. The idea of 'fitting in' is a tricky one. Many commentators feel that, given the obvious physical and cultural differences between *gaijin* and Japanese, it is not possible to assimilate entirely (e.g., Aldrich, 2009; De Mente, 1997; Stevens, 2009). While this is probably true, it is also true that interns and their co-workers can orient to alternative identities and thus make *gaijin* irrelevant in some contexts. Although I argued above that Ethan's attempt to do just this was not as successful at establishing close relationships as David's attempts to stand out, there are times when interns do identity work for purposes other than building rapport. In these cases highlighting *gaijin* may not be the most effective approach. This next section looks at several examples of when interns try to fit in, but with varying levels of success.

5.5.1. Style shifting to foreground professional identities

First, I present examples from two interns, Olya and Mike, which show how style shifting can be used in ways that are relatively effective at 'fitting in' for purposes of the interaction. In both of these, the interns use addressee honorifics as might be expected and in order to present themselves properly with respect to institutional positions and responsibilities.

Excerpt 5-7. I will send you my schedule

```
    Setting: Olya and her co-workers have finished a meeting and are now
    chatting casually about the itinerary Olya will use to return to America.

12  Sakamoto:    de  Nagoya kuukoo (0.4) shuu niwa    nikkai    shika  nai
                 and Nagoya airport      week TMP.TOP two.times except NEG

                 n   da  yo ne.
                 NML COP PP PP
                 'And Nagoya airport only has two (flights) each week, right?'
```

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```
13  Olya:        soo Nagoya wa  chokusetsu wa  takai.
                 yes Nagoya TOP direct      TOP expensive
                 'Yes. Direct (flights from) Nagoya are expensive.'

14  Sakamoto:    soo da  yo ne.
                 yes COP PP PP
                 'Yes, that's right.'

15→Olya:         mata   (0.2)  sukejuru o-okuri-shimasu.
                 later         schedule HON-send-do.MAS
                 'I will send you my schedule later.'

16  Sakamoto:    un::.
                 BCH
                 'Okay.'
```

This segment occurred immediately after a meeting had closed and Olya, Sakamoto (her

boss), and one other intern had apparently stayed behind to chat[45]. As Olya would soon be

returning to America and the other intern to China, the subject of flight plans was brought up.

The talk was casual and everyone had, for the most part, been using plain forms as shown in

Lines 13 and 14. Then, in Line 15, Olya offers to send Sakamoto a copy of her itinerary,

suddenly switching to honorifics (both a humble form and an addressee honorific).

The purpose of Olya's utterance is to tell her boss that she will send him her itinerary.

The style shift from plain form to honorifics in this case seems to accomplish at least two things.

First, the utterance containing an honorific is an offer to do something for Sakamoto. Olya is

taking responsibility to send important information to her boss, even without his explicit request.

This presents her as a 'good intern' doing her duty. Second, the move temporarily shifts the

conversation from a friendly chat in which more personal identities are relevant to one in which

the boss-intern relationship is at the foreground. In this sense, by creating a *soto* position

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[45] As I was not personally present to observe this meeting I am not certain if others were present or if they left the room. However, these three voices were the only ones that remained on the recording.

between her and her boss in the local interactional frame, she 'fits in' with her proper role in the larger institutional context.

A second example of fitting in by suppressing outsider *gaijin* identities comes from Mike in which he makes the professional role of 'expert' relevant in an interaction that otherwise was brought about because of his position as an American *gaijin*. Much of his responsibilities included translating documents from Japanese to English and members of Mochi Co.'s translation department frequently asked him for advice. Prior to the next excerpt, Sakai, one of the translators, asked for help preparing mailers to send to the United States. In Japan, addresses suffix prefecture, city, and town names with *ken* 'prefecture', *shi* 'city', or *choo* 'town' respectively. Sakai had erroneously included English equivalents in U.S. addresses (e.g., she wrote things like "Honolulu-city, Hawaii-state"), and Mike corrected her with a lengthy explanation in which he positions himself as an 'expert' rather than an outsider or intern. This position is facilitated through the use of addressee honorifics in constellation with other forms[46].

Excerpt 5-8. Being an expert

```
    Setting: Mike is talking with Sakai, a member of the translation department
    who asked for help writing addresses for locations in North America.

9   Mike:        shi  wa  yoku:  (0.4)  ano:  (0.3)  ippanteki ni  city toshite
                 city TOP often          HES          generally ADV city as

                 honyaku   suru kedomo
                 translate do   but
                 'Shi' is usually, um, generally translated as 'city', and...'

10  Sakai:       hai
                 BCH
                 'Okay.'
```

---

[46] As was common in the data taken from Mike's internship, the opening sequence to this interaction occurred out of the microphone's range. I was only allowed to stay near Mike's desk, but Mike often walked over to other worker's areas and initiated conversations. In this case, the conversation began as Mike was walking back to his desk and Sakai followed him over, hence the initial opening sequences were not captured.

```
11  Mike:        koo   jusho   o    kaku   toki  wa   city toka wa   kakanakute
                 this address ACC write  when  TOP  city and  TOP  write.NEG.TE
                 'When you write addresses like this, don't write (the word) 'city'.'


12  Sakai:       aa   soo?
                 INJ  really
                 'Really?'


13  Mike:        choo          mo   yappari:  (0.6)  onaji yoona     hoo
                 neighborhood also obviously        same  like.that direction

                 ni  yaku       suru to  shitara  town  (0.4)  town
                 DAT translate  do   CND do.CND
                 'Choo' also, obviously... If (you) translate it (directly), then 'town', 'town"


14  Sakai:       un::
                 BCH
                 'Ya.'


15  Mike:        kaitari            suru kara yappari    ano choo          (.)
                 things.like.writing do   so   obviously  HES neighborhood

                  fu- futtsuu ni  choo          tte kakanai.
                     usual   ADV neighborhood  QT  write.NEG
                 '(You) write it like that, but obviously, um, usually don't write 'neighborhood'


16  Sakai:       un
                 BCH
                 'Ya.'


17→Mike:         ano:  ma prefecture mo  (0.3)  ma  ken::   (.)  shi  to  onaji
                 HES   INJ prefecture also       INJ prefecture  city COM same

                 yooni ken        o   kakanakute mo       ii   n   desu
                 as    prefecture ACC write.TE   even.if  good NML COP.MAS
                 'Um, well, just like with cities, you don't need to write (the word) 'prefecture'.'


18  Sakai:       hai
                 BCH
                 'Okay.'


    ((27 lines omitted as Mike continues explaining how to compose addresses))


45  Mike:        ja  saigo ni  kakunin shite kara  mata (0.4) ano meeru  okutte=
                 INJ last  ADV confirm do.TE after again       HES e-mail send.TE
                 'Well, after (you) confirm this then, um, send (me) and e-mail.'
```

```
46  Sakai:       °hai°
                  BCH
                 'Okay.'


47→Mike:        =mite    mimasu   n    de.
                 look.TE  see.MAS  NML  so
                 'I will look at it.'


48  Sakai:       hai onegai shimasu.
                 yes please
                 'Okay, please.'


49→Mike:        arigatoo  gozaimashita.
                 thank.you COP.MAS.PST
                 'Thank you very much.'


50  Sakai:       arigatoo  gozaimashita.
                 thank.you COP.MAS.PST
                 'Thank you very much.'


51               ((Sakai picks up her notebook and walks back to her desk.))
```

Mike's use of addressee honorifics here appears to mirror the patterns that might be expected among native speakers. Although the opening was not recorded, the bulk of utterances during the actual interaction are formulated with either plain or non-finite forms. For instance, in Line 9, he uses *suru* rather than *shimasu*, Lines 11 and 13 are non-finite and do not use addressee honorifics or plain forms, and Line 15 also ends in a plain form. In fact, Mike used an addressee honorific only four times in the entire six-minute sequence (including omitted lines).

In the data above, there are only two times a shift from plain to *masu* form occurred: Line 17 and 47. In Line 17, he uses the copula in its addressee honorific form, *desu*, when explaining to Sakai that she need not write the word 'prefecture' after U.S. state names. This follows the phrase *kakanakute mo ii* 'it is okay to not write' which is a polite way to correct someone by formulating a suggestion rather than an imperative, even though the illocutionary force is still a directive. For this reason, addressee honorifics are not unexpected. At the end of the interaction,

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Mike shifts to addressee honorifics again (beginning in Line 47) when he tells Sakai that if she sends him an e-mail, he will proofread it for accuracy. This utterance makes a transition into the following sequence of thanking which ultimately concludes the interaction and thus this is also a place where addressee honorifics are typically employed.

However, he undermines what is otherwise a close-to-typical pattern of style shifting to some extent in Line 49 when he thanks Sakai. Though it would be expected for a worker to thank with *arigatoo gozaimasu* after having received help from someone else, it is unusual for the person giving help to thank the other, but this is exactly what Mike does. So while the overall structure of the discourse follows a pattern of addressee honorifics that is natural, there are indications that Mike is still a language-learning *gaijin*, even though the participants do not really orient to it. Nevertheless, on the whole Mike is trying to 'fit in' by using style shifting in a manner that is mostly consisted with what might be expected among native speakers. The identity that he seems to be trying to project is that of 'workplace professional' and 'English address expert', even while there are subtle elements that may also bring *gaijin* to the surface.

The two identities of 'professional' and *gaijin* work together here to give Mike more power than he might have had otherwise. In the first place, this interaction came about because he is a *gaijin*. As an American, Mike is perceived to be an expert on the American address system and this is likely why Sakai asked him for help. But during the interaction itself, Mike uses a mostly natural pattern of style shifting. Thus he is orienting toward the task at hand, not toward his *gaijin* position. Sakai also contributes to this via backchannels and acknowledgements which show deference to Mike's suggestions. Even though Mike is technically her junior, in this topic of this conversation he holds the expertise. Thus linguistic orientations to social positions have more to do with interactional roles in the moment than with actual static hierarchies. Yet

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even still, this encounter was triggered because Mike is an American. Without that identity, Mike would not have been in a position to take on an 'expert' role in his interaction with Sakai. So he has not avoided being classified as a *gaijin* socially, even though he suppresses it linguistically (for the most part) to focus on other identities (professional and/or expert). In this way, he appears to conform to expectations within the institution, i.e., 'fit in', even while the very topic of the conversation places him in a separate sociocultural *soto*.

5.5.2. Emergence of 'language learner'

In other cases, *gaijin* emerges more clearly when, like Ethan, attempts to use addressee honorifics according to ideologies makes their position as a 'language learner' apparent. This recalls the notion of *gaijinization*, which can occur both implicitly and explicitly (Fukuda, 2010; Iino, 1996) and here I give an example of each, from Susan and Joe respectively.

Susan admitted to being uncomfortable with style shifting and tended to formulate most, if not all, of her utterances in *masu* form. In fact, while chatting during a break, she asked me when plain forms are appropriate and was surprised to learn that they are used regularly, as she previously believed addressee honorifics to be the default mode. This belief, coupled with her proficiency level, led to her constant overuse of *masu* forms. Consider the following, which is fairly typical of Susan's interactional style. Here, she has stopped to take pictures of a river bed with Akagi for a news story about a recent drought.

Excerpt 5-9. Out of batteries

```
    Setting: Susan and Akagi are taking pictures near a river bed for an
    article on a drought. Susan notices the batteries in her camera have died.

1   Susan:      etto  (0.3)  osoi n   desu    kedo
                INJ          late NML COP.MAS but
                'Um, it's late but...'
```

2 Akagi: un
                BCH
                'Ya?'

3 Susan: denchi   ga   (0.7) nakunatta   n   <u>desu</u>.
                batteries NOM   exist.NEG.PST NML COP.MAS
                'The batteries died? (lit: The electricity is gone.)'

4 Akagi: EH (.) denchi   <u>nakunatta</u>?
                INJ   batteries exist.NEG.PST
                'What! That batteries are dead?'

5 Susan: so so so (0.3) nanimo   torarenai   n   <u>desu</u>.
                ya ya ya   anything take.POT.NEG NML COP.MAS
                'Ya, ya, ya. (I) can't take anything.'

6 ((10 lines omitted))

18 Akagi: daijoobu <u>na</u>   no?
                okay   COP.ATT Q
                'It's okay?'

19 Susan: mata daijoobu <u>desu</u>   yo
                also okay   COP.MAS PP
                'It's okay.'

20   Akagi-san (.) kara (0.4) shashin o   uketara   (1.6)
                name-HON from   picture ACC sent.CND

                daijoobu na   n   <u>desu</u>   ga.
                okay   COP.ATT NML COP.MAS but
                'If I get pictures from you, it's okay.'

21   tada nakunatta   n   <u>desu</u>   kara
                just exist.NEG.PST NML COP.MAS so
                'Just, (the batteries) died.'

22   ((Akagi opens his gear bag to look for a spare battery))

23→Akagi: ore no baggu ni nikon motte   kita   n   <u>da</u>
                my GEN bag   LOC Nikon have.TE come.PST NML COP
                'I brought a Nikon in my bag.'

24→Susan: eh:: soo na   n   <u>desu</u>   ka
                INJ so COP.ATT NML COP.MAS Q
                'Oh, really?'

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25                ((Akagi pulls another camera out of his bag))

26  Akagi:        OH:: haha ((holds camera up triumphantly))

27→Susan:         oh::  su↑goi:  (0.2) desu ((clapping hands))
                  great COP.MAS
                  'Great!'
```

In this entire sequence, as in many others, Susan exclusively uses addressee honorifics to
end each utterance while also speaking slowly and deliberately (in fact, she exclusively uses the
copula *desu*). She also occasionally uses other words in ways that also show she is a language
learner, such as Line 19, where the word *mata* 'also' is out of place. At the same time, Akagi
spoke to her rapidly, colloquially, and usually in plain forms.

