

**A linguistic ethnography of English language classrooms in a Japanese secondary
school**

by

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Abstract

The theory of language socialization has long established that language learning and cultural acquisition are interrelated, and that learners and teachers are active agents in co-constructing classroom practices. However, there are surprisingly few studies that draw on these understandings in researching English education in Japan. In this ethnographic study, I examined the multidirectional socialization of Japanese teachers of English (JTEs), assistant language teachers (ALTs) and students at a large Japanese private boys' secondary school. To analyze how social relations structured and were structured through language use, I draw on the analytical resources of systemic functional linguistics.

Analysis shows the interest of classroom participants dominated. ALTs' aspirations to belong led them to reproduce familiar routines of a Japanese classroom. JTEs' priorities for maintaining established Japanese practices led to the reproduction of classroom management practices and existing distributions of power. Peer interactions routinely followed rote patterns with little space for meaningful negotiation of language. Interestingly, instances of translanguaging were integral with more extended negotiation of meaning between and among teachers and peers.

As these findings illustrate, understanding participants' social objectives and the multidirectional socialization of classroom participants is key to transforming long-existing classroom practices and relations. First, more attention is needed to ALTs' orientation to their positions and their classrooms, and to their aspirations for belonging. Second, JTEs could be better supported by a) increasing awareness of the

interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions of English and b) designing programs that raise their awareness towards ALTs' relatively invisible realization of agency. Finally, the thesis illustrates the need to conduct more nuanced studies of translanguaging to further understanding of classroom dynamics.

I conclude with contributions of this thesis, which draws attention to the value of plurilingual resources that function to co-construct key interpersonal relationships and impact classroom dynamics.

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Author's Declaration

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature:

鈴木文也

Date: 13/4/2025

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose of study

Language can be best learnt from a native speaker (Kubota, 2018, p.35,
translated by author)

This citation is taken from the book “*Eigo kyōiku gensō* [Misconceptions of English language teaching and learning]”, written by Ryuko Kubota, a Japanese applied linguist living in Canada with rich experience teaching English in Japan and Japanese in North America. Kubota (2018) takes this as one of ten illusions widely believed among the Japanese population in relation to English education, which led many native English speakers to be employed at English conversation schools (*eikaiwa*) as native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) or to be hired at elementary and secondary schools to assist English classes as assistant language teachers (ALTs). Her view resonates with Ruecker and Ives (2015), who describe job advertisements for language schools in Japan to be explicitly preferring White, enthusiastic NESTs from inner-circle countries.

Before my Masters’, I expected that the stereotypically referenced linguistic advantages of NESTs, such as vocabulary, oral fluency and pronunciation (Medgyes, 1994), were a major factor that led to such belief. However, working as a full-time Japanese teacher of English (JTE) at a secondary school in Japan, I had been questioning the validity of this belief. In fact, strengths of non-NESTs have also been stereotypically referenced, including they can 1) be an example as successful language learners, 2) teach learning strategies effectively, 3) have knowledge about the language, 4) predict learning difficulties, 5) have access to the needs of students; and 6) use the students’ first language (L1) to scaffold learning (Medgyes, 1994). Nevertheless, through my professional career, I came to be equally suspicious of such strengths’ validity. Eventually, I doubted whether

these stereotypical strengths of NESTs and non-NESTs (or weaknesses in turn) have an effect on students' and teachers' participation in language classrooms.

Motivated by such doubt, I conducted a three-week classroom-based case study for my Masters' dissertation, in which I investigated the co-construction of NEST-led classrooms by students and teachers at a Japanese secondary school. Drawing upon the theory of second language socialization and the concept of agency, I found that the NESTs' curriculum design, which developed through their teaching history in Japan, and the lack of hierarchy between the NESTs and students, which the NESTs deliberately designed to meet their teaching goals, constructed unique opportunities for interaction. Student participation not only went beyond metalinguistic exchanges and became linked to their life experiences, but also created opportunities for students to help and teach NESTs, which supported NESTs to further their participation in class. In addition, this seemed to have led to a greater exercise of agency during peer interaction as students frequently went beyond the topic through providing each other with rich support during exchange. Thus, the curriculum design and the social relations developed between NESTs and students had a much larger impact on their participation in the language classroom than the stereotypical linguistic distinctions of NESTs and non-NESTs. Although I had been initially suspicious of such distinctions, I also did not expect curriculum design and social relations to have such large effect. As a result, these findings have had a large influence on my working relationships with NESTs since then. Rather than viewing each other as ones with linguistic advantages and/or disadvantages, I currently have a larger interest in each teacher's learning and teaching histories, and on the affordances and resources they can bring into the language classroom.

However, my Masters' was the first time I conducted a formal case-study, and there were limitations in the research design and data collection methods, which I wanted to improve in further studies. More importantly, it has led to my next interest to observe the

social relationships of teachers and students from a longitudinal perspective and investigate the evolution (or lack thereof) of the learning context over time. This interest has motivated me towards my PhD studies, in which I decided to examine the co-construction of junior high school English language classrooms by students, Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) and assistant language teachers (ALTs) in pursuit of their formal and/or personal learning/teaching objectives. In particular, I became interested in how teachers' learning and teaching histories, and/or the affordances and resources available for students, JTEs and ALTs, shape one's choices to create interpersonal relationships and mediate social functions or purposes in their learning/teaching context. Thus, I investigated how the accessibility of those resources (or lack thereof) expands or limits one's participation in pursuit of discussing what that means to the learning and teaching of languages.

To achieve such purpose of the study, I conducted an ethnography of language classrooms in a large Japanese private boys' secondary school. I collected data for a period of seven months, and drew on the analytical resources of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) to analyze how language use was structuring social relations and vice versa. In the next section, I will provide the organization of the thesis to describe the roadmap I went through upon completion of the thesis.

1.2 Thesis organization

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the research for this thesis. It starts with the theory of language socialization and the concept of agency, which has guided the study to investigate the choices that teachers and students make during their integrated process of teaching/learning an additional language and simultaneously pursuing membership in where the language is used. Then, I will state my views towards language and the analytical resources of the study by describing the functional perspective of language and SFL, and outline *codeswitching* and *translanguaging* to describe how using

multiple languages has been discussed in language learning/teaching. Lastly, I will discuss English education in Japan by looking at its recent educational reform and practices, the perceived advantages and recruitment of ALTs, and perceived sociocultural challenges of teaching in an imaginary quiet Japanese language classroom, before I conclude by addressing the research questions of the thesis.

In Chapter 3, I will outline the methods of data collection and analysis for the thesis. I will start by introducing the characteristics and history of ethnographic methods, within which I situated the study, and how it has been applied in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), and narrow it down by how it has been combined with linguistic methods (linguistic ethnography). Then, I will describe the background information of the focal school, focal English classrooms, two JTE participants, two ALT participants and student participants, including how I gained access to the research site and those participants. Subsequently, I will introduce the primary sources of data, which was collected through a duration of seven months and includes classroom observation, questionnaires, document collection and semi-structured teacher/student interviews, and follow by describing the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on this study. Next, I will summarize the analytical procedures of the study, including coding procedures and my reasons for drawing upon the analytical tools of SFL. I will conclude by describing the transcript conventions, how I managed to keep my eye as a researcher and stayed focused on ethical considerations during the study.

In Chapter 4, I will show the findings of the study and describe how access (or lack thereof) to resources shaped positions of participants in the language classroom. I will first analyze how ALTs replicated Japanese cultural practices in pursuit of their personal objectives to seek membership in the local classroom. Then, I will analyze how the JTE of one focal first-year classroom positioned himself as the one with power and shaped positions of students and ALTs in pursuit of his personal objective to keep control of the

language classroom. Subsequently, I will analyze how the other focal third-year classroom, in which the other JTE simultaneously shaped positions in pursuit of his formal objective to increase student participation and his personal objective to keep the rhythm of class. Lastly, I will describe how students and teachers in the third-year class positioned each other through interpersonal resources of language in pursuit of their personal objective to negotiate and expand open-ended contributions to dialogue.

In Chapter 5, I will draw upon the findings from the local language classrooms and discuss what can be done by governmental measures, research, professional development, local educational institutions and classrooms to help expand participation, in particular of students and ALTs, to better students' learning. This includes linking those findings with the larger sociocultural background of the Japanese educational context, and the affordances and resources accessible in Japan. Throughout this chapter, I will shed light on how relationships and practices construct or are constructed through language, and what that implies to the learning and teaching of languages.

I will conclude the thesis in Chapter 6 by recapitulating the findings of this study and suggest implications for pedagogy and address directions for further research.

1.3 Significance of the study

This study aims to provide implication to three fields. First, to the field of English education in Japan. Students in Japan have been widely described in the literature as being reluctant to talk, one of whose contributors has been attributed to Confucian ideology/ies, preferred learning practices or Japanese cultural features. As Japan has been facing domestic concerns of a declining economy and birthrate and has been under pressure to raise the nation's global standing, English education is under government-led educational reforms and aims to have students go beyond such passive participation in the classroom. In particular, what has drawn wide attention is the educational practice of "proactive,

interactive and deep learning”, in which students are not only to gain knowledge, which has been heavily emphasized in Japan, but also use that knowledge to think, make judgements, and express what they can do to become a competent member in familiar and unfamiliar settings. However, although a number of books and training opportunities have been developed to realize “proactive, interactive and deep learning”, there has been little research that investigates the interrelationship (or lack thereof) of government-led educational reforms, Confucian ideology/ies or Japanese cultural features, and local learning/teaching practices, or how students and teachers draw on their available resources and affordances to shape their participation in the classroom. This thesis aims to bridge this gap by conducting an empirical study in the classroom and provide insights into the language and expertise necessary for students and teachers to better their learning/teaching.

In addition, I aim to widen the potentials of studies drawing on the theory of language socialization by going beyond North American contexts under TESOL programs and conducting a study in an EFL context. By addressing how access (or lack thereof) to resources shape one’s positioning in the learning context, I hope to provide wider insights to governmental measures, professional development and local educational institutions/teachers and highlight their interrelationship so that they can facilitate students’ learning.

Furthermore, I hope to describe further potentials of drawing on the analytical tools of SFL in the language classroom. To the best of my knowledge, most of such studies are conducted in EAP contexts and investigate how knowledge is understood or produced or how voice is expressed, not infrequently in the written mode (e.g., academic textbooks, academic writing) to facilitate students understand and produce academic language. Through conducting a deep-grained analysis of participants’ language use, I aim to highlight how language is drawn upon as a resource to negotiate social roles and power relationships and how it contributes to their positioning in their learning context.

Through such process, I hope to provide further insights to researchers, teacher educators, and teachers and students, or newcomers and locals, so that teachers and students can find ways to access the resources necessary to shape their positions to benefit students' learning.

2. Review of the research

2.1 Introduction

Section 2.2 of the review of research begins by introducing *language socialization*, the key theoretical framework I chose in this thesis. I start by describing first language socialization of children learning their first language, then discuss language socialization of additional language learners who have a command of their first or previous language. I will subsequently introduce the concept of *agency* and provide insights into the choices which language learners and teachers make during their socialization process.

In Section 2.3, I will explain how I intend to view and analyze language for this thesis. I will first look at how language is viewed from a pedagogical perspective, and then move to discuss the functional perspective of language, through which language users make choices to make meaning, shape experiences and negotiate identity. Then, I will introduce *systemic functional linguistics*, the analytical resources that I intend to use in this study. As this thesis will involve the use of two languages, English and Japanese, I will lastly outline *codeswitching* and *translanguaging* and describe how the use of multiple languages have been considered in language learning/teaching.

Lastly, in Section 2.4, I will look at English education in Japan and how English classrooms have been imagined or are imagined to become. I will first describe its recent educational reform and practices, and after a brief reference to the widely-perceived advantages and further employment of ALTs, I will describe the widely-perceived sociocultural challenges of a quiet Japanese language classroom and how Japanese educational policies aim to overcome them.

Through this section, I aim to link theory and practice to clarify gaps for research and describe a potential contribution of this study to Japan and other EFL contexts.

2.2 Language socialization / Agency

2.2.1 Language socialization

My main focus of this study is to investigate the interrelationship of language use and classroom practices, that is, how language use of participants shapes classroom practices and is shaped by classroom practices. Thus, I need a theory to draw upon to analyze such interrelationship and also its relation (or lack thereof) with the larger sociocultural background, which also becomes a major contributor that shapes such local classroom practices. As I learned in my Masters' research, which I aim to do so to further clarify the rationale towards my theoretical basis, learning a language was not only about producing well-formed structures of language. I found that students' agency and their participation in the NEST-led classes were different from those in JTE-led classes, which seemed to be related to the unique classroom practices, which the NESTs developed through their learning and teaching histories. This shows that additional language learners and teachers use language and co-construct their practices through interaction in each unique context that is shaped across time and space.

To discuss such language use of additional language learners and teachers, I will begin by looking at children's learning of their first language (L1), in which language emerges through their interaction with their caregivers. Humans grow through an interactional instinct that encourages them to construct emotionally rewarding relations with others, where language plays a facilitative role (Lee, Mikesell, Joaquin, Mates & Schumann, 2009). That is, language enables children to participate and create affiliative relationships with their caregivers, which in turn creates additional conditions that shape language use.

Informed by this interrelationship between learning language and seeking relationships is the theory of *language socialization*. Defined by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a, p. 163) as "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use

language”, language socialization links learning language and sociocultural structures/practices to pursuit of membership in where that language is used. Thus, language socialization studies see language learning not only with reference to development of linguistic competence but also connect it with the everyday sociocultural context in the development of children’s communicative practices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Research has been conducted in home, classroom and community settings, where children learn their L1 and simultaneously become enculturated into the social norms prevailing in their context (e.g., Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; Heath, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b).

Patterns of language use and cultural beliefs at home are not always identical to those at school, and this difference may lead to differences in educational achievement and participation. In her study of children learning to use language in their communities and schools, Heath (1983) provides a rich description of two small but nearby communities in southeast United States: Roadville, a working-class white community, and Trackton, a working-class black community. Through her ethnographic work of nearly ten years – living, working and interacting with the people in each community, while providing her findings to the educators who supported these children’s academic success - she found that these children’s daily language use reflected ideologies and literacy practices significantly unlike those of townspeople. Those variations became sources of communication conflicts at school and work. Linking the findings to pedagogy, Heath (1983) documents school teachers bridging this gap by integrating the communicative practices of school and each community, thus enabling these children to take advantage of familiar resources to expand further opportunities for their own learning. As such, children do not necessarily conform to the literacy practices of school without exception, and support from educators is key for their socialization into those practices.

Another central assertion of Ochs and Schieffelin (2012) is that language socialization is a lifelong process. Children's choices are initially limited, as the communities in which they interact are largely controlled by parents and other significant adults such as teachers. After that, choices of those in emerging adulthood (late teens through most of their twenties) become expanded, as they develop their self-regulation, beliefs and behaviors while gaining increasing autonomy from their parents and teachers (Arnett, 2014). Adults' socialization continues as they learn new registers or speech styles at new communities and workplaces while experiencing significant life changes (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002). Encountering such new social groups, adults may need to use language in less familiar ways than those of their previous groups.

To understand how newcomers enter and become socialized into new communities, and how these socialization processes evolve and change over time, researchers of language socialization commonly carry out studies using a range of longitudinal data collection methods, such as ethnographic field observations, audio or visual recordings, collection of documents, and interviews (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Since the early 1990s, this has broadened to the learning of additional languages, and researchers have studied the learning of valued literacy practices and ideologies that learners are expected to accomplish through the language they are learning (Duff & Anderson, 2015). This creates a setting for the following theory, which this study of language classrooms draws upon: language socialization in an additional language.

2.2.2 Language socialization in additional languages

Drawing upon research on language socialization, language socialization in additional languages¹ shifts its focus to those who are in the process of learning languages and cultures other than their first. As this study is situated, compared to children whose acquisition process is featured in language socialization studies, participants in studies of language socialization in additional languages are typically mentally and cognitively more mature, and already use their L1 in a manner consistent with the cultural and linguistic norms of their L1 social contexts (Duff & Anderson, 2015). They may also have more freedom to explicitly choose their language learning aim, but may also face struggles in socializing into the target language and culture. For example, Newman and Newman (2009) document the contested trajectory of a Taiwanese woman learning an additional language and negotiating membership and identity in the US. Before entering university, she faced academic challenges, disagreements with her uncle and aunt she lived with, and resistance from mainstream students throughout elementary and high school. It was only after entering community college that she was able to create her network and draw upon their support to feel a sense of validation and belonging. Alexander (2025) studied students' perspectives of British Columbia offshore high schools in China, which offer foreign curriculum programs for students likely to study abroad. One participant expressed stress and discomfort about her transfer, which had been initiated by her family. Her active support of peers and teachers, including support for preparing presentations, assisted her in overcoming classes that were initially beyond her comprehension and feeling well-prepared for her further studies. These studies illustrate the lifelong and non-linear nature

¹ As the sequences of learning languages make the contrast between the first language and second language blurrier than these labels suggest (Duff, 2012a), I will not use the term *second language socialization* but *language socialization in additional languages*.

of socialization that is not only about learning languages, and the complicated and possibly challenging process through which one is socialized into additional language and practices.

Another key characteristic of language socialization in additional languages is its bidirectional, reciprocal or multidirectional nature. Although experts become crucial supporters for socialization in additional languages, learners are also capable of collaborating with those experts and their peers through their own knowledge and experiences in return (Duff & Anderson, 2015). He (2015) investigated weekend Chinese heritage language schools in the US and the multidirectional process of students and teachers describing, articulating and socializing cultural meanings in the classroom. This multidirectionality enriched the collaborative process through which met students the challenges of learning Chinese characters, and developed their heritage language. He also explains how their roles reverse in contexts of immigration and language shift, where learners can act as experts because they may be more proficient in the local language or have higher oral proficiency in the heritage language than their teachers. In Mökkönen's (2012) study of a multilingual primary class in Finland, a similar multidirectional practice, *subteaching*, was identified. Subteaching is teacher-like discourses which students used to instruct, evaluate and discipline their peers. Students engaged in subteaching to a) maintain and co-construct the English monolingual norm of the classroom, b) attract attention and show authority by using gendered forms of address (e.g., *What are you talking boys?*), c) co-construct dialogue during peer interaction by using rhetorical teacher talk (e.g., *Did you know?*) and pedagogically incomplete utterance (e.g., finish a turn with *we talk*), and d) resist or mock their peers' subteaching actions to seek their own position in class. Subteaching often started with peer interaction and opened up to the whole class, and became a powerful mediational tool for students to negotiate and resist the norms of the language classroom and construct situated identities.

Peer support is also found beyond the classroom. Duff and Kobayashi (2010) studied Japanese undergraduate students at an exchange program in Canada as they worked outside of class for group presentations. The students negotiated and jointly constructed social, cognitive-linguistic and cultural aspects of the project, which included how to deliver their presentation with consideration of audience needs and addressivity. Although students used Japanese amongst themselves (language use will be discussed in Chapter 2.3), such use of their L1 was valuable in learning how to give effective presentations. In the same context, Kobayashi (2016) studied the evolution of a Japanese undergraduate student's strategy use and academic performance over an academic year, and how her reflections on her group's and peers' presentations enabled her to better understanding these strategies. Over the course, she came to increase her awareness towards the audience, which became a major contributor to change her presentation practices from reading and memorizing a written script to talking and interacting with the listeners. Investigating Mexican undergraduate students studying at a Canadian university, Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) found that their participants largely realized their socialization through academic and emotional support from non-local peers who had more experience in the learning context, as well as those who were newcomers and had similar backgrounds, interests, and goals. Aside from some Anglophone peers who provided language support, it was not so much teachers, program directors, teaching assistants and tutors as those non-Canadian students that became key for the participants to negotiate academic English literacy and course-specific literacy practices.

However, language socialization in additional languages is not always linked with successful language learning and community membership. Learners themselves may not invest in learning the language or socializing into the target community. Talmy (2008) investigated ESL classes at a multilingual public high school in Hawaii and illustrated what may be identified as unsuccessful socialization. He observed interactions between first-

year teachers and generation 1.5 ESL students, or local ESL students, who exhibited resistance and lack of investment to compulsory ESL classes. He found that these students' continuous refusals to participate had those teachers accommodate these actions by redesigning the curriculum and classroom practices, which in turn had students receive poor grades, earn the label of low-achieving and leaving them with no option but to remain in their ESL class with little hope that teaching would change to meet their needs. In another study, Kim and Duff (2012) studied the socialization and identity negotiations of two Generation 1.5 Korean-Canadians, who did not invest in participating in the local community and ended up being marginalized. In high school, one of her participants continued to be unhappy with her family's decision to move to Canada and maintained a circle of Korean ethnicity. She resisted seeking participation in mainstream Canadian society and investing in English and its culture. On the other hand, the other participant was happy to move to Canada, but her lack of confidence to befriend local Canadians led her to resist interacting with them. Both cases led to further marginalization in their local contexts. In Cho's (2013) study of documenting Korean students pursuing an MA-TESOL in the US, one of her focal students who lacked experience was open to the identity of an international TESOL student. In contrast, another student had more than a decade of teaching EFL, but failed to work closely with his younger peers because of a generation gap and fear of losing face along with his strong professional identity as an experienced EFL educator which led him to criticize the TESOL curricula and resist the identity of an international TESOL student. As such, newcomers may hold themselves apart from their peers even if peer support is available.

Another factor which may cause unsuccessful socialization is when potential supporters exert power to resist newcomers' participation and block their opportunities for language use. They may negatively mock newcomers' language errors, use subteaching to express alignment with "English-only" policies, and/or otherwise censure use of languages

other than English (Talmy, 2015). This can create a racializing frame that impedes the socialization of newcomers, as it did in Hawaiian communities in which Talmy researched. In another study, racialization was also evident in García-Sánchez's (2020) ethnographic study of a rural Spanish elementary school with a high concentration of Moroccan immigrants, where local students and teachers only reluctantly encouraged immigrants' participation. For example, during juggling activities, local children passed the ball only to their local peers, and during dance activities, they refused to pair up with Moroccan peers, even though both activities were designed to promote inclusion and interculturalism. Local teachers considered the open discussion of such discriminatory behavior to be a dangerous source of tension, and dealt with the issue without directly referring to its political dimensions. Such practices of local students and teachers not only made newcomers' language learning difficult, but also reproduced practices of excluding newcomers into the community. In Morita's (2004) study of Japanese students in a Canadian university, one of her participants was not welcomed into discussions from her instructors and local peers for lack of linguistic competence in English and local cultural knowledge and was marginalized as a quiet and powerless member of class. This led her to resist and withdraw from class discussions, which furthered her struggles to negotiate participation and be recognized as legitimate and competent speakers in postgraduate courses.

In addition to such external sources of how newcomers socialize/are socialized into new practices, internal sources, or their perceptions and interpretations on those practices, impact the socialization process. Anderson (2017) refers to real and imagined powers that impact newcoming PhD students' external and internal sources as the "doctoral gaze". Though generally reporting positive and supportive supervision, one participant's pressures arising from his interpretation of his colleagues' research qualities reinforced his feelings as being inadequate in his department, while another participant's perceived expectation of her discipline (a literature field) to quickly produce error-free texts not only

caused anxiety and stress but also created her aspirations to create texts as perfect as those she read, which might have never been possible in reality. Similarly, interpretations on written feedback were also dependent on the doctoral gaze and impacted the socialization process. Anderson's (2021) study investigated the role of written feedback towards PhD students on their academic papers and found that even if the feedback was detailed, negative or critical, some of his participants' positions did not become marginalized but legitimized, as it facilitated their aspirations to establish positions as publishable and legitimate figures in their disciplinary field. As such, not only external sources but also internal sources impact newcomers' positionalities and socialization processes, as they draw upon newcomers' uptake of their situated practices as well.

These studies demonstrate how potential supporters for novices impact their socialization process. However, the direction of socialization may reverse, as novices may impact their supporters. Studying NESTs and local English teachers at a language school in Japan, Duff and Uchida (1997) found that teachers, regardless of being a NEST or non-NEST, continuously negotiated their own teaching/learning preferences, a legacy of their past learning, teaching and cross-cultural experiences. They also had to negotiate their comfort of teaching (cross-)cultural issues to meet the expectations of local institutions and students: to create entertaining student-centered classrooms that included the transmission and discussion of cultural content. Thus, the classroom was constructed through a multidirectional process. Teachers aimed to negotiate their teaching/learning preferences to help students create new sociocultural connections through a new dimension of linguistic/cultural practices, but were simultaneously adapting to their local students and teaching practices, which at times conflicted with their teaching/learning experiences. As a result, teachers were continuously negotiating their school membership. In Okuda and Anderson's (2018) study from a writing center at a Canadian university, one of the three focal postgraduate students was successful in transforming the practices of her writing

center tutor into providing the help she wanted. This was realized as the student listened patiently and showed respect to the tutor, which built a relationship of trust that enabled the tutor to gradually feel comfortable to give the specific feedback she longed for. Such experience at the writing center positioned the student as a competitive student with further disciplinary writing practices to seek academic success. As such, this study shows the powerful impact of novices in transforming the teaching practices of supporters to match their expectations.

The significance of a language learner's past experiences to their teaching is also evident. Uzum (2017) studied an Uzbek language teacher teaching her first language in an American university as a Fulbright Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA). Her position about learning was that hard work and high motivation were keys to successful language learning, and laziness was initially associated with her students' struggles in learning Uzbek. However, her dialogic understanding of teaching and learning was transformed when she later found that it was their lack of language familiarity and opportunities to practice language that led to their struggles. In addition, compared to Uzbekistan, subtle corrective feedback practices that were less intrusive and less threatening were a daily part of the language classroom, which led to the implementation of a new dimension of feedback practices that she learned in her teaching methods class. As such, the teacher's pedagogical beliefs and practices initially shaped her teaching practices, but such beliefs and practices were negotiated upon encountering conflicts and dilemmas, which reduced further mismatches as she developed her professional career in the US educational context.

Before concluding this section, I will touch on academic discourse socialization, a theory grounded in that of language socialization in additional languages, whose studies investigate participants' negotiation of social and cultural structures and practices, or academic and linguistic expectations, to seek membership and success in academic contexts, mostly at undergraduate or graduate level studies (Kobayashi, Zappa-Hollman &

Duff, 2017; Xiao & Chen, 2023). International students may come into an academic context with different values arising from their previous educational contexts, but are nevertheless often expected to overcome these differences and familiarize themselves with new expectations (Duff, 2010; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). However, their socialization cannot be irrelevant from how instructors, local students and peers view their life histories and aspirations, and how they position those newcomers within the learning context. Recently, in addition to studies investigating students' negotiation of academic writing, written discourse or literacy, there has been a growth of studies investigating oral activities (e.g., oral academic presentations, group discussions, out-of-class activities, digital interaction) that document a) the mediational roles of scaffolding and support from experts and peers through instructions, interactions and feedback, and b) learners' (selective) acceptance, resistance, or negotiation of norms and practices in their academic contexts (Xiao & Chen, 2023). Following an overview of theoretical and methodological issues in conducting research on academic discourse socialization, Friedman (2023) draws attention to further research tasks of investigating EFL settings and studying a) the interrelationship of discourse practices in the classroom and local beliefs/values and the larger sociocultural context, b) the ways identities of "novices" and "experts" are displayed, resisted and/or negotiated, c) the interrelation of teachers' identity as a competent educator and their personal, educational and professional experiences, and d) how students and teachers are socialized into practices that promote or discourage multicompetence, which also provided insights to designing the research questions of this study.

While those studies offer valuable insights on how students are socialized into academic discourse and academic practices, I will not locate this thesis within its field, as this thesis is about students' and teachers' socialization into local sociocultural practices, and not about socialization into academic discourse. For example, Alexander (2025) is focused into offshore schools and academic discourse of higher education in Canada, rather

than social practices and relations per se. Thus, as I have reviewed the literature throughout this section, I will locate this thesis holistically within the field of language socialization in additional languages to anchor this study and provide a basis for discussing positionings and practices in the local classroom.

To summarize this section, neither learners nor teachers necessarily conform to the communities in which they learn/teach additional languages, nor are they expected to do unidirectionally. Learning/teaching a language is a bidirectional, reciprocal or multidirectional process. While experts are key supporters for the socialization of learners, learners can also deploy their own resources and help those experts and their peers socialize in return, or impact newcomer teachers' socialization into the local sociocultural identities and teaching practices. Important to note is that such socialization process is not always guaranteed with success, as learners themselves may not be invested in learning the language or socializing into the new community, or experts or potential supporters may resist their socialization and block their participation.

Despite these valuable insights which studies on language socialization can provide with language learning/teaching, according to Kobayashi et al. (2017), most of such studies have been conducted in North American contexts under TESOL programs, and more studies from wider contexts of wider year groups are necessary to further understand the resources that facilitate one's socialization into a new context. For example, power or positioning may shape learners' choices towards socialization opportunities, rather than blocking their access to such opportunities. Bankier's (2022) and (2024) studies of Japanese students' socialization into academic writing practices found his participants becoming increasingly selective when seeking support from others, whose choices were related to a) their perception of one's knowledge and investment into the EAP writing practices, b) their own investment into those practices and how it affected their positioning with others, c) their reflection on the instructor's feedback and who they considered to be

of sources of help, and d) their time constraints such as long commute to school and responsibilities of part-time jobs. Such selective practices, whose consequences included deliberate distancing from peer support, were in contrast to studies from ESL contexts, suggesting further research from EFL contexts where English experts and resources are less accessible. Following such studies, I aim to contribute to the field of language socialization by gaining data over a period of seven months from classroom interaction in an EFL context, where participants negotiate “*multiple* languages, norms, roles, ideologies, identities, curricula, and/or ethnographic communities at the *same time*” (Duff, 2020, p. 250, italics in original).

2.2.3 Agency

During one’s trajectory of language socialization, participants make choices from their available resources to pursue their formal and/or personal objectives in where the language is used. This section summarizes the concept I drew upon to analyze such choices participants make, *agency*, and explain its interrelationship with the theory of language socialization.

Agency has been considered as a topic, as goals for education, and as a concept in the research literature, and I will first describe which *agency* I aim to use in this thesis. As a topic, agency has always drawn attention in applied linguistics and TESOL, and is again returning to the forefront of contemporary concerns in language education. For many, one of the central goals of teaching is to support students and maximize their abilities to learn, which leads to their interest in learner needs, learner individuality and learner-centered education (Mercer, 2018). In the newest course of studies in Japan (MEXT, 2017), agency is a personal attainment, and students who achieve agency are able to make their own decisions and take their own responsibility for their learning goals. It is foregrounded in

ministry objectives that prioritize the creation of classrooms that enable "proactive, interactive and deep learning" and that support lifelong learning.

However, while I acknowledge the ministry's perspective of agency as a personal attainment, this thesis adopts the position that agency is situated, and that learners are constrained by their social context, but, at the same time, are active agents shaping their social world (Flowerdew & Miller, 2008). In other words, agency is "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112). It is not exercised individually, but constructed and negotiated with other members of the community to enable participation and learning or deliberate non-participation and non-learning (Duff, 2012b; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Mercer, 2012; Miller, 2012; Vitanova, Miller, Gao, & Deters, 2015). Thus, I discuss agency as relational in that it is interlinked with the available resources of where participants are situated.

Looking at the context of classrooms, as this thesis does, van Lier (2008) describes that participants' exercise of agency in the classroom a) is associated with the groups' initiative, b) is interdependent with the sociocultural context, and c) includes recognition of one's responsibility of their actions and outcomes towards the participants in the classroom. Thus, teacher-student participation is not only constructed individually but is also relational with the available resources of where participants are situated. Teachers and students exercise their agency by viewing and constructing their relationship with other participants in class, as well as linking contextual factors to shape their own acts towards their own teaching/learning objectives.

Studying adult immigrants in the United States, Miller (2012) described that their linguistic acts became possible and desirable not only from their personal attainments but how it linked with norms, expectations and values that were situated within and across time and space. She investigated how these immigrants exercised agency and used English or other languages to conduct their business lives, and found that one of her participants

mediated her aspirations to learn English from the institutional affordances in her home country, and the communicative needs and obligations as a shop owner in a place where English is the dominant language. On the other hand, she found that her other two participants devalued the use of multilingual repertoires with their mainly minority-language customers in an English-dominant country, but nevertheless considered it as common and necessary to work and survive in a multilingual and multicultural locality. Studying a focal student from a poor community in West Timor, Miller (2016) found that what enabled him to study English during youth was not only through his personal aspirations but also through the support of his friends and the contextual factors that let him sneak into school, and social and economic structures that enabled him to become a merchant marine as a cheap non-English laborer and learn English to seek membership with his co-workers. In another study investigating children's learning of Truku (an indigenous language in Taiwan), Lin (2015) described that their relational way of being with Truku-dominant grandparents as loving grandchildren created their aspirations to learn and communicate with them in Truku, as otherwise it would have been challenging to have students exercise their agency to study Truku as there was lack of immediate context to use the language.

As such, agency cannot be separated from the contextual setting of where an individual is in relation to. In addition, Mercer (2012) describes that agency is *temporally* situated, as agency is not constant but fluctuating, changing and adapting to the alternations of motivation, affect, beliefs and contextual parameters over time. In addition, she showed that agency is *intrapersonally* situated, as decisions concerning learners' agentive acts are interlinked with self-regulatory skills, such as one's metacognitive knowledge about themselves through continuous self-monitoring and self-evaluation, and about the subject and task at hand. This shows that learners have the capacity to make reflections towards their own acts to make further choices towards their own objectives.

In addition, although agency is relational, it is realized through one's own evaluation of their structural and cultural conditions to make their own decisions towards their aspirations. Studying middle-class Chinese undergraduates in an English-medium university in Hong Kong, Gao (2013) found that some participants' aim to engage with the outside world and become successful members of the community led them to deliberate their commitment to use English in their daily lives and strengthen their attachment to each other. However, though in the same context, another learner found it extremely difficult to learn and foster relationships with his peers through only English, which led him to use Cantonese to avoid isolation though enrolling in an English-medium university. These contrasting findings show that learners' choices are aligned with their own aims that are shaped through where he/she is embedded, and their continuous engagement with available resources.

This relational, temporal and intrapersonal nature of agency exercised is also a feature of teachers. Teacher agency is mediated by past experiences and future goals as learners and teachers, as well as contextual conditions, to co-construct the learning environment and access learning resources (Tao & Gao, 2021). A study of Chinese graduates from a Master of Education TESOL program at a Canadian university highlighted the constraint of discourse when attempting to incorporate past experiences and simultaneously address student needs (Ilieva & Ravindran, 2018). One student failed to gain consent from her boss to incorporate material that she considered could engage students for deeper learning from experience at the TESOL program, but still made connections with students and their parents and realized a compromise between what she had learned and what was expected in her institutional context. Ishihara, Carroll, Mahler and Russo's (2018) study investigated the negotiation of agency and translingual practices of JET-ALTs in Japan and found that both of their participants aligned with the local sociocultural structure by altering their own practices and behaviors to build rapport with

colleagues or using ideas from/with other credited people to gain legitimacy and find a sense of belonging. On the other hand, although they were expected to use only English with students, their access to Japanese and knowledge of its culture enabled them to strategically conduct translingual practices for relational purposes with students in the classroom and enrich their pedagogy. As such, power dynamics consistently constrained teacher agency, and negotiation of professional identity and contextual demands was integrally linked.

During language socialization, students and teachers interweave the available resources through exercising their agency of relational, temporal and intrapersonal nature (Duff & Doherty, 2015). Thus, the interrelationship of the theory of language socialization and the concept of agency is a key part of my thesis, which investigates what language students and teachers chose to shape their participation and achieve their own learning/teaching aims. In the next section, I will describe how I view language from not only a structural point of view but also from a functional perspective as a resource to make meaning and enable “socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language” (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, p. 163).

2.3 The language of language socialization

In this section, I explain language as a resource for meaning making and how I consider the use of multiple languages in the language classroom to provide a rationale for analyzing classroom language use from a functional perspective. Section 2.3.1 begins by introducing a widely acknowledged pedagogical debate in Japan on whether the use of Japanese can be allowed or not in the English language classroom. Then, I will describe that such debate has more than 40 years of history, including that it went beyond stressing a monolingual classroom of the language being learned and neglecting the advantages of using the dominant language. L1, and briefly raise the functions language can play in our

lives. In Section 2.3.2, I will provide an overview of a functional approach to language and introduce *systemic functional linguistics* (SFL), which informs this thesis. I will summarize research on SFL's contributions to pedagogy and its possibilities for supporting students and teachers negotiate social roles and power relationships to develop an educational context that enables them to seek their learning/teaching goals. In Section 2.3.3, I will introduce the phenomenon of codeswitching (CS) and the pedagogical concept of translanguaging to discuss the basis for investigating the dynamic use of linguistic repertoires in furthering learning and participation in language classrooms.

2.3.1 A pedagogical perspective

The debate on the use of Japanese in English language classrooms is often linked with the following section on the National Curriculum Standards:

Classes, in principle, should be conducted in English in order to enhance the opportunities for students to be exposed to English, transforming classes into real communication scenes. Consideration should be given to use English in accordance with the students' level of comprehension (MEXT, 2017, p. 90, English translation taken from MEXT, 2012).

The newest National Curriculum Standards of foreign languages for junior high schools (MEXT, 2017) raises this as one of seven points for consideration when designing lesson plans. This so-called "English in English" principle was first introduced in the curriculum for senior high schools in 2008 (MEXT, 2008), and has become a central tenet for improving English education and wider participation in the international community (Hashimoto, 2013). However, this principle is often misinterpreted by teachers as meaning Japanese must not be used, and that teachers' use of Japanese in the language classroom is

to be frowned upon (Glasgow & Paller, 2016; Halmer, 2013; Kimura, Nakata, Ikeno, Naganuma & Andrews, 2017). Being a secondary school English teacher myself, I used to misinterpret this principle and tried to limit my Japanese use in the classroom as much as possible. In addition, I have frequently questioned the Japanese use of my colleagues (both JTEs and ALTs) in class, being overly critical and asking them their rationale for using Japanese in the classroom.

However, the National Curriculum Standards do not prohibit the use of Japanese. It is clearly stated that Japanese may be used when explaining grammar and supporting students who cannot understand teachers' English explanations and directions, as long as the main focus of the lesson is conducting "high-level linguistic activities" in English (e.g., presentations, debates and negotiations). In addition, limiting pedagogic discourse to English does not match socio-pedagogical roles of teachers and expectations from students and parents, which is to prepare for university entrance exams that mainly test grammar, vocabulary and reading (Bouchard, 2017; Glasgow, 2014; Hirata, 2018). Thus, the debate on whether Japanese can be used in the language classroom or not neither matches the curriculum nor the social context.

In addition, use of the dominant language often is an advantage if the teacher and students share that language. More than four decades ago, Canale and Swain (1980) stated that the primary aim of a communication-oriented language classroom is to offer learners with information, practice and experience necessary to match their communicative needs, and that the dominant language can become a valuable resource for teaching grammatical features, communicative functions, appropriate conditions, discourse rules and registers. The dominant language is also useful when teaching a sociocultural knowledge that enables students' inference of social meanings or values. These objectives are not very distant from current aims for English education in Japan. Additionally, because learners

construct their identity through the language they learned as children, it is unrealistic them from seeing and communicating with the world around them through that language.

However, early discussions only addressed the pedagogical benefits of teaching a second or additional language through dominant languages, and do not consider much the functions language can play in our lives. Language can also be understood as repertoires for communication, meaning making, and identity formation (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020). In this chapter, I am looking at language from a functional perspective, as I do in the next section, when explaining systemic functional linguistics, whose analytical tools enable the analysis of one's language use.

2.3.2 Systemic functional linguistics

This study uses a linguistics-informed approach to analyze how participants use language to become members of a language classroom. To do this, I adopt a functional perspective of language: *systemic functional linguistics* (SFL), which views language as:

the encoding of a 'behavior potential' into a meaning potential; that is, as a means of expressing what the human organism 'can do', in interaction with other human organisms, by turning it into what he 'can mean'" (Halliday, 1978, p. 21).

In other words, language systems are meaning systems, and what humans learn through interaction with others is how to negotiate the patterns of living, gain membership and occupy social roles. Thus, language is to be understood in relation to social structure and not only within individuals (Halliday & Hasan, 1989). That is, a text is not only a product of an output, which can be recorded and studied through grammatical terms. A text is also a process formed through a continuous act of semantic choice during one's

negotiation with others in a particular social context. Therefore, the analytical tools of SFL provide a useful approach to link formal grammar descriptions of text with what people do and mean through language while communicating with members of their social context (Coffin, Donohue & North, 2009).

SFL offers a three-way perspective for explaining texts: a) what language expresses about the content (*the experiential meaning*), b) the link of language use and social relationship of its users (*the interpersonal meaning*), and c) how language is organized to create a coherent message (*the textual meaning*) (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010). SFL-informed analyses have been widely used to describe language expressing the *experiential* meaning in academic disciplines and help students not only learn but also understand how disciplinary knowledge is produced and can be critiqued (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010). The following texts are examples which express a similar meaning but are composed differently: of daily language that is composed of two clauses (Example 1), and of textbook language that is composed of one clause that packs content into two nominal groups, which are linked together with a process verb (Example 2) (from Coffin et al., 2009, p. 423). As such, SFL provides metalanguage for teachers and students to analyze text and understand the differences in how meaning is made across diverse contexts. That is, it can provide a pedagogical approach to offer students with the literacy skills necessary to succeed in school through closer reading and discussion of how knowledge is presented through text (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010). With regards to gaining the literacy to read textbooks for schoolwork, Young and Nguyen (2002) sheds light on teaching the metalanguage of paper textbooks and socializing students to meet the academic demands of thinking, speaking and making meaning about science, which is

Example 1

I came back early	because my father died.
Clause 1	clause 2

Example 2

The reason for my early return	was	the death of my father.
Nominal group 1	process	nominal group 2

different from daily conversation. With regards to gaining the literacy to write and speak during schoolwork, Forey (2020) reports how metalinguistic resources were used explicitly at a secondary school in the UK to provide feedback in terms of functional meaning, which helped students develop their writing/speaking to gain the literacy skills necessary within their disciplines.

In my thesis, students and teachers are co-constructing the language classroom through multiple languages, and understanding the *experiential* meaning they share helps to understand participants' socialization into what is being expected to succeed in class. However, language learning is not a unidirectional process. Creating a text is a multidirectional process in which learners simultaneously seek participation in a context by approximating how language is used, but during which learners exercise their agency and construct their relationships with other participants to further their personal aims. Development of academic relationships involves both approximating existing patterns and expressing personal voice by evaluating and responding to what learners have read. To provide a metalanguage for discussing the construal of voice, Martin and White (2005) developed the *Engagement* system. The system divides interpersonal resources into

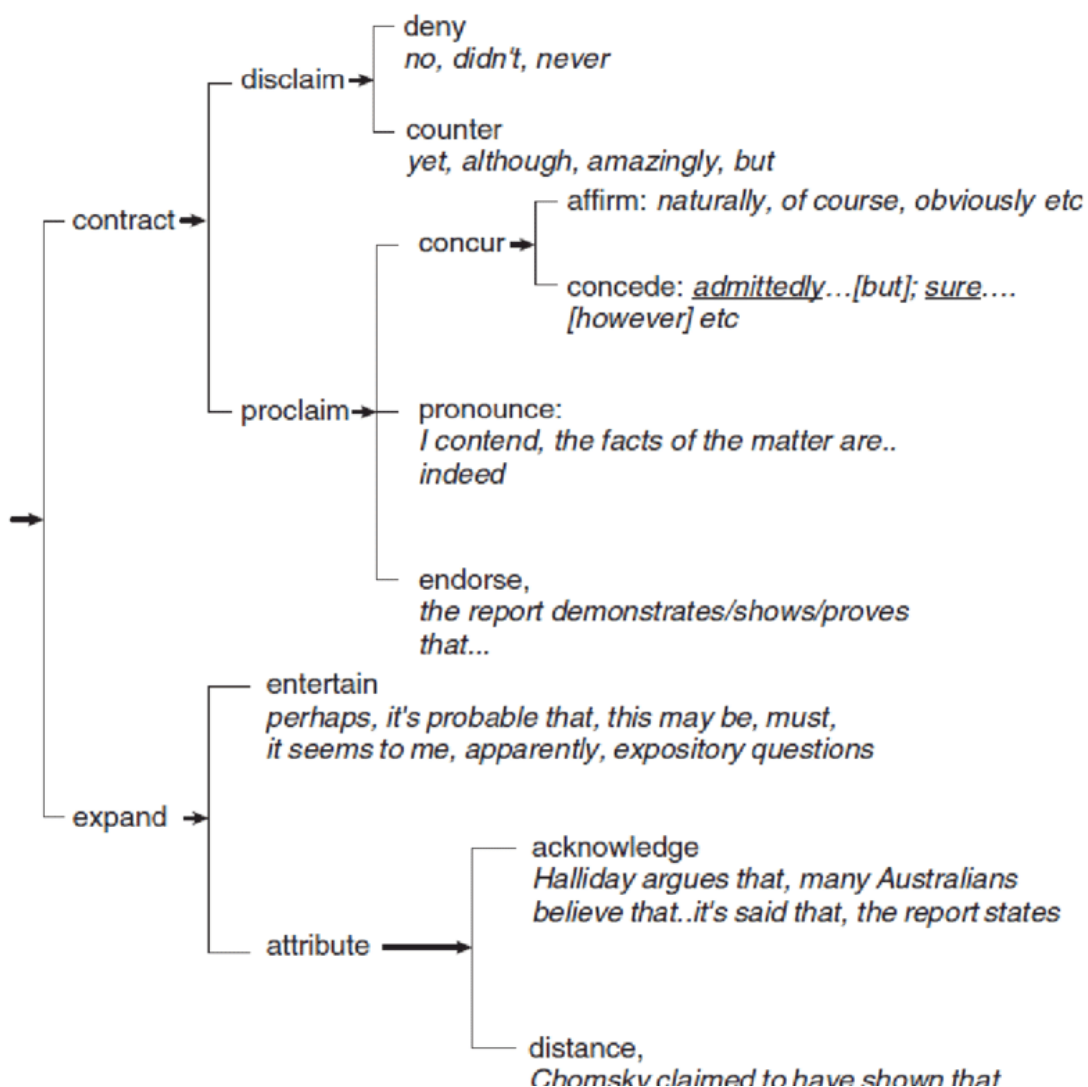
whether they have recognition of other voices (*heteroglossia*) or not (*monoglossia*), and the former is further divided into *contract* (denying or excluding other voices) and *expand* (allowing other voices), each of which has two further categories: *disclaim* and *proclaim*, and *entertain* and *attribute* (see Figure 2.1). Jou (2019) used this system to increase L2 students' awareness towards expressing voice when writing article reviews at an American university. It enabled students to learn the linguistic resources to develop their awareness towards the difference between neutral and evaluative voice, and use linguistic repertoires to depart from only summarizing the texts they read to evaluating and talking back to those texts, which demonstrated their growth as academic writers.

As meaning-making moves to realize heteroglossia and encourage alternative voices and interpretation as in Martin and White (2005), Sun, Schleppegrell and Monte-Sato (2024) highlight a) *confronting Rejoinder* moves, in which the speaker avoids reaching the end of negotiating ideas by challenging or resisting another speaker's proposition, mainly by *Counter* moves, in which the speaker not only disagrees with a statement but also provides reasons for it, and b) *supporting Rejoinder* moves, in which the speaker also avoids reaching the end of negotiating ideas but without challenging or resisting another speaker's proposition, realized by 1) *Clarify* moves, in which the speakers ask for additional information from the previous speaker and position him/her to expand, or 2) *Probe* moves, in which the teacher provides tentative additional information which the previous speaker can confirm. These moves open space for students to participate in collective meaning-making or co-reasoning, which is opposed to the *Respond* move, in which the speaker brings the exchange to an end by confronting or supporting, and closes space for the previous speaker to prolong. Thus, investigating the use of such meaning-making moves during classroom practices sheds further light on how language can position students in the classroom and open (or close) space for their further participation.

Another vantage on the language of the interpersonal is from the perspective of

Figure 2.1

Heteroglossic resources in the engagement system (Martin and White, 2005, p. 134)



modality, language for offering, demanding, agreeing, disagreeing, exchanging, and creating hierarchy between participants. For a teacher being more or less open to students' ideas, modality often patterns differently in oral texts, even in relatively formal presentations. Focusing on expository presentations by students at a Taiwanese University, Liang (2005) found that, in contrast to written texts, students included more modal auxiliaries, modal lexical verbs and evaluative adjectives (e.g., *obvious*) to communicate subjectivity and express interpersonal orientations towards their listeners. For example,

modals of possibility (e.g., will/would, can/could, may/might) were more frequently used than modals of obligation (e.g., should, must, have to, need to) to hedge. In addition, mental process verbs (e.g., I mean, I think), informal colloquial English (e.g., wanna, gotta) and semi-modals (e.g., need to, try to) were frequently used to hedge and personalize arguments. In this example, interpersonal resources are very different from traditional expectations of academic writing, but the explicit teaching of those resources helped learners engage with a diverse audience while speaking.

Being given space to participate also contributes to development of interpersonal relationships. Investigating the spontaneous oral interaction of teachers and students at a primary school in China, Qi, Sun and Feng (2015) compared the language use of an experienced teacher and a novice teacher in charge of English lessons. They found that the experienced teacher's frequent use of interrogatives (questions) and follow-ups, such as support (e.g., very good, right) and check (e.g., Really? Are you sure?), played a large role in building teacher-student rapport and made space for students to participate in interaction. The less-experienced teacher used many commands and indicatives (statements) and rarely used interrogatives, which corresponded with a teacher-centered class with less student participation. However, with a closer look on types of follow-ups (e.g., support, check, deny, repetition, reformulation and elaboration) in the experienced teacher's class, they found only a small number of elaborations, which also turned out to limit opportunities for students to build new knowledge from their own responses. This indicates that, in the end, both the experienced teacher and less-experienced teacher's language use restricted learning opportunities for students. Similarly, Yang and Tao's (2018) study investigated the communicative practices of a high-rated teacher (HRT) and a low-rated teacher (LRT) at university English classes in China through the SFL model of EFL classroom discourse from Yang (2010). Although the classroom was more unidirectional in the HRT's class as the floor was mostly taken by the HRT, such practices

were more favored by students as it matched their aspirations towards teachers to have authority and be providers of knowledge. However, the HRT's classroom practices were co-constructed through information exchanges of not only "knowledge", which was almost all the information exchanged in the LRT's class, but also "personal detail", "personal story" and "self-related judgement" that relate to one's life experiences, which contributed to co-construct a more personal and unequal relationship as opposed to a distant knower-learner relationship in the LRT's class. This indicated that not only multidirectionality (or lack thereof) of classrooms but also the space provided for students to exchange what kind of information multidirectionally is key in considering classroom practices to engage students.

Looking at the linguistic practices during team teaching of main teachers (MTs) and language assistants (LAs), like this thesis, at primary schools in Spain, Dafouz and Hibler (2013)'s study highlighted power relations that led to difference in their language use in the classroom. More directive speech acts were used by MTs to address students, especially during disciplining matters, while indirect forms or strategies were used by LAs, which positioned them differently during interpersonal communication with students. In addition, rewarding was initiated by MTs through formal language and followed by LAs through informal and conversational language, and turns were opened and explanation was conducted by MTs while expanding was followed by LAs. They conclude that more research is necessary to find whether this was due to a conscious choice of available linguistic resources, intercultural differences between MTs and LAs, or MT's incomplete sociopragmatic competence in the target language.

As such, applying the analytical tools of SFL and analyzing language use in the classroom create opportunities to reflect on language use of teachers, and have the potential to provide further and explicit interpersonal resources to open space for student participation. However, to the best of my knowledge, most classroom studies in language

education that apply the analytical tools of SFL focus on how to understand and produce knowledge or how to express voice through hedging and/or using modality, not infrequently in EAP (English for Academic Purposes) contexts, and investigate the written mode (e.g., academic textbooks, academic writing), aiming to scaffold students to understand and produce academic texts. There seem to be very few studies investigating how participants use language to negotiate social roles and power relationships in a language classroom, much less in a Japanese context (Coffin et al., 2009). By providing a linguistically-oriented analysis of Japanese and English classroom interaction, this thesis provides a more nuanced investigation of how students and teachers make meaning, shape experiences and negotiate identity. In the next section, I will look at how language choice has been studied in a multilingual classroom, where the first, second and additional languages are used as resources to make meaning.

2.3.3 Codeswitching/Translanguaging

If one is examining language as meaning making, then one needs to look at all language use, not only English. Over several decades, the use of language(s) has been viewed from two dominant angles, as codeswitching and as translanguaging. This section first discusses research on codeswitching (CS), a longstanding look at not only grammatical and lexical features but also social features that link to one's use of two or more language varieties (e.g., languages, dialects, registers, and styles) in where the varieties are used. I will subsequently expand the discussion on the latter by focusing on language functions through the pedagogical concept of translanguaging, which provides language users with opportunities to use multiple resources beyond the labels of language varieties to make meaning and support one's participation in where the resources are. I will close this section by addressing my own views towards whether the use of only the

language being learned or the use of multiple languages is preferable in the language classroom, which became a basis for analyzing and discussing language use in this thesis.

The phenomenon of CS, defined by Woolard (2004, pp. 73-74) as “an individual’s use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange”, refers to language use in speech communities with linguistic repertoires that have multiple varieties to make meaning. Researchers of CS explore *inter-sentential* CS, where the switch of language occurs between sentences, and *intra-sentential* CS, where the switch occurs in the middle of a sentence. Muysken (1997; 2000) further classifies intra-sentential CS into three categories: *insertion*, where a word or phrase of a particular language takes place of that of the other language without changing the sentence structure²:

Example 3 (from Kania, Herniwati & Aneros, 2020, p. 381)

soshite, sono ato no zenbu wa college

(Then, after that it's all college.)

Here, the English word “*college*” is in place of the Japanese equivalent “*daigaku*”. The second is *alternation*, where a phrase(s) and grammar of a particular language changes into another language in the middle of a sentence:

Example 4 (from Takagi, 2000, p. 197)

but he ate a *dango o tabe-ta kara ne*

(but he ate a dumpling, that’s why.)

² Here, I will provide examples of codeswitching between English and Japanese (in italics).

The language switches from English in the middle of the sentence after “*a*”, where “*dango*” is inserted and followed by Japanese. In *alternation, portmanteau construction*, where two languages are placed symmetrically around a word, can also be found:

Example 5 (from Namba, 2012, p. 467)

I want *motto hoshii*

(I want more.)

The Japanese adverb “*motto*” triggers the language switch, and “*hoshii*”, the Japanese equivalent of “*want*”, follows. Namba considers this alternation to be brought out from one’s daily use of language, because “*motto hoshii*” is a common Japanese formulaic expression.

The third is *congruent lexicalization*, where two languages have a similar grammatical structure and words from both languages are randomly inserted as constituents or words into a sentence structure:

Example 6 (from Namba, 2012, p. 468)

E is *kaita zo*

(As for the picture, I drew it.)

Here, the English word “*is*” substitutes the topic marker “*wa*” of Japanese. The *subject + copula + predicative* structure in English and the *topic/subject + topic marker + predicative* structure in Japanese are similar because the place of the copula in English and

the topic marker in Japanese is after the subject. This similar grammatical structure converges the two languages in a diachronic sense.

These three categories of intra-sentential CS are important in analyzing interaction in language classrooms, as they provide a basis for explaining the reasons behind CS from a systematic view towards language. Such explanation can be linked with another interest towards CS, which comes from linguistic anthropologists who study the “social meaning” of CS (Woolard, 2004, p. 74). That is, participants’ understanding of their position in their social structure and their language choices amongst the multiple language varieties available to them. Looking at CS between Japanese and English of Canadian *Niseis* (second generation Japanese) talking with native Japanese or other *Niseis*, Nishimura (1995) found that Japanese was used in English-dominant conversations to a) reach out to English-dominant *Niseis* and native Japanese at the same time, b) incorporate a subtle, interpersonal meaning to their utterances by adding Japanese sentence-final particles or hedging words to English sentences, c) start or conclude a turn, d) construct a contrast when (re)introducing a topic in discourse, and e) highlight quotations. She described *Niseis* as aiming to express, share and confirm their identity with native Japanese or other *Niseis* by including Japanese in an otherwise English-dominant conversation. In another study, Hobbs, Matsuo and Payne (2010) investigated the CS of two Japanese teachers of Japanese and two British teachers of Japanese at a UK university. The two Japanese teachers of Japanese frequently used English in class and used Japanese only when teaching new lesson content and formulaic expressions. Their choices were informed by their belief that students would have difficulty in understanding classroom language and grammar instructions through the target language, their assumption that using Japanese created issues of time and class management, and their past learning experiences of learning another language without use of the language being learned. On the other hand, the two British teachers incorporated Japanese as much as possible when introducing new

vocabulary, conducting total physical response, providing instructions and eliciting responses from students. The reasons included their personal experiences of learning another language through the language, their belief that the language being taught should be used as much as possible to increase students' contact with the language, and that the heavy use of the L1 was old-fashioned. Hobbs et al. (2010) also suggested differences between native and non-native Japanese teachers of Japanese were also due to whether they have access to non-verbal local cues of students to check their understanding of the language being taught.

Such studies shed light on the social, less cognitive aspect of CS that describes speakers' use of two or more language varieties to express their identity and seek membership in where the multiple language varieties are being used. CS practices have also drawn attention in contexts where English is not the students' dominant language but used as the medium of instruction as their additional language, which includes contexts with a long history of language alternation and multilingualism from colonial times. Investigating the codeswitching practices of schools in post-apartheid South Africa, which is a multilingual country with 11 official languages in its constitution and has a Language-in-Education Policy that encourages using students' home language as a medium of instruction and realizing bilingualism at school, Probyn's (2009) study found that teachers were faced with conflicts and tensions between policy and practice due to parents' and students' aspirations to access English to escape from poverty but also from classroom realities where English use became a barrier for students' learning and academic success. Teachers found it necessary to CS from English to learners' home language for not only cognitive objectives to deal with students' low English proficiency but also for interpersonal objectives, such as for managing class, engaging students, holding learner's attention or making jokes. However, CS was considered to be a deficit classroom practice of "smuggling the vernacular into the classroom" (p. 123), which restricted them from

opportunities to openly become trained to use CS as an effective practice in bilingual situations. Such gap between policy and practice was also evident in Mavuru and Ramnarain (2020), which investigated the science classrooms in South African high schools. While CS into learners' home language enabled them to access real life problems that scaffolded conceptual understanding, and raised learners' confidence that created opportunities to become involved in meaningful argumentation and negotiate with others on scientific issues, this blocked them from making success when English was used to administer test or examination questions. Such gap between the medium of instruction and that of assessment caused difficulty for students to seek academic success, leading to wider gap in terms of educational achievement between learners from middle-class families and those from working class or poor families. Such dominance shaped through language has also been investigated in terms of culture, or cultural code-switching, where one deliberately changes his/her behavior to comply with the cultural practices in a foreign setting and seek successful membership (Molinsky, 2007). Lappeman, Mathebula, Brien and Jay's (2024) study of Black middle-class professionals in South Africa found that their attempts to survive in the workplace dominated by White cultural practices included a) embracing unfamiliar interests, such as cricket and rugby, and b) conforming to dominant appearance, language, culinary and character codes, which came from their internal pressures to succeed in their new environment, external pressures from their family and their workplace to fit in, and their gratitude for securing their job. They call for more awareness on the cultural codeswitching experiences that professionals experience for employers to develop proactive measurements that encourage cultural inclusion as well as language inclusion in the workplace.

As such, the interest towards CS has gone beyond trying to restrict people with multiple language varieties to use only one of them to asking why those people are constrained from deploying their full linguistic resources, or investigating what leads them

to use more than one variety in where the varieties are being used. This interest can be further explored by having a closer look at language functions, rather than language codes, through the concept of translanguaging, which first appeared as a descriptive label for classroom language practice. Coming from the Welsh word ‘trawsieithu’ and first translated as ‘*translinguifying*’, it was used to describe instances of instructors teaching in Welsh and students responding in English, or students reading in Welsh and teachers explaining in English as effective problem-solving and knowledge construction in the language classroom (Baker, 2001; Williams, 1994). Field research reported numerous instances of spontaneous translanguaging, in which practices enabled dynamic and functional use of participants’ linguistic repertoire. By 2014, García and Kano were defining translanguaging as:

a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include ALL the language practices of ALL students in a class in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality (p. 261, capitals in original).

Researchers of translanguaging argue that although there is an overlap between the phenomenon of CS and the pedagogical concept of translanguaging in terms of using multiple languages, translanguaging has the capacity to advance studies that investigate the “social meaning” of CS. That is, instead of focusing on how people shift or shuttle between two languages, translanguaging enables further understanding of how humans draw upon all languages in their repertoire to match their communicative situations and make social accomplishments with others in their *translanguaging* space (Canagarajah, 2011; García &

Li, 2014; Li, 2011). Language cannot be separate from the political, pedagogical and explanatory purposes, theoretical ideals and language ideologies of its users³. Thus, it resonates with the theory of L2 socialization, which sees the learning of language and the pursuit of interpersonal relationships in where the language is used to be an integrated process, as it adds a holistic view towards the language use of participants.

Translanguaging has become an effective practice in the classroom, as contrary to using a strict monolingual pedagogy of the target language and denying the use of the L1, it enables teachers and students to negotiate power relations and focus on how to make meaning, shape experiences and develop identity through all of their cognitive, semiotic and modal resources as bilingual and multilingual users (Li, 2018). Investigating language use of science teachers at townships and remote rural villages in South Africa, Probyn's (2019) study found a teacher's deliberate and systematic use of students' home language and English; home language was used as a key resource for meaning making through dialogic practices, or exploratory talk, while English was used in the review or consolidation part of a lesson, or presentational talk. The teacher also engaged in flexible translanguaging practices to adapt to learner's needs and understandings, which was in contrast to other teachers who mostly used English and prevented students from co-constructing dialogic practices that support them build knowledge and seek academic success.

However, translanguaging cannot always lead to satisfactory language learning or community membership; it has its own advantages and disadvantages that depend on participants' histories and their social context. Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson's (2021) study of Japanese students in English-medium instruction (EMI) courses found that

³ There are contexts in which the fixity aspect of language use is not to be disapproved as it remains in language tests and language policies, whose stakes are high (Jaspers & Madsen, 2019).

although teachers tolerated their own use of Japanese to conduct class management and supply feedback, and allowed students to use Japanese to read, understand key concepts and discuss content, there were also conflicts from a native English-speaking teacher that translanguaging made the class easy and academically less valid, and a strict monolingual approach was preferred by some students of higher proficiency to make the most of their opportunity to practice English. This implies that teachers' and students' past experiences and beliefs can shape their preferred choices when drawing upon all languages in their repertoire to match their teaching/learning goals.

In the situation above, each language is not used jointly but separately from others to perform specific practices. This is the *weak* version of translanguaging, which is opposed to the *strong* version of translanguaging, where speakers have the freedom to use all the linguistic features in their repertoire for negotiation (García & Lin, 2016). Opposed to Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson (2021), the combination of this weak and strong version can enable students to participate through a dynamic and functional use of their linguistic repertoire without being subject to a monolingual policy. To study language use of Japanese university students planning for their English composition, Turnbull (2019) divided students into three groups: monolingual groups using English only, monolingual groups using Japanese only, and strong translanguaging groups having the freedom to choose both languages. He found that it was students in the third strong translanguaging group that shaped their learning to successfully participate in class, which was to effectively talk about language and content and negotiate during discussions by drawing upon the resources of both languages.

In addition to such learning of language and content, translanguaging has the potential to help students deal with challenges that may be related with sociocultural factors. Observing students who completed their first draft of English opinion essays, Sugene and Chih-Hao's (2022) investigation of written peer feedback comments of

Japanese university students found that while English was used to increase opportunities to use English and care for non-Japanese teachers with limited knowledge of Japanese, Japanese was used to help weaker peers increase their participation, and to deal with face considerations by mitigating negative feedback, which they referred to as “*aimai*” (ambiguous), and preventing themselves from being an inconvenience to stronger peers, which they described as “*meiwaku*” (annoyance). Sugene and Chih-Hao (2022) explain that such Japanese sociocultural values and communicative practices may have led to this affective need to use Japanese, where translanguaging enabled them to socioculturally sustain participation in class.

Translanguaging can also help teachers deal with sociocultural issues to deal with student participation. Jaspers (2019) studied teachers’ attitudes towards the use of French at Flemish elementary schools, which had a strong official monolingual policy of allowing only the use of Standard Dutch. On one hand, teachers had their own strict monolingual policy by punishing the use of languages other than Dutch to have students gain sufficient Dutch proficiency so that they could enter higher education and the bilingual service market. On the other hand, teachers also relaxed the monolingual policy and, though unofficially, made adaptations to construct proximity, enhance interaction, maintain class discipline, and to prevent students from resenting their teachers and showing resistance towards the learning of Dutch. Thus, teachers were deliberate and fluctuating between linguistic uniformity and diversity. This study suggests that in order to understand what creates or constrains conditions for using language(s), it will be necessary to consider what types of multilingual knowledge and skills are assessed in their learning contexts.

As such, translanguaging has provided students and teachers with opportunities to use multiple resources beyond the labels of language varieties to make meaning and form identity, which can lead to further learning and adaptation in their social context. In addition, research on translanguaging can help students and teachers reflect on their

language use, because what they think of their own use of language may be different from what researchers find through research (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020). Pennycook and Otsuji's (2019) study of investigating how restaurant owners in Sydney thought of their language use in the kitchen found that, although those owners initially considered their kitchen to be monolingual, research enabled them to realize that the kitchen involved multilingual interaction between staff and clientele. However, those owners are not to be seen as ones making wrong descriptions about their own language use, but as ones constructing these descriptions through the influence of their diverse life histories and language practices that shape their own views towards language labels and ideologies. Thus, investigating their own language use may enable people to search for effective translanguaging practices that can develop successful language learning and community membership.

In sum, the dynamic use of languages as expressed by translanguaging provides useful insights into language education in the multilingual world. Rather than holding a debate on which is better, being monolingual or multilingual, and seeing them as contradictory social values, acknowledging one's language use from his/her whole repertoire can better facilitate language learners seek successful language learning and community membership as they enjoy access to their full range of available resources. This thesis is written in alignment with such view towards language use, and documents teachers' and students' use of both English and Japanese to reflect on how it constructs or is constructed by their positions and practices in the classroom. In the next section, I will look at sociocultural factors in Japan which may link to participants' such dynamic use of language(s) in the classroom.

2.4 English education and the imagined Japanese classroom

In this section, I will describe English education in Japan, as it is represented in political discourse, educational policies and local teaching practices. Research has long suggested that Japanese learners of English are reluctant to talk because they lack daily opportunities to use English and because sociocultural practices keep students from speaking freely. In my Masters' dissertation, however, I found substantial evidence of students' agency in their discussions with teachers and peers, of authentic conversation with their teachers, and of peer interaction in which students extended their talk and went beyond the discussion topic. These unexpected findings led to my further interest in the co-construction of student participation in Japan, and my ongoing concern with this stereotypical view of a quiet Japanese classroom, and my desire to conduct further empirical classroom-based studies.

I start this section by introducing recent government initiatives and society level concerns that are assumed to impact English language teaching, but which are sometimes viewed as irrelevant to local English teaching practices and realities. Next, I will describe the perceived advantages and further recruitment of assistant language teachers (ALTs) who are employed through the government-led JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) programme, and argue the necessity of investigating their interpersonal relations with colleagues and students. Lastly, I will outline the sociocultural challenges that scholars use to explain the silence of language classrooms in Japan, and recent government initiatives to depart from this perceived silence. Through this section, I intend to describe how Japanese policy documents and perceived pedagogic concerns of Japanese classrooms need to be questioned, and suggest the potential of classroom-based research that investigates teachers' and students' classroom participation in addressing the static image of Japanese language classrooms that continues to prevail in much of the research and pedagogic literature.

2.4.1 Education reform and practice

In Japan, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has been a leading force in seeking improvements in English education. They have been pressured to respond to domestic level concerns of a declining economy and birthrate, and support Japan in regaining its international status by enabling students to talk with English speakers and acquire jobs in the global workplace (Bradford, 2019; MacWhinnie & Mitchell, 2017). However, improving English education has been a struggle. For example, MEXT (2014b) shows that the aim of nurturing half of senior high school students to the level of CEFR A2/B1 was unmet, as a nation-wide assessment of third year public high school students at that time showed that no more than approximately 25% of students reached that level in listening and reading, and an even smaller group of around 13% in writing and speaking. Such struggles contributed to *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014a). To strengthen English education, the plan states that the start of formal English education should be lowered from junior high school to third year of elementary school, where third and fourth grade students take *English Language Activities* classes once or twice a week to foster basic communication skills, and fifth and sixth graders take *English Language (Subject)* classes three times a week to develop basic English language skills. Junior high school English is to build upon what students learned in elementary school. Teachers are to conduct classes in English, and students are expected to be able to comprehend familiar topics, work on simple information exchanges and introduce familiar matters in English. In senior high school, classes are also to be taught in English, and students are to gain the ability to comprehend abstract content across a wide variety of topics and work on “high-level linguistic activities” such as presentations, debates and negotiations. To accomplish these aims, teachers are to further take part in teacher training programs, and are to further collaborate with ALTs and community members. In addition, guidance teaching materials,

including Information and Communication Technology (ICT) teaching materials, are to be developed to realize pre-implementation of the plan on a trial basis. Full implementation of this plan was to be completed prior to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics but failed due to the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic, but the aim was for Japan to showcase its restoration from the economic depression of the 1990s–2000s and the March 11, 2011 earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown, as well as display its international standards, cultural values and technological advancement (Holthus, Gagné, Manzenreiter & Waldenberger, 2020).

However, these educational reforms have often been critiqued as not reflecting the Japanese local context. While English may be considered to be a “duty” or a “necessary evil” for Japan to re-establish its global signature (Brown, 2018, p. 395), Japan has a large domestic market that is not dependent in foreign language learning (Kubota, 2011; Suzuki, 2017; Terasawa, 2018). The 2007-2008 financial crisis has led to fewer foreign visitors, although numbers have again recently increased, and a reduction in international transactions. Thus, the crisis decreased opportunities to use English with tourists and businesspeople, which in turn increased doubts as to the role of English in surviving global market threats (Terasawa, 2018). In this environment, some argue that English classes in elementary schools should be replaced with Japanese studies to prevent undermining children’s competency in their L1 (Brown, 2018). University students consider the ability to function in international contexts to be important, but also consider engagement in globalization as a choice (Morita, 2013; 2014). As such, although English may have the potential to politically and economically benefit Japan, which is the key influence on educational measures (Hu & McKay, 2012), it is not much recognized as necessary in daily life. This mismatch has created significant questions regarding the relevance of these government-led reforms to the daily lives of its citizens.

Furthermore, recent reforms have been questioned for their mismatch with local teaching practices. As most Japanese secondary school students have few opportunities to

use English in their daily lives, English is usually taught to prepare students for university entrance examinations (Bouchard, 2017; Glasgow, 2014; Hirata, 2018). One major university entrance exam in Japan is *The Common Test for University Admissions*, created by The National Center for University Entrance Examination. The testing format, which only examines reading and listening, has a large washback effect on local teaching and on learning beliefs and practices in secondary school education as the results are widely believed to be crucial for social success in Japan (Sakamoto, 2012; Sasaki, 2018). Thus, teacher agency may be exercised in responses to local contingencies and beliefs that place preparation for entrance exams as a central part of school education (Bouchard, 2017). School teachers also face significant parental pressure associated with expectations to prepare their children for entrance exams, which also make teachers feel hesitant to follow the educational policy of conducting classes in English (Glasgow, 2014). Overall, the mismatch between educational policies and high-stakes entrance exams makes it difficult for teachers and educational administrators to increase “high-level linguistic activities” in their local contexts.

In this way, a disparity can be found between educational policies of English education and local teaching practices. National policies place emphasis on redeveloping Japan’s international standards, while local teaching practices place preparation for entrance exams as a central aim of school education. However, although this mismatch has been raised for a number of years, research relevant to this mismatch has tended to use data from surveys and interviews of teachers and/or students and has lacked direct empirical investigation. In the classroom-based case study during my Masters’, despite such mismatch, I found that NESTs designed their classrooms to create opportunities for interaction, to which students reacted through greater participation in English. To the best of my knowledge, however, there are few such classroom-based studies in Japan which investigate the integration of “high-level linguistic activities” by studying the dynamics of

students and teachers, and/or which consider teachers' and students' formal and/or personal learning and teaching objectives. This highlights the potential values of this thesis in providing implications for developing language practices in the Japanese context.

2.4.2 Perceived advantages and further employment of ALTs

One measure advanced by MEXT (2014a) is the expanded employment of assistant language teachers (ALTs) to improve English education. The document claims that the nations' English language objectives cannot be realized by employing Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) alone or through the improvement of their teaching skills. ALTs are to be with JTEs to promote international exchange, increase opportunities for classroom English use, prepare teaching materials and conduct extracurricular activities that are relevant to English use (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015). In Japan, the role of ALTs has mostly been served by White, enthusiastic NESTs from inner-circle countries on the basis of their assumed linguistic advantages, despite limited empirical research on their impact (or lack thereof) towards students in the classroom (Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Wang, 2012).

Government-led preferential hiring of ALTs has a long history in Japan. ALTs are frequently hired through the JET programme, a government led programme launched in 1987 that targets recent foreign college graduates. Their presence in classrooms is argued to have increased JTEs' opportunities to use English (Gorsuch, 2002), and such increased use of English by teachers is believed to have improved students' active involvement in English communicative activities (Sakui, 2004; 2007). High school students report that interaction with ALTs and the communicative structure of team-teaching lessons are valuable resources for their learning (Johannes, 2012). These positive reports were one of the main reasons for MEXT to expand the employment of ALTs in *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014a).

However, the success of team teaching is shaped by more than the curriculum and/or linguistic advantages listed in policy documents or the JET-ALT literature. As the theory of L2 socialization suggests, language classrooms are dynamically co-constructed through the interaction of students and teachers, and the resources which are available to draw upon to develop interpersonal relationships cannot be overlooked. Successful team-taught lessons have described the following interpersonal aspects as crucial: sensitivity and goodwill to each other; determination to construct relationships in and out of class; eagerness to adjustment; and respect towards the educational context (Carless, 2006). Brown (2013) also states four levels of intercultural communication competence required for successful team teaching: *perceiving differences asymmetrically, considering the value and limitations of stereotypes, communicating in intervals, and circulating forward toward wonder*. These are not easy for JET-ALTs to address, however, as their agency is often limited in language classrooms, where they are positioned with the relatively low status of assistants in which they may be disadvantaged by language and cultural differences (Miyazato, 2009).

Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, interpersonal relations of JET-ALTs and JTEs, and those of JET-ALTs and students, have mostly been analyzed through questionnaire and interviews, and there seem to be few empirical studies, apart from Ishihara et al. (2018), that investigate the linguistic resources which JET-ALTs, JTEs and students provide or draw upon to co-construct social relationships in the Japanese educational context. This classroom-based study aims to address this by studying participants' exercise of agency through analyzing their language use during their pursuit of their own learning and teaching objectives.

2.4.3 National culture and the quiet language classroom

In this section, I will introduce a perceived Japanese national culture of Japan not in line with the findings from my Masters', which is one of the key documents informing this thesis. In my Masters' research, I found students exercising agency in the language classroom that went beyond metalinguistic commentary and the given discussion topic. In spite of this, students' resistance to speak has often been described, without much empirical investigation, from broad scholars as one of the sociocultural challenges in Japan to have students participate in English communication. The stated reasons for such resistance include the desires to save face, shyness, being hesitant to stand out and break harmony, being overwhelmed by the level of other students and the difficulty of discussion topics, not knowing how to approach other students and start a conversation, not wanting to speak in a silent classroom, and not wishing to pressure others to speak English (Osterman, 2014; Yanagi & Baker, 2016; Yashima, MacIntyre & Ikeda, 2018). Osterman (2014) found that his focal university students had low willingness to communicate with their peers, and were using their cellphones, doing book work alone or sitting quietly in the group when teachers assigned them to participate in group activities and use English.

Students' silence has also been linked to Confucian ideology/ies. Here, teachers are positioned as possessing strong authority and profound knowledge, while students are positioned as ones to receive knowledge passively by deferring to the authority of teachers (Butler, 2011). Students are also described as having a strong tendency to avoiding uncertainty, which is said to come from their preference towards accurate and systematic knowledge transfer from teachers, and disfavoring open-ended discussions or ambiguous group work with their peers (Edmonstone, 2019; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot, 2006).

McKinley (2013) summarizes several features of Japanese culture that impact the interpersonal relationships of Japanese university students and lead to their silence during critical thinking. One is *aimai* (ambiguity), which is to stay in harmony with others by

allowing differences in conclusions without explicit confrontation. Another is *kenkyo* (modesty), which is to soften one's tone or let their utterances trail off to avoid being overly assertive. Others include empathy and conformity, where students accept opinions from others without challenging or changing their own opinions when faced with disagreement. Harumi (2011) states *wa* (harmony), where agreed ideas of a group are more valued than those of an individual, prevents students from expressing their opinions which may differ from others and affect group harmony. She also raised issues in sociocultural learning practices during turn taking, in which students may face difficulties in finding their turn to speak and miss their chances to speak without being nominated individually by their teacher. Focusing on the sociocultural environment, King (2013) suggests that *seken* (eyes of others in the social context) becomes a major concern, which can cause students to stop engaging in active participation and use silence as a defensive strategy to avoid negative and embarrassing judgement from others.

However, these explanations of the sources of Japanese students' reticence to speak have been critiqued as oversimplifications that overlook the rapid social transformation in Asia and the diversity of educational practices within and across Asian societies. Additionally, they put forward a profoundly reductive, essentialist understanding of Asian cultures, often from a Western point of view (Butler, 2011; O'Dwyer, 2017; Turner, 2011). A small number of studies have addressed this oversimplified understanding. Sato's (2013) focal undergraduate students were reluctant to speak and make errors during teacher-centered lessons, but not during peer interaction activities where they actively participated in English, and were less worried about making mistakes in front of their classmates. In this study, learners saw peers as valuable resources for learning, and continuous practice with their peers enabled them to spontaneously make meaning, which led to increased confidence in further participation. Similarly, Yashima et al. (2018) found that their undergraduate participants' anxiety to speak during discussion

activities eased over the length of the course as students got to know each other better and became aware of their roles and responsibilities. These studies investigate the development (or lack thereof) of students' learning from a longitudinal perspective, and show that students overcame their resistance to speak through practice over time, which suggests that Japanese students' reticence to speak is not a fixed practice and can be transformed across time and space. However, as the studies mentioned in this section use surveys and interviews of teachers and students as main sources of data, it is not clear what classroom affordances and resources enabled students to overcome silence and actively participate.

To overcome the perceived image of language classrooms as teacher-dominant space involving unidirectional knowledge transfer, an educational practice has currently gained wide attention in Japan: “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. This practice is included in the newest course of studies that was introduced in junior high school in 2021 and in senior high school in 2022 (MEXT, 2017). It states that in addition to “what to learn”, there is to be much more emphasis on “what students can become capable of doing”. That is, students are not only to gain knowledge but also to apply that knowledge to think, make judgements, and express their own abilities to become a competent member across contexts. To achieve this aim, MEXT (2017) states that it is crucial to develop a classroom of “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. Students are to a) show interest in learning and make persevering efforts by thinking about their future self, b) exchange opinions and take part in debates with peers, teachers and local people to learn what is happening in the society and deepen their own ideas, and c) link knowledge from each subject, find problems to solve, and develop rich resources to apply for their future self. As this largely differs from traditional unidirectional knowledge-based Japanese teaching practices, a number of books and training opportunities have been prepared to implement this new practice.

Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, most of these books and training opportunities to realize “proactive, interactive and deep learning” focus on what activities to implement in class and how such learning practices can be realized, and do not address what is happening in the classroom, that is, how students are seeking successful language learning and community membership through language. For example, Sato (2021) argues that it is difficult for school education to accomplish “proactive, interactive and deep learning” as English textbooks used in Japan a) are not rich in content, b) do not have enough vocabulary, c) use inauthentic phrases, and d) have a large focus on pattern practice. Thus, he states that only those using English at work and those who have additional opportunities to study English out of school have opportunities to truly engage in English, and concludes that classes using CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) or special institutions with authentic materials are the only spaces possible for realizing “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. However, there is no empirical data included to support his argument.

In my thesis, I aim to empirically analyze language used by teachers and students and investigate how their agency is realized to create interpersonal relationships and mediate social functions or purposes in the classroom, keeping an eye on commonly raised sociocultural issues pertaining to teaching language. In addition, I aim to discuss how to incorporate “proactive, interactive and deep learning” through the language choices which teachers and students have.

2.5 Summary

As the theory of language socialization describes, learning a language is not only a cognitive process, and it cannot be separated from seeking membership where the language is used. Further, language socialization is a multidirectional process, and it involves negotiation of one’s own history and aspirations within social and cultural structures. This

process is not always guaranteed success, as participants may face resistance where the language is used or participants may themselves become disinvested in socialization. Their agency intersects with available affordances and resources as they make choices related to language learning, cultural acquisition and creation of interpersonal relationships. Thus, language socialization, agency and language learning are intimately entrained, and only through analysis of situated use can we understand the meaning making and interpersonal processes through which language develops.

To achieve my aims, I will look at language use from not a pedagogical perspective but from a functional perspective. I will discuss the analytical resources provided by SFL to investigate participants' language choices and their negotiation of social roles and power relationships in academic contexts. In the analysis, I will look at English and Japanese use and explore them not as of two different language varieties (codeswitching) but as of one's holistic linguistic repertoire (translanguaging). Thus, I will not make a discussion on which is better for language education, being monolingual or multilingual, but see how being monolingual or multilingual can be negotiated and complement each other to achieve one's aspirations and objectives in the classroom.

Language choice and language use in the classroom cannot be separate from the affordances and resources available in Japan. Japan is in the midst of educational reform to improve English education as a step toward regaining its international status and solving domestic level concerns, but English is not necessary for daily survival. However, as I have shown, it is used to pass high-stakes university entrance exams. In addition, the impact of JET-ALTs and the perceived sociocultural challenges of teaching in a quiet Japanese classroom have often been raised in the literature, but few studies address these concerns through empirical study. Japan has recently begun "proactive, interactive and deep learning" with the aim of departing from the perceived quiet classroom, and my hope is to offer insights of value on furthering these newly introduced practices.

Informed from the review of research above, the following research questions were addressed in this study:

1. How do Japanese junior high school students and teachers co-construct foreign language classrooms in pursuit of formal and/or personal learning and teaching objectives?
2. More specifically, how is learner/teacher agency realized through available resources to create interpersonal relationships and mediate social functions or purposes in their learning/teaching context?
3. How do the ways participants draw upon their linguistic and cultural knowledge shape the evolution of the learning/teaching context?

3. Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains my reasons for choosing to conduct an ethnography. In Section 2, I introduce a) characteristics of ethnography, b) a brief history of ethnography and its applications, and c) contributions of ethnography to research on SLA. In Section 3, I narrow my focus to linguistic ethnography and how the combination of ethnography and analysis of language supports investigation of my research questions. Next, I describe the focal school (Section 4), including its history, classroom layout, details specific to the junior-high English classes and English teaching staff, and then describe background information of teacher and student participants (Section 5). In Section 6, I explain my process of gaining access to the research site and participants. Subsequently, I introduce the data collection methods used in the study (Section 7), and the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on data collection (Section 8). Section 9 follows with a summary of the analytical methods, including coding procedures and my rationale for choosing SFL to ground my linguistic analysis, and a description of the transcript conventions. I conclude this chapter by describing the ethical considerations that guided my work on my thesis (Section 10), and how I managed to maintain a researcher's eye and position (Section 11).

3.2 Ethnography

Because this study aims to empirically describe what is happening in the specific social context, I chose ethnography as the method of inquiry. Watson-Gegeo (1988, p. 576) defines ethnography as “the study of people's behavior in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior”. This is often conflated with case studies, which focus on a particular individual, group or a situation within its natural setting and which investigate the shift of characteristics, dynamics, and

purposes over a defined period of time, but ethnography attends to participants' culture and investigates how people construct, maintain, transform and hand over their values, beliefs and behaviors across time and space (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Duff, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Harklau, 2005; Heigham & Sakui, 2009, van Lier, 2005). Through longitudinal fieldwork, ethnography provides a *thick description* of the research site to enable an understanding of its context and realization of human relationships (Geertz, 1973; Ponterotto, 2006). Ethnography is often used to investigate social contexts, issues or behaviors which have not been previously well-understood, and/or to go beyond the scope of quantitative studies to reveal research topics that deserve further investigation (Angrosino, 2007; Rallis & Rossman, 2009).

Ethnography first developed from the field of anthropology, where researchers sought to provide a descriptive account of lives and thoughts of a culture, mostly established outside the West (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Harman & Harklau, 2012). Modern ethnographic methodology developed gradually from the work of Malinowski (1922), who used direct observation and participatory methods to study ceremonial exchanges and how they constructed social relationships. This work influenced sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1920s (Angrosino, 2007), who were interested in the increasing multiple social and urban issues accompanying urban growth (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

From sociology, Malinowski's influence spread to education, business, public health, nursing and mass media (Angrosino, 2007). Nowadays, the rise of mobility of people, money and goods, and further interdependence on politics, economy, culture and information across countries, have led people's views and behaviors to transcend the national border, which has caused a challenging extension of space to investigate for ethnographers (Lapegna, 2009). In the field of language education, such global

movements of people, things, capital and information have led to further linguistically, socially and culturally diverse communities (Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

With regards to language learning/teaching, ethnographic studies aim to highlight the integral role of culture in learners' and teachers' behaviors. Such research has often examined how students and teachers enter and become socialized into new subject matter over time, and sheds light on how social and institutional discourse affects or is affected by educational innovations in unexpected ways (Duff, 2008, Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Because ethnography is longitudinal, it enables a thick understanding of the complex link between sociocultural factors, classroom interaction and learning/teaching (Duff, 2017). For example, Duff (1995) conducted three years of fieldwork that included classroom observations, video recordings, participant interviews and students' EFL essays, to investigate the macro (sociopolitical) and micro (school-level) shifts occurring in post-1989 Hungary. She focused on the transition from the traditional and formal recitation practice (*felelés*) to a more democratic approach of student lectures, and explored the multidirectional negotiation amongst students and teachers as they co-constructed new procedures, roles and responsibilities. Morita (2000) adopted similar methods while investigating academic presentations in graduate TESL courses at a Canadian university over one academic year. She also found that students, regardless of being a native-speaker or not, used their previous experience as teachers to engage in multidirectional processes of negotiating a "good" presentation.