Susan opens with *masu* in Line 1 and 3 as she explains that her camera battery died.
Akagi repeats this, but reformulates it to plain form which is a typical way to acknowledge an
utterance made by another person. Even though Akagi was being quite playful in this sequence,
as was his tendency generally, Susan continued to maintain her use of a distant, self-
presentational style throughout. For example, when Akagi found a spare camera, he playfully
held it up triumphantly like a sports star might hoist a trophy (Line 24). In response, Susan tried
to reciprocate this playfulness by clapping her hands and exclaiming *sugoi* 'great' with a strong
level of affect (raised pitch, stress on the second syllable). However, after a short hesitation, she
blunts the force of this enthusiasm by unnaturally tacking on *desu*. An exclamation would
usually be made in plain form as it foregrounds the affective stance. So while Susan is apparently
trying to engage in friendly interaction, her insistence on using addressee honorifics, which
foregrounds a professional self-presentational stance, mitigates this (cf. Cook, 2002, 2008a).

There seems to be two possible explanations for Susan's using *masu* so frequently. An
obvious explanation is that she simply lacks proficiency either in the grammar of addressee

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honorifics or in her knowledge of the pragmatics of when and how to use them appropriately. She expressed concerns to me in interviews about not knowing when she should use them. A second, perhaps related, explanation is simply that she is conforming to an ideology that, as an intern, she needs to be polite to everyone and believes that politeness is accomplished primarily through addressee honorifics. Either way, overuse of addressee honorifics on Susan's part is a manifestation of implicit *gaijinization*. These forms are marked because they are used too frequent and also occasionally in positions where plain form would usually be expected. However, Akagi does not seem to orient to this. He continues to speak with a casual style and fast-paced cadence, typical of how he talked to others as well. So while Susan's using *masu* creates a *soto* context with respect to Akagi, Akagi continues to treat her like anyone else. In other words, Susan is *trying* to behave like an insider, *actually* behaves like an outsider, but is ultimately *treated* like an insider. This may contrast somewhat with Mike who was asked for help because of his *gaijin* position (i.e., he was treated like a *gaijin*) but then, through more proficient use of addressee honorifics, 'fits in' with the institution.

A final example draws attention to a related theme that many of the interns discussed with me, and which I have experienced myself. This is that sometimes efforts to use language in a way that helps to 'fit in', even or especially when correct, may actually trigger reactions that contribute to further *gaijinization*. Although a bit anecdotal in nature, the following interaction from Joe illustrates this point nicely. Here, Joe was sitting at a sushi bar after work with Miyahara, one of his co-workers. They were initially seated at the far end of the counter, but after a few guests left Miyahara asked if the waitress would move them to a seat in the middle so he could see the sushi options better.

Excerpt 5-10. Sumimasen

> Setting: Miyahara and Joe are eating dinner at a sushi bar. Miyahara has just asked the waitress move them to a different seat.

```
1   Waitress:    hai doozo. ((picks up Joe's plate and moves it to a new seat))
                 yes please
                 'Over here please.'


2→  Joe:         ah- sumimasen.
                 INJ excuse.me
                 'Oh, excuse me (=thank you).'


3→  Waitress:    AH- nihongo  wa  umai desu    ne:: ha[haha
                 INJ Japanese TOP good COP.MAS PP
                 'Wow, your Japanese is good!'


4   Miyahara:                                     [haha soo da  yo ne
                                                        so  COP PP PP
                                                        'Yes it is.'
```

Joe and Miyahara had been speaking in Japanese since arriving at the restaurant and Joe placed his order in Japanese. Thus it is reasonable to assume the waitress had some indication that he spoke Japanese. After she picked up Joe's plate and moved it for him, Joe responded with the apologetic *sumimasen* 'excuse me/I'm sorry', which is an appropriate remark in this context. Japanese often use negative politeness strategies when another person performs a service for them, whereas Americans are more likely to use a positive politeness strategy (e.g., 'thank you'). In fact, it's not uncommon for learners of Japanese to say *arigatoo* 'thank you' in these contexts, though this may sound strange to native speakers (cf. Tateyama, 2001, 2012). When Joe uses *sumimasen* appropriately here, the waitress reacts by complimenting his Japanese. Her comment, in Line 3, is initiated with a loud and immediate *AH* which may also indicate a mild degree of surprise[47]. Miyahara agrees with her in Line 4.

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[47] In fact, several moments later (though the audio recorder did not capture it, unfortunately), we overheard the waitress reference Joe in conversation with another customer, telling the him that the American sitting by the sushi bar might look like a *gaijin* but his heart is *nihonjin*.

This visibly irritated Joe. A little later, Joe quietly remarked to me that he felt the more he tried to use Japanese properly, the more people complimented him as if they did not expect him to be able to speak appropriately. The compliment, however well intended, seemed to make Joe feel he was still an outside *gaijin* who cannot learn the language[48]. I think his irritation stems from the fact that, in his mind, he was trying to use language appropriately in order to 'fit in' with local customs and practices. That is, he was trying to enter a sociocultural in-group. However, because the other participants in the interaction react by commenting on his position as a language learner, any attempt to enter the *soto* has been thwarted. Indeed, the end result is actually a strengthening of out-group boundaries.

Thus, while in some cases, such as Susan and Ethan, interns' beliefs lead them to produce marked language and thereby contribute to *gaijinization*, in other cases where the interns speak appropriately their co-workers' responses may instead contribute to *gaijinization*. The emergence of *gaijin*, like any other identity, is inherently a socially co-constructed activity. In the case of both Susan and Joe, the interns are trying to conform to beliefs regarding politeness and Japanese social norms as they pertain to addressee honorifics, but due to either marked overuse or the particular response of an interlocutor, the ultimate result is to be constructed as a 'language learner' and, therefore, a *gaijin*.

5.6. SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The data examine here raise the question of whether it is possible at all to enter an in-group when the out-group position is so apparent. Linguistic resources, such as addressee honorifics, can certainly be tapped in ways that conform to native speaker patterns. They can be

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[48] When I was in Japan, some of us would jokingly measure our Japanese proficiency based on an inverse relationship with the number of compliments we received, claiming that you knew your Japanese had reached a good level of proficiency when people stopped telling you how good your Japanese is.

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used to foreground professional identities, conformity to institutional organizations, and align with sociocultural norms. Even the *gaijin* are capable of doing this in discourse. But yet they are still *gaijin*. They look different and their linguistic and cultural backgrounds are different. So instead, they end up somewhere in the middle, trying to 'fit in' but ultimately 'standing out'. But then, as David demonstrates, 'standing out' on purpose has utility in its own right.

Regarding the utility of *gaijin* identity as a resource to facilitate local interaction through honorifics and other notions of 'politeness', it seems that interns generally try to conform with the group and thus overcome, in some sense, their outsider standing. For the most part, *gaijin* is not seen by the interns as a hindrance. As such, style shifting is used in conformity with beliefs and ideologies regarding appropriate behavior within Japanese society and workplace hierarchies in an effort to 'fit in'. When this leads to patterns consistent with native speakers, the interns may have some success, but when their beliefs results in style shifting in other ways, the interns still end up projecting an outsider identity. This also depends on how the native speakers respond as well. 'Fitting in' can just as easily make one 'stand out' instead.

The use of style shifting helps to manage identities in ways that may influence the nature of intercultural communication in these contexts. For David and Mike, it is a means of drawing closer to the group and building relationships across cultural barriers—personal ones for David and professional ones for Mike. For others, however, it may seem that managing *gaijin* is problematic. However, some reflection on the results here, I think, suggests that just because entering the in-group is not always successful does not necessarily mean that intercultural communication has failed. For example, when Joe demonstrates his ability to use formulaic speech appropriately, this surprises others and makes him stand out (much to his dismay), but he is nevertheless learning about what others expect. It is also possible that others are also learning

that their own ideologies are not necessarily true. Also, when Susan overuses honorifics in an attempt to fit in, because Akagi does not orient to it there are no real barriers being put up that prevent successful intercultural interaction. Of course, this does not mean there are no challenges to intercultural communication. There are plenty. But on the whole, it seems that by co-negotiating identities, particularly the relevance of insider/outsider positions by trying to 'fit in' or 'stand out', the interns and their fellow workers are working toward increased positive intercultural relationships.

CHAPTER 6

'ENGLISH EXPERT' IN MITIGATING IMPOSITION AND BUILDING RAPPORT

Perhaps the most salient part of 'being a *gaijin*' is that belief that all *gaijin* speak English (Iino, 1996; Seargeant, 2009, 2011). Additionally, because it is the native language of the interns, it provides otherwise novice interns with a means to claim expertise over their co-workers. For *gaijin* student interns, this is significant. In most areas—workplace experience, cultural knowledge, education, and so on—the interns are subordinate. But even more so, English holds an important and salient position in Japanese society. Justified by a need to compete in the international marketplace, English skills are emphasized in educational, governmental, and professional institutions in Japan, making it valuable.

However, English is not used much in practice. The predominant language of most Japanese companies, including those in this study, is Japanese. As such, the interns' inherent proficiency in the language provides them with a tool to 'turn the tables', so to speak, by becoming an 'English expert' and thus an owner of important social capital. This chapter will consider how English embedded in otherwise Japanese conversation is used to shift the interns' positions in a way that accomplishes both the interactional goal of mitigating imposition and the social goals of strengthening relationships and building rapport. As seen in previous chapters, these are important and central goals in the interactions of interns and their co-workers[49].

6.1. ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Linguistic alternation has been extensively studied as a means of constructing identities in interaction, suggesting that conversational code-switching is a powerful contextualization cue.

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[49] Several of the data excerpts and analytical narratives in this chapter are taken from an earlier case study of David which appeared in *Journal of Pragmatics* (Moody, 2014).

For example, using the notion of 'double-voicing', Higgins (2009b) shows that English, owing to its association with upper socio-economic strata, is used in intra-cultural settings in the Tanzanian workplace to contextualize and maintain identification with privileged (i.e., educated white-collar) social groups. In studying the role of marketable linguistic items for establishing dominant and subordinate classes, Heller (1992, 1995) demonstrates that minority groups often use code-switching as a means of redefining and recapturing social capital, as well as both maintaining and resisting subordination. But code choice is more than just a means to capture social capital; it is also a semiotic resource that guides moment-to-moment communicative structures (cf. Li Wei, 2005; Nishimura, 1995). This makes code-choice a very powerful and effective tool for leveraging discursively constructed identities as interactional resources.

There are two broad perspectives on linguistic alternation and identity (Nilep, 2006). First, in what Cameron (1990) and Gafaranga (2005) call the 'language-reflects-society' perspective, codes are seen as indexical of rights and obligations associated with certain social groups and which operate outside of the local setting (Myers Scotton, 1983, 1995). In contrast, others argue that code choice is a locally-achieved process involving the creation and negotiation of identities in situated contexts (Auer, 1998, 2005; Cashman, 2005), suggesting we must first explore what language users do with a code before we can uncover any identity claims being made. Adopting the later perspective, this chapter analyzes the use of English to explore 1) how its use interfaces with *gaijin* identities and 2) what impact this has on interaction and intercultural communication. As will be shown, several interns strategically use code-choice to foreground identities in a way that mitigates imposition, provides them with an 'expert' standing, and creates humor and good working rapport. The Japanese workers also help in what this co-constructed achievement which ultimately facilitates the bridging of culture and linguistic barriers.

6.1.1. English in the Japanese workplace

Most Japanese workplaces, including all of those in this study, are monolingual. Workers interact in their native language of Japanese. However, English enjoys a certain privilege which derives from larger social forces; what Seargeant (2009) describes as an "intense fascination (p. 5)" toward English in Japanese society (cf. R. Kubota, 1998; Sullivan & Schatz, 2009). English emerges in many social practices, appears frequently in popular culture, and is even used in mundane talk due to an expanding set of loanwords. Study of it is often compulsory and the government has produced official policies encouraging members of the business community to learn English (Honna & Takeshita, 2005; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Ministry of Education, 2002, 2009; Prime Minister's Commision on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, 2000). In response to pressure to cultivate businesses that are internationally competitive, Japanese workers—even in local intra-cultural institutions—are increasingly being encouraged, and at times compelled, to develop proficiency in English (Kaneko, Rozycki, & Orr, 2009; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; S. O. Tanaka & Tanaka, 1995). Nevertheless, despite policies encouraging English study, the reality remains that most workers speak Japanese and do not have a conversational level of proficiency in English (SanAntonio, 1987; Seargeant, 2008; K. Yoshida, 2003).

It follows that, because the stereotypical *gaijin* is an English-speaker, despite being positioned as workplace and socio-cultural novices, the interns' access to English may elevate them to the extent that they represent something prominent in Japanese society yet of which the Japanese lack a sense of 'ownership'. Despite its prevalence, English is still a foreign language in Japan, and thus native English speakers ideologically own the privilege of being expert in it (R. Kubota, 1998; Sullivan & Schatz, 2009). This results in multiple layers of identity as they are cultural outsiders but own a valuable linguistic capital. Consider an anecdote from David. His

ownership of English gives him access to resources that a typical worker would not have. In Excerpt 6-1 below, David recalled being asked to translate for top management during a high-level executive meeting.

Excerpt 6-1. We're international

> "That was a cool day. It was the day that [American Motors] came and they had me come, ya I was, I followed everyone around as the, like, backup-backup translator. They didn't need me at all, but, just sitting in meetings where literally multimillion dollar deals were being discussed was so cool. I was like, I'm part of this? Like, what? 'Cause they loved having me and being like ya, we're international. Look at our American intern."

In this anecdote, David's simultaneous classification as both 'marginalized intern' (novice) and 'international representative' (expert) is evident. The meeting referred to involved high-level contract negotiations between Taguchi Technologies and a major American auto manufacturer, including the presidents of both companies, and David's immediate co-workers or supervisors would never have been invited to such an event. David was asked to come under the guise of being an interpreter, but in reality the actual duties were performed by a professional. David did nothing but sit in the meeting and seemed to feel that he was merely a show piece—an insignificant *gaijin* intern, but one who happens to own a valuable linguistic capital which gives him access to the corporate elite in a way that breaks typical hierarchies. This broadly illustrates the importance of English for maintaining macro-level images and how this has a material impact on the daily experience of interns, providing them with a means to potentially resist or redefine their position as a novice within the workplace.

This also demonstrates the commodified nature of language and identity. Concerned with branding and corporate image, it would seem the company felt that "showing off" their English-speaking, international intern had some value. As such, when the interns represent themselves as an 'English expert', they may gain access to resources that a typical intern and cultural outsider would not have. Thus English may be a tool through which the interns can tap macro-level

ideologies in order to transcend their otherwise 'novice', marginalized position, and this

motivates an exploration of the data to see how this might be done interactionally.

6.1.2. English in the data

English appears often in interactions involving *gaijin* interns. Although both interns and

their co-workers use this resource, unsurprisingly interns use it in more extended utterances

while co-workers use is relatively limited. To get a sense of how often English is employed, I

counted the number of sequences[50] involving at least one instance of English, defined as a time

when a *bona fide* English word or sequence of words is produced. For example, loanwords are

excluded but utterances involving code-switching or repair sequences in which a Japanese word

is clarified with an English word one are included. This tabulation is given in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1. Frequency of English

Intern	Number of sequences	Sequences involving English	Percentage
David	149	43	28.9%
Ethan	147	34	23.1%
Susan	58	17	29.3%
Joe	36	14	38.9%
Mike	28	4	14.3%
Olya	1	0	00.0%

As the table suggests, English in these interactions was actually quite prolific, appearing

in almost a third of the sequences. Given that the language of these workplaces is Japanese, one

purpose of the internship is for the interns to develop Japanese abilities, and the fact that many of

the workers have no conversational proficiency in English whereas the interns do have

proficiency in Japanese, it is striking that so many encounters used some sort of English[51]. Of

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[50] Recall Section 3.2 for a description of how sequences are defined.

[51] To be clear, just because English appears in a sequence does not mean that the sequence was an English conversation. Most occurrences of English are small words or phrases embedded in otherwise Japanese discourse.

course, the functions of English vary widely. David and Ethan both use conversational code-switching for a number of purposes, one of which (mitigating imposition) will be looked shortly. In Susan's data, most of the English is in repair sequences where her co-workers gloss words she might not understand. Because Joe's data largely derive from an after-work event, much of the English there is for playful purposes, while as Mike's duties involve translation, his four sequences involving English all deal with providing language explanations to others. There were no noticeable usages of English in the meeting provided by Olya.

6.2. IDEOLOGIES OF ENGLISH

Given its prominence in Japanese society and workplaces, perceptions and expectations of English are likely to be influenced by participants' ideologies. In particular, the interns' beliefs about English in Japanese influence their choices regarding when and how to use it. Through interviews and casual conversations, I was able to uncover some of these beliefs. Also, in social situations such as chatting at lunch, during breaks, or after work, the subject of English came up often as many of the Japanese co-workers showed an interest in discussing their knowledge of the English language as a topic of humor. Drawing from these sources, I was able to develop a sense of how English is viewed in the context of these workplaces.

6.2.1. Interns and English

As already noted, David felt that his status as an English speaker made him a symbol for the company to use in establishing an 'international' corporate image. Moreover, he told me that he finds English is something that he can use to make people laugh. He is also amused when others use it with him and mocks them playfully when they try. Thus English is seen as a tool for putting on a performance and entertaining others. However, at times, this attitude becomes cynical. At one point, David said that "they expect me to be dumb and use English anyway".

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Similarly, Joe told me that he felt *gaijin paawaa* (he used the term without my prompting) was useful for covering incompetence, and that it also provided him with something that "others look up to." In fact, he claimed that if he was not a native English speaker, he would not have many friends.

These attitude contrasts with that of Ethan and Susan, both of whom had some concerns with English use. Susan was vocal with her frustrations when people would use English words instead of Japanese ones because she felt it was detrimental to her efforts to learn Japanese. Using English, she argued, is not why she wanted to work in Japan. Ethan's feelings were not as strong, but he did say that he felt that English made others uncomfortable and that he made an effort not to use it (though this turned out to be inconsistent with his actual behavior). He even insisted at times on speaking with me in Japanese out of consideration for those who might overhear, though this also proved a difficult practice to maintain and he would often switch back to English after just a few minutes.

In short, the general themes surrounding interns' beliefs regarding English are that it is a useful tool, particularly for drawing attention to ones' self and putting on a performance which taps into *gaijin paawaa*. Because it is something that the interns have ownership over, it gives them a sort of 'expert' standing. However, this is not always a positive, as English is also an indicator of an 'outsider' presence in the Japanese workplace which some interns did not like.

6.2.2. Japanese workers and ideologies of English

The Japanese co-workers demonstrated a fascination with English as well as a certain amount of anxiety surrounding it. Now, the language spoken in all of these companies is Japanese and to my knowledge very few had English skills beyond knowing a few common words and phrases. The majority of the time, workers and interns spoke Japanese with each other.

Yet, perhaps because it is emphasized as an important work skill (Taguchi Technologies even required their employees to take the TOEIC exam annually) but yet very few actually have any conversational proficiency, workers were always interested in talking *about* English, though were less excited to *use* it. In follows that, in many ways, English is the perfect resource around which to design jokes and performances. It is a foreign, interesting object, one that is emphasized for its value, is accessible because most have at least been exposed to it, but yet is still unattainable for the average worker.

Japanese workers were also very likely to connect English with the notion of *gaijin*. In particular, there seemed to be a strong tendency to assume that all *gaijin* would respond to or even require English, not Japanese, despite the interns communicating primarily in Japanese. My presence as a researcher may have also helped to draw out evidence in this regard. Because I was unknown to the workers, their reactions to my presence may reflect their underlying assumptions about *gaijin*. At nearly every company, even when introduced as having knowledge of Japanese, workers would address questions about me, including personal ones, to the interns. For example, in one instance, when observing David, Tanabe sat down next to us and began to pepper David with questions about me: Where is he from, what is he doing, and so on. At one point, I interjected with an answer and, on hearing me speak Japanese, she paused and turned to David, whispering *nihongo shabete ii n desu ka* 'Is it okay to speak Japanese (to him)?' This reveals her implicit assumption that *gaijin* are not likely to speak Japanese, and this sort of incident was actually fairly common during my visits. Ethan expressed a particular distaste for it, saying he found it "annoying" that they would only talk to me through him[52].

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[52] I would add as a personal note that, based on my own observations and experiences, my feeling is the Japanese co-workers were likely to assume I did not speak Japanese out of a concern to accommodate me, not out of a belief that *gaijin* are stupid, though several intern, especially David and Ethan, seemed to think it was the later.

The point is that, as with the interns, ideologies and assumptions connecting English to *gaijin* are strong and pervasive among the Japanese employees as well. Thus it is a useful resource for guiding local interaction by contextualizing macro-level frameworks. Although there are more ways this occurred in the data than can be thoroughly explored here, I will focus on how English both positions interns as 'novice' and 'expert' and how this becomes a convenient strategy for mitigating imposition and building rapport.

6.3. ESTABLISHING 'EXPERT' AND 'NOVICE' ROLES

English functions to both position the interns as 'novices' by highlighting their *soto* position relative to the dominant language and culture in Japanese companies, but also as 'experts' as it represents their ownership over a valuable social capital. The 'novice' positioning is most clearly seen in interactions such as the following examples from Susan where her co-workers use English code-switching to gloss words they think she might not understand.

Excerpt 6-2. Castle ne

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Setting: Susan is talking to the chief editor who is explaining several
locations around the city that he would like her to visit.

1   Taniguchi:   saikin  ((city name)) mo
                 recently                also
                 'Recently this city also...'

2   Susan:       hai.
                 yes
                 'Ya.'

3   Taniguchi:   ano o-shiro     de-
                 INJ HON-castle  LOC
                 'Uh at the castle'

4   Susan:       hai.
                 yes
                 'Ya.'
```

```
5→ Taniguchi:    kyassuru ne
                 castle PP
                 'Castle, right?'

6   Susan:       hai.
                 yes
                 'Ya.'

7   Taniguchi:   sono sugu        chikaku ni:
                 that immediately nearby  LOC
                 'Right nearby'

8   Susan:       hai.
                 yes
                 'Ya.'

9   Taniguchi:   gaikokuji:n ga-  (0.8)  ooii desu     yo ne.
                 foreigners  NOM          many COP.MAS PP PP
                 'There are lots of foreigners, you know.'
```

Here, Susan's boss is asking her to attend an event that will be held near a historical castle in the middle of the city and write an article about it. The castle is a prominent landmark in this city and Susan knew its location very well. As her boss explains the event, she listens with a steady cadence of backchannel tokens indicating she was following and understanding the things her boss said. He specifically mentions the castle in Line 3 using the Japanese word *o-shiro* and Susan replies with *hai*, indicating her acknowledgement that she knows about the castle. However, Taniguchi repairs his use of *o-shiro* by switching to English to produce 'castle' (in a Japanese pronunciation) in Line 5. While 'castle' is produced with a Japanese phonological structure (*kyassuru*), it seems that this is more than simple borrowing. Taniguchi abruptly stopped his utterance in Line 3 to initiate a self-repair of the word *o-shiro* 'castle'. Moreover, this repair is suffixed with the pragmatic particle *ne* which can be used to seek confirmation (cf. Katagiri, 2007; Saigo, 2011). Here, it seems to be used to ensure that Susan understands the boss's instructions and the meaning of *o-shiro* 'castle'.

Later, one of her other co-workers did something similar, shown in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 6-3. Ranchi

```
Setting: Susan is driving in a car with Akagi to conduct an interview.
```

```
1   Akagi:     chotto koko made ikoo (.) konbiniansu sutoa ni  yorimashoo
               HES    here LOC  go.VOL   convenience store DAT stop.at.MAS.VOL
               'Let's go here. Let's stop by the convenience store.'