My use of ethnography in this classroom-based study contributes to understanding how Japanese language classrooms evolve in relation to continuing shifts in Japanese culture and the world beyond Japan, including the relationship between national education reform and local learning/teaching practices. As I reviewed in Section 2.4, previous studies have attributed sociocultural factors to the difficulties Japan faces in language education, but there are very few empirical studies which enable a critical

discussion of this frequently oversimplified attribution. Ethnography opens these assumptions to discussion, as direct observation and documentation of the social construction of the classroom provide evidence that verifies and/or challenges these assumptions. I hope this research affords a basis for more questions, theories and examinations into the co-construction of classrooms and provides insights that contribute to the improvement of language education in Japan and beyond.

3.3 Linguistic ethnography

Linguistic ethnography is an umbrella term that combines linguistic and ethnographic methods to study language use. As research on language socialization investigates participants' "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p. 2), this thesis not only requires thick description of the research context but also a finely grained analysis of participants' language use. I have therefore chosen linguistic ethnography for this thesis to support my investigation of how social and communicative functions shape and are shaped by everyday practices in a Japanese classroom. (Shaw, Copland & Snell, 2015).

Linguistic ethnography was developed by researchers who had interest in social perspectives of language use and had regular connections with education and applied linguistics (Tusting & Maybin, 2007). While linguistic ethnography is rooted in *ethnography of communication* (Hymes, 1964), which investigates the range of resources which members of a community employ during speech activities, it demands a more linguistically-oriented analysis of participants' linguistic/communicative practices (Creese, 2008; Pérez-Milans, 2016). It "tie[s] ethnography down" by enabling falsifiable analysis of language use as documented through fieldwork, and "open[s] linguistics up" through emphasizing the importance of reflexive sensitivity, issues of context and the

importance of firsthand field experience to establish the validity of research findings (Maybin & Tusting, 2011, p. 517).

In education, linguistic ethnography has been used a) to study how classroom language constructs cultural patterns and values about language, b) to create more contextually sensitive descriptions of language and learning through investigating language use in and beyond classrooms, and c) to highlight students' voice (Maybin & Tusting, 2011). In my work, I combine ethnography and an SFL-informed analysis to investigate the social construction of the language classroom, and explore the implications for the continuing evolution of English classrooms in Japan.

3.4 Research site

3.4.1 The school and its history

I will first describe the history of the school, as it has a large influence on the democratic space of the school today. Data collection for this study was carried out in my workplace during a seven-month period from September, 2019 to March, 2020 at Easthill High (all names in this study are pseudonyms), a large private boys' secondary school in a major Japanese city. Students at this school range in age from 12 and 18, and attend the first to third year of junior high school and the first to third year of senior high school. Most are Japanese nationals.

Easthill High was originally built during the Second World War from the contributions raised by Kazuaki, an owner of a steamship company. Kazuaki was a shipping millionaire who gained prominence during the First World War and acquired enormous wealth during the Sino-Japanese War, which started in 1937. To demonstrate his respect for his mother, he started to provide education to raise "good mothers." His contacts with shipping technology from abroad also led to attempts to build a university of science and technology, but he had difficulty securing financing.

When the Sino-Japanese War became intensified and the Pacific War broke out in 1941, military service members were transferred throughout Asia. In the school's written history, they are described as having been worried about their children's education and having longed for schools with a dormitory so that their children could settle down and receive sufficient education. Kazuaki is written as having heard of this anxiety and decided to make a contribution of ¥10,000,000 to build Easthill High. In the school's account, this amount of money had the potential to construct 10 vessels of 10000-ton class, but was instead invested in the next generation.

Although Easthill High focused on military education, it also offered classes of English, the language of nations with which Japan was at war, and opened the door to fields other than the military after graduation. The student handbook at that time stated that although the world was too cramped for comfort, students were to be raised with the feeling of being well and relaxed. This spirit has been passed onto Easthill High of now.

After 1945, the Board of Directors resigned to eliminate potential sanctions on Easthill High, but Easthill High nevertheless faced extinction. A new Board of Directors asked for support and supervision from a public high school and a university that had been established for training teachers, and Easthill High managed to restart as a private secondary school. The principal, who came from the public university, was a philosopher and one of those who worked on the first draft of the Fundamental Law of Education after the Second World War.

In the school's written history, this transition is described as having led Easthill High's transformation from a school of military education to that of democratic education, and the new principal is described as bringing in freedom to education. Students gained the right to support their own school and extra-curricular activities through the establishment of a student council. Teachers were not forced to conform to

measures designed by the board of directors but were able to develop curriculum in teachers' meetings through democratic discussion.

Easthill High has continued to work under three guiding principles. One is *autonomy*. Students are to shape their own self-studies and become imaginative in developing their own learning goals, and teachers are to take a supportive stance towards their students. The second is *respect* amongst students and teachers, students and students, and students and parents. Respect is positioned as fundamental to engaging in collaborative work. The third is *willingness to work*. Students are to work hard, at times independently and other times with other students, and experience the difficulty and joy of schoolwork and extracurricular activities.

These values are exemplified in events throughout the school year. For example, students in the first and second year of junior high school go on a two-day school trip, for which each class works with the travel agency and creates their own itinerary within a pre-determined budget. The sports day is organized by students, and the Sports Day Committee decides and schedules the events and rules. During the summer, the research project exhibition is filled with students' work, for which each student is free to choose their own research topic.

Relations between students and teachers are relatively informal, and it is not uncommon to see teachers and students chatting in the teacher's room. In addition, as it is a private school, Easthill High has more freedom than public schools to use textbooks of its own choice and design its own curriculum. All teachers have the right to raise what they want to do/use for discussion in meetings, and put that into practice once approved. Homeroom teachers of first-year junior high students remain in charge of that group of students for six years until they graduate high school. Thus, these teachers not only teach their respective subjects but also become the course convenor of the year group and create their own syllabi, lesson plans, course materials and exam papers. In addition to

teaching school subjects, those teachers are in charge of school events, and work in collaboration with students of their year group to make the most out of those opportunities.

Easthill High is not attached to a university, so almost all students prepare for university entrance exams⁴. Despite the high stakes of these exams (see Section 2.4), Easthill High has stressed that its regular lessons are enough for their students to be equipped with the academic ability necessary to advance onto university, although almost all classes are not designed exclusively for university exam preparation.

Although located in a major city, Easthill High has a large campus. The new school buildings were completed in the 2010s and many rooms are equipped with digital technologies. In addition, a large athletic field which can be used for football and rugby matches, six volleyball courts, one baseball field, a gymnasium with separate rooms for basketball, table tennis, gymnastics and judo, and a 25-meter swimming pool are amongst the school facilities. Another feature is its green campus, as it has a forest mixed woodland in the middle of its campus, where students can relax in the green and hunt for insects. The route between the school and the train station is also well-treed, which is described as contributing to a relaxing atmosphere and students' enjoyment.

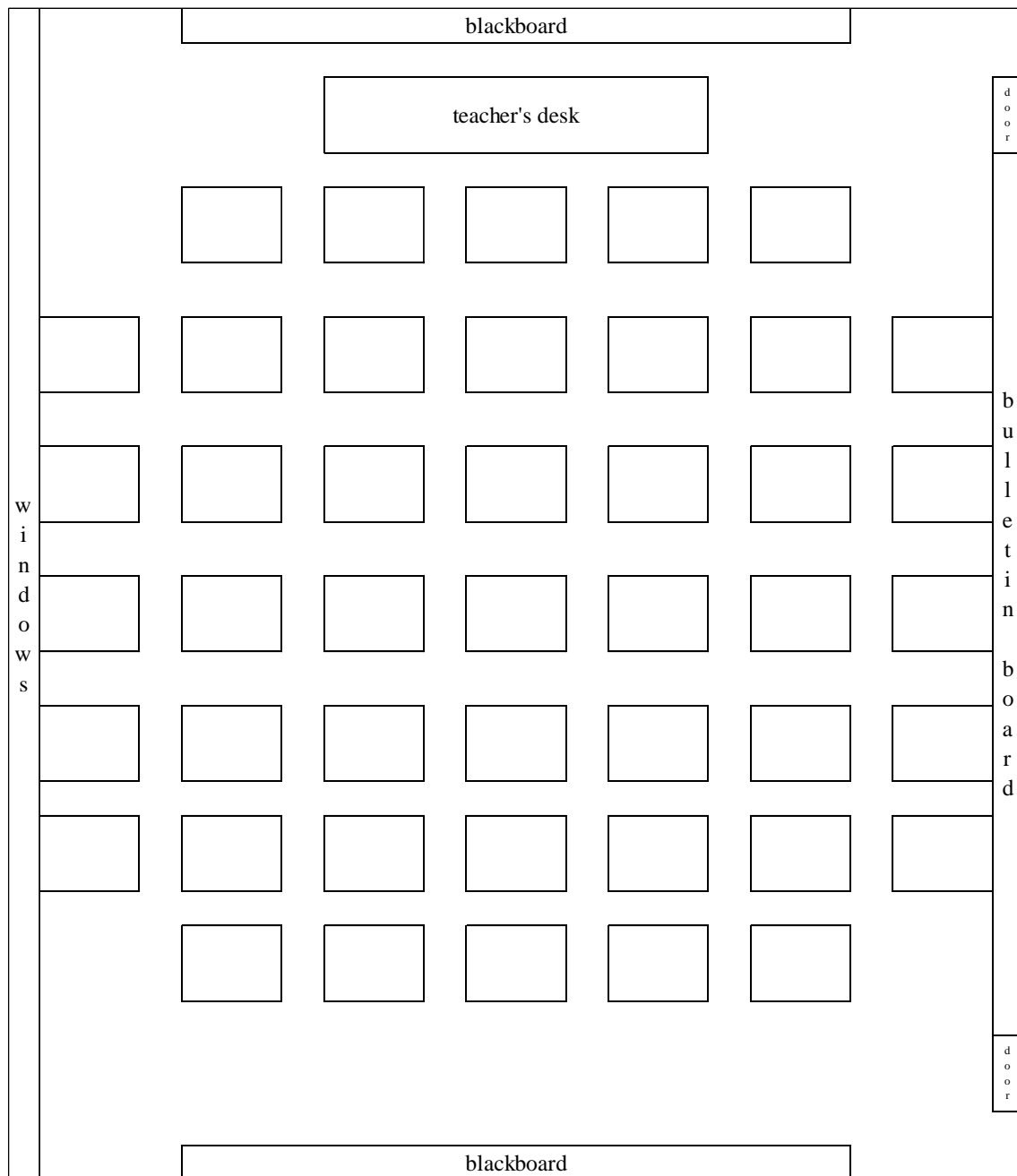
3.4.2 Classroom layout

Classrooms are designed to seat 45 students and desks in each classroom are organized in seven rows with five to seven seats across horizontally in each row. Blackboards cover the front and back walls, windows fill the exterior wall and a bulletin board and doors to the corridor are on the right. There are no screens, projectors or internet access. See Figure 3.1 for a schematic of the classroom layout.

⁴ Students who study at a high school affiliated with a university usually do not have to take an entrance exam to advance onto the university.

Figure 3.1

A schematic of the classroom layout at Easthill High



3.4.3 Junior-high English classes

A summary of junior-high English lessons at Easthill High is provided in Table 3.1. The focal classes of this study were a first-year junior high General English class and a third-year junior high English Communicative class.

Table 3.1***Overview of junior-high English lessons at Easthill High***

Year	Age	Class	Teachers	Number of classes per week
First-year junior high	12-13	*General English	JTE & ALT	5
Second-year junior high	13-14	General English	JTE	4
		Reading	JTE	1
		Conversation	NEST	1
Third-year junior high	14-15	General English	JTE	4
		*Communicative	JTE & ALT	2

* Asterisks indicate focal classes of this study

All students start studying English as a formal school subject in the first-year junior high school general English class. This class begins with the basics, and includes how to write the alphabet and identifying classroom objects, such as *desk*, *chair* and *blackboard*. The objectives stated in the course guidelines are:

After one year of studying English, students will learn the basic skills to communicate with people around the world in English by being able to a) introduce oneself and classmates, b) express daily things and c) read and listen to easy English.

The class meets five times a week and uses an English textbook published in Japan that employs a grammatical syllabus. All classes are taught by a JTE, and an ALT team-teaches with the JTE once a week.

The textbook has 14 lessons, and each lesson is divided into three to four sections plus a reading passage. For example, the targeted grammatical feature in Lesson

9 is the past tense, and the lesson introduces regular past simple forms from a verb stem and their use in affirmative sentences in Section 1, the use of the regular past simple in negative and interrogative sentences in Section 2, and past simple forms of irregular verbs in Section 3. The subsequent reading passage introduces the characteristics of one national park in the United States and includes a diary of a boy who visited the park during the summer holidays. After the passage, the textbook provides an activity in which students link use of past simple verbs to their own lives through writing and speaking about their experiences during the summer holidays. Thus, the organization of the textbook would be familiar to many who have taught introductory language classes.

There are five exams during the school year: two in the first term (April to July), two in the second (September to December), and one in the third (January to March). These exams account for a large part of students' grades, and students who fail must take supplementary after school and holiday lessons. The listening part comprises 30% to 50% of each exam, with the remainder focused on writing. Most questions test knowledge of grammar, vocabulary and spelling, and require little linguistic creativity. There is also a quiz at least once a week which teachers use to pace students' studies and assess students' understanding of new grammatical features, vocabulary and phrases. Failure in these tests leads to re-testing during lunch time or after school. In addition, there is a speaking test before each of the five exams, in which all students interact one-to-one with the JET-ALTs. The test consists of reading a textbook selection aloud and answering questions that link to grammatical features covered in class. At the end of the first-year, Easthill High encourages students to take the Grade 4 EIKEN test, a national English proficiency test in Japan.

When students enter their second year at aged 13 to 14, the General English class meets four times a week and is solo-taught by a JTE. At the end of the school year, students are encouraged to take the Grade 3 EIKEN test, which is close to the level of

CEFR A1. There are also two other English classes. One is a reading class solo-taught by a JTE, which meets once a week and uses an original textbook authored by Easthill High. The class has two main objectives. One is to raise students' intensive reading ability. In the first half of each term, classes are conducted through the grammar-translation method, in which students learn how to use a dictionary and use that knowledge to read English texts and translate each sentence into Japanese. The other objective is to introduce students to extensive reading. In the second half of each term, students meet in the library, which has a large collection of Graded Readers, and self-selects books that match their level and interests to experience the joy of reading in English. Assessment is based on the five exams, which are reading tests that include passages from the original textbook as well as those from other books at sight.

The other is an English conversation class which meets once a week. The class is taught independently by NESTs who are employed through a recruitment agency that specializes in providing NESTs to educational institutions, companies and study groups. Classes are half the size of mainstream classes to enable small-group teaching, and 22 or 23 students are randomly assigned to each with no consideration for proficiency. Students move to smaller classrooms, where there are screens, document cameras, computer equipment and Wi-Fi connection. In contrast to the General English class and reading class focused on grammatical objectives, this conversation class provides students with opportunities to learn phrases to develop a conversation. For assessment, all students take a one-to-one interview test with the NESTs before the end of each term.

Students in the third year of junior high school take the General English class, which meets four times a week and is solo-taught by a JTE. Many students take Grade Pre-2 of the EIKEN test, which is close to the level of CEFR A2. Another English class splits students in the mainstream class into half, similar to the style of the second-year English conversation class, and again has 22 or 23 students. The class is called "English

Communicative Sessions,” and uses an original textbook authored by Easthill High. It is taught by a JTE, and an ALT comes to team-teach once a week. The class has three objectives. The first is to review basic English grammar to improve accuracy. Students work on translation activities from Japanese to English and take weekly quizzes on recitation sentences that are organized based on a grammatical syllabus. The second is to improve writing fluency by writing one’s experiences or ideas on a given topic. Students start the school year writing about personal preferences, addressing questions such as “*Which do you like better, summer or winter?*”, and go on to less personal topics such as “*Do you think convenience stores should be open 24 hours?*”, which are more challenging for students. The third objective is to pull together information and/or one’s ideas on a given topic into an essay and present ideas in class. There were six topics: “Self-introduction”, “My friend”, “Introducing a prefecture”, “School trip to Tohoku ~The picture that moves my heart~”, “My treasure”, and “My Junior high school days” during the research period. Students submit an initial and revised essay draft, and teachers provide students with detailed feedback on language and content. Students work on one topic per exam period, except for the final exam period in March when they work on two projects. Assessment is based on the five papers, in which the language accuracy part accounts for 50% of the score, writing fluency 10% and pulling together information and/or one’s ideas 20%. A speaking test occupies the other 20%. Students take a one-to-one interview test with the JET-ALTs, where students are asked about what they wrote on their essays and elaborate on it.

3.4.4 English teaching staff

As I described in the previous section, classes other than the General English class have been developed by English teachers at Easthill High. The teaching staff of English classes comprises of a) approximately 20 full-time and part-time JTEs, aged

between 30 and 65, b) two NESTs from a recruitment agency, and c) two ALTs employed through the JET programme. Applicants to the English department are interviewed by full-time English teachers and successful candidates are decided by the department before being officially approved by the Board of Directors. When employing full-time teachers, Easthill High prefers those in their twenties and with limited experience to enable long-term career development⁵.

3.5 Participants

3.5.1 Teacher participants

Two full-time JTEs and two ALTs from the JET programme participated in the study. See Table 3.2 for a summary of the teacher participants. One of the two English classrooms in this study was a third-year junior high school “English Communicative Sessions” class of 22 students, held on Fridays and Saturdays. Students moved to one of the smaller classrooms, and were seated in four or five rows consisting of four tables in each row. Each table was shared by two students (See Figure 3.2 for a schematic of this classroom’s layout). The class was organized and led by a full-time male JTE, Naoto, and one of the two weekly classes was team-taught with a male JET-ALT, Paul (from September to December) and Eric (from January to March). Naoto was in his forties and obtained a MA in TESOL in the United States during his sabbatical at Easthill High. With more than twenty years of teaching experience, he had twice been in charge of a year group for the full six years duration, from entry to graduation, and had taught some of the participating students the year before. In an interview, he described himself as a teacher not only thinking about English pedagogy, but also looking at his teaching from a holistic view by considering the link between his teaching practices and other school

⁵ It is legal to discriminate on the basis of age in Japan when making employment decisions.

Table 3.2***Teacher participants***

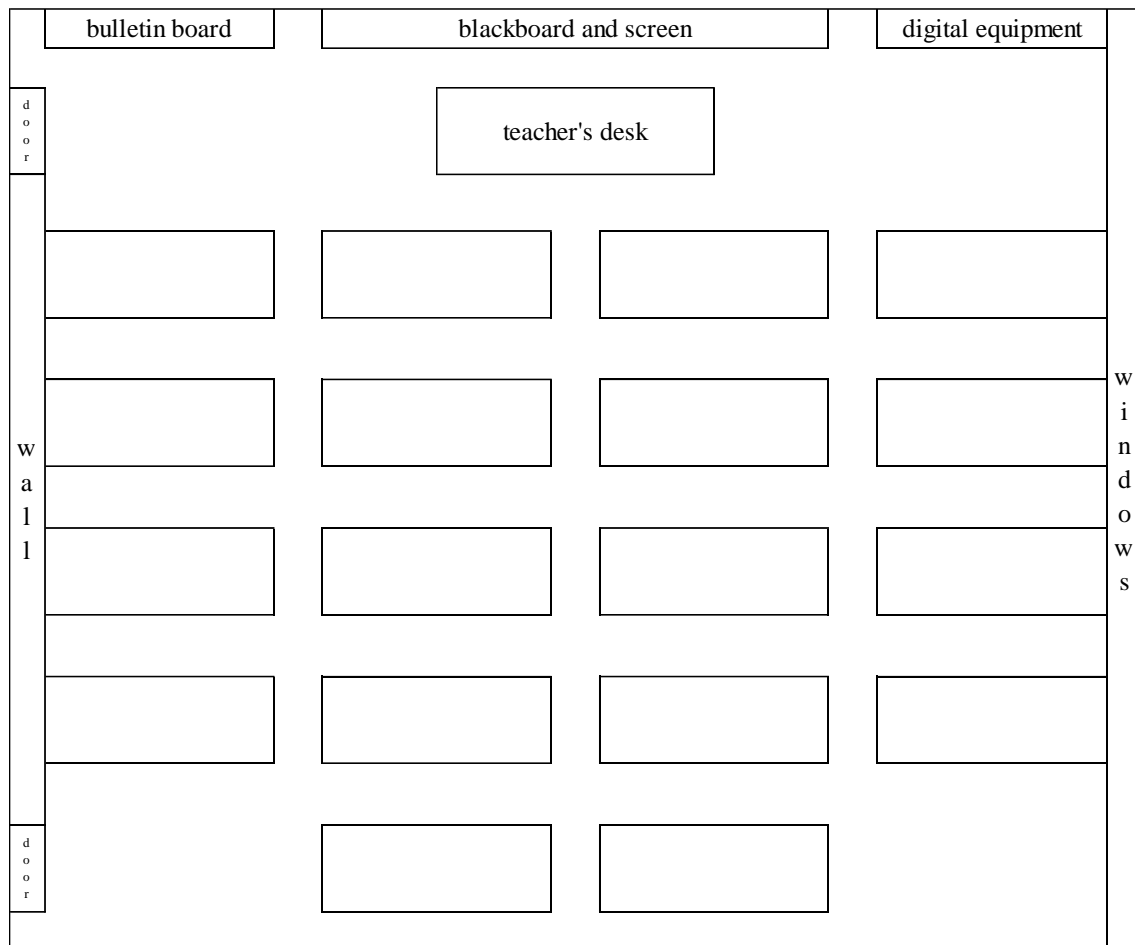
Name	Gender	Status	Age	Birthplace	Focal class
Naoto	Male	JTE	40s	Japan	third-year English class
Takumi	Male	JTE	30s	Japan	first-year English class
Paul	Male	JET-ALT	20s	United States	third-year and first-year English class
Eric	Male	JET-ALT	20s	United States	third-year and first-year English class

subjects/activities.

Paul and Eric were both US-born JET-ALTs in their twenties without English teaching certificates, such as TEFL and CELTA. They were both in their fifth year at Easthill High, and had team-taught the participating students when they were in the first-year of junior high school. Paul was interested in Japanese literature and music, and after his first visit to Japan as a tourist, he decided to stay and become a teacher to experience “life in a culture very different from my own” and “[get] to know somebody and really [help] them with their lives” (from Teacher Interview with Paul). He initially worked for a recruitment agency as an ALT at a public school in rural Japan, but became a JET-ALT because he wanted to experience life in a big city. Feeling that he had to acquire a certain proficiency of Japanese to survive life in a rural area of Japan, he became sufficiently fluent in Japanese to communicate with his colleagues in the language. Though without

Figure 3.2

A schematic of the classroom layout for the focal third-year class



an English teaching certificate, his previous experience as a JET-ALT and fluency in Japanese contributed to his position as the “leader” of the two JET-ALTs. For example, JTEs frequently turned to him for help in terms of English language and teaching, which enabled him to occasionally take the lead and put his ideas into practice in the classroom. In addition, students often approached him informally for daily conversation.

The other JET-ALT, Eric, majored in economics, and his strong interest in Japanese culture led him to stay in the southern-central region of the main island of Japan for three months during his undergraduate studies. To extend his stay in Japan, he later applied to the JET programme. Unlike Paul, working at Easthill High was his first

experience working full-time as a teacher. As he did not have a high Japanese proficiency, he usually used English to communicate with his colleagues. His lack of experience in working, much less in an English teaching position, and relatively low Japanese proficiency contributed to his weaker position, as there were less visits from JTEs and thus less opportunities to take the lead and put his ideas into practice. There were also less students approaching him for informal chats.

The other English classroom in this study was a first-year junior high school General English class of 44 students that met on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The class was organized and led by a full-time male JTE, Takumi, and was team-taught once a week with Paul (September to December) and Eric (January to March). Takumi was the course convenor of this first-year English class. He obtained an MA in TESOL in the United States, and his dissertation focused on second language fluency. He had more than ten years of teaching experience and had just taken on responsibility for a year group for the second time. He was deeply invested in increasing his students' motivation (not as the term *motivation* in the field of SLA, but as in daily life) through his teaching.

3.5.2 Student participants

All potential students study math, Japanese, social studies and science to take a junior high school entrance examination originally created by Easthill High. Upon entry to the school, although some students may have entered Easthill High with experience living/travelling abroad or studying English at private conversation schools, junior high school was their first experience of learning English as a formal school subject. See Table 3.3 for a summary of student participants.

Table 3.3

Student participants

Year	Age	Number of students	English level aiming at
First-year junior high	12-13	44	CEFR A1
Third-year junior high	14-15	22	CEFR A2

3.6 Gaining access

3.6.1 Recruiting teacher participants

After gaining ethical approval from the university's ethics committee but before receiving official research approval from the school, I informally identified teachers who might agree to participate in the research. Because the school has a long history of being supportive towards research conducted by school staff, I was confident of their eventual approval, as long as I went over the research process and ethical considerations thoroughly with the members of the Head of Schools meeting.

However, I initially had negative feelings towards myself for *having to* ask my colleagues to be observed and recorded over a period of seven months for my benefit and interest, and I worried it would be a large burden for them and potentially affect our relationships. My attitude suggested that participation in this research could not be accomplished at ease, and the first two teachers I contacted declined to participate, which forced me to amend my research design by changing the focal year group.

This was quite a shock for me at first, but my supervisor advised me to be positive and keep being so when asking teachers to participate. Subsequently, I emphasized to the teachers whom I subsequently approached that participating in the research might provide them with an opportunity to reflect on their teaching and communication with students by looking at the transcripts and my analysis. I also offered to walk around the classroom and help students in need so that I could give something

back in return to the teachers and students. Through this process, informal consent was gained from a) two JTEs who were eager for professional development, and who were graduates of MA TESOL courses in the United States with their own previous challenging experiences of gaining access to research sites and participants, and b) two ALTs from the JET programme, who were enthusiastic to contribute to empirical research and help furthering team-teaching practices in Japan. The two ALTs were as free as JTEs to decide whether to participate, which I consider to have caused no issues during the recruitment process in terms of power relations between JTEs and ALTs.

3.6.2 Receiving official research approval

After informal interest was obtained from the four aforementioned teachers, the research was discussed at the English department meeting, where a letter indicating department approval was completed. This letter became the basis for seeking further agreement from Easthill High. At this stage, many teachers of the department expressed interest and were supportive towards my research. The research was then discussed and approved at the Head of Schools meeting, which was constituted by the school principal, head of junior high school, head of senior high school, head of school office and the director of the school. This process was the final stage of receiving official research approval from Easthill High.

3.6.3 Recruiting student participants

After approval, the participating teachers were provided with information sheets and consent forms, which all teachers signed. Next, I visited the two English classrooms taught by consenting teachers, and explained the research aims and procedures to potential student participants. As I emphasized to the participating teachers, the positive side of participating in the research was emphasized to loosen students up, which was

that students could make a large contribution to the improvement of English education in Japanese secondary schools, and that they might gain insights into postgraduate studies by looking at how data collection is conducted, which could be relevant to their future educational pursuits. The consent forms, which were translated into Japanese, included separate boxes for students to tick if they further volunteered to have their peer interaction recorded and participate in student interviews. I described participation in interviews as a good opportunity for students to practice and reflect on their English learning. The forms also included a place for their parent/guardian to sign, and only students whose parent/guardian co-signed the consent form were allowed to participate in the study. The forms were collected by the JTEs of the focal classes within ten days of the study being introduced.

It was not an easy process to collect the consent forms from all students, and phone calls were made to some parents to remind their child to bring the form, but this turned out to be a valuable opportunity for me to describe the research to parents and build positive relationship. I later had an opportunity to visit a parent-teacher conference of the focal classes to talk about my research and answer questions.

In the end, all 66 students in both classrooms consented to participate in the study, of which 43 agreed to be audio-recorded and 41 agreed to be interviewed.

3.7 Data collection

Consistent with ethnographic research in general, a range of data collection methods were used in my inquiry (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Here, I will review three main data collection methods that I used during my research. The first is observations, which is the primary data collection method used in ethnography (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Angrosino (2007) describes observations as interaction with the daily lives of people through the researcher's five senses. Researchers put aside their

preconceived ideas and their common senses, and enter the research context to record as much as possible in detail about its cultural routines and customs. A challenge for conducting observations is having two contradictory roles: being an insider (participant) and an outsider (researcher). The researcher needs to be aware of his/her membership role and his/her researcher role when conducting research to step back and make sense of his/her findings (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). I will further explain how I dealt with this challenge when I describe the data collection steps from Section 7.

Second is interviews. Interviews can provide rich information about the participants' lives, events and episodes, and can thus lead to understanding of insights or perspectives that underlie the participants' actions (Duff, 2008).

Third is collection of documentary data, such as syllabi, lesson plans, teaching materials, test guidelines and work produced by students. Document data includes messages, language and discourses represented by research participants, which provide useful background information for the study (Reeves, Peller, Goldman & Kitto, 2013). When documentary data is used together with observations and interviews, it enables a triangulation of multiple data sources and improves the validity of findings (Flick, 2009).

Although I intended to collect longitudinal data over a whole school year from April, 2019, I struggled to complete my ethics application form and obtain research approval from Lancaster University, which delayed my start of data collection. Thus, data collection started in the beginning of the second term, September, 2019, and continued until the end of the third term, which was finished early because of the pandemic. In this section, I will summarize the data sources based on types of data. For a summary of data sources, see Table 3.4.

Table 3.4***Data Sources***

Method	Data	Remarks
Classroom observation	Observation notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 57 classroom observations of 50 minutes each • Notes taken while and after observing classes • Each class observed once or twice per week
	Video recordings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 video cameras, front and back of classroom • Focused on whole class interactions
	Audio recordings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four audio recorders, placed with groups in which all students had given consent • Focused on peer interactions
Questionnaires		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All students • English language learning histories and aspirations
Document collection	Teaching materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Syllabi • Lesson plans • Textbooks • Test guidelines
	Student work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notebooks • Homework tasks • Written compositions • Self-reflexive sheets

Table 4 (Continued)***Data Sources***

Method	Data	Remarks
Teacher Interviews	Audio recordings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One interview with each teacher in the end of the school year • Focused on teaching practices and relationships with students, and experiences and achievements during team-teaching • Notes taken during interviews
Student Interviews	Audio recordings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One interview with four third-year students in the end of the school year • Focused on experiences, aspirations, participation and achievements • Notes taken during interviews

3.7.1 Classroom observation**3.7.1.1 Observation notes**

Thirty-one of thirty-six third year lessons were observed. No observations were scheduled when the lesson was exclusively designed for exam preparation or conflicted with my other school duties.

Similarly, twenty-six of eighty first year lessons, mostly on Wednesdays and Fridays, were observed. No observations were scheduled when Takumi asked me not to. These were lessons in which Takumi explained that mostly Japanese would be used and would not have many opportunities for interaction.

Extensive notes were taken during and after observations. Instead of notebooks, separate sheets of paper were used for each classroom observation so that they could

easily be attached to physical copies of transcripts from video and audio recordings. My notes followed the strategies described in Angrosino (2007): First, the date, place, time, topic and names of teachers were written on the top. Then, notes were made in the order of what happened in the classroom. They were organized in headings which were made according to the sequence of lessons (e.g., warm-up, modelling) and types of interaction (e.g., whole class discussion, peer interaction), and sub-headings referring to who was mainly involved in each set of interactions (e.g., Paul and Takumi, Paul and Student A, Student B and C). To the left of each heading and sub-heading, the actual time was written so that it would help me link my notes to the video and audio recordings.

Subsequently, I tried my best to write every single word the participants said. This helped me remember what was happening in each sequence of the lesson and who was involved in each interaction, and facilitated the transcription process. Lastly, teachers and students were informally asked questions about their participation and achievements in the lesson and their responses were included in the notes.

During observations, I initially tried to sit at the back and minimize the impact of my presence. However, as time went by, students started asking me questions about the lesson during class. This was something that the teacher participants and I expected to happen, so I became something like a helper in class who could answer students' questions and help students in need. This raised my degree of participation in class, and I was strongly and continuously aware of needing to step back and make sense of my findings from a researcher's perspective while performing my membership (helper) role in the classroom (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

3.7.1.2 Video and audio recordings

A video camera was placed in the front and back of each classroom to capture whole class interaction between students and teachers. Video recordings were not useful

for analyzing peer interaction due to the general noise level during pair/group activities. Thus, four audio recorders were placed in front of students who had agreed to have their peer interaction recorded. In the third-year class, it was not difficult to decide where to place the recorders because most students had provided consent. On the other hand, in the first-year class, it was more difficult because students who agreed and disagreed were randomly mixed. In addition, the noise level of the class was often too high to make out who was saying what from the recordings. Therefore, only peer interaction from the third-year class is used in the study.

The recordings were mostly transcribed within a week of each class to help me remember the details of what happened in the classroom. This helped me find questions for further investigation during the study.

3.7.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were administered to all participating students to learn of their language learning histories and aspirations towards English study.

3.7.3 Document collection

Materials relevant to class were collected, such as syllabi, lesson plans, teaching materials, textbooks, notebooks, test guidelines, homework tasks, written compositions and self-reflexive sheets by participating students. These were used with data from observations and interviews, enabling triangulation from multiple data sources.

3.7.4 Interviews

Interviews were used to gain insights and perspectives from research participants about what was happening in the classroom (Duff, 2008). Although interview guides were prepared from my research questions, I conducted semi-structured

interviews, in which conversation was shaped and expanded based on the response of interviewees. These practices also helped participants expand their ideas and helped me gain as much information as possible (O'Reilly, 2009; Zacharias, 2012). They were asked to reflect on their teaching practices and relationships with students, as well as their experiences and achievements (or lack thereof) with their partner during team-teaching. As I considered that conversation and reflection taking place during interviews might affect participants' subsequent positionings and practices in the classroom, it was towards the end of data collection that semi-structured interviews were conducted, one with each JTE and JET-ALT. Interviews with JTEs were conducted in Japanese (and subsequently translated into English by the author), and those with JET-ALTs were conducted in English. This data was used to triangulate insights gained through classroom observation and analysis of classroom interaction.

Similarly, towards the end of data collection, one semi-structured interview was conducted in Japanese with each student who provided consent. They were asked to reflect on their experiences of learning English, aspirations for English use, and the relationship between their aspirations, their participation with teachers and peers, and their achievements (or lack thereof) in class. I had initially planned to conduct frequent short, informal chats with students after each class, before they forget what happened in class. This turned out to be challenging, however, as students were busy preparing for next class and chatting with friends. Thus, these student interviews took on greater importance than my initial plan.

3.8 The effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic emerged towards the end of data collection. Restrictions on daily school activities were implemented slowly. Then, on February 27, 2020, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe abruptly required all Japanese schools to close from

the beginning of March. Easthill High closed starting March 2, 2020, and apart from visiting the school once in late March, the end of the school year, no students were allowed on campus until June.

Administrators and educators at Easthill High had not anticipated the sudden shut down and there was widespread confusion on how to maintain contact with students. The school had no experience using online platforms for teaching, nor were there concrete plans for ensuring the health and safety of employees. Students' mental and physical health became increasingly important as the school remained closed, and school staff were desperate to support students in the best way possible.

This school closure led to my end of data collection. Observations of the last three scheduled classes were not possible, and not all student interviews were not completed. Because the missed number of observed classes were not many, this had limited impact on classroom observations and document collection. However, student interviews were limited to those with four third-year junior high students which were conducted before school closure. Although there may have been a choice of conducting interviews online with first-year students and the other third-year students, I decided not to do so. This was not only because I had no prior experience nor confidence contacting students online at that time, but also because I did not feel comfortable contacting students for my own academic purposes in the midst of the large confusion arising from COVID-19 and school closure. In spite of these unpredictable circumstances towards the end of data collection, there was still a large data set, which was sufficient for me to address my research questions.

3.9 Data analysis

This section summarizes the analytical methods I drew upon to explore the social construction of the language classroom and address my research questions,

namely, the coding procedures and my rationale for selecting SFL to ground my linguistic analysis. Analysis was conducted in three stages: a) initial coding to organize data and select specific instances to reflect on, b) refining those codes to identify episodes for analyzing interpersonal relations, and c) analyzing language by drawing upon the analytical resources of SFL to investigate the interrelationship between language, social relations and classroom practices. See Table 3.5 for a summary of data analysis.

3.9.1 Initial coding

Data analysis took an inductive, manual approach. My analysis began simultaneously with data collection. First, audio from the audio and video recorders was transcribed/translated by the author to enable repeated readings of data. Second, the transcripts of teacher-student interaction, teacher-teacher interaction and peer interaction were initially coded. The purpose of this initial coding was to deal with the challenge of conducting analysis from a large data set by creating small and manageable units (Lizama, 2017). Drawing on Lizama (2017), transcripts were initially coded according to pedagogic functions (e.g., introducing the activity, modelling, sharing opinions/experiences, providing feedback). In addition, drawing on Mohan (1986), transcripts were coded according to dominant knowledge structure of the activity⁶ (classification, principles, evaluation, description, sequence, choice). After the pedagogic functions were identified, I coded each segment's social purpose (e.g., building rapport, negotiating power). This created a basis for systematically describing the social functions carried out in students' and teachers' interaction and a basis for describing their agency.

⁶ Mohan (1986, p. 42) defines activity as “a combination of action and theoretical understanding”, and knowledge structure is identified to scaffold students' understanding of both the content being taught and the language necessary to construct the content.

Table 3.5

Summary of data analysis

Stage	Objectives	Coding classifications
Stage 1: Initial Coding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize the large data set into small, or manageable units • select specific instances to reflect on with participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pedagogic functions along classroom discourse • Dominant knowledge structures in the activity • Interaction's social purpose within pedagogic functions
Stage 2: Refining codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify segments of classroom interaction for linguistic analysis • Support comparing and contrasting each observed class holistically and sequentially 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sequences of a lesson • Sub-codes of a) whole class, b) peer interaction, c) pair work and d) individual work • Detailed segments of a lesson
Stage 3: Analyzing language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigate the interrelationship between language, social relations and classroom practices 	

Additionally, this coding enabled me to select specific instances to reflect on with participants during informal conversations and formal interviews.

3.9.2 Refining the codes

Next, after data collection, this initial coding was refined with the purpose of matching the formal pedagogic objectives and sequences of a lesson. To do this, I drew on the first and second objectives for first-year students, *to introduce oneself and classmates* and *to express daily things*, and the second and third objectives for third-year

students, *to write one's experiences or ideas on a given topic and to write one's ideas into essays and make presentations in class from a given topic*. Drawing on Moore, Schleppegrell and Palincsar (2018), this helped compare and contrast how each objective and how each sequence of a lesson was realized within and across classes (see Table 3.6 for potential sequences of a lesson).

I did not use the term *tasks* in my coding but drew on Littlewood (2014, p. 298) and used *structured communication*, which is defined as “[u]sing language to communicate in situations which elicit pre-learnt language but with some degree of unpredictability”. This was because although students were using English and sharing their opinions with each other, they did not go beyond that to work towards a clearly defined communicative outcome, such as discussing and persuading each other to come up with an agreed view of a given topic, as required in a *task* (Ellis, 2003). Given that the primary focus of the pedagogic activities was not on meaning, but using knowledge structures which students learned in class, the term *structured communication* better aligns with what I observed.

To identify episodes for analyzing interpersonal relations, sub-codes of a) whole class, b) peer interaction, c) pair work and d) individual work were created, and were further split into more detailed segments (e.g., instruction of task, building schema, modelling, reporting from students, feedback from teachers). For example, sequences of *structured communication* were coded as “Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Instruction of task”, “Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Building schema”, “Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Modelling”, “Structured communication - Peer interaction - Sequential monologues”, “Structured communication - Peer interaction - Dialogic”, “Post-structured communication - Whole class - Reporting from students”, and “Post-structured communication - Whole class - Feedback from teachers”. These codes are provided in Appendix 1. Simultaneously, transcripts from student and teacher

Table 3.6***Potential sequences of a lesson***

Greeting	Beginning of class
	End of class
Speaking	Pre-structured communication
	Structured communication
	Post-structured communication
Writing	Pre-writing
	Writing
	Post-writing
Individual presentation	Pre-individual presentation
	Individual presentation
	Post-individual presentation
Grammar translation	

interviews, student questionnaires and relevant documents, all of which I transcribed and/or translated, were used to triangulate and refine the codes. Through this phase, and continuous comparing and contrasting within and across coded transcripts at multiple stages, patterns of language use, practices and positions of participants within codes and relationships across codes were identified, which enabled me to select segments of classroom interaction for the following linguistic analysis.

Extracts for close focus were selected using the following criteria: 1) whether they were representative of patterns identified in the coding process, 2) whether they were particularly interesting or offering valuable insights, and/or 3) whether they made the points very clear for readers. For example, under coded extracts, I searched for instances of Japanese use and looked at Japanese clause end particles. Then, I made a list

of interpersonal particles under each code, which helped me identify patterns of particle use and practices/positionings realized through those particles within and across codes. Extracts to describe such patterns in the thesis were chosen from the list upon the criteria above, whose analysis is provided in Chapter 4.

3.9.3 Analyzing the interpersonal resources of language

I analyzed segments of classroom interaction to enable a deep description of how language realized or was realized by social functions or purposes in the classroom. Drawing on Fang and Schlepppegrell (2010), Gebhard, Shin and Seger (2011), Martin and White (2005), and Qi et al. (2015), I focused on the language of modality, offering, commanding, agreeing, disagreeing, exchanging and expressing voice; clause types (*declarative, interrogative, modal interrogative and imperative*) and follow-ups (e.g., *support, check, deny, repetition, reformulation and elaboration*); and language demonstrating/realizing hierarchy, as well as the distribution of turns to see participants' openness towards each other's degree of participation.

Analysis included not only English but also Japanese. For the Japanese, I drew on Teruya (2007) and used the following format of displaying language use. In each analysis of the Japanese transcription (see the Sample Analyses below), the first line is written in the Japanese writing system, and the second line uses the Roman alphabet in italics to indicate how this is vocalized. The third line has the interlinear gloss and the morphological information, the fourth line presents the functional analysis, and the fifth line is the rough English translation.

With the purpose of analyzing the interpersonal aspect of the Japanese language, I focused on the final position in the clause because this is where the Predicator is completed through a nominal, adjectival or verbal group. which can add interpersonal meanings (Teruya, 2017). For example, the verbal group consists of the configuration of

the verb form, such as *nom-u* (drink) in decisive form, *nom-e* (drink!) in imperative form and *nom-anai* (not drink) in negative form, and can be added clause end particles afterwards which serve as Negotiators, such as *ne* (request for confirmation), *yo* (insistence) and *sa* (assertion) (Teruya, 2007). In the following sample, 僕はお茶を飲まない (*Bokuwa ochao nomanai*) means “I won’t drink green tea”, but adding the clause end particle よ (*yo*) can realize the speaker’s insistence of not drinking tea (for morphological notations, see Appendix 2):

Text 3.1

僕は	お茶を	飲まない	よ。
<i>Bokuwa</i>	<i>ochao</i>	<i>nomanai</i>	<i>yo.</i>
I WA	green tea O	drink-neg-inf	insistence
Subject	Complement	Predicator	Negotiator

“I won’t drink green tea.”

On the other hand, あなたはお茶を飲まない (*Anatawa ochao nomanai*) means “You won’t drink green tea”, but adding the clause end particle ね (*ne*) can realize the speaker’s request for confirmation towards the listener:

Text 3.2

あなたは お茶を 飲まない ね。

Bokuwa ochao nomanai ne.

You WA green tea O drink-neg-inf confirmation

Subject	Complement	Predicator	Negotiator
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“You won’t drink green tea.”

Another point I focused on is the use of *honorifics*. Opposed to neutral language which realizes informality between the speaker and listener, honorifics is a style of writing and speaking which is used to show respect to others, and demonstrates the underlying power relations between the speaker and listener (O’Neill, 2008). There are three forms. The first is *teineigo* (polite language). This is used to express respect to the listener or to show understanding on the formality of the conversation that is taking place. A *teineigo* of a verb can be made by adding a modal auxiliary ます (*masu*) to the predicative form of a verb. For example, 行きます (*ikimasu*), which means “go”, is a combination of the predicative form of the verb 行く (*iku*), which is 行き (*iki*), and ます (*masu*):

Text 3.3

僕は 東京に 行きます。

Bokuwa toukyouni ikimasu

I WA Tokyo NI go-fml

Subject	Complement	Predicator
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“I will go to Tokyo.”

The second is *sonkeigo* (respectful language). This is used when the listener is performing the action and to show that the listener is of higher hierarchy than that of the speaker. It is realized by a) the passive form, b) adding お (*o*) or ご (*go*) in front of the predicative form of a verb and になる (*ninaru*) afterwards, or c) a different verb from *teineigo*. Taking 行く (*iku*) as an example, it will be a) 行かれる (*ika-reru*), b) お行きになる (*o-iki-ninaru*), or c) いらっしゃる/おいでになる (*irassharu/oideninaru*).

The third is *kenjogo* (humble language). The relationship between the speaker and the listener is the same as *sonkeigo*, but this time, the speaker is performing the action. It is expressed by a) adding させていただく (*saseteitadaku*) or せていただく (*seteitadaku*) after the imperfective form of a verb, b) adding お (*o*) or ご (*go*) in front of the predicative form of a verb and する (*suru*) afterwards, or c) a different verb from *teineigo*. 行く (*iku*) will be a) 行かせていただく (*ika-seteitadaku*), or c) 参る (*mairu*), and does not have an equivalent to b).

Also investigated were first-person pronouns and adjuncts of the Japanese language. I will refer to them individually in the Chapter 4.

3.9.4 Transcript conventions

I drew on Jenks (2011) for my transcript conventions and used *closed transcripts*, which are those produced selectively and within what is relevant to the researcher's interests, as opposed to *open transcripts*, which transcribe every feature of interaction in high detail, such as intonation, pauses, and how talk of multiple speakers overlaps. This was because my aim was not to analyze how participants deliver their speech (e.g., prosodic features) but to analyze what people do and mean in interaction in social contexts. I selected features of participants' talk and interaction that were relevant to their social relationships, such as pauses, laughter nonverbal conducts, and included them in the transcripts (for transcription conventions, see Appendix 3).

Excerpts from transcripts in Chapter 4 are in the language that was used, as I analyzed the language as spoken. To keep readability, I added rough English translations in square brackets and did not provide a romanised Japanese or a literal, word-for-word translation as it may increase the length or reduce readability (Bankier, 2019; Jenks, 2011).

3.10 Ethical considerations

As I was a full-time English teacher at Easthill High, I had to be aware throughout data collection of the hierarchical relationship between myself and the student participants. When I explained the research aims and procedures to potential student participants, I tried to position myself as an outside researcher from abroad by introducing myself as a PhD student from Lancaster University, handing out information sheets with the logo of Lancaster University, and asking students to forget my position as a teacher at their school as much as possible. This was not only because I literally had no power to *control* their assessment or their school life during data collection, but also because I did not want to pressure them to participate in the study. In addition, I stressed that students and their parents/guardians had a person to communicate with, should they wish to address questions and/or concerns by providing the name and contact information of my supervisor at Lancaster University and the Head of English department at Easthill High. From my recruitment talk until the end of data collection, I tried to remove my teacher's voice by talking in a calm way and using *kenjogo* (humble language), which I usually do not use when talking with students. This was used to express my respect towards students for listening to my talk and participating in the study. I also reminded students prior to interviews and several times during data collection that their choice of participation or withdrawal, their behaviour in the

classroom and/or responses in interviews would neither impact their assessment nor their future school life.

Interviews with students were conducted at a place of their own choice, such as in the cafeteria or on the bench outside the school building, so that they could feel as comfortable as possible. During interviews, they were welcomed to express negative comments about the teachers or class as they were told that confidentiality was ensured and that those comments could make a large contribution to the research and English education in Japan. In addition, it was emphasized that confidentiality is important in academic research. They were asked not to talk about their classmates' participation during lessons nor the discussion during interviews with anyone but their parents and/or guardians, and their parents/guardians were asked not to share that information with anyone but their child's teacher.

Similarly, the teacher participants were reminded that their choice of participation or withdrawal would not affect their position at Easthill High. They were asked not to discuss which or how students were participating in the research, which excluded professional conversations that were part of the normal functioning of Easthill High. In addition, the potential hierarchical relationship with JET-ALTs were constantly taken into consideration, because Easthill High had the right to terminate the working relationship with JET-ALTs should the school wish to do so. To deal with this, member checks were conducted with JET-ALTs during analysis in order to protect their positioning at the school.

3.11 Researcher's eye and position

As I described in Sections 4 and 5, I was an insider during the study: I am a Japanese, an English teacher at a secondary school, a teacher at Easthill High with experience teaching the same General English and English Communicative Lessons to

other year groups, and a person living in the same city as Easthill High. I had to face the challenge of not making quick value judgements based on my own cultural/professional values and experiences, and not being tempted to shift from my research questions to focusing on teaching (Heigham & Sakui, 2009). During observations, I frequently reminded myself that I was not visiting a classroom at *my* workplace, and this made it possible for me to take extensive notes as if I had no prior knowledge of the classroom.

When I found it particularly difficult to maintain a researcher's eye was during interviews. I fell into this pitfall during my MA dissertation, as I became puzzled when I encountered unexpected responses and had difficulty sustaining the conversation. To prevent my own perspectives and my eyes as an English teacher from negatively affecting the dynamic process of asking questions during interviews, I tried to conduct interviews without any presumptions, and expand the interviews by prioritizing participants' responses instead of the interview guide. In addition, I repeatedly reminded myself that I was conducting interviews to explore the unknown and not with *my* students nor *my* colleagues, and that it was not until I conducted analysis that data would become findings.

What helped me keep the researcher's eye was working on the thesis outside the teachers' room (e.g., school library, cafeteria, empty classrooms) and allocating a certain amount of time to the research on a daily basis, rather than during the small intervals between classes. This enabled me to further focus on the study as a researcher by making the effect from school duties and my eye as an English teacher as small as possible.

In addition, meetings with my supervisor, panel members and discussions with my *critical friends* (Rallis & Rossman, 2009, p. 266) kept me focused as a researcher. My supervisor's continuous reference to the research questions enabled me to step away from a teacher's perspective and reminded me of the potential contributions I can make to the field of applied linguistics, not only to English education in Japan, through this

research. Discussions with panel members enabled me to organize my accomplishments as a researcher and reconsider my strengths and weaknesses, which provided me with the necessary confidence and further action points to complete this thesis. Importantly, sharing and discussing the PhD trajectory with my critical friends, such as other PhD students and presenters at academic conferences, provided me with opportunities to go over the research and think further about what my research is about. In short, settling down, taking time, and talking about the study with members in the field of applied linguistics enabled continuous confirmation and revision of my interpretations and accomplishments, which became a key step to focus myself on the study as a researcher.

I was also aware of my position as a researcher and the impact of having an observer in the classroom. During the very initial stage of data collection, some students seemed very aware of my presence in the classroom, as they were interested in the audio and video recorders and were occasionally fooling around or trying to behave “better” than usual. However, they soon seemed to have gotten used to my presence, as they started behaving in ways I would normally expect from boys in a secondary school classroom. I felt that I was able to build a researcher-student relationship of trust, because although students sometimes asked me questions on class content or English language, I was otherwise rarely approached during observations for the sake of my research. Thus, I consider that I was able to minimize the effect of my presence in class.

3.12 Summary

In this chapter, I have explained the rationale for using ethnography in my study, which was to a) understand the social construction of local Japanese language classrooms in relation to continuing domestic and national shifts through longitudinal direct observation and documentation, and b) provide a basis that enables a critical discussion on the difficulties Japan faces in language education, which have been frequently

oversimplified and attributed to sociocultural factors. Then, I described the characteristics of linguistic ethnography, which combines linguistic and ethnographic methods and enabled me to realize a thick description of how social and communicative functions shape and are shaped by daily language practices in a Japanese classroom.

Next, I introduced the focal private boys' secondary school (Easthill High), its English classes and its English teaching staff, as well as the two focal classrooms (a first-year junior high "General English" class and a third-year junior high "English Communicative Sessions" class), the background information of the two US-born JET-ALTs (Paul and Eric) and the two JTEs (Naoto and Takumi) with study abroad experiences, and a brief summary of the 66 participating students whose English level was mostly CEFR A1 or A2. Subsequently, I summarized how I accessed the research site, where I worked as a full-time English teacher, and how I recruited teacher and student participants. This was followed by the description of the data collection methods of the study, which included classroom observations, questionnaires, document collection, teacher interviews and student interviews, and the effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic towards the end of data collection, which I was able to minimize as I already had gained a large data set beforehand. Then, I summarized the analytical methods that consisted of three stages: initial coding to organize data and select specific instances for reflection, refining codes to identify segments for linguistic analysis and support the comparison and contrast of each observed class, and analyzing the interpersonal resources of language through SFL to investigate the interrelationship between language, social relations and classroom practices.

To conclude the chapter, I described a) the transcript conventions and my rationale for leaving the language that was used to speak, including Japanese, as spoken in the transcripts for subsequent analysis, b) ethical considerations, especially about how I dealt with the hierarchical relationship with student participants and ALTs and how I

explored confidentiality, and c) how I sought to maintain a researcher's eye and prevent myself from making quick value judgements and mixing research and teaching, which meetings with my supervisors, panel members and discussions about each other's research with my critical friends played a large role.

4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on the analytical resources of SFL and analyzes how teachers and students structured social relations and co-constructed classroom practices. In the first section, I will analyze how cultural practices were replicated in the English language classroom to reproduce the familiar patterns of a Japanese classroom. First, I will examine how Eric, a JET-ALT who was less fluent in Japanese and spoke mostly English in class, co-constructed the practices of Japanese greetings with students. I will compare this dynamic to classrooms of Paul, the JET-ALT fluent in Japanese, who a) replicated the teacher voice of Japanese classrooms or b) used common practices beyond Japanese classrooms to realize interpersonal meanings which co-constructed practices that students were familiar with.

In the second section, I will analyze the first-year junior-high “General English class”, where the JTE, Takumi, co-constructed with students the “traditional” Japanese learning practices: the teachers controlling the conversation and students listening passively to the teacher. To illustrate this, I will examine how Takumi’s reviewing effectively restricted their participation. Then, I will describe how Takumi and Eric modelled a conversation with high interactivity and spontaneity, but left students with less space for participation. Next, I will show how Takumi conducted an explanation of what students were to do subsequently, but left less space for Eric to participate. Lastly, I will illustrate how Takumi and Eric’s attempts to increase student participation still turned out to similarly position themselves as the ones leading and controlling the conversation, and students as passive participants who defer to teachers, limiting the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom over the school year.

In the third section, I will analyze the third-year junior-high “English Communicative Sessions” class, where, similar to the first-year class, attempts to increase

student participation still turned out to co-construct the “traditional” Japanese learning practices despite students’ higher English proficiency. Then, I will describe how the introduction of a new six-step structure by Naoto, the JTE of the third-year class, during which students were expected to take more initiative during dialogue by deliberately expanding from their own statements and demanding information from the teacher, still reproduced those “traditional” practices. I will subsequently illustrate the practices of sharing memories of school lives, which students should have had a lot to widen their participation but still did not lead to alter those practices. Lastly, I will look at how students’ replication of “Tell me more”, an imperative frequently used by Paul, which students commonly used to sustain and develop interaction during peer interaction, slightly opened space to elaborate but turned out to co-construct less space for meaningful negotiation of language, which contributed to a unidirectional practice of peer interaction.

In the last section, I will illustrate how students and teachers in the third-year “English Communicative Sessions” class realized interpersonal meanings and positioned each other that evolved bidirectionality/multidirectionality of classroom practices. I will first illustrate how Paul realized interpersonal meanings to show understanding of students in the context of giving directions and describe how it contributed to the multidirectional co-construction of classroom practices. Then, I will look at three focal students and examine how their realization of interpersonal meanings enabled them to evolve bidirectionality during peer interaction. Lastly, I will look at question-and-answer sessions during “Show and tell” oral presentations, where the realization of interpersonal meanings evolved multidirectionality of the session from genuine interest.

Throughout this chapter, I will illustrate how access to resources (or lack thereof) positions participants and expands or limits the multidirectionality of classroom practices, and provide insights into the discussion on what it means to teach/learn an additional language in a language classroom.

4.2 Reproduction of Japanese practices

4.2.1. Introduction

This section describes how familiar classroom practices were reproduced in team-taught English classes. The JET-ALTs of this school were employed with the support of the Metropolitan Foundation for Private Schools, which has subsidized the hiring of JET-ALTs since 2015. The subsidies support private secondary schools in the region to become in line with MEXT educational initiatives and “encourage new English education that responds to globalization”. Easthill High was among the 143 secondary schools initially supported by the programme (Metropolitan Foundation for Private Schools, 2015), through which they hired two full-time JET-ALTs.

In the teachers’ room, the two JET-ALTs were treated somewhat similarly to full-time staff, and sat with full-time Japanese teachers, not with the part-time NESTs hired through a recruitment agency or other part-time teachers. JTEs often asked JET-ALTs for help with English, such as preparing English documents, marking English compositions and developing listening tests. Non-English teachers also talked with JET-ALTs to improve their own English or simply chat. Students also came to visit the JET-ALTs and similarly requested feedback on their English compositions or application documents, chatted informally, or received assistance in preparing for speaking tests.

In addition to daily English classes, the JET-ALTs designed non-compulsory after-school sessions for students to practice English. They also held “western” cultural events, such as Easter festivals, in which students searched for Easter eggs hidden around school; Halloween parties, in which students cut pumpkins and made their own jack-o’-lanterns; and Christmas events, in which students listened to Christmas songs and played Christmas games. They also joined school events, such as sports day, field trips or school trips, which increased opportunities for JET-ALTs and students to interact.

As a full-time teacher at the focal school, I considered that the employment of full-time JET-ALTs brought a new dimension to the school's culture, in which there was more English spoken in daily school life and more chances for students to communicate with non-Japanese staff. Thus, I felt that employing JET-ALTs succeeded in introducing new forms of language practice and culture in the school.

With regards to daily English classes, JET-ALTs were mainly sent to first-year junior-high general English classes, third-year junior-high "English Communicative Sessions" classes and second-year senior-high "English Expressions" classes. They were not sent to second-year junior-high and first-year senior-high classes, since these year groups had classes solo-taught by two part-time NESTs, and not to third-year senior high classes, since these classes focused on preparation for university entrance exams.

The remainder of this section focuses on routine classroom practices and their significance to the interpersonal relations that developed between JET-ALTs, JTEs and students.

4.2.2. Greetings

This section illustrates how Eric was socialized into the localized practices of Japanese daily greetings to help him and the students connect. As described in Section 3.4.3, the first-year English classes met five times a week. In the classes solo-taught by Takumi, four times a week, the class focused on new grammatical features and vocabulary. Students listened to the teacher introduce new content, participated in teacher-led IRF (initiation-response-feedback) exchanges, read aloud English passages and worked on grammar books to learn and practice these new languages. Although it was an English classroom, translanguaging, and classroom practices did not differ much from other classes in other subjects.

Once a week, either Paul or Eric came and team-taught with Takumi. Their role was to increase classroom English use and enhance opportunities for students to encounter English. Thus, class content was to differ from the other four classes in the amount of English spoken, and non-textbook English materials, mostly originally organized by the teachers, were to be used to provide students with opportunities to go beyond grammar exercises and speak more genuine English. As such expectations were designed by the English department of the school, I initially thought these classrooms provided new dimensions of language use and materials, but analysis shows that providing alternatives to daily routines was not as simple as I imagined.

Eric, one of the JET-ALTs, was not highly proficient in Japanese and mostly spoke English in class. During classroom observations, he did not appear to understand much the Japanese spoken by students and JTEs. Thus, when the class was working on English-Japanese translations or when grammar items were explained in Japanese, there was less space for Eric to participate.

Nevertheless, there were instances in which he used Japanese to contribute, and these provide a window into his positioning in the classroom. The following excerpt comes from the beginning of a class on September 6, 2019. This was the third class in the second term after the summer holidays and the first team-teaching class. Eric came to this class in the first half of the first term, from April to May, Paul, the other JET-ALT, took over in the second half of the term, from June to July, and it was back to Eric's turn to come to this class. Eric greeted the students as follows:

Excerpt 1

1 Eric: Hello.

2 Ss: Hello.

3 Eric: How are you?

4 Ss: I am fine.

5 Eric: Sleepy? Who is happy people? ((Students raise hands))

6 Who is sad? ((Students raise hands)) Who is tired?

7 ((Students raise hands)) Sleepy? ((Students raise

8 hands)) Who is 元気 (healthy), very healthy. ((Students

9 raise hands)) Okay, great. Well, first, long time, no

10 see. Long time, no see. 久しぶり (Long time, no see)。

11 Yeah. Maybe three months.

Eric explained his reasons for using Japanese as follows:

I think that I mean as far as getting students to relate to you, if they can't express themselves entirely then it's a bit difficult like as a second language it's hard to make jokes or have find humour if you can't utilize the language entirely. So just throwing in like a joke that they can relate to or something or using language that they use regularly it kind of creates a connection to what they're thinking.

One of Eric's objectives for using Japanese was to help him and the students connect. While Eric's Japanese repertoire was small, which students would have known, it was nevertheless a key resource for him for developing relationships with the students. Looking at the excerpt in more detail, Eric's initial greetings "Hello" and "How are you?" are easily recognizable from any English classroom, and students responded mechanically with "Hello" and "I am fine". Then, he asked the following questions to the students, "Who is happy people?", "Who is sad?", "Who is tired?", "Sleepy?", to which

corresponding students reacted by quietly raising their hands. This was an exchange where the teacher was in a position of control and students had little space to participate but to raise their hands or not. Subsequently, he asked a different question, which was different from the previous ones as he chose to translanguage, asking “Who is 元気 (*genki*)”. 元気 (*genki*) means healthy. He repeated its English translation by adding an adverb of degree, “very”, and saying “very healthy”. After confirming the previous exchange by saying “Okay, great”, he continued with another greeting, “Long time no see”, repeated it by saying it faster, and provided its Japanese translation, 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*). The reasons for saying “long time no see” could be because this was the first team-teaching class after the summer holidays, or because this was Eric’s first visit to the focal classroom since the end of May, which explains the subsequent “Maybe three months”.

Eric’s translanguaging might have had a pedagogical function, since students in this class were mostly beginners of English. As for 元気 (*genki*), Eric’s objective might have been to provide the Japanese translation of “healthy” as students would not have been familiar with the English word “healthy”, since although “healthy” is used as a loanword in Japanese, the pronunciation (*herushii*) is quite different from English. Additionally, “Long time no see” had not been introduced in class, which would have made it difficult for students to connect “long time” and “no see” during a spontaneous conversation. Thus, we have Eric using the dominant language, Japanese, presumably for introducing new language.

Some might critique Eric for not teaching students how to say 元気 (*genki*) and 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*) in English and not creating space for students to use them in exchange since he was hired as a native speaker of English for that purpose. Moreover, he could have left himself open to criticism for using Japanese, as he was hired by MEXT or Easthill High to introduce new forms of language practice and culture to the classroom. From an interpersonal perspective, however, it is worth considering daily greetings as local

culture. The use of 元気 (*genki*) and 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*), both of which are in the informal form, is common in Japanese greetings when people see each other for the first time in a while. They are frequently used in informal settings, such as between friends, or in classroom settings between teachers and students. Additionally, as Eric's clearly stated objective was to "us[e] language that they (students) use regularly" so that "it kind of creates a connection to what they're thinking", because "if you (students) can't utilize the language entirely", "it's a bit difficult" to get "students to relate to you (Eric)", such use of daily Japanese greetings functioned to help him connect with students and build rapport.

During my classroom observation, I found Eric's use of 元気 (*genki*) and 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*) to be a regular part of his speech, as he often included daily Japanese greetings in his talk. In addition, students and Takumi did not appear to reject the use of Japanese daily greetings from a JET-ALT, despite the JET-ALTs' roles of encouraging new forms of language practice. No one criticized or mocked Eric's use of Japanese greetings, nor did Takumi ask Eric to use English. 元気 (*genki*) and 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*), were used by Eric as they would be used in any Japanese classroom, even not what I expected in a team-taught English classroom.

Such use of Eric's Japanese greetings, which came from Eric's attempt to connect with students and Takumi and students' acceptance of Eric's attempt, was prevalent over the school year. The following excerpt comes from the first team-taught class after the winter holidays on January 10, 2020. He started his first turn in class as follows:

Excerpt 2

- 1 Eric: Hello. Long time, no see, 久しぶり (long time, no see),
2 how are you?

3 Ss: I'm fine. / I'm not fine.

4 Eric: Sleepy, tired, amazing. How was your winter vacation?

This excerpt, which includes 久しぶり (*hisashiburi*) as in the previous excerpt, shows another reproduction from Eric of the Japanese culture of greetings. As such, although this was an English classroom and one of Eric's expected roles was to introduce non-Japanese language and culture, Eric started the class with the Japanese practices of greetings over the school year. Importantly, such greetings were not realized unidirectionally from Eric but multidirectionally. Had students and Takumi resisted such Japanese greetings from Eric, as it was against expectations by MEXT or Easthill High to introduce new forms of language practice and culture, it was unlikely to have become a daily practice of the team-taught class. Instead, Eric, Takumi and students were socialized to use the "language they (students) use regularly", Japanese daily greetings, so that they could better "relate" to each other. However, there remains a question of how such reproduction of Japanese practices lead to their shift (or lack thereof) of positioning and participation in the language classroom. I will repeatedly come back to this question throughout this chapter, and provide an in-depth discussion in Chapter 5.

4.2.3. Giving directions

Similar to the previous section focused on Eric, the following sections describe the socialization of Paul into practices and interpersonal relations in a Japanese classroom. Unlike Eric, Paul was a JET-ALT highly proficient in Japanese. During classroom observations, he appeared to understand students' and JTE' use of Japanese in class, as he was able to respond to their Japanese, and translanguaged when talking with students. As a classroom outsider, I initially considered his use of Japanese to be inconsistent with expectations of a JET-ALT. This was because Naoto planned for working on activities

related to students' writing, which allowed Paul to fulfill his expected roles but also provided room for informal conversation with students.

In this first section, I describe how Paul was socialized into the practices of hierarchy and respect found in a formal classroom setting when explaining activities to students. As I described in Section 3.4.3, the third-year junior-high group had two types of English classes: "General English", which met four times a week, and "English Communicative Sessions", which met twice a week. The "General English" class focused on new grammatical features and vocabulary, similar to the first-year "General English" class, and also on reading long passages for comprehension, grammar and vocabulary development. Occasionally, students translated passages from English to Japanese to for the purpose of focusing on forms of sentences. All "General English" classes were taught by a JTE with no visits of JET-ALTs. The practical reality was that students had fewer opportunities to use English in these classes, in which Japanese was commonly used and teacher-centered practices predominated.

On the other hand, "English Communicative Sessions" split the students in the mainstream class into half with no consideration for proficiency to enable small-group teaching. It focused on improving students' English writing accuracy and fluency. JET-ALTs came to this class once a week, which meant that 50% of this class was team-taught. The English department requested the JET-ALTs to lead pre-writing activities by introducing the topic and helping students brainstorm their ideas, help students with English while they are writing, and provide students with individual feedback on language and content after they submit their work. Thus, as a full-time English teacher of the school, I initially expected before analysis that there was richer classroom English use and increased encounter with culture from abroad, which should contribute to help students write and co-construct a new dimension of classroom practices.

Data in this and the following section is from a lesson on November 8, 2019, the second class after the October mid-term exam, and the first team-taught class. Thus, it started students working on something new. In the previous lesson, Naoto, who was one of the teachers responsible of the school trip, talked about what he enjoyed and experienced, which included a description of his visit to a museum about a large summer festival in Tohoku. After Naoto shared his example, students shared their own experiences in pairs and further reflected on their trip. Then, this class proceeded to the pre-writing activity in which Paul was preparing students to respond to a writing prompt, “A picture that moved my heart”, for which students would use a photo taken during a recent school trip⁷. Any picture was acceptable, as long as students captured enough detail (e.g., people, landscape, food) to a) write an essay that included a description of the picture and b) give a speech that could interest the listeners while using the picture as a backdrop. Both essay and speech were included in the end-of-term mark.

Paul did not join the school trip, but was responsible for co-teaching subsequent lessons. Here, Paul start to describe the requirements for the essay and speech. He begins by asking students to take out their picture, which Naoto had asked students to bring so that students could brainstorm ideas:

Excerpt 3

- 1 Paul: Hello, hello. OK. So, everybody, today, we are going
2 to start a new topic. We finished your 中間 (mid-
3 term) test, we finished your, はい (attention), your

⁷ The trip was to Tohoku, in the northeast region in the mainland of Japan, and lasted five days to provide students with rich opportunities to experience the nature and culture of the Tohoku region. The school describes this trip as one of the highlights of junior high school.

4 speech, your, you know, we are talking about
 5 Tottori⁸, or
 6 S1: Yamagata.
 7 S2: Fukuoka.
 8 S3: Tokyo.
 9 S4: Wakayama.
 10 Paul: We are moving on to something new. We are not,
 11 maybe, I don't know if you are talking about
 12 Yamagata, but we will talk about Tohoku. Because,
 13 maybe a few weeks ago, everyone, you all went to
 14 Tohoku. You all went to Tohoku. Isn't that right,
 15 Tomo?
 16 Tomo: はい? (What?)
 17 Paul: はい? (What?)
 18 Naoto: (Smiles)
 19 Tomo: One more time please.
 20 Paul⁹: Speaking test じゃないよ。はい, you went to Tohoku,
 21 actually, I wanted to go with you. But you went to a
 22 great class trip, 修学旅行, to Tohoku. And, of
 23 course, everybody, today, has brought your
 24 wonderful, great, fantastic pictures. 出してください。

⁸ Tottori, Yamagata, Fukuoka, Tokyo and Wakayama are names of prefectures in Japan.

⁹ A duplication of this line in English is as follows: *It's not a speaking test. Attention, you went to Tohoku, actually, I wanted to go with you. But you went to a great class trip, school trip, to Tohoku. And, of course, everybody, today, has brought your wonderful, great, fantastic pictures. Please take them out.*

Paul started by referencing a descriptive essay about a Japanese prefecture, which had been assigned before the October mid-term exam. After soliciting the names of prefectures, Paul focused students on their recent trip to Tohoku. Paul calls out to Tomo, who appeared not to be listening. Tomo responded はい？ (*Hai?*), which means “What?”, and “One more time please”. Here, Paul commented “Speaking test じゃないよ。(Speaking test *jiyanai yo*)”, which means “It’s not a speaking test”. “One more time please” was a common phrase that students would use during English interview tests when they could not understand the interviewer, and was used here by Tomo as in the interview test, which kept the conversation going.

Paul returns to setting up the activity by describing the students’ pictures, using a string of evaluative English attributes (e.g., wonderful, great, fantastic) in an exaggerated manner, and elongated the initial “e” on “everyone” to emphasize everyone should have brought a picture from their school trip. This “everyone” was likely a jest as it was very common for these students to forget to bring materials to class. Although Paul looked around the classroom and said “everybody, today, has brought your wonderful, great, fantastic pictures” with his full realization of not all students doing what they had been supposed to do, the elongation softened the scolding and maintained rapport with students, and students were buzzing while taking out their pictures from their bags. Such elongation was a daily practice of the classroom and created a sense of playfulness often found in boys’ schools.

Paul’s use of Japanese, はい (*hai*), which means “attention”, is consistent with Japanese teachers’ practice. It was used by Paul twice instead to gain students’ attention in Lines 3 and 20. 出してください (*dashite kudasai*), in Line 24, which means “Please take it out”, is another routine expression by Japanese teachers when they want students to take out something from their bags or desks. The English equivalent, “Please take them out”, would have been easily understood by these third-year junior-high students, but unlike

“class trip”, Paul did not repeat the phrase in English. 修学旅行 (*shuugaku ryokou*), in Line 22, is a literal Japanese translation of “class trip”, which he stated just beforehand.

Looking at Paul’s use of Japanese in more detail, there are subtle differences in the interpersonal relations of 出してください (*dashite kudasai*) and its English equivalent, “Please take it out”, as seen in the functional analysis below:

Text 4.1

出してください。

Dashite kudasai

take out-IMP/fml

Predicator; imperative; polite

“Please take it out.”

Paul’s request to the students, “Please take it out”, was realized by 出して (*dashite*), meaning “to take out”, which is the て (*te*)-form of the verb 出す (*dasu*) and creates a request or command to others. This was followed by ください (*kudasai*), the polite form of the verb くれ (*kure*), which means “to give a favor to the speaker”. The use of the polite form, ください (*kudasai*), in this situation would make the request less commanding and show the teacher’s respect towards the students, which makes the hierarchy between the teacher and students less salient. This is opposed to when cutting out the ください (*kudasai*) from 出してください (*dashite kudasai*) and only saying 出して (*dashite*), which would make the request more commanding and show the teacher’s aspiration for control, causing the hierarchy between the teacher and students to be more explicit. As such, 出してください (*dashite kudasai*) afforded a more specific yet more subtle realization of relations between the teacher and students, for Paul was able to

command the desired action ('take it out') but simultaneously mitigate his authoritative stance.

In his interview, Paul described his use of Japanese in the classroom as follows:

[...] it seemed more appropriate considering it was a Japanese classroom in Japan and it was a time that we regularly have together. And I think, in that way I can almost go into a teacher role because they're used to hearing that from a teacher in Japanese.

Paul's clearly stated objective was to replicate what he perceived to be a daily Japanese classroom. はい (*Hai*), 修学旅行 (*shuugaku ryokou*) and 出してください (*dashite kudasai*), or just ください (*kudasai*), are routine expressions and students would have learned that English early in their studies. ください (*kudasai*) was routinely used by Naoto in class when giving directions. For example, Naoto stated 二人で共有してください (*futaride kyoyushite kudasai*)¹⁰ when he asked students to share information in pairs, or 最初のパートナーが言ったことを新しいパートナーに伝えてください (*saishono partonarga ittakotoo atarashii partonarni tsutaete kudasai*)¹¹ when he asked students to work in new pairs and tell what they talked about with their previous partner to their new partner. Such use of the polite form enabled Naoto to make his directions less commanding and mitigate his authoritative stance, which I found to have become one of the contributors that established such rapport between the teacher and students as to create a relaxing classroom atmosphere. Thus, it would not be surprising if Paul used Naoto as a model when giving directions to build rapport with students.

¹⁰ Data from a lesson on September 14, 2019.

¹¹ Data from a lesson on January 11, 2020.

However, his comment “it seemed more appropriate” shows his seeming conflict about his purpose in the classroom. Although his role was to “participate in internationalization initiatives and be involved in foreign language education” and “improve foreign language education” (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015), his use of routine phrases framed the classroom as a Japanese classroom. In other words, he was socialized by students and JTEs, or the classroom, into Japanese practices of giving directions and reproduced them despite his expected roles in a foreign language classroom.

In addition, Paul’s comment “almost go into a teacher role” suggests that he did not see himself as able or perhaps did not think of himself as a teacher, but he could “almost” become so by doing what is “appropriate” in a Japanese classroom, that is, to use Japanese that students are used to hearing. In other words, it was not conforming to his expected role as a JET-ALT but reproducing the Japanese practices of giving directions that helped him establish his role as a teacher. However, this establishment was still “almost”, which shows his uncertainty and ambiguity of his roles as a JET-ALT. Such socialization trajectory of claiming the position of the teacher through adopting the Japanese practices is not inconsistent with what Miyazato (2009) described JET-ALTs as being “powerless” in a Japanese classroom.

In Paul’s reflection on his use of Japanese and his “almost” a teacher status, it is not clear whether he was aware of these subtle differences in the interpersonal relations realized in “Please take it out” and 出してください (*dashite kudasai*). In any case, a familiar degree of hierarchy and respect consistent within a formal Japanese classroom setting was replicated. As with Eric’s use of Japanese greetings, students and Naoto neither criticized nor mocked Paul’s use of Japanese. Students what they were told to do, and Naoto observed without comment. I similarly found Paul’s use of Japanese unremarkable until I started to analyze my data.

Paul's use of Japanese also recreated dominant interpersonal relations between teachers and students in Japan. Although the directions were given from the teacher to students, as often found in a daily classroom, it was not the plain form but the formal form that Paul used, through which Paul expressed respect towards students and students accepted the respect. Thus, although it was an imperative, the formal form established bidirectional respect, which reproduced the formality realized when giving directions in a Japanese classroom. However, such formality was in contrast to what MEXT expected towards ALTs, as it precluded opportunities for creating alternative forms of social relations that are different from those commonly found in Japan.

In sum, from a pedagogical perspective, such Japanese practices appear in conflict with what *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014) or what Easthill High expected from introducing a JET-ALT into classrooms. However, from Paul's perspective, becoming an English teacher is not only about teaching the target language, but also a continuous negotiation of participation and membership in the classroom. Thus, even if MEXT (2014) or Easthill High hired JET-ALTs to socialize students into practices of using more English in the classroom, JET-ALTs are engaged in a multidirectional process in which they are socialized by students into the local culture of classroom practices. Just as 出してください (*dashite kudasai*) helped Paul achieve (from his perspective) his aim of becoming "almost" a teacher, these practices created an English classroom that was "almost" Japanese. Importantly, students' and Naoto's acceptance of Paul's language practices were crucial to the reproduction of classroom practices: they were agents in the dynamic. Had it not been accepted, Paul could not have felt becoming "almost" a teacher.

However, Paul's comments about his use of Japanese were about his aspirations to participate, and not about students' needs. In other words, he was aware of establishing space for teachers, but it was not clear if Paul was aware of opening space for students to

participate, or desirably, in the language they were learning. This had a large link to the co-constructing the language classroom, which I will describe over the following sections.

4.2.4. Reprimanding

In this section, I describe how Paul was socialized into the localized practices of reprimanding and positioned himself as a teacher with authority in the classroom. The following exchange occurred immediately following Excerpt 3, after Paul said 出してください (*dashite kudasai*). Sensing that many students did not bring their picture, a student, Kaito, said in Japanese, 何人持ってきていないか (*Nannin mottekite inaika*), which means “How many people have not brought their picture?” Paul followed by asking students without their picture to raise their hand. It happened that students who raised their hands were mostly seated on the left side of the classroom. Paul joked that they should leave the classroom and go home:

Excerpt 4¹²

- 1 Kaito: 何人持ってきていないか。
- 2 Paul: 写真はない人? ((Here, about 10 people raise their
- 3 hands)) え、何? 左側どうしたの? Left side, go home, bye-
- 4 bye. はい、あの～、ま～、ない人はplease choose, think
- 5 about it, kind of imagine in your mind, what was a
- 6 good picture.

Kaito: How many people have not brought their picture?

¹² In excerpts with many mixes of English and Japanese or only Japanese, I provided the transcript as spoken first, followed by a duplicate of the interaction in English.

Paul: *Who doesn't have a picture? ((Here, about 10 people raise their hands))*
What? What happened to the people on the left side? Left side, go home,
bye-bye. Attention, ah, uh, if you don't have it, please choose, think about
it, kind of imagine in your mind, what was a good picture.

By 何人持ってきていないか (*Nannin mottekite inaika*), Kaito appeared to be making fun of an undesirable situation, had a smile on his face, and finished his line without using the polite form but with a plain form, and used a downtone on the last clause end particle か (*ka*). In my observations, I found that relations between Paul, Naoto and students were not as rigid as in other classrooms in the school. Thus, I did not find Kaito's statements to be face-threatening or out-of-order in this specific classroom. Instead, the classroom appeared to conform not only Kaito making fun of the situation but also his use of Japanese in an English classroom.

However, even when a classroom is characterized by such degree of informality, it would not be unusual for a teacher to reprimand students through making his/her authoritative stance more explicit. Paul realized this teaching objective by stating 何? (*Nani?*) 左側どうしたの? (*Hidarigawa doushita no?*). Similar to Excerpt 3, the English equivalent of this Japanese phrase, "What? What happened to (the people on) the left side", was within these third-year junior-high students' English level of comprehension. However, Paul chose to tease/scold in Japanese, just as Japanese teachers would do in a non-English classroom, which again shows his aspirations to replicate the Japanese classroom practices. There are subtle differences between 左側どうしたの? (*Hidarigawa doushita no?*) and the English gloss, "What happened to (the people on) the left side?":

Text 4.2

左側 どうした の。

Hidarigawa doushita no.

left side how did-inf interrogative

Complement	Predicator	Negotiator
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“What happened to (the people on) the left side?”

This Japanese expression appears as a demand for information, a request for students on the left side of the classroom to explain their reasons for not bringing their picture to class. どうした (*doushita*) is a two-part verb, どう (*dou*) and した (*shita*). どう (*dou*) is an adverb meaning “how”, and した (*shita*) is a past indicative form of the verb する (*suru*), which means “to do.”. When どう (*dou*) and した (*shita*) are put together, the literal translation becomes “how did (you do)?”, which is used to mean “what happened to you?” The following clause end particle, の (*no*), is a negotiator to realize a question. However, Paul used a down-tone at the end, which suggests Paul was not posing a question. In addition, unlike Text 4.1, Paul used the informal form¹³, which, in combination with the down-tone of の (*no*), made his authoritative stance explicit and strengthened his reprimand. This is opposed to using the polite form of どうしたの? (*doushita no?*) by adding です (*desu*), a copula verb that expresses politeness, and か (*ka*), an interrogative clause final particle, and saying 左側どうしたのですか? (*Hidarigawa doushita no desuka?*), which would make his authoritative stance less salient and the hierarchy between the teacher and students less salient. As such, 左側どうした

¹³ To realize the polite form of *Doushita no*, *desu*, a copula verb that expresses politeness, and *ka*, an interrogative clause final particle, would have been added at the end, becoming *Doushita no desuka*.

の？ (*Hidarigawa doushita no?*) afforded another more specific yet more subtle realization of relations between the teacher and students, for Paul was able to reprimand the students and by simultaneously strengthening his authoritative stance.

The following provides a further window into his choice of using Japanese:

Paul: I think the reaction is different. If you say it in Japanese compared to if you say that in English.

Interviewer: What do you think would have happened if you used English?

Paul: It doesn't necessarily - it maybe seems a little less serious or a little less important.

As such, Paul judged that using Japanese would strengthen his authority, which would in turn have students respond to his reprimand more seriously than if he had used English. Adding the clause end particle, の (*no*), to an informal form, with a down-tone, was a routine linguistic practice for JTEs to strengthen their authority. For example, when Takumi in the first-year class nominated a student who raised his hand, only to find that the student could not provide any information on what he asked for, Takumi stated さっき何考えてたの？ (*Sakki nani kangaeteta no?*), which means “what were you thinking of then?”, and 何で手上げたの？ (*Nande te ageta no?*), which means “why did you raise your hand?”¹⁴. Such use of の (*no*), with a down-tone at the end, enabled Takumi to establish his authoritative stance as he immediately closed space for the student to further participate and nominated another student. Thus, it would not be surprising if Paul used Takumi as a model when reprimanding students with an authoritative stance that sounds “serious” and “important”.

¹⁴ Data from a lesson on February 28, 2020.

This links to Paul's comment I described in the previous section, "almost go into a teacher role", which showed that it was not using English but reproducing Japanese practices that helped him establish his position as a teacher in a Japanese classroom. Conversely, this suggests that students took Paul's use of English as "little less serious" or "little less important". Here, as Kaito made fun of this situation with 何人持ってきていないか (*Nannin mottekite inaika*), Paul's use of Japanese enabled him to create a contrast (from his perspective) to show he was not thinking lightly of students' forgetfulness. This is further evident from Paul's imperative after 左側どうしたの? (*Hidarigawa doushita no?*), which was "Left side, go home, bye-bye." This switch into English was made after the "serious" and "important" use of Japanese. "Left side, go home, bye-bye" was not a literal command, but Paul's return to a more joking stance. As such, although Paul used both languages to position himself as a teacher with authority as well as expressing a joking stance to students, it was Japanese that became his primary choice to sound "serious" and "important".

Although it is unclear how much Paul was aware of the strength of his statement as realized through this informal form and the down-tone of の (*no*), he created a much larger power differential than in the previous section through 左側どうしたの? (*Hidarigawa doushita no?*). From a pedagogical perspective, *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014) or Easthill High would expect Paul to reprimand through English and show students the English in dealing with "serious" and "important" matters.

From an interpersonal perspective, however, it was Japanese that enabled him to reprimand students through a "serious", "important" and authoritative stance. Data shows that Paul had been socialized into the Japanese educational context through localized language practices to use Japanese in (incidental) communication as well as reprimands.

As in the previous excerpts, students and Naoto did not comment on Paul's use of Japanese. Throughout classroom observations, such exchanges were unremarkable.

However, it was not clear to what extent students took Paul's reprimanding as "serious" or "important". In other words, whether Paul's interpersonal objective was achieved or not was not comprehensible from data. As in the previous section, Paul's comments were about whether he was sounding "serious" or "important", so it was not clear to what extent he was aware of how his language choices linked to student participation or students' use of English. Although Paul was socialized into localized practices of reprimanding, there seemed to be few participants in the classroom who were aware of the classroom practices realized as a consequence. This is against expectations of a team-taught English class, which includes introduction of new forms of language practice and culture into the language classroom.

4.2.5. Being a starter

In this section, I describe how Paul was socialized into the practices of becoming a starter of classroom activities, through shifting his register and having students respond in a way the shift expected. The following excerpt comes from the latter part of the third-year class on the same day as Excerpts 3 and 4. After introducing the elements and expectations for the upcoming "A picture that moved my heart" essay/speech, Paul modelled a speech to provide students with expectations. Before that, he put a picture of Matsushima¹⁵ on the projector:

¹⁵ A group of islands (*shima*) on the east coast of the Tohoku region, which is covered in pines (*matsu*). It is widely known as one of the Three Great Views of Japan.

Excerpt 5

1 Paul: So, we have to write and speak a lot. But, but, how,
2 what is a good kind of speech. I will show you, I
3 will show you. Everyone, please look this picture.
4 ((Puts the picture on the projector, and hits the
5 blackboard twice.)) What is this place? It is in
6 Tohoku.
7 Kaito: あ～、分かった、分かった。
8 S5: 分かった？
9 Kaito: 分かった、分かった。浄土ヶ浜！
10 Paul: 違います！
11 S6: えっ、松島！
12 Tomo: 日本海、日本海！
13 Paul: Yes, ピンポン、松島です。
14 S7: あっ、そうなの？
15 S8: それっばいね。
16 S9: 日本三大 xx。
17 Paul: So everyone, speechするよ。
18 Naoto: Shh.
19 Paul: 行くよ。All right, this is the picture that moves my
20 heart. Do you know this place? ((Continues to give
21 the example of the speech.))