2   Susan:     hai.
               yes
               'Okay.'


3   Akagi:     chotto o-hiru o
               HES     lunch  ACC
               '(We'll get) some lunch.'


4   Susan:     o-hiru ne.
               lunch  PP
               'Ya, lunch.'


5→  Akagi:     ranchi:.
               lunch
               'Lunch.'
```

Here, Akagi suggests that they stop and get lunch from a convenience store. He says 'lunch'

using the Japanese word *o-hiru* in Line 3 and Susan repeats it in Line 4 with the particle *ne*

indicating that she understands Akagi's proposition. However, Akagi reproduces 'lunch' in Line

5 using the English word, though with a Japanese pronunciation.

There are at least two possible explanations for the appearance of English. It could be that

the native speakers are accommodating the interns by glossing key words to help them

understand. However, Susan does not give indications of misunderstanding in either of these

examples, in fact giving proactive acknowledgments to indicate that she is following the

conversation. Perhaps more likely, the native speakers may be using English to highlight

important themes. 'Castle' and 'lunch' are the main topic of conversation in their respective

excerpts, and using English makes these items stand out. Now, it should be noted *ranchi* 'lunch'

does appear in advertisements and media in Japan and may be a loanword here, not true code-

switching. However, because Akagi first produced *o-hiru* and this was confirmed by Susan, the

repeat of 'lunch' in English seems to be for some aesthetic purpose. Also, *kyassuru* 'castle' is not

in the typical Japanese lexicon, so its use seems to be prompted by the presence of a *gaijin*. So

English might actually be for emphasizing important points using a resource associated with

gaijin identities. Of course, the Japanese speakers could also be using this as an opportunity to

practice their knowledge of English[53] though this would also tend to foreground the *gaijin*

position of the interns by calling attention to their English expertise.

Thus English implicitly positions the interns as novices and outsiders. The English itself

has a local communicative purpose: to highlight important topics. However, the fact that it is

English and not some other emphatic item that is used to accomplish this seems to orient to the

notion of *gaijin* using a resource familiar to them. This sets the interns apart from Japanese

speakers as it foregrounds their different linguistic background, and might make the interns feel

looked down on. Susan expressed frustration with this as she felt it hindered her ability to learn

Japanese. Other interns, such as Ethan and Mike, commented that they felt disrespected when

English is provided for words they already know. I do not think this is intentional on the part of

the Japanese speakers, who simply seem to be highlighting important items, but even still it

appears to have the effect of positioning the interns as outsiders and Japanese novices, at least

from the interns' perspective.

However, the interns are also empowered by English in the sense that they hold an

expertise in it over their co-workers. Moreover, this expertise can be leveraged to go beyond

---

[53] This would not be an uncommon thing to happen. Several *gaijin* in Japan with whom I am acquainted have coined the term '*eigo* bandit' to refer to people who they feel speak English constantly around them as a way of 'stealing' free opportunities for English conversation practice.

linguistic skills and actually provide with a platform to claim superior knowledge in other areas as well. Consider the following from Mike's internship.

Excerpt 6-4. Cicada knowledge

```
Setting: Mike is chatting with his supervisor who comments about cicada
bugs outside, explaining that Japan is known for the loud insects.

1   Taniguchi:   semi   tte   (.)   urusai yo ne:.
                 cicada QT          loud   PP PP
                 'Cicadas are loud, huh?'


2   Mike:        un
                 ya
                 'Ya.'


3   Taniguchi:   nihon wa   semi   ooii yo.
                 Japan TOP cicada lots PP
                 'There's lots of cicadas in Japan.'


4   Mike:        hai.
                 ya
                 'Ya.'


5   Taniguchi:   de  se-  semi  (1.4)   semi   tte
                 and      cicada        cicada QT
                 'And speaking of cicadas...'


6   Mike:        hai.
                 ya
                 'Ya?'


7→  Taniguchi:   eigo    de  nani?
                 English INS what
                 'What is it in English?'


8   Mike:        ci- cicada.   (0.6)  °cicada°


9   Taniguchi:   shi-  (.)   shi- shikeida::?
                             ci-  cicada
                 'Ci- cicada?'


10  All:         hahaha
```

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```
11→Mike:        tadashi:.  (0.5)  eh:: nihon- (.)  nihon de  iu    (0.2)  ah
               however           HES  Japan        Japan LOC say          INJ

               nihongo  de  iwareru::  (0.5)  semi  to
               Japanese INS say.PSV           cicada QT
               'However, (the insects) called cicadas in Japan and...'

12             amerika ni  aru:  (.)  semi  wa
               America LOC exist      cicada TOP
               'American cicadas...'

13             ma  hontoo ni  (0.9)  chigaimasu   ne-  (.)  ookisa ga.
               INJ really ADV        different.MAS PP        size   NOM
               'Are really a bit different in size.'
```

While talking, the sound of cicada insects outside could be heard and the supervisor commented on this. He then went on, starting in Line 3, to explain how the insects are abundant in Japan. The use of the particle *yo*, an indicator of 'epistemic primacy' (Hayano, 2011), shows that the supervisor was trying to teach Mike something about Japan he assumed Mike did not already know. That is, Taniguchi took on an 'expert' role regarding cicadas. During this explanation, he pauses to ask Mike for the English word for the insect. This deference to Mike for English knowledge is not surprising as Mike, who did translation work for the company, is clearly the expert when it comes to English. Mike understands the Japanese word '*semi*' since Taniguchi is asking him to translate it, and so Taniguchi is probably asking out of curiosity. This seems to orient to Mike as a *gaijin* since an interaction between two Japanese interlocutors would probably not be interrupted to ask for an English gloss. Additionally, because Taniguchi is asking Mike for information, while the question in Line 7 draws attention to their different linguistic backgrounds, it also positions Mike as 'expert' with regards to English.

Later, it becomes evident that the English provides an opportunity for Mike to seize a broader expertise beyond just 'English expert'. In Line 8 he provides the English gloss and Taniguchi attempts to pronounce it in Line 9. After some laughter, Mike then produces *tadashi*

'however' in Line 11. This pivot makes reference to the English translation, as Mike is indicating that while *semi* corresponds to 'cicada', this translation is not entirely accurate. Importantly, Mike has the 'expert' standing to make such a claim since it stems from his knowledge of English. Then, in the following lines he goes on to teach Taniguchi about how Japanese and American cicadas differ in size, and actually continued for over a full minute following Excerpt 6-4 to continue expounding on the biological differences between *semi* and cicada while Taniguchi only nodded and produced acknowledging backchannels. This effectively reversed the 'novice' and 'expert' positions from earlier. While Taniguchi set out as the expert on Japanese *semi*, Mike overtook this role when the expert position was handed to him based on his knowledge of English. When the floor was given to him in Line 7, he was able to use the identity of 'English expert' to further embody the identity of 'cicada expert' and Taniguchi accepts this positioning. Of course it's not possible to know if it is Taniguchi or Mike who actually has superior knowledge of cicadas, but the English-related pivot in Lines 7 and 8 licenses Mike to make this claim.

That the 'expert' role claimed by interns through an appeal to their English abilities is a performed identity can be seen in cases where the interns clearly do *not* have a real expertise. For example, in another instance David was jokingly asked to teach English to another co-worker but responded by teaching him Chinese instead. David had no working knowledge of Chinese, but had learned a few simple phrases from a fellow worker who had spent time at Taguchi's manufacturing facilities in China. So instead of teaching English, an area in which David has some sort of real ownership by virtue of being a native speaker, he converted this to the claim of 'Chinese teacher' which is an identity to which he has no actual connection for the purpose of joking around.

The point is, while interns are often positioned as cultural and linguistic outsiders, the identity of *gaijin* can be leveraged to embody various 'expert' roles (e.g., 'Cicada expert' or 'Chinese teacher'). This happens by using an area in which they are a genuine expert, English, to extend claims of expertise into areas where such an expertise is a performance, not a reality. Another point is that English contextualizes the *gaijin*'s abilities in a way that allows for both 'novice' and 'expert' positionings. While English has clear communicative purposes in these sequences (e.g., highlighting important themes or making jovial comments) its function as a contextualization cue helps to establish membership in various roles and categories.

6.4. MITIGATING IMPOSITION BY PERFORMING ENGLISH

While the examples in the prior section make that case that the *idea* of English as an ideological component of *gaijin* identity allows for interns to claim an 'expert' position in some circumstances, they do not show as much about what identities created through English *do* in interactional goal-oriented activity. While there are many ways this occurred in the data, here I present what was by far the most common use of English on the part of the interns: English as a greeting or an attention-getter when interrupting someone else's work. The first example comes from David, who used this interactional style frequently and aggressively throughout the day.

Excerpt 6-5. I need your help

```
    Setting: Ikeguchi and Furuta are chatting while working on a project.
    David approaches from behind and interrupts, addressing Ikeguchi.

1   David:      hi.

2   Ikeguchi:   ((looks up at David))  hi:.

3   David:      how are you?

4   Ikeguchi:   oh::. (.)  fine thank you.  (0.2)  and you?
```

```
5   David:      I'm good.

6   Furuta:     [hahahahaha

7   Ikeguchi:   [Oh (.) haha

8   David:      I nee:d your help.

9   Ikeguchi:   (0.4) Oh. (0.4) oka::y. na- nani? ((unintelligible))
                                              what
            'Oh, okay. What?'

10  David:      kore o  mawasu neji. (0.3) neji: to iu  ka  (0.6)
                this ACC turn   screw       screw QT say Q

                arimas::- deshoo:     ka?
                have.MAS  COP.MAS.VOL Q
            'Do you have a screw, (I think) it's a screw, that can turn this?'

11  Ikeguchi:   ((looking around the workbench while Furuta continues to look
                on))

12  Furuta:     hahaha

13  David:      hahaha

14              koko sagashiteta    n   da kedo nai- nai n   da
                here search.ASP.PST NML COP but  NEG  NEG NML COP
            'I looked here but there's not one.'

15  Ikeguchi:   nai? ((pulls open a drawer))
                NEG
            'No?'
```

    Ikeguchi and Furuta are working on a project together when David interrupts them in
order to ask for help finding a tool he needs. Because he approaches from behind, he must get
their attention first and this necessarily involves intruding into their ongoing conversation. In
order to accomplish this, he uses a greeting. Greetings are comprised of a type of adjacency pair
(cf. Heritage & Goodwin, 1990; Tannen, 1986) wherein one interlocutor initiates the greeting
and the other reciprocates. Thus a greeting is an effective way to separate Ikeguchi from his

work as it is obligatory to respond to greetings and there is a standard social formula for doing so (R. Ide, 1998; Patterson et al., 2007).

David also approaches with what may be a positive politeness strategy. The use of, "Hi. How are you?" in Lines 1 and 3 is a friendly approach and David uses this as a means of mitigating imposition on Ikeguchi. It involves an attention-getter ('Hi') followed by a friendly greeting ('How are you?'). In Japanese, this would usually use a negative politeness strategy instead, such as *ano sumimasen ga* 'um, excuse me' which also uses an attention-getter (*ano* 'um') but then apologizes for the intrusion (R. Ide, 1998; Murata, 1994). Although either strategy can accomplish David's goal of getting help finding a tool, David's choice to use a greeting and positive politeness strategy gives the conversation a light-hearted, friendly quality by glossing over the fact that David is interrupting Ikeguchi's work. An apology may have actually highlighted this fact. Moreover, using English to formulate the greeting licenses the use of a positive strategy instead of a negative one because in an American English social context such a strategy is not unexpected. Interrupting someone with *ano genki desu ka* 'hi, how are you' in Japanese could potentially be jarring due to the pragmatic force it carries in a Japanese sociocultural model.

English also further enhances the playfulness of this interaction. Following the greeting, Ikeguchi accepts it and plays back in English. Interestingly, owing to a flat prosodic contour and the use of a very formulaic phrase, Line 4 may be a repetition of something Ikeguchi had learned from a textbook or English conversation class, and thus he is role-playing. Ikeguchi also smiles, suggesting this is indeed a friendly, social exchange. David further elongates the vowel in "need" in Line 8 and uses other exaggerated prosodic details, all of which evidence the playfulness that permeates this interaction. Something similar was seen in the previous chapter when David

addressed his supervisor using the exclamation "Hi *Sensei*!" (Excerpt 4-14). It is interesting to note the pattern of style shifting here as well. After the English opening, David uses *masu* to introduce the reasons for his intrusion (Line 10) and then switches to plain form for the balance of the interaction. This roughly follows the native speaker patterns of style shifting (Section 5.3) and, just as in Section 5.4.1, embeds the playfulness in an otherwise standard work transaction.