Paul: So, we have to write and speak a lot. But, but, how, what is a good kind of speech? I will show you, I will show you. Everyone, please look this

picture. ((Puts the picture on the projector, and hits the blackboard.))

What is this place? It is in Tohoku.

Kaito: Ah, I got it, I got it.

S5: Got it?

Kaito: I got it, I got it. Jodogahama¹⁶!

Paul: No, it's not.

S6: Ah, Matsushima!

Tomo: Sea of Japan¹⁷, Sea of Japan!

Paul: Yes, that's right. It's Matsushima.

S7: Oh, is it really?

S8: It looks like it.

S9: The Three xx of Japan¹⁸.

Paul: So, everyone, I'm going to give a speech.

Naoto: Shh.

Paul: I'm going to start. All right, this is the picture that moves my heart. Do you know this place? ((Continues to give the example of the speech.))

Paul allowed students to respond freely to his question without being nominated. Contrary to a “traditional” quiet Japanese classroom where only nominated students can talk, students appeared to be excited to find and answer his question, and quickly participated in exchange. A quick series of guesses followed, with Paul confirming that it was Matsushima. Then, he closed the conversational space and went on to his model speech.

¹⁶ A beach of scenic beauty located on the east coast of the Tohoku region.

¹⁷ The marginal sea between Japan, Korea and the Russian Far East.

¹⁸ I assume that S9 was referring to “the Three Great Views of Japan”.

These students' excitement was shown in their word choice. Kaito used the verb 分かる (*wakaru*) in its plain past form, 分かった (*wakatta*), which means "I got it", to show that he had an idea of where it was showing. All three students shouted out the names of places without a rising tone or the formal form. Had it been a formal exchange, students would have said 分かりました (*wakarimashita*), the formal past form, or added ですか (*desuka*) to the name of places, such as 浄土ヶ浜ですか (*Jodogahama desuka*).

To respond that Kaito was wrong, Paul said 違います (*chigaimasu*), the formal form of 違う (*chigau*), which means "wrong". It is not clear why Paul decided to use the polite form 違います (*chigaimasu*) after Kaito's plain form, but 違います (*chigaimasu*) is what is also often used in quiz shows to politely signal that one gave a wrong answer¹⁹. To respond that S6 was correct, Paul said ピンポン (*pinpon*), which is an onomatopoeia of the sound effect also often used in Japanese quiz shows when one gives a correct answer. Thus, through 違います (*chigaimasu*) and ピンポン (*pinpon*), Paul appeared to be reproducing the practices not of a Japanese classroom but a Japanese quiz show. In contrast to the previous section of reprimanding, in which he enacted a large power difference between himself and students, this exchange was playful. Students participated informally and freely without being nominated, which increased space for contributions.

After this *quiz* section, Paul said "So everyone, speech するよ (*suru yo*)", which means "I'm going to give a speech", and "行くよ (*iku yo*)", which means "I'm going to start". The functional analysis of these phrases are as follows:

¹⁹ The onomatopoeia that signals the wrong answer is ブー (*boo*), which is like a buzzer on quiz shows.

Text 4.3

Speech	する	よ。
<i>Speech</i>	<i>suru</i>	<i>yo.</i>
Speech	do-inf	emphasis
Complement	Predicator	Negotiator

“I’m going to give a speech.”

Test 4.4

行く	よ。
<i>iku</i>	<i>yo.</i>
go-inf	emphasis
Predicator	Negotiator

“I’m going to start.”

行く (*iku*) literally means “to go”, but by adding よ (*yo*) at the end and becoming 行くよ (*iku yo*), it turns into a phrase commonly used when one intends to start something. In terms of formality, in contrast to 違います (*chigaimasu*), Paul used the plain form するよ (*suru yo*) and 行くよ (*iku yo*) to address that he would start his model speech. Had he intended to continue reproducing the practices of a Japanese quiz show, he must have continued to use the formal form, which is しますよ (*shimasu yo*) and 行きますよ (*ikimasu yo*). On the other hand, it is a common practice for Japanese teachers, including Naoto, to say 行くよ (*iku yo*) when they are to signal that they are to start something. For example, when Naoto directed students to talk in pairs, he stated “First speaker, 1 minute! Oh, and listener, ask your partner one question! 行くよ (*iku yo*), ready,

go!²⁰” to signal the start of pair work, or when he directed students to do rock paper scissors (*jyanken* in Japanese) with their partner to decide the first person to speak about their school trip, he stated “Now, talk to your partner about your school trip. OK? OK? はい (*hai*)、じゃあじゃんけんして (*jya jyanken shite*)。Do *jyanken*? 行くよ (*iku yo*)。 ”²¹ This enabled Naoto to position himself as a teacher becoming a starter of classroom activities, and it is not surprising to see Paul use Naoto as a model to also establish his role as a starter.

Thus, this switch to the plain form signals the end of the *quiz* section and his role as a quizmaster, and the return to his role as a teacher. As always, it was not clear if Paul was aware of these subtle differences between するよ (*suru yo*) and しますよ (*shimasu yo*), or 行くよ (*iku yo*) and 行きますよ (*ikimasu yo*), or if students were consciously aware of this change of formality, but students responded to the shift in register in a way that suggested they were no longer responding freely. Naoto responded to the shift as well, using the exclamation “shh” to tell students to be quiet and listen to Paul’s model speech.

As in the previous sections, Paul’s language practices appeared to be accepted as a natural part of the classroom practice, which was a crucial dimension of Paul’s socialization. From a pedagogical perspective, this might again be critiqued as practices against what *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014) or Easthill High would expect from a JET-ALT. He may have been hired to reproduce the practices of not Japanese quiz shows but those in English and introduce the English language used in such shows, had he intended to include such elements in class, and what language to use when starting something in class, such as “Here we go” and “Let’s start”.

²⁰ Data from a lesson on November 2, 2019.

²¹ Data from a lesson on November 2, 2019.

From an interpersonal perspective, however, Paul's language use enabled him to express shift in register and clarify entry into a subsequent section of a lesson, to which students responded as the register shift meant. At the end of this excerpt, Paul gave a roughly 90-second speech on Matsushima, and students listened quietly to the model. In sum, Paul employed the range of his repertoire in this episode. What this means for how and when translanguaging might contribute to student participation is something I will return to over this chapter to foreground the discussion in Chapter 5.

4.2.6. Guiding

The following excerpt is from the third-year class on September, 20, 2019, a different day from the previous sections. Paul started the class by handing out writing sheets to the students, regularly used to support students' writing fluency. Students brainstormed experiences or ideas from the assigned topic, always within a minimum word count and within a time limit. In contrast to work on essays/speeches, which extended over one to two months, these weekly writing sheet had different topics and were usually completed within a lesson. Although JTEs and JET-ALTs collected the writing sheets, they provided only short comments, as the emphasis was on fluency.

The topic of the day was "Which do you like better, staying at home or playing outside?". Students were to write more than 60 words in 15 minutes. Paul introduced the topic as follows:

Excerpt 6

- 1 Paul: Today's topic is "Which do you like better, staying
2 at home or playing outside"? ((Paul writes the

3 question on the blackboard.)) Which do you like
4 better, staying at home or playing outside, and why?
5 Which do you like better, staying at home or playing
6 outside, and why? For example, I like staying at
7 home. I want to be in a quiet place to study. It is
8 too noisy in a car or in another place. I want to
9 study at my home. などなど (etc.). Write at least 60
10 words, 60 words. Write, write 60 words. Please choose
11 one, staying at home, or playing outside. Not both.
12 Just one. I will give you, let's see, じゃあ (then)、3,
13 37分まで (until 3, 37 minutes past the hour²²)、はい
14 (OK)、ファイト (go for it)。Let's write.

Paul hints on what to write, such as wanting to “be in a quiet place to study” or it “is too noisy in a car or in another place” if one chose “I like staying at home”, and he instructed students to write more than 60 words in 15 minutes. While Paul talked, students whispered amongst each other about the topic, but once it was time to write, they became silent and started working.

Paul modelled writing in English, but translanguaged the time limits and encouragement. じゃあ (*jyaa*) is a colloquial word meaning “then”, and はい (*hai*), in this case, means “OK”, and the 15-minute time limit was communicated using the Japanese way of expressing time. Thus, Paul continues to use Japanese to regulate behavior. But he also uses it to encourage. The last Japanese was ファイト (*faito*), which comes from the English word, *fight*. The loanword does not literally suggest fighting with

²² It is not unnatural in Japanese to omit the hour when telling the time.

someone, but is widely used as a chant to rally people facing challenges (particularly in sports). It can also be understood as encouraging people to do their best, “Go for it” or “Don’t give up”. In this case, using ファイト (*faito*) would suggest was encouraging students as they started to work on the 15-minute writing task.

However, I, as a native speaker of Japanese, find it unnatural to use ファイト (*faito*) in this situation. In the context of learning, I might use ファイト (*faito*) to address students taking high-stakes tests such as entrance, term or proficiency exams, or those working on assignments that require hard work for an extended period of time. But a 15-minute, 60-word writing task is not a context I consider sufficiently challenging to be worth using ファイト (*faito*). Perhaps Paul did and might use ファイト (*faito*) to encourage students, but it is equally possible that he was unaware of the contextual incongruity, perhaps attempting a little joke by exaggerating the activity’s difficulty.

In any case, there was hardly any reaction from students to Paul’s ファイト (*faito*), as they quickly went to work on the writing task. From a pedagogical perspective, *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014) or Easthill High would have expected Paul to use the English equivalent of ファイト (*faito*) as it would be comprehensible for students. From an interpersonal perspective, Paul used Japanese and cheered up students, even though it is unclear how much of the encouragement was transmitted to students.

However, what stands out is that no one pointed out Paul’s less contextually sensitive use of ファイト (*faito*), which could have been a genuine opportunity for exploring intercultural communication, what Japanese expressions might be used when cheering up students in such context, or what is a more congruent context for using ファイト (*faito*) might be. Students might have considered it difficult to correct a teacher’s language use, or they might have chosen to focus on their immediate writing activity. But Naoto might have commented, then or later. There is no indication he did.

In a team-taught classroom, it is often the case that the ALT extends core language and corrects related mistakes. However, language learning is a multidirectional process. How can students use their expert knowledge of the first language and its culture and bring something in return, that is, helping the ALT learn and socialize into the practices of the local culture? Do such opportunities create opportunities for students to lead and co-construct genuine exchange with experts, which extends possibilities for engaging in the additional language? I will provide a discussion on these questions in Chapter 5.

4.2.7. Summary

This section illustrated how the familiar routines of Japanese practices were reproduced in the English language classrooms. In “General English” class, where JET-ALTs visited once a week, and the expectations that they would take students beyond “mechanical” English and create opportunities for English use, the rituals and routines of Japanese classrooms were largely maintained. Although the JET-ALT, Eric, was less proficient in Japanese, he nevertheless attempted to connect with students through common Japanese practices of greetings. In turn, his use of Japanese went unremarked by teachers and students alike, despite the apparent conflicts with MEXT educational initiatives or Easthill High expectations. Together, JTEs, students and JET-ALTs reproduced the local Japanese culture.

In the third-year junior-high “English Communicative Sessions” class, a writing class unique to Easthill High, Paul, the other JET-ALT, was fluent in Japanese and often translanguaged using English and Japanese in class. The space Naoto created for Paul to lead and support students’ work also evolved into space in which familiar practices were replicated. In order to be “more appropriate” and “almost go into a teacher role”, Paul gave directions in Japanese that simultaneously realized subtle positionings of teacher and students, maintaining a familiar degree of hierarchy and respect. In order to sound

“serious” and “important”, he reprimanded in Japanese, widening the imbalance with students. Whether Paul was aware of the more subtle shifts, he nevertheless contributed to his and the students’ socialization, just as Naoto’s unmarked participation was equally important to the reproduction of recognizably Japanese classroom.

In addition, after Paul drew upon the Japanese language that led students to participate informally and freely, he used Japanese to express shift in register to show his role as a teacher and become a starter of the subsequent classroom activities, to which students reacted just as the register suggested and listened quietly to the teacher. He also used Japanese to express time limits and encouragement to guide students. However, though it included less contextually sensitive use of the language, it was not pointed out by students in what could have been a genuine opportunity for exploring intercultural communication.

Such reproduction of familiar routines of a Japanese classroom does not match with expectations towards team-taught English classes and JET-ALTs to be “different” and transmitting foreign culture to students. Eric and Paul might be critiqued from a pedagogical perspective that opportunities for students to encounter foreign cultures or listen to and communicate through English these students were deprived.

From an interpersonal perspective, contrary to those expectations, Eric and Paul’s awareness of using Japanese or reproducing familiar Japanese routines to facilitate their orientation to their roles and their aspirations for belonging dominated in the Japanese classroom. Language classroom practices include more than teaching the target language. Thus, to realize ALTs’ potential contributions as expected by governmental policies and educational institutions, more focus is necessary on the reasons behind their choices of using Japanese or reproducing such routines to create interpersonal relationships in where they are situated. However, the relations and positions realized through such use and reproduction are subtle and are relatively invisible to notice, as it was in my case because it

was through analysis that enabled me to see how the ALTs' agency was realized through Japanese and familiar Japanese familiar routines. Thus, initial teacher training and on-going professional development could better support ALTs and team-teaching by incorporating programs that shed light on such relatively invisible realization of agency.

Nevertheless, it was not clear how ALTs' use of Japanese or reproduction of familiar Japanese routines contributed to the multidirectional evolution of their teaching context and increases opportunities for exploring intercultural communication. Although it is often the case that ALTs' expert knowledge of the language being taught helps students' learning of the additional language, it is also possible that students' expert knowledge of the local language and culture can help ALTs socialize into the local culture. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3 Talk for learning (first-year class)

4.3.1 Introduction

This section describes how Takumi, Eric, Paul and students co-constructed dialogue that shaped their positions and classroom practices in the first-year "General English" class. When I asked Takumi to reflect on the first-year class, he answered as follows:

文法を気を付けてやらせたいなっていうのは、特にこの学年を教えるときは強く意識してやっていたと思う。

[When I was teaching this year group, I especially and strongly thought that I wanted students to be careful of grammar.]

I did not find it unnatural to hear Takumi's such high aspirations for having students focus on grammar, which strongly led to the shaping of his position and practices in the classroom (as I will describe throughout this section), as the textbook for first grade students followed a grammar syllabus, and term exams largely consisted of grammar and vocabulary questions. As I described in Section 4.2.2, when Takumi led classes, they were mostly teacher-centered and consisted of introducing and developing new grammatical features and vocabulary. Use of Japanese was common, and classroom practices mirrored those for other subject areas.

But with MEXT educational initiatives in mind, such classroom practices are not preferred. As I described in Section 2.4.1, English classes are to be conducted in English, students are to build upon what they learned in elementary school, and activities should address not only grammatical features and vocabulary but their use in engaging with familiar topics, exchanging simple information and introducing familiar matters (MEXT, 2014a). In addition, as I described in Section 2.4.3, teachers are to introduce "proactive, interactive and deep learning", which requires departing from the practice of teacher-dominant lectures and engaging students to using their knowledge to think, make judgements and extend their abilities, such as through opinion exchanges and debates.

This gap between Takumi's priorities and what MEXT proposes contribute to the context in which JETs, ALTs and students went about the work of teaching and learning English. In this section, I will describe Takumi, Eric, Paul and students' participation in the language practices of this first-year English class. Through this analysis, I will tease out how students gained and/or were restricted on their opportunities for learning of the additional language. This will support a discussion of the implementation of MEXT policy initiatives later in the thesis.

The data in Section 4.3.2 is taken from a class in October taught by Takumi and examines practices of reviewing. Sections 4.3.3 to 4.3.5 are classes team-taught by Takumi

and Eric and examine the practices associated with modelling, explaining, and open-ended discussions.

4.3.2 Reviewing

Most classes I observed began with reviewing. Students were to raise their hands, and when nominated, answer appropriately. English was the primary language during this section of the lesson and Takumi used grammar and vocabulary recently covered in class. Students appeared familiar with these expectations, and mostly answered using the recently covered grammar and vocabulary, usually in full sentences. Thus, students responded in English when asked questions in English, almost always using more than one or two English words. As Takumi usually asked questions related to students' daily lives, often involving school or family settings, I initially considered this review a key opportunity for students to go beyond "mechanical" drills of grammar and vocabulary and extend their language use to somewhat genuine exchanges.

The following excerpt comes from the beginning of a class on October 4, 2019, in the second month of the second term. Students were studying the interrogatives "How many ...?" "Do you often ...?", and Takumi used *pets* as a topic for the review. He asked students whether they had a pet (e.g., Who has a dog?), how many of them they had (e.g., How many dogs do you have?), and whether they often took the pet to the park (e.g., Do you often take the dog to the park?).

A student, Maeda, raised his hand:

Excerpt 7

- 1 Takumi: Who has a dog? Raise your hand. Who has a dog? Mr.
- 2 Maeda, how many dogs do you have?

- 3 Maeda: I have one.
- 4 Takumi: You have one dog. OK. Do you often take the dog to
- 5 the park?
- 6 Maeda: No.
- 7 Takumi: Oh, no you don't. Who else has a dog?

The sequence follows the common IRF (initiation-response-feedback) pattern in which a teacher initiates the language target (e.g., How many dogs do you have?), the student responds (e.g., I have one), and the teacher provides feedback (e.g., You have one dog. OK.). As a short conversation in the beginning of the lesson, it functioned as a warm-up and reminded students of the grammatical features and vocabulary recently covered. From an interpersonal perspective, as is always the case, the IRF pattern puts the teacher in a position of control and limits the range of students' responses. Takumi was the one who had the power to decide which student would participate in exchange and how they would do so. In other words, this practice of reviewing reinforced Takumi's authority. Unnominated students remained quiet throughout this segment of class, their only option being to respond to Takumi's demand for information ("Who has a dog?") from students and commands for action ("Raise your hand.") towards students²³. They had to respond in ways that met Takumi's approval (e.g., respond positively to "Do you often take the dog to the part?"), or would be replaced by other students, as Maeda's turn was terminated when he answered that he did not often take the dog to the park. The IRE in this context functioned to restrict students' turns to speak and limited the development of a genuine context for language use.

²³ As a nature of the IRF pattern, students also had options of deciding not to participate, or intentionally saying what is not real to conform to the teacher's expectations.

Further, students had little space to expand the dialogue, as Takumi's interrogatives were developed without an open stance towards them. Although students' responses went beyond "mechanical" drillings of grammar and vocabulary on topics unrelated to their daily lives, Takumi's closed stance prevented them from providing further descriptions or sharing their interpersonal relationships with their real-life pets. In Maeda's case, Takumi could have asked simple questions which students could elaborate upon their answers (e.g., "What is your dog's name?", "How old are they?"), or more difficult questions such as "Where do you walk your dog?" and "Who often takes the dog to the park?". Through such questions, Maeda's participation could have been extended into a more genuine exchange. However, no such space was created. When I asked Takumi about his practices, he answered that he preferred to keep students under his control, as he described in the following interview excerpt:

あんまり多分、自分はそういうインタラクションはしないですね。恐らく悪い言い方をすると、自分のコントロールできる範ちゅうでインタラクションを収めたいっていうのが、あんまりよろしくないことかもしれないですけど、あるんだと思います。表現を変えると、あまり内容のほうに走ってしまうと、彼らが言えないこと、彼らの言語材料では言えないことに絶対、ぶち当たってしまって、日本語に走ったりとか、沈黙になっちゃったりとかっていうふうに多分、授業のリズムが崩れるっていうことを嫌ってるんだらうなっていうのは思いますね。それは多分、自分にもう染み付いたものがあるんでしょうね。

[I probably do not lead such kind of interaction²⁴. If I say it in a bad way, I think I want to construct the interaction within my control, although it may not be something good. In other words, if I start focusing on content, students will definitely face the problem of having to say something which is beyond their linguistic proficiency, and end up depending on Japanese or becoming silent. I think I hate to break the rhythm of the lesson, which is what I learned to become through experience.]

Takumi “hate[d]” to break the flow of the lesson”, which he learned “through experience”. His words evidence his (language) socialization into the practices of language teaching, and the beliefs that students will “face the problem” when being required to do more than their proficiency allows. He offers no evidence to support this nor does he consider (nor do I probe) what other reasons might have for “being silent”. But he states the “problem” would “definitely” arise, expressing a strong degree of certainty towards the possibility of the problem to happen, though it was not clear what kind of experience it was, that led him to “hate to break the flow” of class.

Takumi’s socialization into such practices created and reinforced his position of control as a teacher. His control over the classroom and over students to have them respond within ways that met his approval limited the multidirectional evolution of the classroom, as classroom practices were established to maintain the flow and not to expand space for student participation. He further explained:

1 人の生徒が 30 秒とか 1 分、黙ってしまうっていう、そういうもったいない時間の使い方をしたくない。

²⁴ “Such” refers to asking follow-up questions such as “*Why?*” and “*How?*”.

[I don't want to use time in a wasteful way in which a student is silent for 30 seconds or a minute.]

He clearly states that silence of 30 seconds or a minute is “wasteful way” of using time, which further describes his negative beliefs towards “break[ing] the flow” and losing control of class. He additionally stated:

きょうはもう 50 分フルに使って、どれだけ広がってもいいからやろうっていうときは多分、そうするし、でも多分、往々にしてそういう授業はなかなかないと思うから、進度とかいろんなところで。

[If I decide to use all 50 minutes and try to extend what they are saying, I will do so. But considering what needs to be covered, that is rarely the case.]

Again, control is paramount in Takumi's response. If the choice to use the whole lesson to have students “extend what they are saying” had been his, he explained that he would have “do[ne] so”. However, priority was given to “what need[ed] to be covered” over providing students with the time necessary to make expansive contributions to dialogue, which shows that it was “rare” for him to be able to make such choice. Thus, control is not only to be associated with Takumi's personal belief but also with contextual factors and demands to cover the whole curriculum. Importantly, as in the first interview transcript of this section (see page 136), he admitted that his priority to keep students under control “may not be something good”, which he later came back to and said:

そう言いながらも、想定を超えたレスポンスが来たときがやっぱり一番楽しいかなとも思いますね、あらためて。

[However, I also think that I find it most enjoyable when students give a response that is beyond my expectations.]

When Takumi described his beliefs as “may not be something good”, I was not able to make it clear his awareness towards the governmental and local school objectives towards team-teaching and JET-ALTs. However, the superlative was used to highlight his high degree of enjoyment in listening to students saying something “beyond his expectations”, or beyond his control, which explains the conflicts and tensions between his aspirations towards creating a “most enjoyable” classroom and his objectives of controlling the classroom.

In sum, the language classroom was co-constructed to have Takumi and students become the “controller” and the “controlled” as in other subject areas, but there is a continuing divergence between the practices developing in the classroom and the MEXT educational initiatives, the nationally proposed educational practice of “proactive, interactive and deep learning” and the school objectives of this “General English” class at Easthill High, which stated that students would learn basic communication skills through learning to “a) introduce oneself and classmates, b) express daily things and c) read and listen to easy English”. As a full-time teacher at Easthill High, I found these objectives to be a cornerstone to prepare students in their early years of studying English to the practices of “proactive, interactive and deep learning” in their future studies. However, Takumi was socialized into a position to control the classroom, which in turn socialized students into positions with restricted opportunities to make contributions to dialogue and lead to “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. As such, the traditional teacher-centered Japanese classroom was reproduced.

Nevertheless, such practices were not consistent with Takumi's aspirations of creating a "most enjoyable" classroom, to have students say something beyond his control. Reasons for control included not only personal beliefs but also contextual factors and demands to cover the whole curriculum. Then, how can governmental initiatives, teacher training and on-going professional development focus on such factors and demands and support teachers transform their beliefs to transform existing practices? I will provide a discussion on this in further chapters.

4.3.3 Modelling

In this section, I will analyze how Takumi and Eric co-constructed modelling through teacher talk and how it led to students' positions in the classroom. Takumi's classroom practices changed when he team-taught with Eric. As described in Section 4.2.2, these lessons were designed to increase classroom English use, and materials originally created by teachers were used to provide students with opportunities to practice speaking "genuine" English, rather than "mechanical" English to practice grammar. Teacher-talk provided students with a model, sometimes of an "authentic" conversation, sometimes of a textbook dialogue, and sometimes of a pair or group activity. Students seemed to be well-aware of the objectives of this team-taught class, as they not only listened to teachers' English but were also speaking more English than the other solo-taught classes by Takumi.

The following excerpt comes from a lesson on January 10, 2020, in the beginning of the third term. It was the second English class after the winter break, and the first team-taught class of the term. In the latter half of the previous term, a key grammatical objective was learning to form and use past simple verbs. In the beginning of this lesson, Takumi and Eric used winter vacation as a topic to review past simple verbs and randomly selected students to ask students what they had done during the holidays. Through these questions, students were able to review these past simple verbs by listening to questions formed with

those verbs and making responses. After this reviewing section, Eric shared his experiences with the class, which led to the following exchange with Takumi:

Excerpt 8A

- 1 Eric: Oh, I did something. I did something.
- 2 Takumi: Did you do your homework?
- 3 Eric: Yeah, not my homework. While I was in America,
- 4 Takumi: Hey.
- 5 Eric: While I was in America, in my hometown, there was a
- 6 new amazing go-kart race.
- 7 S10: Oh. 箱根駅伝的な (Like the Hakone Road Relay²⁵) ?
- 8 Eric: So, it was like a big one. And maybe, it had like
- 9 an 800-meter track with, like, big loops and turns.
- 10 And they had a, like a tournament race.
- 11 Participants.
- 12 Takumi: Wait, wait. Ah, who, who participates? So, like
- 13 normal people?
- 14 Eric: Normal people.
- 15 Takumi: Or professional?
- 16 Eric: Normal people. Yeah.
- 17 Takumi: Normal people. Did you?
- 18 Eric: I did, yes.
- 19 Takumi: You did?

²⁵ The Hakone Road Relay is a university relay marathon race between Tokyo and Hakone, held on January 2nd and 3rd.

20 Eric: Yeah. So, so, me and my friends wanted to go.

21 Takumi: OK.

The interaction between Takumi and Eric had a high level of interactivity and spontaneity, which constructed and was constructed through reduced social distance, and it created opportunities for Takumi and Eric to make elaborations. Such JTE-ALT exchange is considerably distinct from that of JTE-students as in Excerpt 7 during reviewing, where the IRF pattern reinforced Takumi's power to control the conversation and limited student participation with opportunities only to listen to pre-planned questions of set phrases and make short answers. Takumi's English included phrases that lacked the mood element (e.g., "So, like normal people?" from Line 12, and "Did you?" from Line 17), and had more colloquial language (e.g., Oh, Yeah, OK, Ah), which describes the spontaneity of the interaction. Such language use was opposed to the language of reviewing in Excerpt 7, as his English did not lack the mood element (e.g., "How many dogs do you have?"). What came as a confirmation to a student's response, "I have one", was not an incomplete sentence, such as "Oh, one", but a full sentence, "You have one dog", which is typical in a language class where the teacher repeats the key phrases.

While observing, I, as an English teacher in Japan, initially thought that teachers and students were shaping a new dimension of practices that included rich English exchange of JTE-students and ALT- students. Excerpt 8A continued as follows:

Excerpt 8B

1 Eric: And on that day, there was a tournament race.

2 Takumi: Ah.

3 Eric: Kind of like Mario Kart, like real Mario Kart.

4 Takumi: Real Mario Kart. I want to try it.

5 Eric: Yeah. And

6 S11: じゃあかめと甲羅が (The turtle and shell) 。

7 Eric: And I got second place.

8 Takumi: え (Really)? Are you serious?

9 Eric: Yeah.

10 Takumi: Like how many? How many? How many?

11 Eric: There were 20 people. 20 people.

12 Takumi: 20 people's tournament, and you were the second.

13 Eric: Second.

14 Takumi: 2位 (Second place)。

15 ((Takumi and students clap their hands.))

16 Eric: No, I was so sad.

17 S12: Real Mario Kart.

18 Takumi: Who, who was the champion?

19 Eric: My friend.

20 ((Takumi and students burst out laughing.))

21 Takumi: Ah, your friend. That's kind of sad.

22 Eric: But it was really, really fun. Really fun.

23 Takumi: Ah, interesting.

As students got excited and joined Takumi clapping hands after hearing that Eric was second place (Line 15), and burst out laughing when finding that the winner was Eric's friend (Line 20), it appeared that students were enjoying participating in this exchange. Through analysis, however, I found that the conversation turns were mostly dominated by

Takumi and Eric, and that students had little space to go beyond non-verbal reactions to participate, much less through the language they were learning. In the excerpts, there are no more than two students who verbally participated: S10 in Excerpt 8A, who said “Oh. 箱根駅伝的な” (Line 7), meaning “Like the Hakone Road Relay?”, in reaction to Eric’s description that he participated in a go-kart race in his hometown, and S11 in Excerpt 8B, who said “じゃあかめと甲羅が” (Line 6), meaning “The turtle and shell²⁶”, in reaction to Eric’s description of the race as a real Mario Kart race. Further, those students were ignored, as their contribution was not incorporated in the JTE-ALT exchange. As such, although one responsibility of JET-ALTs is to increase opportunities for classroom English use (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015), it was not the students’ but the teachers’ use of English that increased in this exchange. That is, although students’ opportunities to become part of the spontaneous development during this exchange increased, the teachers’ power to control the exchange was again reproduced and student participation was restricted to non-verbal reactions and a little Japanese. Takumi described working with JET-ALTs in the language classroom as follows:

あんまりいい答えじゃないと思うんですけど、楽しくとか、生徒が英語を使えたっていう達成感とかっていう、よくありそうな答えは、自分の中ではどっちかっていうと弱くて、多分、そういうふうにおっしゃる先生もいっぱいいると思うし、オーセンティック²⁷なコミュニケーションとか、いろいろ言うと思うんだけど、それよりはどちらかというと、さっき言ったような自然なインプット²⁸を与えたいとかっていうほうが、自分の意識的にはウエートが大きかったんじゃないかなって。やりとりを見せる。イン

²⁶ The phrase, “The turtle and shell”, comes from the “Koopa Troopa”, a character in the Mario media franchise that look like turtles.

²⁷ This is a loanword of the English “authentic” in Japanese.

²⁸ This is a loanword of the English “input” in Japanese.

プットを見せる。そういうことなのでしょうね。ある意味ではオーセンティックマテリアル²⁹というか、そういうものとしての位置付けなんじゃないかな。

[Maybe it's not a good answer, but I do not have much a stereotypical answer of having students enjoy the lesson or feel a sense of accomplishment from being able to use English (through team-teaching). I think that many teachers would say so, or say something like authentic communication, but I would rather prefer to provide students with natural input. Show students interaction. Show students input. That is what I largely had in my mind. In one sense, I place team-teaching as authentic material.]

Excerpt 8 shows a high degree of interactivity, which matches Takumi's objective to provide students with "natural input" as "authentic material" in team-taught classes. However, his clearly stated objective was to "show" students how to do "interaction" and "show" students English "input" and that team-teaching was "authentic material", which describes his belief that team-teaching was not to have students participate in interaction and that JTE-ALT exchange was not for "authentic" communication that involves students to have them "feel a sense of accomplishment" for using the target language.

Such objective of Takumi's was in contrast to what Eric considered to be his role, as he described in the following interview transcript:

So, as far as my role I think my main purpose in that class was to be a support for the main JTE and I think I was there in order to kind of a second voice or helping

²⁹ This is a loanword of the English "authentic material" in Japanese.

hand to the students in order to show them examples or talk with them to get them thinking more critically about the subjects that we covered and I think I was used in that way.

As Eric described, “examples” of an interactive and spontaneous exchange with the “main JTE”, Takumi, were shown to students. However, in contrast to Eric’s expectation towards his role, his exchange was not “with them (students)” but with the JTE. Takumi’s expectations towards students were to have them listen to the exchange, which prevented Eric from opportunities to “talk with them (students)” or have them think “more critically” about the topics covered in class. Spontaneously, exchanges would have been challenging for the first-year students, but providing time for pair or group work to draft questions to ask Eric would have widened the space for their participation while simultaneously targeting the grammatical focus.

Nevertheless, Eric’s awareness was that he “was used in that way”, or that he was not only providing students with models but also talking with them to have them think “more critically” on a given topic, which is opposed to what analysis shows. It is not clear whether he was aware of this gap between his descriptions and classroom practice. However, his description of himself during the interview as “a support of the main JTE” and that he “was used”, in a passive voice, suggests his awareness of his supplementary role in the classroom. His role was not a main teacher but an “assistant” teacher, and it was Takumi who had the power to make choices that impact the structuring of classroom interaction and also “use” Eric to achieve his objectives, which made the hierarchy between Eric and Takumi salient. During observations, I rarely found Eric making requests to JTEs, as he was mostly responding to what JTEs wanted from him. As I described in the previous section, Takumi clearly stated that his teaching experience was one of the contributors that led him to become the “controller” of the classroom, which must have

been one of the contributors that led to his statement of “show[ing]” interaction and input to students instead of extending space for student participation. Thus, no matter what aspirations Eric had, it is highly likely that he had to become socialized into practices that were consistent with Takumi’s teaching practices in negotiating membership in the classroom, which in turn further socialized students into positions with limited power to make contributions during exchange.

As in the previous section, where he admitted that his preference to keep students under control “may not be something good”, Takumi acknowledged during the interview that providing students with natural input was “maybe” “not a good answer” when describing his objectives in working with JET-ALTs in the language classroom. On the other hand, when I asked Takumi what he thought went well or what he thought about working with JET-ALTs, he responded as follows:

一番は話し相手がいるっていうところが、いてくれて助かったっていうのはある。中1だけじゃなくて、いろんな授業で、彼らがいなかったらこの発言は、自分はできてないっていう思いが一番、多かったと思います。

[The best was that I had someone to talk with, their presence was helpful. This is not only about first-year junior high school lessons, but also other grades. Without them, I think there were many things I wouldn't have been able to say.]

For Takumi, JET-ALTs were people whom he could “talk with in class”. During Excerpt 8A and 8B, Takumi and Eric’s exchange was not restricted to set phrases for drilling, and was not just interactive and spontaneous, but was extended to a genuine talk, which can be seen through the language they used. There was a joke (Takumi’s “Did you do your homework?” to Eric), language to describe evaluation (Eric’s description of the

go-kart race to be “new” and “amazing”), graduation language to modify evaluation (Eric’s “like a big one”, “Kind of like Mario Kart” in evaluating the race and Takumi’s “kind of sad” of the results), language to explain willingness (Takumi’s “want to try it” to express his willingness to participate in the race), language to express surprise (Takumi’s “え (Really?)? Are you serious?”), and language to express appreciation (Eric’s description of the race to be “fun” and Takumi’s description of Eric’s story to be “interesting”). These show that although Takumi and Eric’s positions were distinct as a main teacher and an assistant teacher, a number of interpersonal resources were used that positioned Eric as “someone to talk with” for Takumi. This created space to co-construct genuine exchange.

On the other hand, Takumi’s response implies that students were not positioned as “someone to talk with”, or as participants to create genuine exchange. Additionally, it implies that there were “many things” that were not able to be talked about with students. Takumi and Eric’s genuine exchange positioned students with little space for participation, which made the hierarchy between the teachers and students more salient. Further, Eric’s position as an assistant prevented him from making choices to transform such student participation. As a result, teachers and students were still co-constructing positions that reproduced the cultural norms of the Japanese classroom: conversation dominated by teachers with little space for student participation.

As such, my initial impression of a classroom in which students, the JTE, and the JET-ALT all appeared to make expansive contributions turned out to be dominated by the JTE and the JET-ALT. Their position to control the classroom was salient in providing students with “input” but not with opportunities for language use. This shows a potential of analyzing classroom language use that explains how teachers and students position themselves and co-construct classroom practices, and using the analysis in the discussion of transforming (or maintaining) such positions and practices. I will discuss this further in Chapter 5.

4.3.4 Giving instructions

Classroom practices in team-taught classes were not only modelling. As described in the previous section, original materials used in team-taught lessons were intended to provide students with opportunities to go beyond drilling and use English in genuine exchange. To introduce these activities, Takumi and the JET-ALT often combined model conversation with an explanation of the pair work or group activity. These explanations included a fair amount of English, which differed from classes solo-taught by Takumi as he frequently provided explanations in Japanese. Thus, team-taught classes demanded greater listening comprehension since students were expected to understand the directions as well as the model. This section focuses on the process of explaining activities and how that positioned Takumi, Eric and students.

The following excerpt comes from a team-taught lesson on September 20, 2019. The main grammatical focus was the form taken by third person singular simple present verbs. In this lesson, students were to work in pairs on a non-textbook material originally designed by the JET-ALTs. First, each student was to pick an animal of their own choice and draw its picture on their own sheet of paper without showing it to their partner. Next, they were to play a guessing game in pairs by asking each other questions in English to help them guess what each other drew. However, the questions were formed not by students but from teachers, as students were directed to ask the following four questions, word by word: a) “What does the animal look like”, b) “What does it eat?”, c) Where does the animal come from?” and d) “Where does the animal usually live?”. After these four questions, one had to guess what his partner drew.

To show an example of how this worked, I will provide the following modelling from Takumi and Eric. I underlined the four questions to make them salient:

Excerpt 9

- 1 Takumi: OK, so, Eric, what does the animal look like?
- 2 Eric: It is big and green.
- 3 Takumi: Big and, big and green.
- 4 Eric: Green.
- 5 Takumi: Let's guess, let's guess together. 一緒に考えて (Let's
6 think together)。Big and green, OK. What does the
7 animal eat?
- 8 Eric: It eats fish and birds. Fish and birds.
- 9 Takumi: Fish and birds? Green, fish and birds, Shrek? Where
10 does the animal come from?
- 11 Eric: It comes from Florida and the Amazon.
- 12 Takumi: I think I got it. Does the animal live in the
13 library³⁰?
- 14 Eric: Oh, yes, it does.
- 15 Takumi: Where, where does the animal usually live?
- 16 Eric: It usually lives in a river.
- 17 Takumi: In the river. OK. So, what's the answer everyone?
18 OK, say the answer.³¹
- 19 Eric: Alligator.
- 20 Takumi: Yeah, alligator.
- 21 Eric: Yes, Alligator.

³⁰ This animal is a character of the school library news.

³¹ This turn is not in line with what students should have done after this modelling. If Takumi had intended to provide a complete model, not Eric but Takumi should have been the one to answer *alligator*. I cannot explain from data why Takumi did so.

Takumi played the role of the guesser, and Eric played that of an answer. Takumi asked one question at a time, and Eric provided direct answers but with no further information. Thus, although the exchange was based on a real-life drawing of students, it was similar to drilling, as the English was kept within the guesser asking pre-determined questions and the answerer providing short answers including third person singular simple present verbs, with less for further extension.

To prepare students for this pair work, Takumi and Eric subsequently provided a detailed explanation of what to do. In the following excerpt, they described the meaning of the first question, “What does the animal look like?”, and how students could form answers and respond to it. To make it clear, I underlined the question “What does the animal look like?”:

Excerpt 10

- 1 Eric: OK, next, there are four questions. One, two, three,
2 four, four questions about your animal.
- 3 Takumi: Um.
- 4 Eric: About your animal. So the first question, what does
5 the animal look like?
- 6 Takumi: What does the animal look like? 何聞かれてる (What are
7 you being asked?) ? What does the animal look like?
- 8 S13: どの～がかわいい (Which one is cute?) ?
- 9 Takumi: 違います (That's wrong)。このlikeは好きという意味じゃなくて
10 (This like does not mean to like something)、look

11 likeでどんなふうに見えるか (*look like* means how it
12 looks)、見た目どんなですか (*what its appearance is*
13 like)、と聞かれています (*that is what is being asked*)。
14 S14: 基礎英語で言ってた (*This was on "Kiso Eigo"*³²)。
15 Takumi: *Yeah, so, what does the animal look like? For*
16 *example, how about a bear? What does the animal look*
17 *like?*
18 S15: Cute.
19 Takumi: Cute, yeah, it is cute.
20 S16: Cute?
21 S17: かわいい (*cute*)。
22 Takumi: It is cute. ((Takumi writes "It is cute." on the
23 blackboard.)) What else?
24 Eric: It is big.
25 Takumi: It is big. ((Takumi writes "It is big." on the
26 blackboard.)) It is cute and big. Yeah. If your
27 animal is a dog, maybe you can say it is small.
28 Eric: It is short.
29 Takumi: Short, yeah. How about chicken? It is small and, is
30 it tall or short?
31 S18: Short.
32 Takumi: And, uh, what color?
33 S19: White.

³² A daily radio program for English learners.

34 Takumi: White maybe. Well, my bear³³ is, what color is a
 35 bear?
 36 S20: Brown.
 37 Takumi: Brown. I see, brown. OK, it is cute and big and
 38 brown, OK. So, write your animal, what does your
 39 animal look like? What does your animal look like?
 40 Please write your answer. What does your animal look
 41 like? It is big, small, cute, pretty, beautiful,
 42 scary.

Although Eric led the explanation in English, Takumi immediately took over and translanguaged, as he frequently did in his solo-taught classes, because students had not yet learned how to use *like* as in *look like something*. After using a bear, a dog and a chicken to show students how to answer the question, Takumi presumably improvised when talking about the chicken and asked “what color?”, which was not included in the four questions. Lastly, Takumi summed up by providing adjectives “big, small, cute, pretty, beautiful, scary”, and gave students about 35 seconds to think about what their animal looked like, before proceeding to the next question, “What does it eat?”, after this excerpt.

During observations, I initially thought that students, the JTE, and the JET-ALT all made contributions during this exchange, because Takumi did not conduct a unidirectional explanation about the meaning of the question “what does the animal look like?” and how to answer it. Students appeared to be concentrating, as not only Takumi and Eric but also students were making contributions to this exchange. S13 guessed what the question meant by saying *どの～がかわいい?* (Which one is cute?) (Line 8), though it

³³ Takumi wrote a bear on the blackboard before the excerpt.

turned to be wrong. S14 stated that he had heard what such *like* meant on a daily radio program for learning English before, saying 基礎英語で言ってた (This was on “Kiso Eigo³⁴”) (Line 14). S15, S16, S17, S18, S19 and S20 gave an answer to the “What does the animal look like?” and “what color?” by providing adjectives, “cute”, “short”, “white” and “brown” (Lines 18, 20, 21, 31, 33 and 36).

However, compared to Takumi, analysis shows that Eric’s contributions to this explanation were small, as his turns were much shorter and seldom. After Eric led the explanation, his contributions were limited to providing two example answers to “What does the animal look like?”, which was “It is big” (Line 24) and “It is short” (Line 25). It was not after Eric’s but Takumi’s “What does the animal look like?” that students responded. It was Takumi that a) used the bear, the dog and the chicken to extract a variety of adjectives, b) conducted follow-ups to students’ responses and review of adjectives, and c) gave directions to students in the end of this expert.

Considering Eric’s limited Japanese proficiency, it must have been difficult for him to take part in the explanation of the question “What does the animal look like?” in Japanese. However, even when the language switched to English, it was still Takumi who had a much larger initiative, which left Eric marginalized during whole-class interaction. Takumi explained his reasons for doing so as in the following interview transcript:

それはやっぱり自分がタイムキーパー³⁵っていう感覚が強いんじゃないかな。自分がコントロール³⁶してる中でジェットに活躍してもらおうっていうところの意識は多分、強かったと思うんですね。中1じゃないと思うけ

³⁴ The name of an educational radio program for studying English.

³⁵ This is a loanword of the English “timekeeper” in Japanese.

³⁶ This is a loanword of the English “control” in Japanese.

ど、他の授業で結構、ポールに全部、丸投げしたら全く進まなくて大変なことになったっていう経験が多分、作用してるんだと思います。

[That is probably because I strongly feel that I am a timekeeper. I think I strongly had in mind that I wanted to have JET-ALTs play an active role within my control. This is because, when I asked Paul to be in charge, I have lots of experiences (but probably not first-year junior high classes) where things did not go on at all and got into deep trouble.]

As such, despite being in the English classroom to increase opportunities for students to use English, Eric's space to participate was blocked. Takumi's clear statement of strongly feeling himself to be "a timekeeper" again shows his belief of maintaining the flow of class. His explanation of ジェットに活躍してもらう (*jet ni katsuyakushite morau*), meaning "have the JET-ALT play an active role", includes the causative verb もらう (*morau*) and indicates the relationship between him and the JET-ALTs, in which Takumi has the power to decide their roles in the classroom. His clear statement of "within my control" supplements that it was not only students but also JET-ALTs that Takumi wished to control, which he further explained that came from working with Paul, where 全く進まなくて (*mattaku susumanakute*), meaning "things did not go on at all". This includes the phrase 全く (*mattaku*) and なくて (*nakute*), together meaning a blanket denial, which shows his strong negative feelings when the class goes off his plan and causes "deep trouble". He further explained:

言語材料的にギャップがあるじゃないですか。そのギャップで戸惑っちゃうとかで結構、ぐちゃぐちゃってなっちゃうところがある。

[There is a gap (between what JET-ALTs can do and students can do) in terms of language. This gap brings about confusion and often causes mess.]

His explanation of the reason behind “deep trouble” when asking JET-ALTs to take the lead was the difference in English language proficiency, which brought about “confusion” and often *ぐちゃぐちゃ* (*guchagucha*), meaning “mess”, to the classroom. Although it was not clear from the interview what or who became “confused” or a “mess”, Takumi’s use of *ぐちゃぐちゃ* (*guchagucha*), which is an onomatopoeia and expresses the meaning of “things which are essentially in order falling apart”, again describes his resistance of having JET-ALTs go beyond his control and off his plan.

Such Takumi’s beliefs blocked opportunities for student-ALT exchange, which was against what MEXT educational initiatives or Easthill High expect JET-ALTs to do, to provide students with opportunities for intercultural communication. While modelling in Excerpt 8 was largely co-constructed by Takumi and Eric, giving instructions in Excerpt 10 was largely co-constructed by Takumi and students. Takumi’s space for contribution was maintained, but Eric’s space to interact with students, much less through what he was an expert of and what he was in the classroom for, was not. What is more, restrictions created by the lesson’s design prevented Eric and students from participating in what could have been genuine opportunities for interaction. Instead of Takumi, Eric could have been the one to use his expert knowledge of English and have students answer the question, “What does the animal look like?”, give some examples of animals to extract adjectives to describe them, provide feedback to students’ responses, and give further directions to students, but this was not realized.

This section shows that being an expert in the language or culture that students are learning does not guarantee classroom participation. Then, how can JET-ALTs gain space to use their expertise and develop classroom practices as they are hired to do? How can

they go beyond being “powerless” (Miyazato, 2009) participants that are subject to local educators? I will further discuss this in Chapter 5.

4.3.5 Open-ended discussions

This section aims to describe the evolution of the relationships between Takumi, Eric and students evolved towards the end of the school year, when students are assumed to be able to make more expansive contributions to classroom interactions through English. At this point in time, the team-taught lessons increasingly included open-ended whole class discussions after pair- or group-activities. These activities correspond with *The English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization's* (MEXT, 2014a) aims to have junior-high students work on familiar topics and simple information exchanges, or the course objectives to have students “learn the basic skills to communicate with people around the world in English”. In addition, as students shared their preceding pair- or group-activity, they appeared to have more space to participate and contribute to dialogue. In this section, I will analyze Takumi, Eric and students’ interaction and provide an in-depth description of their co-construction of the classroom at the end of the school year.

The following excerpt is from a class on February 28, 2020, the second to last day before the school closed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. It was the last team-taught lesson that school year and encompassed students’ work on the modal auxiliaries “can”, “may”, “must”, and “have to”. In this class, Takumi and Eric used *school rules* as a topic to create a context for students to use “must” and “have to”. They began by having students work in pairs and think about Easthill High rules, such as “You must take notes in class” and “You mustn’t read comic books at school”. As was often the case in this class, modelling and explanation preceded the pair work, and open-ended followed. Then, students were instructed to forget these rules for a real school and imagine new rules for a dream school. There was no modelling, but students were instructed to use specific

language points. They then worked in pairs to develop new rules. This whole-class discussion followed the pair work:

Excerpt 11

- 1 Takumi: Okay. So now we are new students. Oh, Eric, this is
2 a new school. Oh.
- 3 Eric: It looks so great.
- 4 Takumi: Yes, this is a great school, but they have some
5 rules.
- 6 Eric: Oh, I don't know the rules.
- 7 Takumi: I don't know the rules either. I don't know the
8 rules. What are the rules, 知らない (I don't know),
9 please tell us.
- 10 S21: 生徒手帳見たら (Why don't you see the student's
11 handbook?) ?
12 ((Students burst out laughing.))
- 13 Takumi: You must look at the student's book (Looks at
14 students' handbook).
- 15 Eric: I don't have a book.
- 16 Takumi: You don't have. I don't have a book either. So
17 please tell us the rules. Please. Please tell us.
18 Raise your hands. Please tell us the rules. Yes. え
19 ～(Ah)、that's Easthill, right? We are talking about
20 dream school, not Easthill. Easthill student. Are

21 you Easthill student? Get away. Easthill students,
 22 get away. This is a dream school. Okay. What's the
 23 rule? Raise your hand. Tell me. Taka.
 24 Taka: We don't have to homework.
 25 Takumi: Oh, we don't have to..
 26 Taka: Homework.
 27 Takumi: 動詞は (What's the verb?) ?
 28 Taka: あ〜 (Ah)、do homework.
 29 Takumi: We don't have to do our homework. いいね (Good
 30 idea)。Okay.
 31 Taka: We play game.
 32 Eric: Oh, good rule.
 33 Takumi: Good rule. You don't have to do your homework. It's
 34 a good rule. What else? Raise your hand. What else?
 35 Please tell us.
 36 Eric: There is only one rule?
 37 Takumi: Only one rule. Only one rule in this school. Yes.
 38 S22: You must..
 39 Takumi: You must? さっき考えてたの (Were you thinking?) ? 何で
 40 手挙げたの (Why did you raise you hand?) ? You must
 41 … Back to you, あとでね (Later)。Anyone else? Yes,
 42 Mr. Asano, please tell us the rule.
 43 Asano: You can study only your favorite class.
 44 S23: Ah.
 45 S24: Oh.

46 S25: それはいい (That's nice) 。

47 Takumi: We can study only our favorite subjects.

48 Eric: Oh, great.

49 Takumi: That's a great rule. What will you study?

50 Eric: Of course, I will study English.

51 Takumi: English?

52 Eric: Yes.

53 Takumi: I will study Japanese. Yes.

54 S26: We don't have to come to school.

55 ((Students burst out laughing.))

56 Takumi: We don't have to come to school?

57 Eric: This school is great.

58 Takumi: But can we come to school? Is it okay? Can we come

59 to school?

60 S26: Yes.

61 Takumi: Yes, but we don't have to.

62 Eric: We don't have to.

63 Takumi: We don't have to come. All right. What else? Sato,

64 please tell us the rule. Just tell me one rule. No

65 rule?

66 Sato: You don't have to ...

67 Takumi: You don't have to

68 Sato: ... take exams.

69 Takumi: Take exams. Oh, you don't have to take tests.

70 Eric: Wow.

71 Takumi: Oh, that's good.

72 Eric: Wow.

73 Takumi: We don't have to do our homework, we don't have to

74 take tests and we don't have to come to school.

75 Eric: And we only study our favorite subject.

76 Takumi: Oh, that's nice. That's a dream school. Wow, great.

77 S27: We must break our textbooks and notebooks.

78 Takumi: Oh, we must break our textbooks and notebooks.

79 ((Students burst out laughing.))

80 Eric: You must?

81 S28: やっていいですか (May I?) ?

During this exchange, students offered unique rules for their dream school. The use of modal auxiliaries strengthened the students' position towards the proposal, which also contributed to adding flavors of humor to the statements. During my observations, students smiled and laughed, enjoying this exchange. In the beginning of this excerpt, S21 used Japanese and advised his teachers 生徒手帳見たら? "Why don't you see the student's handbook?" to find the school rules instead of asking students, to which students burst out laughing and Takumi responded by providing its Japanese translation. In Line 54, S26 suggested "We don't have to come to school", to which students again burst out laughing. In the last part of the excerpt, a student suggested "We must break our textbooks and notebooks.", to which S28 jokingly responded by asking in Japanese やっていいですか? "May I (break my textbooks and notebooks)?".

When I asked Takumi why he included jokes in class, he answered 純粋に授業を楽しくしたいとかっていう言い方しかできないかな。 "Just because I genuinely want to make lessons enjoyable.", which links to his previous comment of 想定を超えた

レスポンスが来たときがやっぱり一番楽しいかな。 “I find it most enjoyable when students give a response that is beyond my expectations.” Despite Takumi’s strong beliefs to control the classroom, his aspirations to make the classroom enjoyable also provided some space for students or himself to express humor on the spot, to which students and teachers were allowed to respond with laughter or make short comments.

Takumi further explained そのほうが大人数を引き付けられるからじゃないかな。 “By doing that (not only doing mechanical drills but including jokes which I can poke fun at), I can attract attention of a large group.” This comment suggests his awareness of his daily practices of controlling classroom interaction receiving less attention in a classroom of large students, thus acknowledging a weakness in how he regularly led class and his aspirations towards larger student participation.

These led me to think that Takumi’s practices of controlling the classroom altered, and that the status differential between students and teachers were weakened over the school year. Before analysis, I thought Takumi created much more opportunities than the previous experts for students to contribute to a genuine whole-class discussion through English. From a teacher’s perspective, I considered that this was a large evolution because student participation was enabled by providing their own unique ideas, instead of only joining the exchange through non-verbal reactions, a little Japanese, responses favored by the teacher, or short descriptions that include the grammatical features recently covered in class.

However, analysis continues to show Takumi’s priority for controlling classroom interaction. Again, only nominated students were allowed to share their original rules. In addition, those students could share only one or two short statements, followed by JTE-ALT exchange with little space for student participation, as the length of a nominated student’s turn to speak was controlled by Takumi and subsequently transferred to other students. The first student, Taka, stated “We don’t have to homework” (Line 24). How

Takumi reacted was to provide Taka with a metalinguistic feedback, asking him to add a verb. After Taka was able to provide the correct verb, “do”, Takumi provided a recast, “We don’t have to do our homework” and a supporting comment, いいね (*iine*), which means “good idea”. Although Taka added “We play game” as additional information about the first rule, suggesting what students will do instead of homework, space for Taka to further extend his contribution was not provided as Takumi and Eric soon nominated another student; their follow-ups were only another support, “Good rule” and a recast, “You don’t have to do your homework” and there was no correction of Taka’s form (he did not pluralize “game”).

The next student, Asano, stated “You can study only your favorite class” (Line 43), which Takumi recasts, “We can study only our favorite subjects”. However, space for Asano to further join the exchange was not provided because it was with Eric that Takumi talked about what subjects they would study under such rule, which was English and Japanese.

The following student, S26, stated, “We don’t have to come to school” (Line 54). After Takumi made a repetition and Eric provided a support, “This school is great”, Takumi provided an elaboration question, “But can we come to school?”. This was a polar interrogative which was comprehensible and most likely what students could answer. S26 answered “Yes”, but this one word was the only space he was provided to further join the exchange, as what followed was Takumi and Eric’s repetition of “we don’t have to”.

The subsequent student, Sato, stated, “You don’t have to take exams”. However, there was no space for further student participation because what Takumi and Eric did was providing support, “Wow” and “Oh, that’s good”, and repeating the ideas stated by Sato and the preceding students.

The last student, S27, stated “We must break our textbooks and notebooks”, to which Takumi reacted by a repetition, Eric by a confirmation question, “You must?”, and S28 with humor. However, there was no further space for S27’s participation.

Another contributor to this narrow space for student participation was Takumi’s reluctance to ask one student to elaborate while other students in the class of more than 40 students were waiting, as he explained in the following interview transcript:

1 人の生徒の沈黙で残り 40 人の時間がなくなっちゃうとかっていうことかな。

[If one student is silent, it takes away time of other 40 students.]

In addition, when I asked what he thought of asking challenging questions to students, he answered:

マンツーマンとか少人数、20 人とかの少人数じゃなくて、4、5 人とかの少人数のレッスンだったら、それが望ましいと思うんですよね。だけど 40 人っていうあのクラスサイズの中でやっていくってなったときには、そういう意味でのチャレンジング³⁷は難しいかなっていう意識があるんじゃないかな。

[If it were a one-to-one lesson or a small-sized class, a small sized class of not 20 but 4 or 5 students, I think that it is ideal (to ask challenging questions),

³⁷ This is a loanword of the English “challenge” in Japanese.

but in a classroom with 40 students, I am likely aware that it is probably difficult to have them do such challenge.]

His clear statement of “but 4 or 5 students” explains his belief towards the large gap between his ideal of asking challenging questions to students and having more than 40 students in the classroom. Thus, as the analysis illustrates, Takumi’s control remained a dominant feature of the classroom throughout the school year. Although increasing knowledge of English was imagined by the school as allowing for more open-ended discussions, student participation was still limited to short statements and non-verbal responses. His follow-ups were mostly metalinguistic feedback, repetitions, recast and support, and did not include elaboration questions, such as about circumstances of manner (e.g., How can you keep motivated in your studies if there are no exams?), those of location (e.g., Where will you study if you don’t have to come to school?) or those of cause (e.g., Why do you think you don’t need homework?). Without such questions, although students seemed to have enjoyed the exchange, these practices of whole-class discussions further socialized students into positions of restricted opportunities for participation. Even though this team-taught class included what was nominally an open-ended discussion, the practices of a Japanese classroom were reproduced, where the teacher’s power is salient to lead and control the conversation. There was a strong and continuous settlement of teacher control that prevented students’ access to resources for active participation and limited the multidirectional evolution of the classroom, which needs to be shed more light on and discussed in research and practice to ensure students’ participation in a foreign language classroom.

4.3.6 Summary

In the focal English classroom, Takumi's priorities for maintaining established Japanese classroom practices were maintained over the school year. Takumi's aspirations to keep student-teacher interaction within his control reproduced existing distributions of power to decide which student would participate and how they would do so, which kept the exchange from going beyond grammar and vocabulary recently covered in class. This contributed to a reproduction of the "traditional" practices consistent with classrooms of other subject areas, which limited multidirectional evolution of the foreign language classroom. Such teacher-centered practices were described by Takumi to have come from his teaching history, which led him to prioritize what needs to be covered in class by maintaining the flow of class and become resistant to lose time for students who could not provide answers within his control.

However, there were conflicts and tensions arising from him, that such restriction of student participation "may not be something good", and that what he found "most enjoyable" was "when students give a response that is beyond my expectations", or in other words, beyond his control. In addition, such teacher-centered practices were in contrast to the current educational reform of English education in Japan, where governmental initiatives are expecting junior high school teachers to not only equip students with grammar and vocabulary knowledge but also have them use that knowledge to understand familiar topics, work on simple information exchanges and introduce familiar matters through "proactive, interactive and deep learning". At Easthill High, class objectives of the first-year junior-high "General English" class seemed to be a cornerstone for such practices of learning, as it stated that students were to "learn the basic skills to communicate with people around the world in English by being able to a) introduce oneself and classmates, b) express daily things and c) read and listen to easy English". Such initiatives and objectives sought to transform from practices of unidirectional knowledge

transfer in teacher-centered classrooms to those of multidirectionality of all participants in the classroom.

Such conflicts, tensions and contrasts raise questions of a) what establishes local teachers' beliefs (like Takumi) to maintain the flow of class, which might have come from cultural practices in Japan to keep interpersonal relations in order and maintain harmony, and b) how can awareness towards such practices and relations be further drawn upon to transform existing practices from not only a pedagogical perspective but an interpersonal one. These questions will be continuously pointed out through this chapter to create a basis for discussion in Chapter 5.

Team-taught classes with Eric were different from solo-taught classes, as lessons were designed to increase classroom English use. Takumi and Eric's exchange had much higher interactivity and spontaneity that included a number of interpersonal resources of English, which enabled them to make elaborations and create a genuine English exchange. However, what increased was Takumi and Eric's participation, and student participation was limited to non-verbal reactions and a little Japanese. For Takumi, his objective in a team-taught class was not to provide students with further opportunities for intercultural communication but to "provide students with natural input". This was not only inconsistent with what the MEXT educational initiatives and Easthill High expected in a team-taught class, but also with Eric's beliefs towards his own role in the language classroom. Nevertheless, his role as an "assistant" teacher did not enable him to negotiate this gap. Eric's participation was consistent with the classroom practices of the first-year classroom, which made the hierarchy between the teachers and students more salient and limited students' space to participate, which reproduced a "traditional" Japanese classroom of teacher-centered practices.

Analysis also showed that it was not only student participation but also Eric's participation that Takumi aspired to control. Even when classroom exchange was mostly

conducted in what Eric was brought into the classroom for, which was to use what he was an expert of, English, Eric's marginalization was frequently observed. Such restriction of Eric's participation was explained by Takumi to have come from his teaching history with JET-ALTs, where having JET-ALTs be in charge made the class go off plan and become a cause of "confusion", where orderliness of the class fell apart. As such, in this team-taught classroom, there was a frequent exchange between Takumi and Eric, and Takumi and students, but not between Eric and students. Being a language expert did not guarantee participation in the language classroom, which needs to be shed more light on to transform ALTs' position from being "powerless" (Miyazato, 2009) to realize their potential contributions.

At the end of the school year, when students were assumed to have learned more linguistic features to make more expansive contributions to classroom English interactions, student participation was still limited. Contributions were made only by nominated students, and as teacher response was mostly metalinguistic feedback, repetition, recast and support, there was little space for those nominated students, which was limited to only one or two short statements that included the target grammar. One of the reasons for this came from Takumi's reluctance to ask elaboration questions to one student in a classroom with a large number of students, who would end up being silent if space was taken by one student to work on the elaboration question.

As such, Takumi's reproduction of classroom management practices and existing distributions of power practice was maintained over the school year. This shaped and reshaped students' positions as passive learners deferring to the teacher, which contributed to a co-construction of an English classroom that continuously reproduced the practices of a "traditional" Japanese classroom: the teachers dominating the conversation and students (and sometimes, even JET-ALTs) listening quietly. In the next section, I will analyze a third-year English classroom and investigate how these practices could/could not transform

when students had a better proficiency of English to be capable of making more expansive contributions to classroom practices.

4.4 Talking for learning (third-year class)

4.4.1 Introduction

Similar to the previous section, this section aims to describe how Naoto, Eric, Paul and students shaped their positions and realized contexts for learning/teaching, but in the third-year junior-high “English Communicative Sessions” class. Naoto was clear in his teaching objectives for this class:

ちゃんと自分で発信する中身も考えた上で、英語で表出する、表現するっていうか、それに慣れて、彼らの脳がそういったところに、反応できるようになる。

[Students are to think like they should about the message they want to get across, and say it, express it in English. Or, get used to it and get their brains to be able to react to such process.]

The “English Communicative Sessions” class used a textbook authored by its teachers that focused on improving students’ English writing accuracy and fluency. The school promoted the class, as it was student-centered and students were given time to share and discuss their writing ideas with their classmates, as well as working individually on assignments. As a full-time English teacher at Easthill High, I shared Naoto’s teaching objectives for this module, which were also in line with MEXT’s educational aims. These aims had a direct impact on how Naoto organized his lessons:

彼らが書くか、話すかっていうのを、週 2 時間なので、必ず設けようと。彼らにそういう機会を保証するっていう、それは心掛けてて、結果、彼らが慣れてきたかなあっていう感じは持ってます。

[It's a class twice a week, so I made it a rule to always give students time to either write or speak in class. I have kept in mind to ensure students such opportunity, so as a result, I feel that students have gotten used to that.]

As such, compared to the practices in the focal first-year class, I found during my observations that there was more English used in the classroom, as students were to go beyond practices of passive learning and use the grammar and vocabulary they had learned to think and express content, using English in an active manner. Thus, from Naoto's objective to "always give students time to either write or speak in class", I expected before analysis that a new dimension of classroom practices was co-constructed.

In this section, I will analyze the language practices in the classroom and investigate in depth how participants co-constructed the classroom in relation to those objectives. Section 4.4.2 is from two lessons, from a solo-taught class in November and a team-taught class in October; Section 4.4.3 is from a solo-taught class in January and a team-taught class in February; Section 4.4.4 is from a team-taught class in February, and Section 4.4.5 is from a lesson in November. In each attempt to foster genuine dialogues provide opportunities to examine the dynamics between participants' objectives and the implications from the evolving relationships and agency.

4.4.2 Open-ended discussions (second term)

Open-ended discussions were more frequent than in the first-year "General English" class. The discussions were chosen by Naoto from the writing section of a

national English proficiency exam (EIKEN³⁸), which implied that one of the objectives for incorporating these discussions into class were exam preparations, and used to give students practice taking and supporting a position (e.g., Should convenience stores be open for 24 hours?). Students shared their positions first in pairs and/or groups, and then in whole-class discussions. At times, students talked about what they had written beforehand, and at others, used they talked before writing.

Students seemed well-aware of the expectations accompanying these activities, and mostly participated through English in whole-class talk. Although speaking is not assessed in term exams or EIKEN, writing is included. Thus, students would have seen a connection between these activities and their eventual assessments.

Whole-class discussions were conducted in not only team-taught classes but also solo-taught classes, which was also different from the first-year “General English” class. In this excerpt from a solo-taught class on November 9, 2019, in the middle of the second term, the discussion topic was “Do you think students today have enough time to relax?”, which was a topic that could be linked to students’ daily lives. It follows pair work discussions, and Naoto pointed and nominated Nobu, and then Hiro to share their ideas:

Excerpt 12

- 1 Naoto: Let's share your ideas again. Uh, Nobu, what do you
2 think about this topic?
3 Nobu: I think that because, eh, students has, are tired at
4 school so students must, must relax at school a long
5 time.

³⁸ EIKEN was an important exam for third-year students at Easthill High, and exam practice was conducted continuously throughout the school year.

6 Naoto: OK, ah, so now the students today are very busy,
 7 like you are. So students are, should have some
 8 time to relax. OK, one more student, Mr. どこ行こうか
 9 (which student should I choose)、Hiro please?
 10 Hiro: I think they have enough time to relax.
 11 Naoto: You agree. OK.
 12 Hiro: Because, uh, today³⁹ is, uh, four classes and we
 13 have a lot of time in, at school⁴⁰.
 14 Naoto: On Saturdays, we don't have any classes in the
 15 afternoon. So we can have some time to relax or
 16 play sports.

During observations, it appeared that students had more space than the first-year class to provide their own statements. The turns of Naoto were not as lengthy as those of Takumi, and nominated students shared not only their position but also a reason to support it, although this is consistent with what they discussed in pairs. Analysis partly confirmed my initial impressions, as they used “I think” to express their stance, and “because” to support their statement. In addition, a strong need for students to relax at school was expressed by Nobu, saying “students must, must relax at school a long time”, in which modal auxiliary “must” and an adverbial phrase “a long time” was used. An opposite view of Nobu was expressed by the other student, Hiro. *Wa* (harmony) seemed not to be necessary to take into consideration, and he answered that students had “enough time to relax” and “a lot of time in, at school”, using adjective “enough” and adjectival phrase “a lot of time” to evaluate the length of time available on Saturdays for students to relax.

³⁹ “Today” refers to Saturday.

⁴⁰ From Mondays to Fridays, there are six classes.

Thus, students not only drew on such interpersonal resources of English to express their stance, but were provided space through Naoto's "question" to use that language and provide "different answers" from other students to provide, not only "facts" but also their own "opinions". This is in line with what Naoto described during the interview.

Besides exam practice, Naoto had other reasons for having students do such practice of taking a position and providing reasons on a given topic. Although it was not clear whether he had the MEXT educational initiatives or "proactive, interactive and deep learning" in mind, he explained as follows:

彼らの、人それぞれ違う答えが出てくるような質問はしたいなあっていうのは思います。

[I want to ask questions which can extract different answers from different students.]

At this point of time, the person to ask questions was Naoto, not students. He additionally explained:

事実を述べることから、自分の考えを述べるっていうふうに焦点を変えるという。

[Shift the questions from stating facts to stating opinions.]

Thus, his questions were explained to be starting with those of "facts", and then to "opinions". However, Naoto's language during his turn shows that his language practices

were somewhat different from what he explained. His reactions in the first follow-up to Nobu (Line 6 and 9) and the second one to Hiro (Line 11) were mostly restricted to support (e.g., OK), recast (e.g., Students are, should have time to relax), reinterpretation, (e.g., So now the students today are very busy, like you are) or confirmation (e.g., You agree). Similar to Takumi's practices in the first-year class, Naoto did not provide follow-up questions which could have provided further space for Nobu and Hiro, or other students, to elaborate on their "opinions". For example, questions could have been used to probe what was making students busy and tired at school, or how students relaxed on Saturday afternoon. In the third follow-up (Lines 14-16), it was not Hiro but Naoto who expanded and provided an example of what students could do ("play sports").

As such, students were using more elaborated language and providing their position and a reason. However, because they were not challenged to elaborate, they were not required nor challenged to go beyond what they talked about with their peers and make more expansive contributions to the whole-class discussion. In short, student participation was limited to short statements that included "I think" and "because", which was consistent with what could be used as a set phrase for their exams. As the first-year class, the exchange was heavily controlled by the teacher, which again reproduced the "traditional" Japanese learning practices to some extent: the teachers controlling the conversation and students deferring to the teacher. Naoto described his reasons for constructing such exchange as follows:

テンポ⁴¹良く行きたいというのが、ひょっとしたらどっかで働いている
かもしれないです。

⁴¹ This is a loanword of the English "tempo" in Japanese.

[I am probably unconsciously thinking that I want to keep the tempo of the class.]

どっかで彼らが困っちゃって、授業のテンポが止まることを恐れてる自分も、いるかもしれないです。

[Maybe, I am scared if they are in trouble and the tempo of class is lost.]

Naoto's internal conflict was between his intention of extracting "different answers from different students" that included their "opinions", and his fear of losing the "tempo of class" when students got "in trouble" and became stuck. This fear was nearly identical to Takumi's belief of maintaining the flow of class, and one of the contributors that contributed to a teaching practice similar to the first-year English class: the teacher controlling the classroom, which limited student participation and prevented students from making expansive contributions to dialogue. Even though students were more proficient in English by their third year, classroom practices were not much transformed and the "traditional" Japanese classroom was reproduced in the second term. Unlike the first-year class, however, Naoto did not persist with such practices and challenged to transform them in the subsequent term, whose details I will provide in the following section.

Before that, I will show a similar practice of open-ended discussions between students and Paul that displayed similarities and differences with those of students and Naoto. Unlike Takumi's first-year class, in the third-year class, Naoto appeared to limit his participation during discussions when the JET-ALT was present. This had the effect of increasing the participation of JET-ALTs and in bidirectional exchanges with students. The following excerpt is from a team-taught class on October 4, 2019, in the second month of the second term. The topic question was "What subject do you like?", again a topic from students' daily lives. Unlike Excerpt 12, where the whole-class discussion started after

students practiced in pairs, Paul conducted the whole-class discussion first, before pair work. Thus, the class discussion scaffolded pair work, rather than functioning as a review and feedback. Students' participation was more spontaneous, and less rehearsed:

Excerpt 13

- 1 Paul: So, Ken, Ken, hey, what subject don't you like? Be
2 honest.
- 3 Ken: I don't like math.
- 4 Paul: Math. (同じ…) Oh, yeah, maybe we feel the same way
5 about it. So why don't you like math?
- 6 Ken: Because I'm not good at
- 7 Fumi: Calculation⁴².
- 8 Paul: Calculation. Ah, 計算 (calculation). Yeah, so,
9 actually, I, I agree with you. I think some people
10 are, you know, math people, maybe some people are
11 English or Japanese people. Language and math.
12 People have that different idea. For me, I cannot
13 do math. I think people who are good at math, you
14 are a genius. You are a genius if you are good at
15 math. I'm so jealous of you.

⁴² The reason Fumi said "calculation" here is probably because he noticed Ken could not come up with the English word "calculation".

During observation, I found Paul genuinely attempting to interact with students. Paul used an imperative “Be honest” to Ken, to which Ken responded by stating his dislike of math. Unlike Naoto, after Ken answered “I don’t like math” and Paul made a supporting comment “Oh, yeah, maybe we feel the same way about it”, Paul also probed Ken for more information, asking, “So why don’t you like math?”, which created further space for Ken to expand his contribution.

Paul explained his practice as follows

Maybe just the way we learned or the way I learned, you always wanted to dig deeper and elicit more of a response.

I wanted to elicit responses that weren’t necessarily prepared or written down, that a student could even not answer perfectly, but come up with a — to be able on the spot to come up with a basic reason in the target language is, I think, a very useful skill.

Paul’s learning background is key to understanding his teaching, and his desire for students to “dig deeper” and provide “more of a response”. He similarly wanted to have students make unprepared responses that were constructed “on the spot”, which also why the whole-class discussion preceded the pair work: to have students make unprepared statements. In addition, he intended to have students “come up with a basic reason in the target language” and develop “a very useful skill” of thinking “on the spot”. These describe why an elaboration question, “So why don’t you like math?”, was asked by Paul to expand space for Ken to participate after his short response, “I don’t like math”. This is unlikely to have been done by Naoto in a similar situation.

He also described that he slightly transformed his role when conducting a creative class:

So I can break out of that teacher role a little bit and be a bit more casual with them, which in a creative class, you want to be a little casual, if you want them to not do things mechanically, and hopefully have a little bit of fun and excitement.

His clear statement of wanting “to be a little casual” by breaking “out of that teacher role a little bit” to have students go beyond “mechanical” statements explains his objectives for consciously shifting his positioning with the students. Although it was not possible to identify “a little bit of fun and excitement” in the excerpt, his use of colloquial language (e.g., hey, yeah, ah, you know) links to his objective of transforming classroom practices and teacher-student relationships to create a “casual” exchange.

Still, the power dynamics between Paul and the students were consistent with other exchanges. Paul spoke with great length, limiting the space for them to be “creative” and make expansive contributions to dialogue. After Ken answered that he did not like math, it was Paul who made a repetition, “math”, and commented by stating “maybe we feel the same way about it”, and although he subsequently asked Ken for his reasons, it was again Paul that carried most of the conversation. After showing his agreement with Ken, the example he showed was himself being one of the “English or Japanese people” who “cannot do math” and was “so jealous” of those good at math. There was no space for Ken or other students to contribute.

Thus, being casual did not transform student-teacher relations and dominant teacher-centered practices. Although his objective was to “elicit responses that weren’t necessarily prepared or written down” “in a creative class”, which is in line with JET-ALTs’ expected roles to increase opportunities for classroom English use, it was Paul who

made the most of being casual and realized further participation, and not Ken, as he was not provided with an opportunity to elaborate (e.g., by stating his own example of what kind of person he/she is). When I asked him further about what he did to make his relations with students more casual, he answered that “One thing (to be casual) was to talk about myself, was to give examples that they could relate to”. This shows that, according to Paul, talking about himself as one of the “English or Japanese people” and giving examples of “math people” and “English or Japanese people” were to provide students with what they could “relate” themselves to and realize a casual classroom. I was not able to make it clear from the interviews about what previous experiences led Paul to “talk about myself” and “give examples”, which made not students’ but Paul’s participation salient. However, his language use that mirrored Takumi’s and Naoto’s contributed to another reproduction of the Japanese classroom in which turns were dominated by the teacher and limited student participation. In this situation, there also must have been other type of students, such as “math people” or “English or Japanese and math people”, who could have used themselves as examples to make their own contributions to dialogue. However, such space was not provided, which limited the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom.

As such, analysis shows that Paul’s objective to create a “creative class” and get students to “dig deeper” was not realized, as it was not students but Paul who met with his objectives to become “creative” and “dug deeper”. There was no part in the interview data which describes his awareness of the gap between his objectives of having students to “dig deeper” and provide “more of a response” and his language practices of restricting student participation, which suggests that Paul might not have been noticing that his objectives and practices and were in contrast.

In effect, Paul reproduced the positions of Japanese teachers and students and led them to co-construct the “traditional” Japanese learning practices: the teachers controlling the conversation and students deferring to the teacher. However, the reasons behind Paul’s

practices were different from those of Takumi and Naoto. Then, how can teacher training facilitate such JET-ALTs to create space for more meaningful negotiation of language? How can local teachers negotiate that with JET-ALTs? This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.3 Open-ended discussions (third term)

This section aims to investigate language use from a newly introduced six steps with the aim of expanding open-ended discussions and explore the evolution (or lack thereof) of classroom practices under those six steps. In the third term, starting from January, 2020, Naoto designed a new activity for fostering open-ended discussions (see Table 4.1, which mirrors what was shown on the projector to explain the activity to students), which was used multiple times throughout the term. Teachers and students were to follow six steps. First, Participant A asks Participant B a question. Then, Participant B answers, but also adds additional information. This pattern of question and answer is repeated in Steps 3 and 4, and the roles are reversed. Participant B asks a question in Step 5, and in Step 6, the final step, participant A answers and provides additional piece of information.

Table 4.1

Structure for communication

A	B
1. Ask one question.	2. Answer the question with +@ information
3. Ask one more question.	4. Answer the question with +@ information
6. Answer the question with +@ information	5. Ask one question.

Naoto explained the aim of introducing this structure in the following interview transcript:

あとは、本当は彼らから、それは難しいですよ、教員相手に。でも、彼らから何か聞いてくるとか、会話をある部分でコントロール⁴³、リード⁴⁴するっていうのが、なったらいいなあっていうのがあって。

[And, if they can, it must be difficult to do it to a teacher, but I want them to control or lead the conversation, such as by asking questions (instead of teachers).]

This shows that Naoto's objective was to have not himself but students to challenge and "control or lead the conversation", which is in contrast to the language practices in the previous term: the teachers controlling the conversation and students deferring to the teacher. As Naoto described "it must be difficult to do it to a teacher", he must have been noticing to a certain extent that his language practices during discussions in the previous term were not functioning as much to have students "control or lead the conversation" in English. In a further departure from such practice, his objective was to deliberately expand student participation by shifting who controls and leads the conversation, and who is required to make elaborations. However, his aspirations for someone to "control" or "lead" the conversation is maintained, which implies that this activity was rather a controlled or led exchange and not an open-ended discussion of free exchange.

He further explained as follows:

⁴³ This is a loanword of the English "control" in Japanese.

⁴⁴ This is a loanword of the English "lead" in Japanese.

人の話を聞いて、それに興味を持って、その内容に対することを聞く。

*[(I want students to) listen to others, become interested in what they say,
and ask relevant questions.]*

This statement clearly states one of the basics for co-constructing a genuine conversation, which is not only to “listen to others”, as in the previous term, but also “become interested in what they say” so that not “mechanical” questions drawn from knowledge of grammar but “relevant questions” drawn from participants’ interest can be created to extend dialogue. Through this process, the status differential between students and teachers was expected to be weakened so that students’ contributions to genuine open-ended discussions could increase.

I will provide an example of how this structure was practiced. The following excerpt comes from a solo-taught class on January 18, 2020, when it was introduced. The topic was “What did you do during your winter vacation?”. First, Naoto modelled the activity with a student, Takeshi:

Excerpt 14

- 1 Naoto: What did you do during your winter vacation?
- 2 Takeshi: I made *datemaki*⁴⁵ and ate it.
- 3 Naoto: OK. Ah, ((Gives a hand gesture to Takeshi to
- 4 elaborate)

⁴⁵ A Japanese sweet rolled omelette

5 Takeshi: (12.0) in my grandparent's house. My grandparents
6 gave me some money.

7 Naoto: Ah, OK. So, could you tell me how much you
8 received from your grandparents?

9 Takeshi: About 5,000 yen. And my aunt gave me some money,
10 too.

11 Naoto: Your turn.

12 Takeshi: How about you?

13 Ss ((Laughs))

14 Naoto: 文で言おうか。せっかくだから、フレーズではなくて (Why don't
15 you say it in a sentence. Not a phrase.)。

16 Takeshi: What were you doing during winter vacation?

17 Naoto: Winter vacation, I visited my parents and, yeah, I
18 also gave *otoshidama* to my children.

The first line is Step 1, where Naoto asked the topic question. The second to sixth lines are Step 2, where Takeshi answered “I made *datemaki* and ate it” and elaborated, “in my grandparent’s house. My grandparents gave me some money”. The question in the seventh and eighth lines are Step 3, where Naoto asked how much money he got, and the ninth and tenth lines are Step 4, where Takeshi answered “About 5,000 yen” and added that he had gotten some money from his aunt as well. Then, the roles were reversed. The 12th and 16th lines are Step 5, where Takeshi asked “How about you?”, but was instructed by Naoto to make a full sentence and changed it to “What were you doing during winter vacation?”. The 17th and 18th lines are Step 6, where Naoto answered “I visited my parents” and elaborated that “I also gave *otoshidama* to my children”.

The following excerpt is from a whole-class discussion that came after Excerpt 14, on the same day, after which the six steps were practiced by students in pairs, working on another topic question, “Have you ever been abroad?”. Naoto nominated a student, Kanta:

Excerpt 15

- 1 Naoto: Ah, Kanta, have you ever been to abroad?
- 2 Kanta: No, I (6.0).
- 3 Naoto: Have you ever been abroad? No?
- 4 Kanta: No. Not, no I haven't. But I want to go Swissland⁴⁶
- 5 because there is so beautiful and their cities are
- 6 very beautiful.
- 7 Naoto: Ah, I see. Ah, ah, which city do you want to visit
- 8 in Switzerland?
- 9 Kanta: え～ (ah)、I, I, but, I don't know, but I, ah, I
- 10 don't know about Switzerland's city, so, ah, so I,
- 11 so if I want to Switzerland, I was, ah, looking for
- 12 information.
- 13 Naoto: Um, I see, I see.
- 14 Kanta: Ah, so, do, have you ever been abroad?
- 15 Naoto: Yeah, Ah, I've been to, yeah, several countries
- 16 such as America, ah, UK, ah, France and some other
- 17 countries. Good, thank you very much.

⁴⁶ Kanta said “Swissland” instead of Switzerland. “Swissland” is a combination of “land” and the Japanese translation of Switzerland, “Swiss”.

Naoto modelled active listening. His willingness to listen to Kanta was modelled by not making quick value judgements about Switzerland (e.g., “But Switzerland is an expensive country to visit”), and his use of clarifying questions (“No?”) and open-ended questions (“Which city do you want to visit in Switzerland?”) demonstrated his aspirations to ensure understanding and help the speaker expand ideas (Center for Creative Leadership, 2019), just as the six step aimed for. Looking into more detail, after Kanta’s answer of having no experience travelling abroad in Step 2, space was kept open for Kanta to continue his turn. This enabled Kanta’s elaboration of stating where he wanted to go, Switzerland, by using a mental process verb “want”. His judgment towards the beauty of the country and its cities were expressed by “beautiful”, twice. Subsequently, in Step 3, Naoto asked Kanta which city he wanted to visit in Switzerland. In Step 4 was Kanta’s answer of having no knowledge of Swiss cities, and space was again kept open for him to talk further of his aspirations to search for information. Then, Naoto and Kanta’s roles reversed. Kanta asked the topic question to Naoto, to which Naoto’s response in Step 6 was providing confirmation and stating some of the countries he had visited. This was the end of the six steps, and the exchange was finished.

In addition, colloquial language was included (e.g., Ah, um, yeah), which indicates a lower hierarchy level of the teacher. There were more repetitions (e.g., “I, I”, “I see, I see”), which illustrates the higher interactivity of the conversation. Furthermore, Kanta’s use of mental process verbs and adjectives describes the space he had to modalise his speech and share his own evaluation towards Switzerland and Swiss cities. As such, Naoto’s objective to have students “control or lead the conversation, such as by asking questions” and elaborate on the spot elicited wider access to language that contributed to transform teacher-student relations to some extent, where some of the Naoto’s power to “control” or “lead” the conversation was transmitted to students to make Naoto’s authoritative stance less salient and somewhat expand students’ contributions.

However, compared to Naoto, Kanta's space to participate was still limited and his powerless stance was still somewhat salient. As Naoto's role in the first four steps (Lines 1, 3, 7 and 8) was to ask a question, only questions were asked and it did not include a statement that would interest Kanta and create a basis for Kanta to ask "relevant questions" and help him "control or lead the conversation". In Step 5 (Line 14), which was Kanta's turn to ask a question, he had to ask a question with hardly any information from Naoto, which describes Kanta's little opportunity to "listen to others, become interested in what they say" to "ask relevant questions". Kanta's question turned out to be a repeat of the topic question, which was irrelevant to the exchange until then about Switzerland. Naoto's response in Step 6 (Lines 15-17) of providing additional information about the cities he had visited did not lead to Kanta's contribution, because the structure of the six steps prevented the dialogue from being further extended and Kanta from asking "relevant questions", even if he was "listen[ing] to" and "becom[ing] interested" in the additional information.

In addition, the six steps marginalized Kanta from getting the genuine language or content support to make contributions to dialogue. During Kanta's struggle to provide an answer after being asked which city he wanted to visit in Switzerland in Step 4 (Line 9)⁴⁷, which was about his aspirations to look for information about Swiss cities if he were to go to Switzerland, Naoto's response was only a support, "Um, I see, I see". Helping Kanta by a recast or giving him advice on which Swiss city to go to or what to look for to find information was not included as Naoto's role in the six steps, nor as an option for other students, who remained silent.

As such, although this structure realized a new dimension of relations and participation to some extent, students' powerless stance was maintained, which was against

⁴⁷ This was probably because he was not able to come up with names of Swiss cities.

Naoto's objective for using this structure. Still, who had the initiative as an active listener was not Kanta but Naoto. Naoto's control and lead of conversation was evident from Kanta's lack of space, information and support which could have led him to not be marginalized but expand his contribution. This illustrates another reproduction of "traditional" Japanese classroom practices, where the belief of "control" or "lead[ing]" prevents ones without them from finding space for participation and the classroom from expanding multidirectionality.

However, Excerpt 15 was from a lesson on the day when the six steps were first introduced, and it may be too much of an expectation to find a large transformation of social practices on the first day. Thus, I will now turn to the following excerpt to illustrate the evolution (or lack thereof) of social practices two months after the implementation of the six steps. It comes from a team-taught lesson including Eric on February 28, 2020, the second to last lesson of the school year because of the school closure from the COVID-19 pandemic. The topic question was "What are you looking forward to in high school?", another question which was relevant to students' daily lives. As in Excerpt 15, after students practiced the question in pairs, the class entered a whole-class discussion. Eric played the role of Participant A, and a student, Yoshio, did so of Participant B. After Yoshio answered Eric's questions through the first to fourth steps, the dialogue entered Step 5, which became Yoshio's turn to ask relevant questions, and ideally, "control or lead the conversation":

Excerpt 16

- 1 Yoshio: Ah, what are you looking forward to in senior?
- 2 Senior?