This sequence, as in others produced by David, is a type of performance with David playing the role of 'star actor', Ikeguchi taking a supporting role, and Furuta comprising the audience. When David directed his first remark to Ikeguchi, Furuta slid back into her chair and withdrew, silently watching and occasionally laughing, allowing David to engage with Ikeguchi. The English play elicits laughter from Furuta which, based on the timing and the fact that neither David nor Ikeguchi laughed first, shows that she sees this as a performance by two actors, rather than a serious exchange. Moreover, as the central figure in this play, David is the one in charge, exerting the most control on the trajectory of the discourse. Despite being the junior employee and a *gaijin*, he seems to harness his position as 'English expert' and his co-workers fascination with English in a way that—at least interactionally—elevates him into a position of relative power, or perhaps more accurately, *gaijin paawaa*.

The English continues past the greeting into Line 8 where David presents the purpose of his introduction. This carries the playfulness into the request itself and it is not until Ikeguchi questions David in Line 10 that the discourse fully transitions into Japanese and the purpose of David's interruption is carried out. Even still, the interaction remains jovial and playful, for example as David uses *arimasu deshoo ka* in Line 10 which involves two instances of addressee honorifics (*masu* and *deshoo*). Usually the verb prior to *deshoo* is a plain form, as one addressee honorific is sufficient to communicate the affective stance. By doubling up here, the utterance is

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made 'extra-polite' in a sense, and this contributes to the humor. The playfulness is further supported by lengthened prosody and an exaggerated, almost sing-song intonation.

Although David certainly has the ability to accomplish his goals in Japanese, his approach seems to be effective in making the exchange more personal. Being a greeting, it demands a response and thus functions as an effective interruption. Being in English, it engages Ikeguchi in a performance which establishes a playful tone and mitigates the potential for intrusion. There are at least two possible interactional effects of this strategy. One is avoidance. Although he is proficient in Japanese, David told me in an interview that he lacked confidence in his ability to use honorifics and to be appropriately polite in Japanese. When asked about this sequence, David said it was easier to use English than honorifics.

Another more subtle, but important, effect is that David is softening what he thinks is an intrusion on Ikeguchi. By portraying himself as an outsider and using English to make people laugh, he mitigates the impact of his interruption. As evidence for this, recall that David is the intern who sarcastically proclaimed "Well, I'm a *gaijin*, I don't know anything" (Excerpt 1-1) and explicitly admitted that he acts this way in order to get things done. The strategy exemplified in Excerpt 6-5 is something that David clearly does intentionally to make himself look like a *gaijin* in a way that creates humor and, therefore, mitigates imposition. It is, essentially, an instantiation of *gaijin paawaa*. He behaved this way regularly during my observation and I also observed Ethan and Joe do similar things, albeit not as aggressively as David.

Ethan also used English on occasion to interrupt his co-workers. I was surprised when I first saw him do it as he stressed to me that he felt English makes his co-workers uncomfortable and even talked to me in Japanese if he thought others could overhear us. Yet he apparently

recognized the ability of English to create humor and mitigate impositions and did it on occasion, though the effect was somewhat different than David. Consider Excerpt 6-6.

Excerpt 6-6. Bimyoo

```
Setting: Ethan is working at a workbench in the factory building. He
discovers he is missing a tool and excuses himself to go and retrieve it
from a desk where Nishiguchi is sitting.
```

```
1   Ethan:      ((to researcher)) Be right back  ((walks to Nishiguchi's
                desk))

2→              How are you Nishiguchi-san?  (0.8)

3   Nishiguchi: ((looks up at Ethan))  ha?

4→  Ethan:     How are you?

5   Nishiguchi: un:::::: bimyoo                    .hh ha[haha]haha
                BCH     questionable/complicated
                'Who knows?'

6   Ethan:                                          [°ha°]

7→              i'm sorry

8   Nishiguchi: .hhh haha

9   Ethan:      ((picks up the tool and smiles at Nishiguchi))

10  Nishiguchi: ((pauses briefly and then silently returns to his work))
```

Here, Ethan approached Nishiguchi and very passively addresses him in English. The pace was slow and his intonation subdued and he even refers to Nishiguchi using the usual 'last name + *san*' format, which is typical in workplaces (recall Section 4.1.1 above). Though he is using English in a manner similar to David, the effect is much different than David's more fast-paced, exaggerated, and casual style. On hearing his name, Nishiguchi looks up and responds, but does not take up the English framing. Nevertheless, Ethan continues in English to ask "How are you?" and Nishiguchi, who clearly understood the English, answers in Japanese with the

word *bimyoo*. This response is a bit difficult to gloss into English, but is a way of saying something to the effect of "well, it's complicated" or "gosh, who knows?" It is neither "good" nor "bad" and might simply be a way for Nishiguchi to deflect the English approach by hedging. The laughter which followed was slow, deliberate, and prefaced with a deep in-breath, indicating not humor but rather hesitation and awkwardness. My feeling is that Nishiguchi was probably uncomfortable with Ethan's use of English and, therefore, uncertain of how to respond. Ethan then apologizes, in English, though this may be an expression of sympathy toward Nishiguchi who did not say that he is feeling "well" or "fine" which would have been the standard response to Ethan's initial question. That is, because Nishiguchi hesitated instead of taking up Ethan's English-based approach, Ethan apparently felt the need to apologize and end the conversation.

The contrast between David and Ethan's use of English as a greeting is stark. David playfully uses English in order to interrupt, mitigate imposition, and make people laugh through his exaggerated interpretation of *gaijin*. Ethan, however, is passive and subdued. In fact, while the interaction in Excerpt 6-6 certainly evidences some uncomfortableness on the part of Nishiguchi, my notes indicate that Ethan also seemed uncomfortable. His use of English was monotone as he passively stated his greeting and then waited quietly for a response (note the 0.8 second pause in Line 2). But when I asked him later why he used English is this sequence he explained that he thinks Nishiguchi is a "fun guy who likes to play around" and thus his intention seemed to be that he thought it would be playful and funny—similar in intent to David. However, there is not nearly as much evidence that it was, in fact, playful and funny. Instead, while perhaps a bit light-hearted, the interaction seemed uncomfortable for both participants who hesitate and laugh cautiously. Then, rather than transitioning back into Japanese, Ethan simply picks up the tool he needed, smiles, and leaves.

Comparing Ethan and David here is instructive and sheds light on at least two points. First, there is similarity in the discourse structure and interactional goals. English frames the greeting as a positive politeness strategy, effectively gets the co-worker's attention, and in this sense mitigates the imposition. That is, while the playful style of David seems to facilitate his approach, it's not the only way for an intern to use English as an interruption. Second, it is not English alone that creates the performance of *gaijin* identity. When English is used in constellation with prosodic exaggeration, genuine laughter, playful use of honorifics, and an aggressive style, it becomes a humorous act, foregrounds David's *gaijin* identity, and effectively mitigates the impact of an intrusion. On the other hand, when these elements are missing, replaced with hesitation and deliberate laughter, the sense that the two interlocutors are truly connecting and building relationships with one another is not as strong. In Ethan's case, English is still effective as an interruption. It gets Nishiguchi's attention, engages him for a minute, and Ethan accomplishes the goal of getting the tool while making his *gaijin* identity is present. The difference is the degree of playfulness. David performs and makes others laugh. Ethan does not.

6.4.1. Interacting without English

The examples so far demonstrate that it is not English alone, but how it is used within situated contexts and in combination with other elements that creates the humorous and interactionally useful instantiations of *gaijin*. To see the unique contribution of English specifically, it is also helpful to compare the above items to times English is not used. First, Ethan's approach, minus English, is demonstrated in the following example.

Excerpt 6-7. Te aitemasu kedo

```
Setting: Ethan has been wandering around the office looking for a job he
can help with. He finds Toda and asks him if he needs help.
```

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```
1   Ethan:      Toda-san.
                name-HON
                'Toda.'


2   Toda:       hai hai
                yes yes
                'Ya?'


3→  Ethan:      ima   nanka  (0.5)  watashi te   aitemasu        kedo
                now   HES           I       hand open.TE.ASP.MAS but

                o-tetsudai dekiru yoona      koto arimasu   ka?
                HON-help   can.do kind.of.ATT thing exist.MAS Q
                'I'm free right now. Do you have anything (you need) help with?'


4→  Toda:       u:::n  to::::  u:::::n:::  <a:ru kamoshirenai kedo>
                HES    BCH                 exist maybe        but

                >iya nai na<
                 no  NEG PP
                'Umm... I might have (something). No, nothing.'


5   Ethan:      .h  nai?
                    NEG
                'Nothing?'


6   Toda:       [un. haha
                 BCH
                'Ya.'


7   Ethan:      [okay


8   Toda:       un.
                'Ya.'


9   Ethan:      daijoobu
                okay
                'It's okay.'


10  Toda:       sumimasen
                sorry.MAS
                'Sorry.'


11→ Ethan:      haha  thank you.
```

Here, Ethan initiates the conversation by getting Toda's attention in Line 1 and then carefully explaining his purposes in Line 3, using addressee honorifics (*aitemasu* and *arimasu*) and an overall indirect, polite style. This is typical of Ethan's personality and usual approach. Interestingly, Toda tries to tease him a little with his response in Line 4. He produces a long, drawn out hesitation, then slowly says *aru kamoshirenai kedo* 'may I have (something)' while enunciating each syllabus. Then, without any detectable pause, he immediately follows this quickly with *iya nai na* 'no, nothing'. Moreover, this sequence was produced in one single intonational contour and thus seemed planned, leading me to believe that he was playing around by giving Ethan a hard time. Over the next several lines, Ethan again carefully and politely ends the conversation, though in an unexpected move thanks Toda in English in Line 11. This line was the end of the exchange and Ethan turned around and left immediately with no visible reaction from Toda to the English token. I assume that Ethan was trying to play around a little here as well and mitigate Toda's apology for not having a job for Ethan (Line 10).

Here, Ethan gets his co-worker's attention similar to how he did in Excerpt 6-6 using 'last name + *san*'. However, in this case he does not use the same English greeting and the following conversational trajectory is different. When English was used, but not picked up by the interlocutor, the exchange become hesitant and awkward. When English was not used, Ethan transitioned smoothly into his request and successfully completed the interaction. So it is not that Ethan is unable to avoid awkward beginnings in his conversations, but that somehow his use of English did not result in the same level of playfulness as David. When he eliminated English, it was more successful. In other words, it is not simply the intern's use or non-use of English that predicts the outcome of an interaction, but also how their co-workers respond to it.

Because David's use of English is much more aggressive and exaggerated than Ethan, the contrast to non-use of English is much clearer. Consider the following.

Excerpt 6-8. Tsukatte ii desu ka

```
Setting: David enters a room where Harada is working to ask if a machine
is available for use.
```

1 David: konnichi wa::
          hello
          'Hello.'

2 Harada: ah konnichi wa
           INJ hello
           'Oh, hello.'

3 David: kore ((points at a machine)) tsukatte ii   desu   ka::
          this   use.TE good COP.MAS Q
          'May (I) use this rotation machine now?'

4 Harada: dozo   tsukatte kudasai ne::
           please use.TE   please PP
           'Please use it.'

5 David: ii   desu   ka? sumimasen arigatoo.
          good COP.MAS Q   sorry   thank.you
          'Is that okay? Sorry. Thanks.'

There really is nothing remarkable in this sample, and that's the point. David again approaches a co-worker from behind, but this time uses a standard Japanese greeting which is reciprocated (Lines 1 and 2). Next, he smoothly transitions into the question he came to ask in Line 3 and Harada gives him permission in Line 4. This sequence is notable for what is lacking relative to Excerpt 6-5. No laughter arises and the performance is missing. As a result, David is positioned very differently. Rather than acting as a performer or taking control, he gives deference to Harada who is in charge of the reservation system and who can use the machines. Although David is still able to achieve his work-related goals, this contrast suggests that English is an important device in establishing the overall light-hearted, playful context.

When David projects his *gaijin* identity into the interaction using English and other devices to construct a humorous performance, he uses *gaijin paawaa* to allow him to step over

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his otherwise marginal position as a student intern. This is accomplished by foregrounding the fact that David is different than full-time Japanese employees, perhaps further solidifying his position on the outside, though it is also a way for him to use this position advantageously by personally connecting with his co-workers through shared performance, laughter, and light-hearted exchange. Ethan also attempts this, but either due to the lack of other playful resources and/or his co-worker's failure to co-construct the performance, the result is a much more subdued interaction. English is thus a catalyst for play and exaggerating an outsider position, while Japanese is the language for work.

The act of "being a *gaijin*" as foregrounded through the use of English is thus an effective strategy for excusing interruptions and attempting to make interactions playful. As in other examples with other resources, this has the result of building a good working rapport with other works. In the case of David, his clever discursive instantiation of a *gaijin* identity orients to his outsider position in a way that allows for the creation of shared experiences, mutual laughter, and builds positive working relationships (cf. Higgins, 2009b; Holmes, 2006a). For Ethan, even though his use of English is not as successful as David's in terms of making others laugh, my sense is that there is still cultural information being exchanged as he attempts to use English, gauges his co-worker's reactions, and adjusts accordingly. In fact, he may ultimately be socialized into more 'appropriate' behaviors than David based on how his co-workers react and co-construct these sequences. That is, David gets away with breaking cultural expectation because of his aggressive but friendly approach and might therefore miss out on opportunities to, say, improve his confidence with using addressee honorifics. Critically, this difference highlights that *gaijin* is volitionally constructed by the intern for interactional purposes and not assigned to them *a priori*.

6.4.2. Mocking back

Finally, as it turns out, interns were not the only ones to use English in this manner. The Japanese co-workers also mimicked this interactional strategy as shown in Excerpt 6-9[54].

Excerpt 6-9. Don't be sorry

```
Setting: David is running a test with a machine. Yamamoto approaches from
behind.