3 Eric: Me?

4 Yoshio: Old man, old man?

5 ((Students burst out laughing.))

6 S29 Old man って (What do you mean by “old man”?) ?

7 Eric: When I’m very old?

8 Yoshio: Yes, yes.

9 Eric: Oh, Ah, maybe, eh, when I’m old? How, how old

10 should I be?

11 Yoshio: 18?

12 Eric: 8? 80?

13 Yoshio: 80?

14 Eric: 18?

15 ((Students burst out laughing.))

16 Yoshio: 80, 80.

17 Eric: When I’m 80, ah, when I’m 80, I look forward to

18 retirement.

19 Yoshio: Um.

20 Eric: And maybe I will move to Hawaii.

21 Yoshio: Oh.

22 Eric: And take lots of naps.

23 Yoshio: Ah.

During observations, I thought that having used the six steps for two months realized a new dimension of relations and expanded space for students to participate in an interactive and spontaneous practice of open-ended discussions. Yoshio started Step 5 by asking the topic question, but said “what are you looking forward to in senior” instead of

“what are you looking forward to in senior high school”, and went on to say jokingly that “senior” did not mean “senior high school”, as in the topic question, but an “old man”. Hearing this humorous interaction, other students burst out laughing. Then, Eric asked a question to confirm the age of the “old man” that Yoshio had in mind. Here, Yoshio sounded “18” when he meant to say “80”, so after a short exchange of numbers that played with this pronunciation error, other students again burst out laughing. After that was Step 6, where Eric’s answer was that he would look forward to retirement, and his extension was that he would move to Hawaii and take a lot of naps and the exchange was finished.

Although this was a rehearsed exchange as pair work preceded and the first question was a script, there is a degree of spontaneity and interactivity. This is evident from multiple repetitions (e.g., Yes, yes) and minor clauses (e.g., old man, old man). This shows that Naoto’s teaching objective of having students “get their brains to be able to react” or “on the spot” during English use was achieved to some extent.

In addition, Yoshio’s mispronunciation was followed up by Eric and supported by his peers through joke and laughter. Starting from Yoshio’s question, this shows that the hierarchy between Eric and students became less salient, enabling them to have fun engaging in a humorous number talk.

However, although there was a multidirectional number talk in the middle of this exchange, Eric dominated most of the exchange afterwards and there was little student participation. During Step 6 of the activity, in which Eric was to answer Yoshio’s question and elaborate, Yoshio’s participation was limited to his colloquial language (“Um”, “Oh”, “Ah”). This is similar to Excerpt 13 in Section 4.4.2, where Paul dominated the conversation once he started to talk about himself and give examples. He could have provided space for students to further state their opinions, such as what they looked forward to doing or where they would like to go after retirement, or “control or lead the conversation” or “ask relevant questions”, such as why Eric chose Hawaii. However, what

he constructed was a monologue of his lengthier turns. Students may have become an active listener, which I was not able to make clear from the data, but nevertheless, their position in the exchange did not transform as Eric's authoritative stance to "control or lead the conversation" was maintained. As such, although one of Eric's roles was to increase students' English use, the six steps restricted their participation and blocked them from taking an active role after it became Eric's turn to talk about himself, which again reproduced the practices of a "traditional" Japanese classroom: the teachers dominating the conversation and students listening quietly. It did not make much difference whether it was Naoto or Eric that took part, as student's powerless stance was maintained during exchange, which limited the multidirectional evolution of open-ended discussions over the school year.

In addition, although not included in Naoto and Eric's objectives, pragmatic meaning was not much focused during the exchange. In both English and Japanese, calling someone *old* straightforwardly can be impolite, as it is a typical rude way of talking to a stranger who looks old in town. However, when Yoshio said "old man", it was not explicitly addressed by the teachers, although other students implicitly expressed their awareness towards this rudeness of saying "old man" through laughter. In terms of being implicit, Eric also expressed his awareness towards the rudeness by providing a recast to Yoshio's "old man", which included the second conditional, "When I'm very old?" (Line 7). Yet, Eric and Naoto did not explicitly address how "old man" and "When I'm very old?" can realize different meanings, nor why Eric made the choice of conducting such a recast. The subtly different meanings realized through distinct language use was ignored, which prioritized keeping the flavor of joke in exchange and prevented students and teachers from co-constructing a genuine conversation to further teach/learn pragmatic meanings of the additional language.

Summarizing the above, the six steps realized more interactivity and spontaneity, and some space for students to expand from their own statements and demand information from the teacher. Such realizations deemphasized the hierarchy between the teachers and students and transformed students' and teachers' positions, enabling students to "control or lead the conversation" to some extent. This became a contributor to a slightly new dimension of classroom practices due to more student talk.

However, student participation was still restricted at the end of the school year. Although Naoto's objective of implementing the six steps was to have students "listen to others", "become interested in what they say" and "ask relevant questions", it was teachers, whether it was a JTE or a JET-ALT, who had the space to use what they listened to and take an active part during dialogue. Students did not have enough information to create questions based on what teachers said, nor were they provided with space, resources or support to expand their participation in discussion. Thus, the six steps were not enough to transform the practices of open-ended discussions from the previous term, where teachers' control of exchange was maintained. Then, what is it (if any) that can transform such practices and contribute to students' increased contributions to dialogue? This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.4 Sharing memories

Students' daily lives were often used in the writing, discussion, essay and speech activities, many of which included school lives, and it was very frequent to see teachers and students recalling events from their daily (school) lives and sharing them in class. This is consistent with MEXT's emphasis on familiar topics and simple information exchanges, and is not significantly different from the topics covered in any textbook series for early stage language learners. In this section, I will analyze open-ended discussion that included such familiar topics and investigate how the language of participants is shaping relations

and evolving multidirectionality, or, as in the previous sections, similarly reproducing the practices of a “traditional” unidirectional Japanese classroom.

The following excerpt comes from a class team-taught with Eric on February 14, 2020. From this class, students started working on the final *structured communication* towards the end of year exam, which was “My Junior High School Days”, in which students were to pick their best memory from their three years at Easthill High (but not about their school trip to Tohoku, which they had written about in “a picture that moved my heart” during the previous term), and write a descriptive essay. Unlike previous units, no speech was included in this project, but students’ writing was compiled into a booklet for sharing their best memories with classmates. To start the lesson, Eric and Naoto briefly introduced the project, but without providing a model about their own memories from their own school days. Students were then instructed to work in pairs and share their best memories as Easthill High students. Subsequently, students shared their memories in a whole-class discussion. Akio was nominated second. As in the previous section, this exchange used the six steps (see Table 4.1) that was introduced from the beginning of term:

Excerpt 17

- 1 Eric: OK, one more student. Akio. OK, Akio. What was your
- 2 best memory as an Easthill High student?
- 3 Akio: My best memory is x to Fukushima⁴⁸ to watch stars
- 4 with my earth science members.
- 5 Eric: And why is that your best memory?

⁴⁸ Fukushima is approximately 250km north of Tokyo.

6 Akio: Ah, because, ah, ah, I could see many beautiful
7 stars in Fukushima. Also, I took many pictures of
8 stars. Ah, and, and, I, the picture I took in
9 Fukushima is very beautiful. Ah, have you, have you
10 ever been to Fukushima?

11 Eric: Oh, yes, I have. I went to Fukushima, ah, last
12 summer, I visited there for a few days. It was
13 really, really nice.

14 Naoto: What did you do there?

15 Eric: Just sightseeing.

16 Naoto: Just sightseeing. What was the most impressive
17 thing to see in Fukushima?

18 Eric: Oh, I don't know. Ah, x the nature, I guess. Yeah.
19 It was really beautiful.

20 Naoto: OK.

In Step 2, there was no extension from Akio, as required by the six steps, in answering the topic question “What was your best memory as an Easthill High student?”, as he only said “My best memory is x to Fukushima to watch stars with my earth science members.” However, in Step 4, his extension in answering Eric’s question, “And why is that your best memory?”, was realized by providing not only one but two reasons about why his visit to Fukushima with his earth science club members was his best memory. His use of adjectives to state the beauty of stars and the pictures he took shows the space he was provided to express his evaluation and make interpersonal meanings during exchange. This was the end of Akio’s rehearsed part with his partner. In Step 5, his question to Eric was not a repetition of the topic question but was related to what he had just said, which

was about whether Eric had ever been to Fukushima. In Step 6, Eric's response was that he had also been to Fukushima before and that it had been a nice visit.

As soon as the six steps finished, Akio was not encouraged to ask further questions, and it was Naoto who became the participant and asked questions, which signaled the end of Akio's turn. After this exchange, a model of "My Junior High School Days" was handed out to students for them to take a look and understand the requirements for this descriptive essay. Thus, as in the previous section, analysis shows that the six steps might have again prevented Akio from further participation. Considering the range of what Akio was able to make meaning during this exchange in English, it might not have been difficult for Akio to participate in an extended seventh step and ask Eric what he had done. It is not clear why Naoto did not provide space for Akio to do so, but the following interview transcript provides a hint:

中3の、この時期で、ライティングなんかで意識してるのは、よく why をとにかく突き詰めてっていうの、僕、添削で返すときに言ってるんですけど、ちょっと似てるかなあ。I like 何々でも、It is interesting でもあるんだけど、そこで止まっちゃう。なんで好きなの、なんで興味深いのっていうところを、もっと。

[At this point in the third year of junior high, when I provide feedback to their written assignment, I ask them to look into the "why" thoroughly. It's like that (in speaking). Don't stop after introducing what you like and saying "it is interesting". Why you like it, why it is interesting, that is what I want more.]

Naoto's statement clearly indicates his objectives to have students think about the reasons behind their statements, to have them "look into the "why" thoroughly", instead of

introducing their preferences and just saying “it is interesting”. However, there was no space for Akio to explore this as a respondent, as his answers were rehearsed during the preceding pair work, and as a questioner asking Eric, as Naoto ended his turn. In addition, Eric’s response was not a model of how students were expected to participate. In Step 6, Eric’s evaluation of his visit to Fukushima was “really, really nice”, but there were no reasons provided. This was in contrast to Naoto’s expectations from third-year junior-high students, which was not to “stop after introducing” where one visited or only say that “it is interesting”, but to extend it and introduce “why you like it, why it is interesting”. Naoto’s question, “What did you do there?”, may have been used as a prompt for Eric to conform to the expected practices of this third-year language classroom. However, Eric’s response was only a short statement of “Just sightseeing”. Naoto’s subsequent elaboration question, “What was the most impressive thing to see in Fukushima?”, could have also been used as a prompt, but Eric’s initial response was “I don’t know”, followed by “the nature, I guess” without a specific example or place, which contributed to a finish of exchange without much “look[ing] into the “why” thoroughly”.

Naoto’s “What did you do there?” and “What was the most impressive thing to see in Fukushima?” were within students’ linguistic proficiency, and it could have been a genuine opportunity for Akio or other students to use their knowledge about Fukushima⁴⁹ to “control or lead the conversation”. Instead, Eric and Naoto’s exchange did not provide Akio or other students space to go beyond what they rehearsed during the preceding pair work and achieve Naoto’s objective of “look[ing] into the “why” thoroughly”, which again reproduced the practices of a “traditional” Japanese classroom with little student participation. In addition, Eric’s responses after Naoto joined also lacked the “look[ing] into the “why” thoroughly”, even though his expectations were to introduce new

⁴⁹ Students went to Fukushima on a school trip during their first year at Easthill High.

dimensions of language practices into the classroom. Then, what is preventing teachers from fading out and inviting students in and transform positions and practices, when students have the linguistic proficiency that should make them capable of more meaningful negotiation of language? This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.5 Students directing students

This section will turn to peer interaction and analyze students' use of teacher-like practices to attempt to expand their partners' participation and see evidence of students' socialization into the targeted practices of exchange. Peer interaction was frequent in this third-year class, as it was a key opportunity for each student to practice the topic questions or talk about their essays and presentations in pairs or groups. (As I will show more data from peer interaction in further detail in Section 4.5, I will explain in more detail about how peer interaction was practiced in that section.) Unlike the structure of the six steps which was deliberately introduced by Naoto, the teacher-like practices were voluntarily used by the students. Thus, it is worth observing how such voluntary use contributed to (or lack thereof) the multidirectional evolution of peer interaction.

I will first describe how the teacher-like practices were used by Paul, and subsequently illustrate how it was portrayed by students. The following excerpt comes from a team-taught class including Paul on October 4, 2019, on the same day as Excerpt 13. After Excerpt 13, where students and Paul had an open-ended whole-class discussion on the topic question, "What subject do you like?", students practiced the question in pairs. Then, another whole-class discussion started, where students were instructed to describe not their own opinion but what their partner had just said during the pair work. Paul nominated Takeshi, and he described what his partner, Teru, had just said:

Excerpt 18

- 1 Paul: Takeshi, what is, what subject is Teru good at?
2 Takeshi: Ah, he good at social study.
3 Paul: OK, yeah. Tell me more.
4 Takeshi: Very easy question.
5 Paul: It's very easy for him.

As a full-time teacher at Easthill High, I had frequently heard Paul ask, “Tell me more”, in class and during one-on-one interview tests. After Takeshi’s description of Teru being good at social studies, in which Takeshi made an error by omitting the verb and saying “social studies” in the singular form, Paul’s response was not a metalinguistic feedback but an imperative, “Tell me more”, which provided Takeshi with space for expansion. However, Takeshi did not elaborate and responded with humor, “very easy question”, which means that responding to “Tell me more” is easy. Paul played with Takeshi’s humor by connecting it to Teru being good at social studies and saying “It’s (social studies is) very easy for him (Teru)”, which concluded their exchange.

Paul described his use of “Tell me more” as in the following interview transcript:

I’m glad they found it (“Tell me more”) funny because I think some students would find it annoying. But, yeah, it’s an important exercise just to try to get every amount of — trying to get them to think deeper and deeper about a topic is not always easy. And sometimes students will resist it but you know if it — in that way it almost becomes like a game. So I’ve said something “Tell me more”. OK, I have to say something else about it “Tell me more”. And yeah, I think if it can be

fun for them to try to think deeper and deeper and deeper on a topic that would be ideal.

As such, Paul's objective for using "Tell me more" was to "get students to think deeper" and "say something else" about the topic question, which he considered to be "an important exercise" and "would be ideal", though "not always easy". This is in line with his description of his role as a JET-ALT as in the interview transcript after Excerpt 13 in Section 4.4.2, which was to have students "dig deeper" and say "more of a response". His recognition of students finding "Tell me more" to be "funny" and "like a game", even though some students could have found it "annoying" and "resist[ed] it", also describes his aspirations to make his authoritative stance in the classroom less salient through using humor and create space for further student participation. During the excerpt, Takeshi's understanding of such function of humor appears to be indicated in his response to Paul's "Tell me more", in which he did not literally respond to the imperative but responded with humor. Paul did not reprimand Takeshi for not "dig[ging] deeper" but accepted his humor, making the exchange further playful.

"Tell me more" was not only exclusively used by Paul but also frequently used by students during peer interaction, as in the following excerpt. It is from a solo-taught class on November 9, 2019, which is the same day as Excerpt 12. Before students worked on the topic question as in Excerpt 12, "Do you think students today have enough time to relax?", students were working on another topic question, "Do you think watching movies at theaters is better than watching them at home?". Students were introduced the topic question, and without a modeling by the teacher, students were instructed to work in pairs, which made the pair work a spontaneous dialogue. Ichi and Yuki worked in pairs and co-constructed the following dialogue. Below, I underlined "Tell me more" to make the imperative clear:

Excerpt 19

- 1 Ichi: Do you think watching movies at theaters is better
2 than watching them at home?
3 Yuki: I like watching in the theater better.
4 Ichi: Tell me more.
5 Yuki: ハハ、くそ腹立つんだけど (Haha, it makes me very
6 angry)。Ah, I have one reasons. First, I like, I
7 like theater because theater is very dynamic.
8 Dynamic and beautiful, moving beautiful. And, scale
9 is very big.
10 Ichi: Tell me more.
11 Yuki: And, I like 3D movie in the theater, but I don't
12 watch 3D movie in the my house. Ah, these reasons
13 make me think that I like watching movie in the
14 theater better.
15 Ichi: Oh, I hate you.

This excerpt illustrates Ichi and Yuki's understanding of how "Tell me more" functioned in the classroom, which was to prompt students to provide more information. In Excerpt 18, Paul's "Tell me more" made a student talk more. In Excerpt 19, Ichi's "Tell me more" made his partner talk more. After Yuki's response of his preference to watch movies in the theater, Ichi's "Tell me more" had Yuki provide two reasons to explain his preference towards theaters. Subsequently, Ichi's second "Tell me more" had Yuki provide his third reason and a concluding remark. In other words, Ichi was well-aware of the objectives of Naoto and Paul and how "Tell me more" made meaning in the language classroom, and

was thus socialized to use “Tell me more” to negotiate and realize the “ideal” classroom practices with his partner. Yuki was also socialized to become aware of its functional meaning, which made him follow “Tell me more” and elaborate on his own statement.

In addition, Ichi and Yuki’s awareness towards the humor included in “Tell me more” can be found from Yuki’s ハハ、くそ腹立つんだけど “Haha, it makes me very angry” (Line 5) and Ichi’s “Oh, I hate you” in the end of this excerpt. As was the case with Paul, although “Tell me more” was an imperative, it did not make the speaker’s authoritative stance salient but made the speaker and listener play with the power and control of each other, which contributed to a playful exchange.

Nevertheless, playing with “tell me more” made the speakers’ positions distinct: one giving cues to speak and the other providing information. After the topic question, Ichi’s contribution was only two sets of “Tell me more” and “Oh, I hate you” in the end. Although he “led” the conversation, it was through minimizing his participation and having Yuki become the only one to provide information. Through Ichi’s “lead”, only Yuki’s space to participate was expanded, which limited the multidirectional evolution of the exchange.

Thus, although “Tell me more” went beyond its literal meaning and became a resource to co-construct pair work where students could sustain and develop communication to some extent, it did not lead to an evolution of practices that enable a bidirectional transmission of information. Instead, it put students into distinct positions as listeners and speakers with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. As the structure of the six steps, access to “Tell me more” did not function as a gateway to enhance participation. On the other hand, students’ use of “Tell me more” to obtain power to demand information from their partner and mock Paul showed their understanding of how “Tell me more” was used by Paul and how it functioned in a playful dialogue. “Tell

me more” was used to replicate the humor in peer interaction. Such use of humor will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.6 Summary

This section explored how a third-year junior-high English class shaped their positions and realized contexts for learning/teaching English. As a full-time English teacher at Easthill High, I have personally known Naoto for a long time as a teacher with aspirations to have students “lead” exchange by “asking questions”, not just by “stating facts” but also “stating opinions”, and a teacher not just thinking about English pedagogy but also how to link his English classes to other school subjects/activities. This is different from a traditional teacher-centered classroom but is in line with “proactive, interactive and deep learning”, which led to my initial expectations before analysis that classroom practices must be somewhat different from other subject areas or English classes, including Takumi’s first-year English class, in terms of participation and positions of students and teachers. My initial impressions during classroom observations met my expectations, as I first thought that there was more space for students to make contribution to whole-class discussions, through English and through providing unique opinions and ideas, whose reasons included Naoto’s less salient authoritative stance towards students. It appeared to go beyond an IRF exchange that mainly targeted accuracy of target grammar and vocabulary.

However, analysis did not prove my initial expectations or impressions. Although the class targeted development of students’ writing, and classroom practices were intended to be more student-centered than a “traditional” Japanese classroom, discussions intended to scaffold writing development largely reproduced social relations. This was despite recent MEXT educational initiatives, the funders’ reason for providing money to hire JET-ALTs, or the classroom Naoto imagined for his students.

Open-ended discussions in the second term, during which students practiced stating their position and a reason on a given topic, were restricted by the conversational template that was introduced to support these discussions. Students mostly rehearsed discussions in pairs before sharing their opinions in class, which further reinforced the conversational template. They were also restricted by Naoto's fear of losing the "rhythm of class", despite his desire to hear students' opinions. Paul also aimed to be a "a little casual" and "break out of that teacher role", but that casualness manifested in what and how he shared with students, and was not reciprocated by students. Thus, whether the teacher was a JTE or a JET-ALT, the rhythm of the "traditional" Japanese classroom prevailed: teachers controlled the conversation and students listened to the teacher.

However, Naoto's aspirations to transform such open-ended discussions led to an introduction of a new structure of six steps which forced students to elaborate on their own statements and ask questions to the teacher. This realized some space for students to increase their contribution and "control or lead the conversation", and altered participants' positions as the teacher's authoritative stance became less salient to some extent. Nevertheless, student participation was still restricted, whether the discussion was with a JTE or a JET-ALT. The six steps expanded teachers' space to use what they heard from students and take an active part during dialogue, but restricted as well as potentially unabled students from further genuine participation, as it was the teacher who came in after the six steps and elaborate. Even though students seemed capable enough to do so in terms of language and content knowledge, the teacher did not fade out and provide such space to the student. This in turn blocked students from using his access to language and content and making contributions to go beyond the six steps as a conversational template. As such, although Naoto's aspirations were to have students "listen to others", "become interested in what they say" and "ask relevant questions", Naoto's priorities for keeping the flow of class and teacher control was maintained, and the multidirectional evolution of open-ended

discussions was limited over the school year. Similar to Takumi's class, existing classroom practices and distributions of power were reproduced.

Nevertheless, students' awareness towards the expectations of this classroom to "control or lead the conversation" were shown in their replication of Paul's teaching practices that included "Tell me more", the aims of which Paul described as to "get students to think deeper" and "say something else". Students voluntarily introduced "Tell me more" during peer interaction. This did not only make meaning to literally enhance their partner to speak more, or to negotiate and realize the teachers' expectations, but also to construct a dialogue of humor that played with the power and control of each other. However, "Tell me more" was not effective enough to have students go beyond the distinct role of the "listener" and "speaker", or the "controller" and the "controlled" of the exchange, as it was only the receiver of "Tell me more" whose space was expanded to contribute to dialogue, and not the giver as there was little contribution other than "Tell me more". Thus, although there was humor included, "Tell me more" reproduced the existing distributions of power when co-constructing dialogue, not expanding multidirectionality but creating less for students to negotiate even though between students. distributions of power were reproduced

As such, even with higher English proficiency and different class objectives to increase classroom English use, similar to the first-year "General English" class, the practices of the "traditional" Japanese classroom was maintained: teachers controlled the conversation and students listened to the teacher. In addition, the structure of the six steps or the replication of the teacher's language practices were not enough to transform existing distributions of power, and as a result, left less for students to negotiate. This raises a question of what are behind educators and institutions that lead them to continuously reproduce such positions and practices in the Japanese classroom, and what can governmental measures, research, professional development, local educational institutions

and classrooms do (if any) to transform those positions and practices to create more space for meaningful negotiation of language. This will be one of the main points to discuss in Chapter 5.

4.5. Talking from person to person

4.5.1. Introduction

This section aims to explore an alternative explanation to the reproduction of classroom practices by paying closer attention to instances of translanguaging. I will explore how students and teachers in the third-year “English Communicative Sessions” class realized their aspirations through classroom talk and positioned each other to co-construct classroom practices. As summarized in Section 2.3.1, the newest National Curriculum Standards of foreign languages for junior high schools (MEXT, 2017) includes the so-called “English in English” principle, which was already implemented for senior high schools in MEXT (2012), where “[c]lasses, in principle, should be conducted in English in order to enhance the opportunities for students to be exposed to English, transforming classes into real communication scenes” (MEXT, 2017, p. 90, English translation taken from MEXT, 2012). This change has gained wide spread attention in the educational and economic field to improve English education in Japan and a renewed emphasis in secondary schools on “English only”. However, although the policy also states “[c]onsideration should be given to use English in accordance with the students’ level of comprehension”, it has often been misinterpreted that Japanese is not to be used in English classrooms, and even if not misinterpreted, discussion has often seen language from a pedagogical point of view and not how language functions to mediate social functions or purposes in the language classroom. Thus, I will particularly look at how participants’ use of the interpersonal resources of the Japanese language, in an English language classroom, played a large role for furthering their contributions during dialogue.

In Section 4.5.2, I will examine Paul's language when giving directions and how he positioned himself to the students in these exchanges. From Section 4.5.3 to 4.5.5, I will look at peer interaction⁵⁰ over the school year involving Takeshi, Teru, and Tomo, who are three of the four students with whom I was able to conduct student interviews before the school closure due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In Section 4.5.6, I will look at how students and teachers used language and co-constructed question-and-answer sessions in pursuit of their personal interests during "Show and tell" oral presentations. Through this section, I will show how participants translanguaged to position themselves during dialogue and link it to existing social relations and practices of JET-ALTs, JTEs and students.

4.5.2 Giving directions

This section aims to describe how Paul translanguaged and mitigated his authoritative stance to realize an ethos of caring towards students through Japanese. The following excerpt comes from a team-taught class including Paul on November 8, 2019, on the same day as Excerpts 3, 4 and 5. It is from the introduction of "A picture that moved my heart" essay/speech, in which students were to pick a picture they took during their school trip to the Tohoku region of Japan, write a descriptive essay, and make a presentation to class. Paul displayed a brainstorming sheet (see Appendix 4) on the screen to show students what they were expected to do subsequently, which was to brainstorm ideas for their essays:

⁵⁰ As I described in Section 3.7.1.2, I was not able to gain data of peer interaction from the focal first-year class.

Excerpt 20

1 Paul: Because today, today, today, today, we have to do
2 some writing. じゃじゃーん。 ((Here, Paul shows the
3 brainstorming sheet on the screen.)) みんなの大好きな
4 brainstorming sheets. We are going to do some
5 brainstorming.

Paul: Because today, today, today, today, we have to do some writing. Ta-dah. You guys' favorite brainstorming sheets. We are going to do some brainstorming.

Students were already familiar with this brainstorming sheet, as they used similar sheets for three previous essays (“Self-introduction”, “My Friend”, “Introducing a Prefecture”). Observational notes describe students looking rather tired as the sheet is introduced. However, when Paul showed the sheet on the screen, he acted as if something surprising was being shown by saying じゃじゃーん (*jaja-n*), or “ta-dah” in English. In addition, he described the sheet as みんなの大好きな (*minna no daisukina*), which means “you guys’ favorite”. As such, he addressed his understanding of students’ antipathy towards the sheet. It was not addressed directly, but jokingly through use of onomatopoeia and an adjective that almost sarcastically meant the other way around. During the interview, Paul describes the reasons for this as “If I want to convey a certain emotion or feeling, the easiest way, direct way to do that is in Japanese.” As such, Paul must not have used じゃじゃーん (*jaja-n*) to unveil something amazing or みんなの大好きな (*minna no daisukina*) to create excitement, but to recognize “a certain emotion or feeling” amongst the students, easily and directly. He additionally described:

And especially when we were talking about the way that they think or brainstorm, even to use a little bit of Japanese once in a while, did help, so that they would know that I understood their own thoughts and their own difficulties. And yeah, trying to connect with them as much as possible.

Although the English equivalent would have been easily comprehended by students, engaging playfully through Japanese was key for him to “connect with them as much as possible” and align with practices in the Japanese classroom. Neither students nor teachers reacted to Paul’s statement then or throughout the observations, and such Japanese use looked like a daily part of the language classroom. Nevertheless, Paul’s translanguaging is a concrete example of his interpersonal objectives in action and his desire to connect with students, not through the language he was hired to use as a JET-ALT but through his students’ first language.

The following excerpt further describes his pursuit of such relationships through his use of Japanese. It comes about 55 seconds after Excerpt 19, after he emphasized that “Describe the Scene” and “My memory/experience” of the brainstorming sheet were especially important points to cover; that everyone had to start writing during the lesson; and that those without their pictures also had to decide a place to write about:

Excerpt 21

1 Paul: So, everybody, we are going to write today.
2 Everybody has to write today. If you don’t have
3 your picture, you still have to think what is a
4 great place that I went, what did I do, and you

5 have to write today. あの～、今決めてね (Ah, please
6 decide now)。Picture that, picture that moves my
7 heart. Because, we are going to use this picture a
8 lot, a lot, until the end of the term. クリスマスまで
9 ね (Until Christmas)。We are going to, of course, do
10 this writing.

In such a situation, it might have been difficult for those students without a picture in hand to make such a decision. During the excerpt, Paul rephrased his English directions, which should have been easily understood by the students, using the Japanese phrase 今決めてね (*Ima kimete ne*), which means “please decide now”. This included interpersonal resources of the Japanese language which realized an interpersonal relationship quite different than his reprimand in Text 4.2:

Text 4.5

今	決めて	ね。
<i>Ima</i>	<i>kimete</i>	<i>ne</i>
now	decide-IMP/inf	confirm
Adjunct	Predicator	Negotiator

“Decide now.”

The verb 決めて (*kimete*) is an imperative form of the verb 決める (*kimeru*). However, by adding the clause end particle ね (*ne*) to create 決めてね (*kimete ne*), it becomes a request for confirmation. That is, Paul was not straightforwardly directing the students to “decide”, but softening the imperative through the use of ね (*ne*). ね (*ne*)

mitigated his authoritative stance, and realized an ethos of care that dominated the classroom for students without their own picture to negotiate the upcoming potential difficulty of deciding which place to write about.

Paul used ね (*ne*) again in the latter half of this excerpt. He told students that their pictures would be used “a lot” until the end of the second term (mid-December) for the essay/speech, and rephrased that by saying クリスマスまでね (*Kurisumasumade ne*), which means “until Christmas”. Using a single picture for two months is a long process, and it is not unnatural for a teacher to mitigate his/her authoritative stance and realize an ethos of care towards students when describing the length of time necessary to complete the work on the essay/speech:

Text 4.6

クリスマスまで	ね
<i>Kurisumasumade</i>	<i>ne</i>
Until Christmas	confirm
Adjunct	Negotiator

“Until Christmas.”

During the interview, he described how he deals with such situations as in the following interview transcript:

- Interviewer: How about (in what kind of situations do you use Japanese) in creating your relationship with the students?
- Paul: Yeah, just throwing in Japanese here and there. It makes me seem a little more like a real person to them.

Although it is unclear what Paul meant by “a real person”, he had aspirations to go beyond a teacher-student relationship and make himself “seem a little more like a real person” to co-construct a person-to-person relationship with the students. Considering Paul’s interview transcript “I can almost go into a teacher role” (see Section 4.2.3) or of sounding “important” or “serious” as a teacher (see Section 4.2.4), this shows Paul’s balancing of maintaining the authoritative dimension of teaching and building personal connections with students. To accomplish the latter objective, “throwing in Japanese here and there” was again a key.

Again, Paul might not have been aware of the subtle meaning realized through ね (*ne*). However, “throwing in Japanese” and including ね (*ne*) mitigated his authoritative stance and realize an ethos of care towards students, and simultaneously accomplished Paul’s objective of positioning himself as a “real” person and co-constructing a “real” interpersonal relationship with the students. As in the previous excerpts, students (and Naoto) did not resist or make comments towards Paul’s 今決めてね (*Ima kimete ne*) and クリスマスまでね (*Kurisumasumade ne*). Instead, Paul and students were socialized to use the dominant language that included subtle meanings to build relations. Paul’s translanguaging appeared to be a daily part of the language classroom and created practices different from what he was hired to do, which was to promote international exchange and increase English use.

A contributor to such co-construction of language practices was students’ and teachers’ non-resistance to Paul giving directions through Japanese. Then, what would have happened if the ね (*ne*) was expressed in English? In other words, how can the ね (*ne*) be taught in English? This gives insights into what is missing in the language curriculum that can otherwise transform positions and practices through negotiation of social relationships. This point will be continuously pointed out through this section.

4.5.3 Peer interaction of Takeshi

As I briefly described in Section 4.4.5, peer interaction was another frequent practice in the “English Communicative Sessions” classroom for students to engage in discussions, essays and presentations, which was very different from “General English” classes that focused on the learning of grammar and vocabulary. While working on their topic questions, students practiced sharing their ideas with their partners and occasionally helped each other with their English. Pair work was also an opportunity for brainstorming ideas, taking students beyond grammar and vocabulary and further work on familiar topics and simple information exchanges, or departing from the “traditional” teacher-centered practices of a Japanese classroom and transfer to student-centered practices of “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. Naoto talked about pair work that “I am trying to at least increase the number of pair work (ただ回数は、増やそう)”, and considered how it worked in class as follows:

そんな、聞き取れてないんだけど、でも、X組もY組も、ちらちらとモニタリングしてると、それっぽくしゃべってるので、無言にならないし、日本語で遊んじゃってる子もないし、言いやすい、いいにくいはあるように見えるんですけど、でも彼ら、それなりに言ってるなあっていう感じはするかな。

[I am not exactly sure, but in Class X and Y, while I am monitoring, they are KIND OF talking, so they don't get silent or start playing with Japanese. There may be topics that are easy to talk about and those that aren't, but I feel that they are talking to a certain extent.]

As such, Naoto's objective of pair work was to get students to talk in English. Naoto considered pair work to be working positively "to a certain extent", which can be seen from his comments that students were "talking to a certain extent" without "get[ting] silent" or "playing with Japanese", even though their English was not perfect. He also commented:

彼ら同士のペアワークで、英語、苦手な子もなんか言ってるので、文法が
がたがたでも。でも、ちゃんと単語、発して言ってるから、そのレベルで
も言ってくれば、周りは理解できる。

*[During pair work, those who are not good at English are still stating
something, even if their grammar is not right. But they are still saying some words,
so even if their talk is at such level, others can understand if they say something.]*

Naoto's evaluation of how pair work was working with students of low English proficiency can be seen from his comments that they were "still stating something" by "saying some words", which was able to make others understand what they were saying. Thus, he explained that "I am getting very less anxious of leaving it to them to talk with each other (彼らに任せてやり取りをすることに対する不安が、だいぶ減っている)" from what he heard, and considered "preparing topic questions that will not stop such interaction (彼らにうまくそれが、崩れないような問いを用意するの)" to be his responsibility and challenge as a teacher.

However, despite such positivity, he "was not exactly sure", which shows that his thoughts were rather from impressions and not from empirical data. This was in line with my rough initial impressions of observing peer interaction, as students appeared to be talking, but without data, I was not able to make out the interrelationship between their

language use and positioning with their peers, which became one of my initial instinctive reasons for analyzing peer interaction.

I will start by featuring Takeshi. The following excerpt comes from a class on September 21, 2019. On the previous day, students worked on the topic question, “Which do you like better, staying at home or playing outside?”. After Paul gave brief examples, students had a little over ten minutes to write more than 60 words. There was no peer interaction or whole-class discussion before or after the writing. In the following lesson, students discussed their previous day’s writing with their partner, which made it a rehearsed dialogue to some extent:

Excerpt 22

- 1 Takeshi: I like playing outside. I like better than, 違う、な
2 んて書いたっけ。I like better than playing outside. 違
3 う、違う、違う、違う。I like, I like playing outside
4 better than staying at home. I have two reasons.
5 First, I like, 何て言うんだっけ？ I like badminton in
6 the x. Second, なんて書いたっけ？ I don’t like study,
7 so (3.0), I, I staying at home, tell me, parents
8 tell me study English. まあそんなこと言わないけど。
9 Yuki: あ～、終わった終わった。
10 Takeshi: よし、よし、よし、ダメだ。
11 Yuki: どっちが好きか言うのに 30 秒使った。
12 Takeshi: 全然出てこない。書かないとわかんなくない、頭の中で？

- Takeshi: I like playing outside. I like better than, no, what did I write? I like better than playing outside. No, no, no, no. I like, I like playing outside better than staying at home. I have two reasons. First, I like, how can I say it, I like badminton in the x. Second, what did I write. I don't like study, so (3.0), I, I staying at home, tell me, parents tell me study English. Well, they don't say such a thing.*
- Yuki: Ah, finished, finished.*
- Takeshi: Good, good, good, no good.*
- Yuki: It took 30 seconds to say which you like.*
- Takeshi: The words don't come out. Isn't it impossible to say it without writing in your mind?*

Takeshi first struggled to say, “I like playing outside better than staying at home” and state his reasons for his preference. He further struggled to describe his two reasons, one of which was related to badminton (not completely audible), and the other of which was that his parents had kept telling him to study English when he was at home, even though he did not like studying. However, for some reason, he subsequently translanguaged and said in Japanese that his parents would not say such a thing, まあそんなこと言わないけど. Then, their exchange turned to that *about* the exchange and not about the topic question. Takeshi’s よし、よし、よし (good), which describes his relief of finishing his English turn, and ダメだ (no good), which describes his evaluation of his English turn that it did not go well, became a trigger for them to further discuss how long it took for Takeshi to say his opinion and how difficult it was for him to talk about the question. Thus, this was mostly a unidirectional transmission of knowledge only from Takeshi to Yuki, in which Yuki did not make any comments about the content of what Takeshi said, followed by a bidirectional, collaborative dialogue between Takeshi and Yuki

about the exchange, or *linguaging* (Swain, 2006, p. 98), which is “the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language”. Such language practices were far from Naoto’s objective, as although Yuki may have been “[l]istening to others”, he did not appear to “become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions”.

Interestingly, all the Japanese in this exchange was not in the formal form but in the plain form. In addition, the complaint which Takeshi made about answering the topic question, “書かないとわかんなくない、頭の中で (Isn’t it impossible to say it without writing in your mind?)?”, even though he wrote it on the previous day, was not something he would have made in front of a teacher. Here, Takeshi may have been talking *about* the task to himself, as much as to Yuki. Takeshi described his use of casual language in the following interview transcript:

自分の文法で言える範囲での意見しか、言わないんで。賛成だったら言いやすいけど、反対だったら言いにくかったりしたら、賛成、迷わず選ぶんで。自分の意見が、反対でも。

[I only say opinions within what I can say with my grammar. If it is easier to say that I agree and difficult to say that I disagree, I will definitely choose to agree without hesitation. Even if disagree.]

This shows why Takeshi decided to describe what was not what his parents would say if he stayed at home during his English turns. His language practices were not to describe his thoughts, but to say something within what he could say with his English proficiency, regardless of how he thought about the topic question. Here, Takeshi stated his

preference to play outside, not because it was easier for him but because he did not have the grammar and vocabulary to state so.

After Takeshi's turn to express his opinion in English somehow finished, they used Japanese as if their mission to talk in English finished. Here, students were using English to do what the teachers wanted the students to do, to answer the topic question in English, and using Japanese to do other things, in this case, languaging, to talk *about* the task. The Japanese was in the plain form, which was the daily form used when students talk with their peers. During observations, it appeared that although they had the intention to express their opinions in English, they were not willing to make further extensions of English dialogue once they finished doing so. In other words, other than working on the task, which was rehearsed the previous day, students reproduced their daily language use with their classmates to express their thoughts.

However, Takeshi's language use shifted over the school year and evolved his contributions. The following excerpt comes from a lesson on November 16, 2019. Students were working on the topic question, "Do you want to study abroad?" Unlike the lesson in the previous excerpt, they rehearsed the topic question in pairs before they were given the ten minutes to write their answers. Subsequently, students made different pairs, and rehearsed the topic question based on what they wrote. Thus, they had two opportunities to rehearse the topic question. Takeshi worked with Moto:

Excerpt 23

- 1 Takeshi: Do you want to study abroad?
- 2 Moto: No.
- 3 Takeshi: Why, why, why?

4 Moto: I can't speak English well. So if I go to abroad, I
 5 can't speak, I can't speak people who speaks
 6 different language.

7 Takeshi: OK.

8 Moto: Eh, also, あ〜、やばい、忘れた (Oh, I'm in trouble, I
 9 forgot)、やばいやばいやばいやばい(I'm in trouble, I'm
 10 in trouble, I'm in trouble, I'm in trouble)、あ〜
 11 (ah)、it is too expensive to go to abroad, so if I
 12 go to abroad, I lost many money.

13 Takeshi: Oh.

14 Moto: But, I want to visit abroad.

15 Takeshi: Oh? Ha, ha, ha. ((The bell rings.)) 最後に言ったことが
 16 全く違うんだけど (What you said last is completely
 17 different (from what you said before that)).

Unlike the previous excerpt, Moto answered and Takeshi asked questions and responded to Moto's answer. Moto answered that he did not want to go abroad. His first reason was because he could not speak English well, and, though he had difficulty recalling what he wrote, his second reason was that it would cost him a lot of money. やばい (*yabai*) is very casual language to express "I'm in trouble", and 忘れた (*wasureta*), meaning "I forgot", is in the plain form, both of which signal their talking *about* the task in their daily casual language. Meanwhile, Takeshi asked "Why, why, why?" and made confirmations by saying "OK" and "Oh". Although these were simple English and reactions, the exchange is more consistent with Naoto's objective, "Listen to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions".

However, in the end, Moto suddenly changed his opinion and answered that he wanted to go abroad. Takeshi did not criticize this straightforwardly, but decided to tease him without sounding aggressive, resulting in a playful dialogue. After the bell rang to signal the end of lesson, he added “最後に言ったことが全く違うんだけど (*Saigoni ittakotoga mattaku chigau nda kedo*)”, which means “What you said last is completely different (from what you said before that)”. Its functional analysis is provided below:

Text 4.7

最後に言ったことが	全く	違う	んだ	けど
<i>Saigoni ittakotoga</i>	<i>mattaku</i>	<i>chigau</i>	<i>nda</i>	<i>kedo</i> .
What (you) said last	completely	different	affirm	hedge
Subject	Mood Adjunct	Predicator	Negotiator	Negotiator

“What you said last is completely different (from what you said before that).”

In the utterance-final use was 違うんだけど (*chigau nda kedo*), which uses the dictionary form of 違う (*chigau*), followed by clause end particle んだ (*nda*) (plain form) to make explicit the speaker’s attitude and affirmative stance towards his/her statement, but with another clause end particle けど (*kedo*) to hedge it. Although んだ (*nda*) and けど (*kedo*) realize contrary meanings, the combined use of んだ (*nda*) and けど (*kedo*) makes it possible to state one’s feelings neither too strongly nor too weakly (Lee & Yoshida, 2002). In other words, the use of んだ (*nda*) and けど (*kedo*) enables the speaker to state his/her statement with the necessary level of hedging to prevent it from heavily stressing the speaker’s stance towards the topic. This subtle meaning cannot be realized by the English equivalent, “What you said last is completely different from what you said before that”, and would be difficult for Takeshi to state in English, considering his

English proficiency. Thus, it would have been more productive for Takeshi to use Japanese to express an appropriate level of hedging in teasing Moto's sudden change of opinion and creating a playful dialogue without sounding too offensive. Takeshi may not have followed Naoto's objective to "ask relevant questions", but nevertheless developed the immediate conversation by making a relevant "comment", which was interpersonal and was made possible through the use of his daily Japanese language with his classmates.

As such, data from peer interaction showed that Takeshi came to contribute to peer interaction by "listen[ing] to" those opinions and "becom[ing] interested in" those opinions. However, his repertoire of questions was quite limited when he only used English. In the following excerpts, the questions are underlined to make them clear. Excerpt 24 is from a class on September 27, 2019, when the topic question was "Which is more important, reading books or doing sports?" He worked with Hiro:

Excerpt 24

- 1 Hiro: I think that reading book is more important that
- 2 reading sports. Because books, teach, teaches many
- 3 things. And, ah, books is very useful for our
- 4 future. Ah, books is, reading books is very fun.
- 5 Doing sports is, we don't have to play sports
- 6 because we do not belong to sports x.
- 7 Takeshi: How long do you reads books?
- 8 Hiro: I read two hours in, and, for 何だっけ (What was
- 9 it?) ?
- 10 Takeshi: A day じゃね〜 (Isn't it "a day"?) ?