1   Yamamoto:   I'm sorry::

2   David:      ((continues to gaze at the machine))

3              oh, it's OK:: (.) why are you sorry?  (0.6)  don't be sorry.

4   Yamamoto:   kore deshoo?      ((hands David a tool))
               this COP.MAS.VOL
               'This one?'

5   David:      ((looking at the tool))  ye:::s=

6   Yamamoto:   =ye:::s. this is.

7   David:      this is the ONE.

8   Yamamoto:   ye::s.       yarikata to    shite wa:
               way.of.doing QT       do.TE TOP
               'As far as how to use it...'

9   David:      kore mawasu deshoo?
               this turn   COP.MAS.VOL
               'Turn this, right?'

10  Yamamoto:   hai. so so.  ( )  tsukeru kana.
               yes  ya ya        put.on  Q
               'Yes, yes. You probably put this on.'

11  David:      ah:. soo  iu  koto  ka.
               INJ  that say thing Q
               'Oh, it's like that.'
```

---

[54] While David's co-workers employed this strategy more frequently, which is unsurprising given his personality and extroverted style, Japanese co-workers in other internships also did similar things.

```
12  Yamamoto:    koko nai n   da. zenzen.
                 here NEG NML COP completely
                 'There's nothing here at all.'

13  David:       a-        atteru saizu wa  na[i
                 match.ASP size   TOP   NEG
                 'There's no (tool) that matches this size.'

14  Yamamoto:                                    [nai n    da
                                                 NEG  NML COP
                                                 'There's not.'
```

Here, Yamamoto approaches to hand David a tool he had been looking for earlier. He gets David's attention by saying "I'm sorry." Although a pragmatically inappropriate interruption in English, this is most likely a translation of *sumimasen* 'excuse me/I'm sorry', which would be the customary approach in Japanese interruptions (Kotani, 2002). However, David's response in Line 3 is ambiguous. He may be interpreting Yamamoto's utterance with English pragmatic force and assuming that Yamamoto is actually apologizing for taking a while to find to tool, or he may be mocking what sounds to him like strange use of English. Either way, Yamamoto then switches to Japanese and hands the tool to David.

When David separates his attention from the machine, he then re-engages in more English play by producing "yes" with a very long vowel elongation and exaggerated intonation (Line 5). This then triggers a highly co-constructed sequence of language play as Yamamoto repeats "yes" with a similar exaggeration, adds "this is" and then David further expands to say "this is the one." These exaggerated prosodic features a jocular, highly co-constructed sequence suggests both participants are actively involved in creating the shared experience. As in other sequences above, even after the shift into Japanese to accomplish the core work-related goal of the interaction, the light-hearted, playful atmosphere remains.

Similar to the interns' approach, Yamamoto uses English to interrupt and call attention, but uses Japanese for work-related content. This shows that English really is the operative contextualization cue that frames talk playfully and highlights the *gaijin*'s association with English. When English is present, the interactions are much more jovial and playful than when it is absent, though this also depends on the extent to which it is accepted and co-constructed by interlocutors, as Ethan's examples show. This differs from the resources examined in the prior two chapters. In the case of address terms and honorifics, the orientation to *gaijin* occurs somewhat more implicitly and with resources over which the Japanese speakers have ownership. As seen previously, *gaijin* can emerge simply because the interns do not use resources in the same ways as native speakers. In this case, however, the interns are the experts in the resource and there is no established standard or native-like way to use English.

Finally, it is important to note that when Japanese co-workers use this strategy, they are not necessarily taking on a *gaijin* persona themselves but are imitating the interns' interactional styles and activating similar contextual variables. They also demonstrate a willingness to enter the interns' territory, so to speak, and validate the intern's own use of English in other sequences. So while English sets the interns apart from the rest of the Japanese workers, it also allows for an area in which the interns and their co-workers can connect across cultural backgrounds. In some sense, by highlighting their different sociocultural identities, they are actually developing stronger intercultural relationships. The role for English is to be a catalyst in this process by contextualizing both a playful attitude and the relationship between *gaijin* and English—a valuable workplace commodity.

6.5.   CREATING HUMOR AND RAPPORT WITH IDENTITY

Thus far I have argued two central points. First, English is used to position interns variably as linguistic 'novices' and/or 'outsiders' but also allows them to claim 'expert' on certain issues. Second, in terms of interactional effect, one function of English is to contextualize encounters in a light-hearted way that mitigates impositions by building playful performances around the idea of *gaijin*. In all of these cases, I believe there is a large amount of cultural information being transmitted and they are opportunities to build good work rapport and stronger intercultural relationships. Finally, to highlight how English and *gaijin* identity become tools for such larger social goals I consider two last excerpts where English is the topic of conversation.

Excerpt 6-10. You're fluent

```
Setting: David is eating lunch with several other co-workers.

((15 lines omitted during which David and the researcher are chatting in
English.))

16  Yamamoto:   eigo    perapera na     n   da.
                English fluent   COP.ATT NML COP
                '(Your) English is fluent.'

17  David:      so ssu ne:.
                so COP PP
                'That's right.'

18  Morita:     hahaha

19  David:      perapera desu.   (0.4)  hi- hisshi      ni  renshuu-shite n
                fluent   COP.MAS              frantically ADV practice.ASP  NML

                da  kedo
                COP but
                '(I'm) fluent. I'm been practicing intensly.'

20  Yamamoto:   haha
```

```
21  David:      nakanaka muzukashii desu    yo
                very     difficult  COP.MAS PP
                'It's very difficult.'

22  Yamamoto:   uso da. joozu.
                lie COP skillful
                'No, you're good.'

23  All:        hahaha

24  David:      arigatoo arigatoo
                thanks   thanks
                'Thanks. Thanks.'

25              eikaiwa                    yatteru to  (.)
                English.coversation.class run.ASP QT
                '(I'm) running and English conversation class.'

26              kizu[kimashita  ka
                realize.MAS.PST Q
                'Did you realize (that)?'

27  All:            [haha

28  Yamamoto:   ah:: [haha

29  All:            [haha
```

During lunch, I was chatting with David in English, unaware that David's co-workers seated around us were paying attention to our conversation. After several minutes, Yamamoto interjected with a comment on David's English abilities (Line 16). This interruption makes use of *n*, a contracted form the nominalizer *no* which is used pragmatically, among other things, to provide explanations and state facts (Aoki, 1986). Here, it is expressing a form of mock surprise at David's English proficiency. Although it is obvious that David is a native speaker of English, the only opportunities they have had to hear him speak English are in short, stylized utterances embedded in Japanese interactions (Excerpt 6-5, for example). This was likely the first time they heard David engage in extended, fluent English discourse. Thus, in some sense, Yamamoto's

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display of mock surprise here may also express genuine realization that the English David speaks with other English speakers is different that the English he uses with them.

David accepts this framing by extending the joke with an ironic comment about English being difficult for him to learn and claiming he has to practice intensely. The force of this irony is strengthened in Line 17, where David produces *ssu,* a colloquial coalescence of the copula, and Line 19 which is also uttered with a fast-paced and colloquial tone. That is, David is exaggerating the irony by constructing a persona that makes him appear as a relatively fluent speaker of Japanese, not English. In combination with the content of the talk, wherein David claims to have learned English by study, this style of Japanese allows him to put on an act of being a native Japanese speaker, thus creating a humorous effect given the incongruence of this discursively performed identity with his actual *gaijin* sociocultural identity. David maintains a straight face during this performance, while the others—acting as audience—laugh loudly. The joke does not end there, as David then reminds them that he teaches an English class to others in the company, ironically suggesting that Yamamoto should have known he speaks English because he teaches it, not because he is visibly an American. Thus Yamamoto's initial comment about David's English fluency creatively makes the *gaijin* identity relevant as a focal point for mocking via an ironic presentation of this identity. *Gaijin* becomes a joke in which David and the other listeners are able to share, and this strengthens their relationships as they laugh together.

A similar sort of thing happened with Joe. On our way to an after-work dinner gathering, Joe was riding in a car with his co-worker, Miyahara. Some friends from outside the company were also coming and one, Mizuta, had not met Joe yet. As such, Miyahara thought it would be funny if Joe would pretend to not speak Japanese. Excerpt 6-11 is taken from the sequence when Joe and Mizuta first met.

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Excerpt 6-11. No Japanese

    Setting: Joe is at a dinner gathering with several co-workers. One of them
    brought a friend, Mizuta, who had not met Joe before. The co-workers told
    Joe to pretend not to speak Japanese initially as a joke.

```
1   Joe:        Hi  (.)  My name is Joe.


2→  Miyahara:   ((pointing to self))  I am Jiroo.  (0.7)  Jiroo-san.
                                      name                name-HON
```
                             'I am Jiro. Mr. Jiro.'

```
3   Mizuta:     hahahaha  Ji-  .hhh (.)  shitteru yo
                                         know.ASP PP
```
                  'Ji- I know!'

```
4   Miyahara:   soo  da.
                that COP
```
            'That's right.'

```
5   All:        hahaha

6   Joe:        ((to Miyahara))  very go- very good.

7   Miyahara:   ye[s::

8→  Mizuta:        [berii guddo
                    very   good
```
            'Very good.'

```
9   All:        hahahaha

10→ Miyahara:   ((pointing at Joe)) eigo    no  hatsuo:n  (.) ↑umai ↓umai
                                    English GEN pronunciation   good  good
```
                    '(His) English pronunciation is great. Great.'

```
11  Tanaka:     sorya soo deshoo
                that  so  COP.MAS.VOL
```
            'Of course it is.'

```
12  All:        hahaha

13  Tanaka:     homeru koto janai   yo ne.
                praise NML  COP.NEG PP PP
```
            'That's not something you praise.'

```
14  Mizuta:      (  )

15  All:         hahahahaha

16→Joe:          ((looks confused))  what?  (0.8)  <no Japanese.>

    ((8 lines omitted in which Mizuta tries to speak English and Joe corrects
    him repeatedly.))

25→Miyahara:    moo     ee   wa moo
                 already good PP already
                 'Okay, enough already.'

26  Mizuta:      hahahaha  (0.3)  moo     ee   wa  (.)  Oosaka-ben
                                   already good PP      city.name-dialect
                 '"enough already"... (that's) Osaka dialect.'

27  All:         haha[haha

28  Miyahara:       [Japanese (.)

29→               Japanese tsukatte ee   wa
                            use.ASP  good PP
                 'It's okay to use Japanese.'

30→Joe:          nihongo   hanashite ee   no?
                 Japanese speak.TE  good Q
                 'It's okay to speak Japanese?'

31  Mizuta:      EH:::  HANASERU   JAN
                 INJ    speak.POT COP.NEG
                 'What? (He) CAN speak!'

32  All:         hahahahahahahahaha

33  Joe:         hai nihongo  wakarimasu.
                 yes Japanese understand.MAS
                 'Ya, I understand Japanese.'

34  Mizuta:      ja  zenzen     wakarimasu.
                 INJ completely understand.MAS
                 'Oh, you totally understand.'
```

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```
35  Joe:          un  (0.7)  eigo     dake to iwareta kara
                  ya           English only QT say.PSV so
                  'Ya. I was told to speak only English.'

36  Mizuta:       ja  wakaru     n   da  mo:
                  INJ understand NML COP already
                  'Well, you do understand.'

37  Joe:          moo     wakatta        (.)  zenbu       wakatta
                  already understand.PST       everything understand.PST
                  '(I) understood. (I) understood everything.'
```

This sequence begins with Joe obediently introducing himself in slow, carefully

pronounced English. Line 1 was produced with separation between each syllable as he looked

right at Mizuta. For an observer who knew that Joe was pretending not to know Japanese, the

exaggerated, performed nature of this English is obvious. Miyahara, who had the idea for the

joke in the first place, pushes it along by trying to say his name in English. Interestingly, he

introduces himself with his first name followed by the honorific marker *san* (Line 2). As

discussed earlier in Section 4.1, in Japanese, one would never add an honorific title to his own

name, and thus it seems intended to enhance the performance. He also uses his first name, rather

than his last, which conforms to the ways that *gaijin* are referred to rather than the standard

Japanese pattern of reference. Mizuta certainly understands this as a playful performance as she

laughs and exclaims that she already knows his name. Next, Joe compliments Miyahara on his

English by saying "very good" and Mizuta repeats this in a Japanese pronunciation (Line 8). This

prompts Miyahara to comment on Joe's perfect English pronunciation, which is also understood

as humorous commentary by Tanaka who notes that, because Joe is a *gaijin* English speaker, it is

not necessary to compliment him on his English pronunciation. Joe plays into the joke further by

pretending to be confused by this when he says "no Japanese" in Line 16.

The sequence reaches a climax when, after Miyahara tries unsuccessfully to speak more English, he gets frustrated and gives up, exclaiming *moo ee wa* 'okay, that's enough' in Line 25. He uses *ee* rather than *ii* 'good' and the particle *wa* instead of *yo* which is a hallmark of the dialect spoken in Osaka (this interaction occurred near Nagoya where Osaka dialect is not spoken regularly). His use of this non-standard dialect is noticed by Mizuta who explicitly points it out and laughs in Line 26. Finally, in Line 29, Miyahara turns to Joe and tells him he can speak Japanese, again using the dialectal *ee*. In response, Joe switches immediately to Japanese and mimics this same use of *ee*. Joe's instantiation of Osaka dialect here is significant as it instantly shifts him from a position of 'English-only speaker' to not just 'Japanese speaker' but 'speaker of Osaka dialect' which is even more incongruent with the identity he was performing up to this point. The jarring, instantaneous shift in position clearly has an impact on Mizuta who loudly reacts with great surprise. After the laughter subsides, Joe continues to insist that he speaks Japanese and understood everything they had been talking about, using a rapid, colloquial style. Similar to David, he is performing not just 'learner of Japanese' but 'fluent speaker of Japanese' which contributes to the humor and laughter in the sequence.

These excerpts demonstrate how the ideology of *gaijin* being 'English experts' can be interactionally challenged as a joke by performing identities wherein the *gaijin* are ironically portrayed as English novices and/or fluent Japanese speakers. In David's example, Yamamoto is making a joke and eliciting laughter from onlookers. In Joe's example, the entire interaction was staged in advance as a means of teasing Mizuta. So by redefining identities through local interactional practices in a way that is incongruent with both macro-level ideologies (i.e., *gaijin* speak English) and social realities (i.e., the Americans really do speak English natively), the participants are able to share a laugh together. Joking and humor are powerful devices for

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strengthening relationships and are known to be employed regularly in the workplace to this end (Holmes, 2006a; Holmes & Marra, 2002a). In fact, Holmes (2007a) has shown that the rapport and good working relationships established through humor may even enhance their work efficiency and creativity. The humor here certainly helps the interns and their co-workers, who otherwise have little in common in terms of linguistic and sociocultural background, to create shared experiences and bridge gaps between each other. These jokes are made by highlighting their differences, but have the effect of bringing them closer together.

6.6. CONCLUSION

This section has considered an element of *gaijin* identity associated with the English language. English is a prominent resource, used by both interns and their co-workers to achieve many effects. Here, I considered three specific points about English in the Japanese intercultural workplace. First, its use positions interns as outsiders, but can be leveraged to claim expertise in other areas. Second, because it is intricately associated with expectations surrounding *gaijin* identities, it can be used as an effective strategy for mitigating intrusions by contextualizing conversation in a playful manner. Finally, it can be highlighted in talk as a joke to strengthen relationships and bring people together through shared experience.

English is particularly salient because it is so prominent in both Japanese society and in the international workplace generally. English is an important commodity, and because the interns are seen as experts in English, they gain access to things other workers do not have. They are invited to high-level meetings and asked to teach classes based on nothing more than their status as an English speaker. Because it is such a highly valued resource, it becomes a salient focal point in interaction. It can be used to accomplish local interactional goals. While I showed evidence of English used in creating accommodations, interruptions, and jokes in these data, in

other data it serves additional functions. For example, English was also used to highlight important points, elicit confirmation of understanding, make complaints, and so on. There is thus a great deal of investigation yet to be done for understanding English as a local and social resource in intercultural workplace settings in Japan. As it is, the evidence presented in this chapter make the case that English is an integral part of communication between Americans and Japanese in the workplace, even when the dominant language is Japanese.

In terms of identity, English places the *gaijin* into a category separate from that of the Japanese co-workers. In all of these sequences, the interns are set outside of the others. While this positioning would, on the surface, seem to alienate them and hinder their ability to access the workplace fully, a closer look reveals positive benefits. It is true that Susan got frustrated with excessive English glosses and David and Ethan were irritated because they felt they were not taken seriously. These negative effects notwithstanding, I also saw these same interns developing friendships and making connections. When the interns use English to interrupt co-workers in a humorous, light-hearted way, for example, they are taking a resource that sets them apart from others and leveraging it in a way that works to their benefit, with a side-effect of mutually shared laughter. Thus it is difficult to say that being pushed to the outside is exclusively bad or oppressive. Instead, it provides an opportunity to test, challenge, and redefine boundaries and, ultimately, reach across an otherwise vast cultural divide.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUDING REMARKS: IDENTITY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

In the context of globalizing workplaces, this study has explored how the identity of sociocultural outsiders is both discursively constructed and interactionally used as a resource in intercultural contact situations. Using an Interactional Sociolinguistics framework, the analysis attempted to uncover how various indexical resources are used to contextualize macro-level social and cultural information, including ideologies and beliefs regarding language and identity, in order to better understand how language learners manage their own self-presentation in foreign institutional settings. Given the multifaceted, multi-layered nature of such encounters and the incredibly complex intertwining of social and cultural variables, the contribution of any one inquiry, no matter how rigorous, is necessarily limited. Nevertheless, as the internationalization of the modern workforce increases the frequency with which people encounter others from diverse backgrounds, understanding how relationships are built across sociocultural divides is an important and worth-while endeavor, and it is my hope that the present study makes some contribution to this, however modest such a contribution may be.

An inescapable reality of interaction is its dependence on the situated context at hand. What is relevant in one instance may be meaningless in another; what a person does in one interaction may have no bearing on their behavior in another. Though the very term 'intercultural communication' suggests a broad-sweeping perspective, perhaps universal in scope, studies must explore, in depth, the colors of many different contexts and many different cultures in order to fully understand the nuances at work. The present study has taken as its primary context of focus that of American *gaijin* interns in Japanese companies. This context is just one microcosm situated in the broad contexts of intercultural contact, workplace discourse, and globalization.

While much important work on similar topics in the past has focused on English-language

learners, marginalized populations, or immigrants (e.g., Gumperz, 1982a; C. Roberts, Davies, &

Jupp, 1992; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Spencer-Oatey, 2000b), this study adds to these a context

in which the 'outsider' is present temporarily and for a particular purpose: to gain language and

work experience as a student.

This study has been centrally concerned with the concept of *gaijin*, a highly stereotyped

macro-level structure which draws from many sociocultural ideologies, beliefs, and values.

However, rather than exploring how American interns are saddled with this identity, or how it

may hinder their interactions, I have been especially interested in shedding light on how the

interns embody it and use it to their advantage when possible. As the prior chapters have shown,

the interactional emergence of *gaijin* may be intentional or unintentional, helpful or obstructive,

and may lead to both successful and unsuccessful interactions. Yet one thing seems clear: *gaijin*

is ever-present, on some level, and is thus a relevant structure for understanding communication

within the particular context central to this study, even when the interlocutors appear to avoid it.

There are endless ways in which an outsider identity may be construed through the use of

language. This study focused on 1) the use of names and labels in reference to self and other, 2)

addressee honorifics, shifts in speech style, and items associated with ideologies of politeness,

and 3) the use of the English language in an otherwise Japanese environment. These areas were

selected as the locus of this study because they were prominent features of the data, frequently

used as contextualization cues and in the management of *gaijin* identities. This study clearly

suggests that these resources are dynamic tools used to creatively occasion bits of social meaning

for local purposes. Language, as seen here, is not just a static system for encoding referential

meaning, but is a tool for embodying social information and managing the ever-changing nature of interpersonal relationships.

Overall, the themes that emerged in this study are that interns manage their identities both in ways that attempt to fit in and create *uchi* relationships and in ways that make them stand out and foreground *soto* positions. When the latter is done intentionally, it is usually to accomplish some local goal such as mitigating intrusions on others, avoiding responsibilities, providing excuses for lacking knowledge, or challenging the marginalized position of *gaijin*. While the category of *gaijin* and ideologies associated with it can be seen to emerge in interaction, marking interns as 'outsiders' both through creative use of language and through deviations from typical native-speaker patterns, it is also just as frequently occasioned on purpose as a resource for accomplishing specific activities. Then, by embodying the stereotypes and beliefs regarding *gaijin*, the interns are able to present themselves in a ways that seem conducive for creating humor, building rapport, and strengthening relationships with their co-workers despite their differences in linguistic and sociocultural background. Identity presentations are thus a critical component of the trajectory of communication in intercultural encounters.

7.1.   IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

This study has considered how linguistic presentations of identity may function as interactional resources. Studies that investigate social identity and language use can be traced to variationists (e.g., Labov, 1972) who initially examined how different demographic groups use language differently. In this case, identity is an exogenous variable used only to explain differences in linguistic patterns. Later, researchers then began to explore ways in which identity is linguistically marked and, through interaction with others, can be negotiated and redefined (e.g., De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006b; Gumperz, 1982b). This perspective sees identity as

endogenous to the interaction; something that simultaneously defines and is defined by the communicative event. The next step is to consider *why* particular instantiations of a given identity are occasioned. This is to see identity not only as a pre-determined category or something that is discursively constructed, but as something that is interactionally *used* in specific goal-oriented activities. By looking at how the interns take on the identity of *gaijin* themselves, it is in furthering this later perspective that I believe the present study has utility.

Recalling the concept of *gaijin paawaa* mentioned in Chapter 1 provides a good illustration. This notion is the belief that if one acts like a *gaijin* is expected to ask, then one gets access to more resources than they would have otherwise. This was seen throughout the data discussed here. For example, when David speaks English or uses honorifics in a strange but funny way it gives him a cover for interrupting others and asking too many naïve questions. That is, volitional projections of *gaijin* ideologies have value in facilitating the accomplishment of work tasks. This is not to suggest that without *gaijin paawaa* the interns would be helpless to successfully carry out their tasks. Certainly, it is not necessary to 'be a *gaijin*' in order to be a good intern, accomplish goals, and build relationships. However, the 'outsider' identity is a particularly useful tool for this because it is so salient in intercultural settings. Thus this study has provided a look into the social value afforded by ideologies and stereotypes about particular identities when they are embodied by those who would otherwise be marginalized.

Of course, this is not the only way that *gaijin* becomes relevant in interactions. There are also many examples of when it emerges in a non-volitional way. For example, when Ethan tries to fit in and behave appropriately, mistaken ideologies lead him to produce style shifts in marked ways, or when other native-speaker participants react to Joe's appropriate use of Japanese by complimenting him, he is categorized as a 'linguistic outsider' through the representations of

others. Thus the projection of *gaijin* is also an identity that is emerges in a co-constructed way. It is instructive to realize that, in cases where *gaijin* emerges without the intern intentionally embodying it, they often seem to be trying to foreground other identities, such as professional, work-related roles or personal, friendly relationships. In this sense, *gaijin* seems to always be present, if only in the subtext of these interactions, and this no doubt contributes to its utility when the interns harness it intentionally.

Many previous studies on language and identity have been concerned with the case when identity is a hindrance to interaction. Regarding linguistic minorities in some communities, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) have stated the following.

> Since appeals require rhetorical sophistication, including acquaintance with often unstated assumptions specific to the dominant culture or to the organization doing the judging, the weaker participant, who lacks the requisite verbal knowledge is always at a disadvantage (p. 9).

In some ways, the present study agrees. When *gaijin* emerged without the participants intending it to, this occasionally led to visible irritation. At times the interns did indeed feel they lacked power. However, *gaijin* also became a tool through which to claim power by being playful, performing for others, and providing a convenient excuse for unintentionally inappropriate or naïve behavior. Moreover, it seemed that interactions which foreground notions of *gaijin* in playful ways often contribute to the building of positive rapport.

Of course, the population studied here has characteristics that differ in important ways from those studied by Gumperz (1978), C. Roberts, Davies, and Jupp (1992), and many others. In most investigations of intercultural communication among minority groups in institutional settings, the 'outsiders' belong to a marginalized minority and power is held most prominently by the majority group. However, the power balance between *gaijin* interns and Japanese co-workers is different. Though in many ways the *gaijin* are also minorities and may be

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marginalized at times, they also enjoy a certain level of privilege. For example, they are experts in English, an important workplace commodity, and workers defer to them on issues related to it. They are not socioeconomically disadvantaged permanent immigrants, but are temporary interns participating in a school-run educational program. Thus the dynamics of the minority group in the present study are not directly comparable to those of minority groups in most other studies. So rather than challenging those who have argued for sensitivity training or accommodation of minority groups, this study should be understood as shedding light on how the dynamics of 'outsider' identity differ based on the social ideologies and perceptions surrounding members of the 'outside' group.

Nevertheless, a central contribution of this study to the broad field of language and identity is to advance the idea that, in some contexts, 'outsider' identities can be effective means for achieving desired interactional outcomes. Language does not simply mark categories, nor is the linguistic minority necessarily lacking in power just because they are a minority. What matters is what people *do* with identity. In the population of interest here, the resources afforded by *gaijin* identity can potentially be leveraged to facilitate successful intercultural relationships. As such, this study encourages the view that identity should be considered for its interactional utility, not just its interactional emergence.

7.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

By exploring the use of identity as a resource in encounters between American interns and Japanese co-workers, this discussion also has implications for sociolinguistic work on intercultural communication. Some of the biggest contributions to this field from sociolinguists is the work of John Gumperz and his colleagues which show that miscommunications between people of different backgrounds often occur due to differences in the interpretation of

contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1978, 1982a; Gumperz, Jupp, & Roberts, 1979, 1980). Since then, many researchers have used this idea to explain phenomena in intercultural contact in a wide variety of settings and contexts (e.g., for Japanese workplaces, see Miller, 1988, 2008). Most of these studies have focused on explaining trouble in intercultural communication and exploring ways to resolve the many challenges it brings. In many cases, sensitivity training and other programs are recommended to help native speakers understand how to better accommodate outsiders. As Clyne (1996) put it, "There is a need for native speakers . . . to withdraw from their means of communicative behavior to understand the others" (p. 24).

This study has sought to further understand issues in intercultural communication by looking at out outsiders negotiate and uses their own identity. In this study the interns themselves were keenly aware of their position as *gaijin* and much of their communication deals with how to manage it. There are pervasive stereotypes about *gaijin* and it seems impossible to avoid being labeled as one. However, here it seems that when the interns embrace *gaijin* on their own terms, it may actually lead to positive results. By taking the perspective of the *gaijin* interns specifically, this study has shed light on some ways in which linguistic and sociocultural outsiders might use that position to their advantage. Though many may try to avoid and suppress it, interactions in which the interns performed *gaijin* were generally characterized by a higher level of playfulness, laughter, and in many ways seemed to involve greater transmission of cultural information. In that sense, 'being a *gaijin*' helps people to build shared experiences and forge relationships on a more personal level.

Thus this study contributes to a small but growing thread of literature that seeks to understand how intercultural communication is successfully achieved, not just how problems arise (Bührig & ten Thije, 2006). Outsider identity, often taken to be a hindrance leading to

discrimination and other difficulties with 'fitting in', can be used to facilitate access to a group. By embracing it, a person can challenge it; by taking ownership of it, one retains the power to define it. To some extent, then, this problematizes Clyne's assertion mentioned above. While it is helpful, at times, for native speakers to develop a better awareness of the communicative patterns that might be exhibited by non-native speakers, when, say, David switches to English and over-exaggerates his *gaijin* persona, he is actually playing up dissimilarities. Thus it is not always the case that different groups necessarily need to converge to a similar set of values, but that differences themselves can become useful resources for interaction.

Of course, there are reasons why the group studied here yields these results. First, in the case of these interns *gaijin* is often self-embraced, not other-projected, and that can make an important difference in whether an outsider identity leads to marginalization or successful interaction. Second, as mentioned earlier, *gaijin* interns are a fundamentally different population that the relatively more marginalized minorities of other studies and this has bearing on degree to which identities can be utilized successfully. In the case of marginalized minority groups, accommodation is certainly needed to allow for successful communication and social integration. However, an implication here is that it may not be necessary for people in intercultural contact settings to entirely step away from their own idiosyncrasies and converge to a unified norm. Instead, diversity itself is a vibrant and powerful resource which may be leveraged for building relationships and bridging divides while still holding true to one's self identity. Further investigation into the degree to which power, socioeconomic status, and identity intersect in various intercultural contact settings is called for and will help better understand the impact on intercultural communication of both convergence to group norms and the embracing or utilization of cultural diversity.

7.3. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Any study of something this complex can only begin to scratch at the surface, and often raises as many questions as it answers. I have argued above that the results of this study may imply that outsider identity is a resource for facilitating positive intercultural communication. This presses for deeper inquiries into how identity is a resource for managing interaction and accomplishing goals, and not just descriptions of how it is discursively constructed or marked. However, to really locate the role of identity in intercultural communication, much more detailed data are needed. In particular, to convincingly argue that embracing *gaijin* is more successful at building relationships than avoiding it, longitudinal data are needed. The present study can suggest this based on how interlocutors response (e.g., with laughter) and speculate that this is building good rapport. To actually measure this, we need to see how the relationships of the same conversational partners develop overtime. It would be especially informative to compare the results here, which draw from interactions after the interns had been employed for several months, with the nature of encounters when the interns were still new in the companies and had not yet established their communicative repertoires.

This study was necessarily been from an intern-centered perspective. I was generally not able to interview the co-workers formally and, as a *gaijin* myself, my own intuition is more aligned with the behavior and thoughts of the interns. However, this is only one side of the story. Just because the *gaijin* think they are doing the things discussed in this dissertation does not mean that the native speakers always interpreted it in the same way. Future work needs to also be concerned with the perspective of the Japanese workers as well to help better understand how 'being a *gaijin*' is not just used by the *gaijin* themselves, but how it is understood by the

interlocutors. Given how intricately co-constructed identity is both perspectives are essential for understanding the effects of identity on intercultural communication and relationship building.

Finally, though not considered in the pages of the present work, understanding how identity is used as a communicative resource in international workplace settings may help optimize training for workers wishing to enter the global job market. Currently, most curricula that train people in 'business Japanese' or 'how to be succeed in foreign firms' put a focus on either the learning of specialized vocabulary or conforming to ideological behaviors (e.g., Bucknall, 2006; De Mente, 2006; Huddleston, 1992; R. Suzuki, Hajikano, & Kataoka, 2006). This study shows that *uchi/soto* boundaries are fluid and identity is negotiable. Thus an emphasis on general communicative challenges and patterns in intercultural situations may be preferable to the memorization of technical terms, and on developing the skill to learn through interaction with others than the imparting of sociocultural ideologies. This way, students may be more likely to gain the ability to adapt to the various unpredictable situations they will encounter. This important line of inquiry is called for in future work.

In conclusion, I would point out that the importance of intercultural communication in the workplace will only grow as technology and globalization make the world a smaller place. It is an issue of increasing inquiry in many fields, from business and law to sociology, linguistics, and beyond. In a world where so many problems arise from simply lacking in our understanding of others, continued advances in our still limited knowledge of how relationships can be built across cultural divides is crucial. It is my hope that further work in this regard will continue to make modest steps toward this common human goal.

APPENDIX

CONSENT FORM

University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa

Consent to Participate in Research Project:
Gaijin 'Foreigner' Identity in the Japanese Workplace

My name is Stephen Moody, a graduate student at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UH), in the Department of Japanese. As a graduate student, I conduct research for the university. The purpose of my current research project is to explore how foreign workers are integrated into Japanese companies. I am asking you to participate in this project because you are a foreign worker employed in a Japanese company.

Project Description - Activities and Time Commitment: If you participate, I will visit you at your place of work for a period of several days. The exact time frame is negotiable between you, your company, and the researcher. It is expected to be a period of three days. As possible, I may also ask you to take voice recordings of several meetings that you attend. There is no requirement regarding length and number of recordings and this may be negotiated depending on the specific circumstances of you and your company's circumstances. However, for the purpose of developing a thorough dataset, I am hoping to visit the company for roughly three days and also ask you to record two meetings a month for three months.

Recordings will be taken using two digital voice recorders, which I will provide. I will hold one recorder and the other will be place on you with a small, inconspicuous microphone. The recordings will later by transcribed into a written record which will be analyzed to extract linguistic and social information. If you participate, you will be one of several companies providing recordings.

Benefits and Risks: I believe there are no direct benefits to you from participating in my research project. However, the results of this project will contribute to a large body of literature on Japanese sociolinguistics being compiled by UH researchers. This will help us to understand the overall experience of foreign workers in Japan, how they are integrated into companies, and what challenges they face. Results will be used primarily to develop improved, comprehensive training programs for workers who wish to work in Japan. Furthermore, if any conclusions are published, they will contribute to the broad academic community in moving toward a deeper understanding of U.S.-Japan workplace relationships.

I also believe there is little or no risk to you from participating in this project. However, because workplace interactions will be recorded, it may be possible to identify participants. There may also be proprietary or confidential information discussed. To protect against these risks, I will be the only person with access to the recordings and transcriptions. Any portions of the transcriptions which will be reported in written materials will be redacted to protect identities and other sensitive information. The project is interested primarily in the grammar, language, and

social interactions in the meeting, not any company-specific items. Therefore, at your request, any portion of the recording and associated transcriptions will be deleted and destroyed.

Because the audio recordings will likely capture utterances of other workers in the workplace, I will require that the department supervisor notify all employees in the department of the research. I will have your supervisor invite anyone uncomfortable with the audio recorder to contact the supervisor and I will halt recordings when that employee is present. I will also halt recording if anyone requests it during the research. Finally, I will also try to observe others and if anyone appears uncomfortable, I will halt the recording.

Confidentiality and Privacy: During this research project, I will keep all data from the interviews in a secure location. Electronic files will be protected by password. Only I will have access to the data, although legally authorized agencies, including the University of Hawai'i Committee on Human Studies, have the right to review research records for the purpose of ensuring the protection of the rights of people who volunteer for research.

After I transcribe the interviews, I will erase the audio-recordings. When I report the results of my research project, and in my typed transcripts, I will not use any names or any other personally identifying information. Instead, I will use pseudonyms (fake names) and delete any items which contain company-specific data. I will not report the company name or address in research results. Only samples of conversations will be reported in published results, and these will only be used to highlight how foreign workers speak and are spoken to from a linguistic perspective. They will not be used to report company-specific details. If you would like a summary of the findings from my final report, please contact me at the number listed near the end of this consent form.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this research project is voluntary. You can choose freely to participate or not to participate. In addition, at any point during this project, you can withdraw your permission and I will destroy any data that has been collected.

Questions: If you have any questions about this project, please contact me at via phone (801) 360-5162 or e-mail (sjmoody@hawaii.edu). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, in this project, you can contact the University of Hawai'i, Human Studies Program, by phone at +1-808-956-5007 or by e-mail at uhirb@hawaii.edu.

<div align="center">

Please keep the prior portion of this consent form for your records.
If you agree to participate in this project, please sign the following signature portion of this consent form and return it to Stephen Moody.

</div>

Signature(s) for Consent:

I agree to participate in the research project described above. I understand that I can change my mind about participating in this project at any time by notifying the researcher. I also certify that I have obtained the permission of my direct supervisor to participate in this project. Those members of my department with whom I interact have also been notified of my participation and are aware that they may be recorded during their interactions with me. They are also aware that if they decide they do not wish to be recorded, they may notify the researcher and he will promptly redact any recordings and refrain from taking any recordings during which they might be involved.

	Yes	No
I consent to being audio recorded during this project.	□	□

Your Name (Print): _____

Your Signature: _____

Date: _____

I agree to allow the above named intern to participate in this research project. I understand that if the company finds any information recorded to be sensitive or proprietary, I may notify the research who will then promptly destroy those recordings. I understand that I have the right to inspect the audio recordings at any time. By so doing, I certify the following (please check):

	Yes	No
I authorize the researcher to collect audio recordings at this company.	□	□
I certify that I have authority to approve this request on behalf of the company.	□	□
Employees in relevant departments have been notified and have not objected.	□	□

Company Representative (Print): _____

Company Representative Signature: _____

Date: _____

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