11 Hiro: A day.

In this excerpt, there was joint learning, which is one of the common expectations of students during peer interaction. Seeing Hiro struggling to complete his English line, Takeshi helped Hiro say “a day” to complete “I read two hours a day” when asked in Japanese, 何だっけ. However, Takeshi’s question, “How long do you read books?” was a simple fixed form sentence and not much relevant to Hiro’s statement, which matches what he said during the interview, “自分の文法で言える範囲での意見しか、言わないんで (I only say opinions within what I can say with my grammar)”.

I will provide another example. Excerpt 25 is from a class on November 2, 2019, when students were instructed to talk about their school trip to Tohoku. He worked with Ichi:

Excerpt 25

- 1 Ichi: I went to Nyuto Onsen. Um, I eat, um, hot spring
2 egg in Nyuto Onsen. It tastes good. And, I drank,
3 uh, milk coffee, milk coffee. ((Naoto comes
4 nearby.)) えっ、coffee milkって英語で何て言うんですか
5 (How do you say coffee milk” in English?) ? Milk of
6 coffee? ((Naoto nods.)) And, in, in Nyuto Onsen. It
7 tastes good.
- 8 Takeshi: What did you do?
- 9 Ichi: I bought a souvenir.
- 10 Takeshi: What’s “souvenir”?

11 Ichi: おみやげ (Souvenir)。

12 Takeshi: Souvenir覚えた (Now I remember “souvenir”)。

There is another evidence of joint learning. Ichi said that he bought a souvenir in Nyuto Onsen, but Takeshi asked what “souvenir” means, to which Ichi responded by providing its Japanese meaning, おみやげ. However, Takeshi’s question, “What did you do?”, was again a simple fixed form sentence, and seems inconsistent with Ichi’s statement, as Ichi had just answered what he did in Nyuto Onsen, which was eating hot spring eggs and drinking coffee milk⁵¹.

In both of these cases, students again used English to work on the topic question and do what the teachers wanted the students to do. However, they translanguage during language related episodes (LREs), defined by Swain and Lapkin (1998, p. 326) as “talk[ing] about the language they are producing, questioning their language use, or correct themselves or others”. The Japanese was in the plain form, the daily form students use with their peers. Thus, their daily language was used during their LREs to genuinely scaffold each other multidirectionally as in a daily classroom.

In addition, Takeshi used simple fixed form sentences to ask questions during the exchange. I have no intention to criticize Takeshi’s such formation of questions that prioritize what he could say to saying something more relevant to what the speaker said. This is because when practicing speaking in a foreign language, students are commonly told to “say whatever you can say” to sustain conversation. Thus, Takeshi was socialized into such practices of sustaining conversation as expected in a language classroom, which furthered Takeshi and his partner’s participation.

⁵¹ There is also a possibility that Takeshi meant to say “What else did you do?”, as Ichi answered subsequently other things he did in Nyuto Onsen, or that Ichi voluntarily interpreted “What did you do?” as “What else did you do?” to extend dialogue.

However, Takeshi did not maintain such use of simple fixed form sentences when sustaining conversation over the school year. The following excerpt describes his transformation during peer interaction, which is from the first lesson in the third term including Eric on January 10, 2020, after the winter holidays. The class started with a dialogue between Naoto and Eric, where Eric shared his experience during the holidays of having a big Christmas dinner with his family, taking part in a go-kart race⁵² and watching a Star Wars movie in his hometown of Massachusetts. Then, students were instructed to introduce what they did during their own winter vacation to their partner, within a time limit of 40 seconds each. Takeshi worked with Teru, and after Takeshi talked about his holidays, it was Teru's turn to talk. Teru talked about his visit to Nagano, a prefecture in the middle of Japan:

Excerpt 26

- 1 Teru: I went to Nagano. I went to Kiso of Nagano. I do
- 2 ski there. And, I, I was enjoying sightseeing in
- 3 Nagano. Ah, for example, go to a eating
- 4 Shingenmochi, and, ah, (3.0), and, and, ちょっと待って
- 5 (wait one moment)、I bought, ah, ((The bell
- 6 rings.)) drinking apple juice.
- 7 Takeshi: Drinking apple juice. 信玄餅って長野だっけ (Is
- 8 Shingenmochi from Nagano?) ?
- 9 Teru: 信州らへんです (It's from Shinshu)。

⁵² Same as the story of the go-kart race that he shared with the first-year students in Excerpt 8.

After Teru described that he ate Shingenmochi, which is a Japanese rain drop cake and a specialty of the area, and drank some apple juice, Takeshi first made a repetition of Teru's utterance, "drinking apple juice". Then, he translanguaged to confirm whether Shingenmochi was from Nagano, 信玄餅って長野だっけ? (*Shingenmochitte Naganoda kke*). Teru followed with a confirmation that Shingenmochi is from Shinshu, which was the name of the province before it became Nagano Prefecture. The following is the functional analysis of Takeshi's question:

Text 4.8

信玄餅って 長野だ っけ。

Shingenmochitte Naganoda kke.

Shingenmochi Nagano be-inf doubt

Subject	Predicator	Negotiator
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"Is Shingenmochi from Nagano?"

In this situation, it would have been rude for Takeshi to form a question through clause end particle か (*ka*), asking for new information directly. Instead, Takeshi used clause end particle っけ (*kke*), which enables speakers to claim that they used to know the answer of what they are asking but temporarily forgot it, and to seek assistance from the listener to retrieve the knowledge (Hayashi, 2012). Given the students' English proficiency in the third year of junior high school, it would have been difficult for them to translate into English this subtle meaning of っけ (*kke*) within a spontaneous 40-second conversation, which would have required multiple clauses, such as "I used to know that Shingenmochi is from Nagano, but I have temporarily forgotten whether it is really so. Can

you help me confirm if that is right or not?” Adding *つけ* (*kke*) to a declarative enabled Takeshi to express this subtle meaning and simultaneously make a confirmation.

In this way, Takeshi achieved Naoto’s teaching objective, “[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions”. In the previous excerpts, Takeshi’s struggle to form English sentences became a contributor for him to extend dialogue by making comments *about* the exchange, or languaging, instead of providing further answers or opinions on the topic question. It also became a contributor for him to use simple fixed form sentences when positioned as the listener to ask questions. In this excerpt, however, translanguaging transformed such practices and enabled Takeshi to express subtle meaning to ask a relevant confirmation question as in a daily causal conversation. Although such use of Japanese is not expected under the “English in English” principle, it enabled Takeshi to make further contributions to dialogue. Then, how is translanguaging considered, or how can it be considered in the language curriculum to transform existing practices and positions in the language classroom? This will be further pointed out throughout this section.

4.5.4 Peer interaction of Teru

In this section, I will show how Teru’s participation evolved over the length of the data collection, and provide further insights to the discussion of how translanguaging impacts positions and practices in the language classroom. The following excerpt comes from a lesson on November 16, 2019, on the same day as Excerpt 23, where the topic question was “Do you want to study abroad?” While Excerpt 23 occurred after students wrote their opinions, this exchange occurred before they wrote, making it an unrehearsed exchange talk. Teru worked with Takeshi:

Excerpt 27

- 1 Takeshi: Do you want to study abroad?
- 2 Teru: Yes, I do.
- 3 Takeshi: Ah, why?
- 4 Teru: I don't, I am not good at English, but, study,
5 studying abroad can learn knowledge of the, of the
6 world. And, (3.0) studying abroad is, ah, necessary
7 for my job in the future. So, I think so. 終わり。
8 (Finished.)
- 9 Takeshi: え? (What?)
- 10 Teru: けっこう言ったよ (I have said a lot already)。2 個言っ
11 た (I gave two)、2 個言った (I gave two)、理由 2 個言っ
12 た (I gave two reasons)。
- 13 Takeshi: Why do you think so, so necessary?
- 14 Teru: Ah, ah, ah, OK, OK, OK. It is useful for 面接 (an
15 interview)。面接のときに重要だから (It is important
16 when you have an interview)。
- 17 Takeshi: Such as?
- 18 Teru: Such as 終わり (finished)。

After Takeshi asked the topic question, Teru responded “Yes, I do” and provided two reasons in English to explain why he thought so, which is a typical technique used in answering EIKEN exams. Then, he translanguaged and rudely said 終わり (*owari*), meaning “finished”, which ended his turn. Takeshi said えっ (*e*) ?, meaning “what?”. Teru responded けっこう言ったよ (*Kekko itta yo*), meaning “I have said a lot”, and

asserted three times in Japanese that he had given two reasons, which implied that he had no intention for further expanding his answer to the topic question. Nevertheless, Takeshi followed what the teachers expected students to do, to engage in English exchange by using the topic question, and asked why Teru considered English to be necessary, which Teru accepted by saying “Ah, ah, ah, OK, OK, OK.” and responded that it would be useful for interviews. Takeshi asked a further question, “Such as?”, but this time Teru refused to answer the question by including translanguaging and rudely saying “Such as 終わり (owari)”, meaning “such as ‘finished’”, which finished their exchange.

As such, Teru appeared to be reluctant to go beyond providing two reasons as in an EIKEN exam, and in the end, explicitly refused Takeshi’s request to extend dialogue. The following is the functional analysis of Teru’s Japanese when he said that he had said a lot already:

Text 4.9

けっこう	言った	よ。
<i>Kekko</i>	<i>itta</i>	<i>yo.</i>
A lot	said-inf	insistence
Mood Adjunct	Predicator	Negotiator

“I have said a lot already.”

Included in this Japanese is the adverb けっこう (*kekko*), which means “a lot” and forms an interpersonal prosody with the predicator, 言った (*itta*), which means “said”, to illustrate his evaluation of how much he had said in English to answer the topic question. Also included is よ (*yo*), which is a clause end particle to express insistence. The English equivalent of this Japanese should have been within Teru’s proficiency to

express and must have been readily comprehensible for Takeshi. However, Teru’s けっこ
う (*kekko*) and よ (*yo*), may have further helped Takeshi understand how strongly Teru
aspired to insist that he had said a lot and that he had no intention to further extend his
answer on the topic. Teru’s insistence was reproduced in the following Japanese at the end
of this line, which includes another 言ったよ (*itta yo*) :

Text 4.10

理由 2 個	言った	よ。
<i>Riyuuniko</i>	<i>itta</i>	<i>yo.</i>
Two reasons	said-inf	insistence
Subject	Predicator	Negotiator

“I gave two reasons.”

Teru mainly used English to do what the teachers expected students to do, to
answer the topic question in English, but used Japanese to rudely express his resistance to
continue the task. As Takeshi in the previous section, Teru spoke daily casual language that
would frequently be used with his classmates. It was not clear what led Teru to such strong
resistance, but the following interview transcript provides a hint:

即興でなんか考えるのはけっこう、難しくて。あと、自分の考えを言いた
いときに、その英語が知らなかったり思い付かなかったりすると、いつも
話が詰まっちゃったり。なんか変な文章になっているのを言っちゃったり
している。で、けっこう自分にとって、難しいのかなってみたいな感じ
が。

[It was very difficult to think of something on the spot. When I want to say my opinion but don't know how to say it in English or cannot come up with how to say it in English, I always get stuck or say something strange. I feel it is very difficult.]

During the excerpt, students were instructed to talk with their partners in English without rehearsing in advance. Teru's English included self-repairs, repetitions, pauses and mistakes, which shows that it was not easy for Teru to do so. From his emphasis during the interview, without hedging, of finding it けっこう (meaning "very") difficult to think on the spot and いつも (meaning "always") getting stuck and saying something strange, and from my own experiences as an English teacher in Japan, he might have been concentrating on managing to come up with something to say and transmitting it to Takeshi in English, and might not have been much invested in further extending the exchange. As such, Teru was following the rote patterns of answering the topic question with little space for negotiating meaning,

Nevertheless, Teru's language practices transformed over the period of data collection. The following exchange occurred after students were given ten minutes to write their answers on the topic question, "Do you want to study abroad?", simultaneously with Excerpt 23. Teru incorporated what he wrote into the exchange and worked with another student, Fumi:

Excerpt 28

1 Fumi: Do you want to study abroad?

2 Teru: Yes, I do. I have two reasons. First, ah, I,

3 Fumi: Tell me more. Tell me more.

4 Teru: I am good, I am not good at English, but, ah.

5 studying abroad can learn knowledge and thinking of

6 the world, so I can learn, I can speak English, ah,

7 natural. And, second,

8 Fumi: Naturallyでしょ (It should be 'naturally').

9 Teru: あっ、naturallyだ (Oh, it should be 'naturally'。あ

10 っ、naturally、naturalって書きちゃった (Oh, I wrote

11 'naturally', 'natural')。まあいいか (Well, never

12 mind)。But, ah, second, ah,

13 Fumi: Tell me more.

14 Teru: Studying abroad is necessary for my job in the

15 future.

16 Fumi: Joke?

17 Teru: Joke?

18 Fumi: Jokeって言った (Did you say 'joke'?) ?

19 Teru: Joke? 違う (No)、Job.

20 Fumi: まあいい (Never mind)。Joke.

21 Teru: So, I think so.

22 Fumi: Do you like joke?

23 Teru: No, yes, I do.

24 Fumi: What joke, what the person who, who, who usually

25 say joke?

26 Teru: Ichi.

Teru responded after Fumi asked the topic question. However, unlike the previous excerpt, this was after the spontaneous exchange and the 10-minute writing, which became opportunities for Teru to rehearse. The sound recording showed that Teru seemed to have more confidence and spoke faster. He did not translanguage to resist further expansion of the exchange, but literally followed the three uses of the imperative “Tell me more” from Fumi (see Section 4.4.5 to see what “Tell me more” meant in this class). When he translanguaged, he not only accepted Fumi’s metalinguistic feedback about his use of “natural” when he incorrectly used the wrong part of speech, but also expressed that he did not take it too seriously (まあいいか), before going back to answering the topic question (“But, ah, second, ah,”) (Lines 9-12). After he stated the two reasons as he would in an EIKEN exam, Fumi made a confirmation question by asking whether Teru was saying “job” or “joke”. Teru answered that it was ‘job’ (Line 19), with which Fumi decided to play with and Teru joined along to create humor to end the exchange. As such, Teru and Fumi’s participation was more evolved and playful than the previous excerpt.

When I asked Teru to look back on his work with his peers on such topic questions, he said “けっこう、言えてるとか個人的には、思ってるんですけど (I personally think that I am saying well)”, and further described as follows:

やっていくうちに、例えば理由を述べるときとかも、形とかもけっこう覚えたりしたり。あと、自分が間違っていたりしても、相手のやつも聞くんで、相手のことを聞いて、ここ間違えてたんだみたいな、それでこういう言い方があるんだみたいな、気付いては、けっこういたんで。

[As I did it, for example, when I wanted to provide reasons, I learned the form necessary to do so. Also, when I made mistakes, I also listened to what others

say, so I often noticed what mistakes I was making and what kind of phrases I could use from listening to others.]

This interview transcript shows Teru's perception of "saying well" as he worked with his peers by not only "learn[ing] the form necessary", but also noticing his mistakes and learning "what kind of phrases" to use through "listening to" his peers, whose frequency was described with the adverb けっこう, meaning "often". For Teru, those in positions of whom he could learn from were not only teachers but also students. Teru's acceptance of Fumi's metalinguistic feedback and his alignment with Fumi's humor of "job" and "joke" contributed to an extension of exchange, and peer interaction came to be a space to not only do what the teachers expected in an English classroom but also construct a playful dialogue as in a daily casual exchange with the help of translanguaging. When I further asked him how it was when working with his classmates, he answered "やりやすいと思います (I think it is easy to do so)" and went on to explain as follows:

ペアでやると、文章が使えるときでも、ペアの人が OK, OK みたいな、フォローみたいなのが入ってくるとちょっと話しやすいのかなと思います。

[When I work with a partner, even I cannot say it in a sentence, if he supports me by saying something like "OK, OK.", I think it becomes easy to speak.]

This shows Teru's trust and bond when working with his peers, as he described that even if he "cannot say it in a sentence", support from his peers made it "easy to speak" for him. However, Teru's position in class was not only the "supported", but also the

“supporter” of his classmates. The following excerpt comes from a lesson on January 11, 2020, the day after Excerpt 26. This lesson began with pair work, where students again talked about what they had done during their winter holidays (but with a different partner from the previous day). Subsequently, new pairs were made, where students were instructed to explain to their new partner what they heard from their previous partner, making it an unrehearsed exchange. In the following excerpt, Teru worked with Nobu. Nobu talked about the money which his previous partner had been given as a gift during the New Year’s, called *otoshidama* in Japanese⁵³:

Excerpt 29

- 1 Nobu: He get many money on January 3rd.
2 Teru: January 6th?
3 Nobu: 3rd, 3rd.
4 Teru: Ah.
5 Nobu: Ah, as he get, he could get too much money, so he
6 must, he must be secret that.
7 Teru: Ah. Secret that. 何円もらったか (How much he got).
8 Nobu: 何円もらったか秘密にしなきゃね。 (How much he got must be
9 a secret.) たくさんもらいすぎたからね。 (Because he got
10 too much.)

⁵³ Getting *otoshidama* is one of the practices which children in Japan look forward to very much during their New Year’s, because they can get a certain amount of money from their relatives for their own pocket money.

Nobu explained that his previous partner had gotten a lot of money on January 3rd, but struggled to say that the partner had to make the amount a secret. Then, Teru made a repetition, “Secret that”, and translanguaged, 何円もらったか (*nanen moratta ka*), meaning “how much he got”, which showed his understanding of what Nobu struggled to say in English. Then, Nobu made a repetition of Teru’s Japanese, 何円もらったか (*nanen moratta ka*), and added further Japanese to explain what to do with the money, 秘密にしなければね (*himitsuni shinakya ne*), meaning “must be a secret”. In this way, Teru and Nobu sustained dialogue by jointly constructing a Japanese translation of what Nobu struggled to say in English, “How much he got must be a secret”. Subsequently, Nobu explained that the large amount his partner got was the reason for keeping the amount a secret, saying たくさんもらいすぎたからね (*Takusan moraisugita kara ne*).

To describe the subtle meanings which Nobu made through the Japanese language in his last turn, its functional analyses (but without the 何円もらったか (*nanen moratta ka*), which was a repetition of Teru) are provided below:

Text 4.11

秘密に	しなきゃ	ね。
<i>Himitsuni</i>	<i>shinakya</i>	<i>ne.</i>
Secret	do must-inf	confirm
Adjunct	Predicator	Negotiator

“(We) have to make (it) a secret”

In addition to what I described in Section 4.5.2, ね (*ne*) is a clause end particle which also enables the speaker to soften his/her remark for rapport and request agreement

from the listener (Hudson, 2018). This ね (*ne*) allowed him to not only soften his intention to keep the amount a secret but also to request agreement from Teru to do so.

Text 4.12

たくさん	もらいすぎた	から	ね。
<i>Takusan</i>	<i>moraisugita</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>ne.</i>
Many	got too much-inf	reason	confirm
Mood Adjunct	Predicator	Negotiator	Negotiator

“Because he got too much.”

This second ね (*ne*) enabled Nobu to hedge and request agreement about why the amount needed to be kept a secret, which was because it was too large. From this Japanese, which was in the plain form as students would use daily in casual conversation with their peers and included these two uses of ね (*ne*), an intimate space of sharing their understanding of *otoshidama* and not telling the amount to others was constructed by Nobu and Teru.

As such, Nobu and Teru’s translanguaging enabled them to not only work on the topic question and follow rote patterns, but also talk casually as in a daily conversation to negotiate meaning and achieve Naoto’s objective of “[l]isten[ing] to others, becom[ing] interested in what they say, and ask[ing] relevant questions”. From my observations, Nobu and Teru appeared to know each other well and have equal status as peers. Such relationship enabled joint construction of dialogue, and the use of ね (*ne*) that realized a subtle meaning as in a daily casual conversation between classmates, which would require multiple clauses if it were to be expressed in English. In short, Nobu and Teru’s translanguaging provided them with opportunities to create genuine exchange about the

topic concerned, in other words, reproduce the daily practices and relations between peers in a Japanese school, as well as aligning with expected practices of using English in the language classroom. Unlike the first excerpt of this section, both English and Japanese came to be used as repertoires to evolve multidirectionality.

What is more, it was not only students but also Naoto who translanguaged to reproduce the daily practices and relations with students, as well as aligning with expected practices of using English. The following excerpt, which includes another similar *ね* (*ne*), comes from a lesson on January 31, 2020. The topic question of the class was “Where would you like to visit in Japan?”. Students first rehearsed the topic question in pairs, and then joined the following whole-class discussion. A student, Nobu, shared his aspirations to go to the Ogasawara Islands again, which is a chain of volcanic islands located about 1000 kilometers south of Tokyo. Nobu and Naoto talked about the trip to get there:

Excerpt 30

- 1 Naoto: How did you go there? By ship?
- 2 Nobu: ((Nods.))
- 3 Naoto: How long?
- 4 Nobu: Ah, one day.
- 5 Naoto: ね。One dayですね (It's one day)。24 hours.
- 6 S30: 一日かかんの (Does it take a day?) ?
- 7 Naoto: Yeah, 24 hours from the mainland. Just ship, just
- 8 by ship. We can't go there by plane.

After the exchange about how to get to the Ogasawara Islands, Naoto asked how long it took to get there. Nobu answered that it took a full day, to which Naoto responded

by saying ね (*ne*) without a preceding clause. Then, he repeated Nobu’s “one day”, followed by です (*desu*), which made the clause into a polite form, and another ね (*ne*), before stating the equivalent of one day in hours. The following is a functional analysis of the sentence with the second ね (*ne*):

Text 4.13

One day	です	ね。
	<i>desu</i>	<i>ne.</i>
	be-fml	confirm
	Predicator	Negotiator

“It’s one day.”

In addition to softening one’s remark for rapport, ね (*ne*) can realize an affective common ground between the speaker and the listener (Cook, 1990). です (*desu*) made this segment a formal conversation, as a teacher would daily talk with students in a Japanese classroom, but adding ね (*ne*) prevented the conversation from going too formal. That is, after the information about how long it takes to get to the Ogasawara Islands was exchanged, Naoto’s ね (*ne*) not only realized the meaning of support, such as “Yeah”, “I get you”, “Nice”, but also realized intimate space to ensure Nobu that he had been heard by the teacher. As such, ね (*ne*) was used not only by students but also Naoto and helped him express such intimacy to share the success of getting the message “one day” across. Translanguaging enabled Naoto to position himself not only as an English teacher but also build relations with students as in a daily Japanese classroom. Then, can such ね (*ne*) be included in the language curriculum and make contributions to transform dominant positions to enable students to make further contributions to dialogue? I will

provide more excerpts in the following section to find further insights into answering this question.

4.5.5 Peer interaction of Tomo

In this section, I will show how Tomo positioned his classmates through translanguaging over the school year to support his use of the target language and make further contributions during pair work. The following excerpt comes from a lesson on November 9, 2019, on the same days as Excerpts 12 and 19. It occurred simultaneously with Excerpt 19, where students worked on the topic question, “Do you think watching movies at theaters is better than watching them at home?”. Students talked with their partners with no preceding rehearsal. Tomo worked with Kaito:

Excerpt 31

- 1 Kaito: Do you think watching movies at theaters is better
2 than watching them at home?
3 Tomo: あ～、あ～、あ～、映画で、映画館で見るか、家で見るか (Ah,
4 ah, ah, do you mean, watching at movie, movie
5 theaters, or at home?).
6 Kaito: そう (Yes).
7 Tomo: I like to watch movie in the theater. Because
8 theater is, theater has, has big screen, so I can
9 watch movie, eh, ah, I can watch movie, ah, big.
10 Biggerかな (Is it “bigger”?) ? わからない (I’m not
11 sure)。

12 Kaito: 何が、何が (What, what?) ?

13 Tomo: 迫力があるってなんていうんだろう (How do you say “the
14 scenes are gripping”?) ? Scalerかな (Is it
15 ‘scaler’?) ?

16 Kaito: Scale is big じゃないの (Shouldn’t it be ‘scale is
17 big’?)

18 Tomo: x.

19 Kaito: xじゃない、scale (Not x, ‘scale’).

20 Tomo: Scale.

21 Kaito: Scale. Scale is big.

22 Tomo: Scale is bigger than at home. わかんないけど (I’m not
23 sure).

24 Kaito: そんなもんじゃない (It must be something like that.).

25 Tomo: Ah, but, eh, old movie is

26 Kaito: Can watchということか (Do you mean ‘can watch’?) ? 家
27 で見れるということか (You can watch it at home?) ?

28 Tomo: そう (Yes).

29 Kaito: Can watch.

30 Tomo: Old movie, uh, don’t, 違う (no)、 I can’t watch old
31 movie in the theater, so, so, so.

Tomo answered his preference to watch movies in the theater because he could watch them on a big screen, but also added that he was not sure how to express his second reason, “the scenes are gripping”, in English. Tomo incorrectly made the noun “scale” into a comparative, “scaler”, which Kaito followed with a metalinguistic feedback by saying “Scale is big じゃないの (*jyanai no*)?”, which means “Shouldn’t it be ‘scale is big’?”.

Tomo first mistook the word “scale” for a word which was inaudible from the audio recordings, but Kaito again followed with a metalinguistic feedback and provided “Scale is big”. Then, Tomo incorporated Kaito’s feedback and said “Scale is bigger than at home.”, which he followed with わかんないけど (*wakannai kedo*), meaning “I’m not sure”. After Kaito confirmed, Tomo said “old movie is”, which led Kaito to ask Tomo if he meant to say something like “Old movie can watch at home”. Tomo confirmed, and completed the exchange by stating he could not watch old movies in theaters.

As the excerpt shows, Tomo made many English errors, but still managed to sustain the conversation. The following is a functional analysis of the Japanese equivalent of “I’m not sure”, which Tomo provided when he was not sure how to say “The scenes are gripping” in English and instead said “Scale is bigger than at home”:

Text 4.14

分かんない	けど。
<i>Wakannai</i>	<i>kedo</i>
not understand-inf	modification
Predicator	Negotiator
“I’m not sure.”	

けど (*kedo*) is a clause end particle used when the speaker intends to add some modification to his/her preceding utterance, but not explicitly. Through けど (*kedo*), speakers imply the modification by providing a hint, which leaves space for listeners to guess and make multiple interpretations. As such, けど (*kedo*) realizes vague meaning but simultaneously softens one’s voice and eases the burden on the listener (Lee & Yoshida, 2002). Here, Tomo’s 分かんないけど (*wakannnai kedo*) not only literally meant “I’m

not sure” but included a hidden meaning, such as “tell me if ‘Scale is bigger than at home’ is right” or “please help me”. Kaito interpreted the hidden meaning and responded by saying そんなもんじゃない? (*sonnamon jyanai?*), meaning “It must be something like that”, which confirmed Tomo’s “Scale is bigger than at home” to a certain extent.

As such, Tomo engaged in interaction with Kaito by translanguaging to not only work on the topic question as expected by the teachers, but also soften his voice and ask Kaito for further help as in a daily casual conversation with peers. Tomo was positioning his classmates as supporters to help his participation, which he explained as follows:

僕個人としては、少しボキャブラリーが少ないかなって。だから、話すと、文法は分かってても、単語が分かんないっていう感じで。

[Personally, I lack vocabulary knowledge a bit. So when I talk, even if I know the grammar, I don't know what word to say.]

This interview transcript matches his participation in the excerpt. As Tomo explained, he lacked “vocabulary knowledge” to say “the scenes are gripping” and did not “know what word” to express that meaning. In such situation, he did the following:

ペアとかやってると、知らない単語とかあったらとかすると、教えてもらったりとかして、次、使えるっていうのがあるんですけど。

[When I work with a partner and have a word I cannot say, I have them teach it to me, and then, I can use it next time.]

Not knowing what word to use, Tomo asked Kaito to “teach it to” him. Unlike Teru in Excerpt 27, Tomo did not translanguge to explicitly refuse to extend dialogue, but to position themselves to enable a joint construct of dialogue.

Over the school year, Tomo came to incorporate what he learned from his peers to further expand peer interaction. The following excerpt comes from a lesson on February 14, 2020, on the same day as Excerpt 17. Students made pairs and talked about their best memories at Easthill High, but were instructed not to talk about their school trip to Tohoku, which they did in the previous term. No model was provided by the teachers, nor was there any writing beforehand, which made the following exchange spontaneous. Tomo worked with Chiaki. After Chiaki shared his memory about the school festival, it became Tomo’s turn:

Excerpt 32

- 1 Chiaki: What is your best memory except for Tohoku?
- 2 Tomo: 東北なしって言われたじゃね〜 (Weren’t we told not to
- 3 talk about Tohoku. right?)。
- 4 Chiaki: Except for
- 5 Tomo: Exce, exceptか (Exce, ah, except)。
- 6 Chiaki: って言ってたんだよ (I said ‘except for’)。
- 7 Tomo: 東北以外でね (Except for Tohoku)。 I think, ah, Class,
- 8 Class’s Day.
- 9 Chiaki: Oh.
- 10 Tomo: Ah, when I was second, second grade,
- 11 Chiaki: Where did you go?

12 Tomo: I went to Yokohama and Yokohama Chukagai⁵⁴.

13 Chiaki: What did you do?

14 Tomo: I ate, I ate Chinese food at restaurant.

When Chiaki asked the topic question, Tomo initially did not catch “except for” and asked a confirmation question through the clause end particle *ね* (*ne*). Chiaki did not appear to be happy for being asked such question and angrily responded that he had said “except for”. Although the Japanese meaning of “except for” was not provided by Chiaki, Tomo caught what Chiaki initially meant to ask and said *東北以外でね* (*Tohoku igaide ne*), which means “except for Tohoku”. Then, Tomo proceeded to answer the question by talking about the “Class’s Day”. This is an event unique to this school. First and second-year junior-high classes go on a trip and spend a night together with their classmates in October, but each class has a discussion to decide where to go, stay and what to do to create their own itinerary. Tomo said that his best memory was the trip to Yokohama and Yokohama Chinatown in his second year.

The following is the functional analysis of Tomo’s Japanese when he caught the meaning of “except for”:

⁵⁴ *Chukagai* is the Japanese word for Chinatown.

Text 4.15

東北以外で	ね。
<i>Tohokuigaide</i>	<i>ne</i>
other than Tohoku	self-confirmation

Predicator	Negotiator
------------	------------

“Other than Tohoku.”

This ね (*ne*) not only realizes the meaning of self-confirmation but also of an “elaborate process of recalling” (Kamio, 1998, p. 234). This “recalling” the meaning of “except for” was a joint construction between Tomo and Chiaki. Tomo initially did not catch Chiaki’s “except for”, but as soon as Chiaki said “except for” again, Tomo repeated it and recalled the Japanese translation 以外で (*igaide*) by himself (Line 5 and 7). Here, Tomo translanguaged and shared with Chiaki such “elaborate process of recalling” as in a daily casual conversation in the classroom, before going on to maintain exchange.

When I asked Tomo how it was working with his partners, he answered as follows:

いや、楽しいすけど。楽しい会話とかも、少し日本語が交じってるとか、
分かんないところは流しちゃえとかしちゃって、もしくは調べたりとかし
て、すごい間が空いちゃったりとかするから。それと、日本語でのコミュ
ニケーションになっちゃってるかなっていう感じがあります。

*[Yeah, I enjoy it. In those enjoyable conversations, I mix some Japanese,
dodge what I cannot understand. or pause for a long time because I need to find*

how to say it in English. I also feel that it is becoming a conversation in Japanese.]

In spite of Tomo's description of enjoying working with his peers, his use of ちゃう (*chau*), conjugated and combined with verbs and used as a) 流しちゃえ (*nagashichae*), meaning "dodge", b) 空いちやったり (*aichattari*), meaning "pause", and c) なっちゃってる (*nachatteru*), meaning "becoming", expresses his awareness that he was not doing what he was expected to do in the language classroom; dodging if the English was not understandable, becoming silent for a long time and engaging in Japanese conversation. However, Excerpts 31 and 32 show that Japanese was used with his peers to enable a joint construction of learning the English necessary to support his participation. In addition, the Japanese realized subtle meanings as in a daily casual conversation between peers. Clause end particle けど (*kedo*) in Excerpt 31 realized the subtle meaning to have Kaito respond without burden, and ね (*ne*) in Excerpt 32 realized the subtle meaning to express his "elaborate process of recalling" (Kamio, 1998, p. 234) what he had missed hearing from Chiaki. Tomo may not have noticed, but his use of Japanese became a key to accomplish Naoto's objective, which was having students "[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions".

As such, over the school year, Tomo positioned his peers as valuable resources to make further contributions during pair work, which included practices and relations reproduced through the dominant language to support the use of the target language. However, the meanings realized through such translanguaging do not much shed light on the language curriculum. With further clarification, I propose that there will be more potentials of transforming classroom practices for additional participation, not only in the students' first language but in the additional language that they are learning. This will be one of the main points for discussion in Chapter 5.

4.5.6 Question-and-answer sessions during oral presentations

This section will turn to question-and-answer sessions during oral presentations and explore how translanguaging transformed positions to reproduce practices that contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the sessions. Oral presentations were another key practice of this third-year “English Communicative Sessions” class, and students made presentations by memorizing what they wrote on their essays. The following excerpts come from the third term, the last semester of the school year., when students worked on a “show and tell” speech. For this speech, each student brought something which they considered to be worth showing to the class and talk about it. To prepare students for the speech, Naoto and Eric provided students with model speeches, had students organize their ideas through brainstorming sheets and write their speech scripts, and provided feedback twice on language and content. After this writing phase, students individually memorized their speech script and practiced their speech with their partners, during which they provided each other with feedback on language and speech techniques, such as volume of voice, eye contact and speed.

Students made their speeches on February 7 and 8, 2020. After each speech, Naoto conducted a question-and-answer session where students, as listeners, asked the speaker questions, which matched his objective of having students “[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions”. The following excerpt comes after Teru, the eighth of 22 speakers, completed a speech about a baseball cap of Hiroshima Toyo Carp, which is one of the professional baseball teams in Hiroshima, Japan. Teru was asked a question by Kaito:

Excerpt 33

- 1 Kaito: Why do you like Hiroshima Toyo Carp?
2 Teru: Hiroshima Toyo Carp was very strong, and my
3 favorite player is Suzuki Seiya.

Their question-and-answer session ended after one exchange of turns in English. They did not proceed to extend this exchange, and much less, no one else joined the exchange, even though baseball is a very popular sport in Japan, and undoubtedly a topic of daily conversation for students at Easthill High. The reason why Teru said that the Carp “was” strong, instead of “is”, is probably because they had won the pennant race three years in a row until the previous year, but finished fourth out of six teams in 2019. The baseball player that Teru referred to, Suzuki Seiya, was one of the best players in Hiroshima Toyo Carp at that time, and had the best batting percentage and on-base percentage in the league in 2019. These could have become a topic of interest to further extend the question-and-answer session, but that was not the case. As a result, the session had little space for meaningful negotiation of language, limited to one verbal exchange between the questioner (the listener of the speech) and the answerer (the speaker of the speech). During observations, it appeared that students were much more invested in memorizing their lines and conducting their speeches, which were graded, than engaging in the ungraded question-and-answer sessions. In addition, listeners appeared to be somehow trying to ask one question in English, but not trying to do more. Once a student asked a question, in most cases, no other student joined the session. Such practice was prevalent to almost all speeches, which became a reproduction of daily practices and relations in a Japanese classroom that positioned participants distinctly as questioners and answerers with less space for meaningful negotiation of language and less space for others to join in,

even though it could have been an opportunity to create such space through what students brought to class.

At times, Naoto joined the question-and-answer sessions. The following exchange came after Sachi, the fifteenth of 22 speakers, talked about his gold medal which he had won in a swimming race. Another student, Kei, asked Sachi a question:

Excerpt 34

- 1 Kei: How long have you, how long have you, have you
2 practiced swimming?
3 Sachi: I've practiced swimming for 12 years.
4 Naoto: Ah, 12 years. Let me ask you one question. Could
5 you tell us the best time in swimming?
6 Sachi: It's breath strike, ah, breath stroke, 43, 43,
7 Naoto: 43 seconds.
8 Sachi: Seconds.
9 Naoto: So, how many meters? How long?
10 Sachi: 50 meters.
11 Naoto: 50 meters. OK, thank you very much.

After Kei asked Sachi how long he had practiced swimming, Sachi responded that it had been 12 years. Naoto jumped in, and asked Sachi what his best record was. He responded that it was 43 seconds in a breath stroke race, in which Naoto supported Sachi in terms of vocabulary by providing “seconds”. The length of the race was not clear, and Naoto additionally asked “So, how many meters? How long?”, to which Sachi responded that it was a 50-meter race.

When listening to a speech about someone winning a gold medal in swimming, people might want to know more about the race or what has led to such achievement. However, similar to Excerpt 33, Kei and Sachi were restricted to one exchange of turns with distinct roles as a questioner and an answerer and with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. It was Naoto and not students that extended the session, which turned out to restrict students from participation and make his authoritative stance salient to control exchange as in a daily classroom.

Naoto was aware that the question-and-answer sessions did not live up to his expectations, which he described as below:

質問してくれって言ったときの、あれが課題だなあって。沈黙があったり、あそこで時間、食っちゃったりっていう。いろいろな理由があるとは思いますが、質問が作れない。多分、あれは英語力の問題よりもって思う側面もあったりするんですけど。

[When I tell them to ask questions, that is a problem. Sometimes there is silence, and it chews up time. I think there are many reasons behind it, but they can't make questions. It's probably not just a problem of English proficiency.]

Naoto's struggle was clearly stated without any hedging in 質問が作れない, meaning "they can't make questions", but with hedging in 多分、英語力の問題よりもって思う側面もあったりするんですけど, meaning "it's probably not just a problem of English proficiency", which suggests his uncertainty of what is causing the struggle during question-and-answer sessions. His struggle in dealing with this "problem" became clearer later in the interview, which was explained with a strong negative in 聞く側の、オーディエンスとしての態度を育てていくっていうところは、今までうまくいったため

しがないなあ, meaning “I’ve never succeeded in developing their behaviors as listeners, as the audience”. Thus, in Excerpt 34, Naoto might have joined the session facing difficulty of transforming classroom practices and positions during question-and-answer sessions.

However, not all question-and-answer sessions reproduced such practices and positions. Next, I will show an excerpt in which translanguaging became key to shift such positions and transform practices. Ichi, the nineteenth of 22 speakers, made a speech about a figure of *Ice Climbers Combo*, which was from *Super Smash Brothers*, a computer game developed and published by Nintendo. Having played *Ice Climbers* during his own teens, Naoto became interested in what Ichi brought. After one student asked Ichi why he liked *Ice Climbers*, Naoto joined the session and asked Ichi what a combo was:

Excerpt 35

- 1 Ichi: その、コンボの説明すればいいんですか？
- 2 Naoto: コンボって何？ どういう？
- 3 S31: どういう？ 何？
- 4 S32: やってみて。
- 5 Naoto: 単純に、俺が知らない。今ユキが質問、英語の質問をしてくれたの
- 6 の番外編で、単純に俺が知りたい。

Ichi: Ah, shall I explain the combo?

Naoto: What’s a combo? What kind of combo is it?

S31: What kind? What?

S32: Show us how to use it.

Naoto: *Simply, I have no knowledge about it. What Yuki asked, in English, was not the main question. I simply want to know it.*

Unlike the daily practices of a Japanese classroom where knowledge transmission is largely conducted from the teacher to students, roles were reversed. Ichi was the owner of the knowledge of *Ice Climbers Combo* and transmitted the knowledge to Naoto, and Naoto was the one to seek information from Ichi and accomplish the “[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions”. In addition, unlike Excerpts 33 and 34, which were conducted in English, this session translanguaged. Also, unlike Excerpts 33 and 34, S31 jumped into the exchange to express his interest, and S32 additionally came in and asked Ichi to show how to use it, transforming existing practices of restricting other students from participation.

The following is the functional analysis of Naoto’s last statement, 単純に俺が知りたい (*tanjyunni orega shiri tai*), meaning “I simply want to know it”, which he used to express his aspirations to learn about the combo:

Text 4.16

単純に	俺が	知り	たい
<i>Tanjyunni</i>	<i>orega</i>	<i>shiri</i>	<i>tai</i>
Simply	I	know	want to
Mood Adjunct	Subject	Predicator	Negotiator

“I simply want to know it.”

Naoto used a personal pronoun 俺 (*ore*) to refer to himself. In contrast to 私 (*watashi*), used in formal situations by men and women, or 僕 (*boku*), used in semi-

formal situations by men in a humble manner, 俺 (*ore*) is used by men in informal settings and includes a sense of intimacy and masculinity, it is not a pronoun that is often used by teachers in formal classroom contexts. Then, he said 知りたい (*shiri tai*), in which the verb 知る (*shiru*), meaning “to know”, was conjugated into the たい (*tai*) form and expressed his willingness to learn. The copula です (*desu*) was not added in the end, which further made this Japanese phrase informal. Such subtle interpersonal meanings realized by 俺 (*ore*) and 知りたい (*shiri tai*) cannot be expressed by saying the English equivalent, “I simply want to know it”, and Naoto translanguaged to create a casual setting and reduce social distance, which mitigated traditional teacher-student hierarchies to help him learn from Ichi. This transformed dominant practices of question-and-answer sessions, and reproduced exchange similar to that of a casual conversation in the classroom.

In sum, the question-and-answer sessions during oral presentations were designed to create opportunities for students to “[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions” in English, based on what students brought to class. However, the sessions were mostly finished within one verbal exchange between the questioner and the answerer, reproducing daily Japanese classroom practices where the roles of the questioner and the answerer are distinct with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. Nevertheless, translanguaging transformed such practices and mitigated traditional teacher-student hierarchies, enabling the teacher to learn from the student. As I have stressed throughout this session, English accomplished what the teacher expected students to, which left participants with less space for meaningful negotiation of language, but Japanese was used to position students and teachers as in a casual conversation in the classroom, reproducing practices that contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the classroom.

4.5.7 Summary

In this section, I paid closer attention to translanguaging and illustrated how students and teachers in the third-year “English Communicative Sessions” class positioned each other and reproduced classroom practices as in a daily casual conversation, which contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the classroom. Paul’s aspirations to “connect with them (students) as much as possible” in “the easiest way” and “direct way” and to position himself “a little more like a real person” led him to translanguage, which enabled him to mitigate his authoritative stance and realize an ethos of care towards students. Although such use of Japanese, the dominant language, was not what JET-ALTs were hired to do as experts of the additional language, it was not resisted, and instead reproduced the daily language practices of the language classroom to help him and students build relations.

I also explored peer interaction of three focal students, which were key opportunities for students to go beyond grammar and vocabulary learning and practice sharing their ideas and help each other with English, and depart from the “traditional” teacher-centered practices of learning to those that are student-centered and enable “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. Takeshi’s clear aspirations to prioritize what he could say within his English proficiency to what he thought about the topic question described his resistance to extend dialogue and negotiate in English once he managed to answer the topic question. This was followed by his use of Japanese and talking *about* the task, or languaging, which did not meet with teacher expectations. However, his participation transformed over the school year to accomplish Naoto’s objective of having students “[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions” to a certain extent. Even though English questions were limited to simple fixed form sentences, Japanese was used to make relevant comments, engage in language related episodes, and realize subtle meanings to help ask relevant confirmation questions, which

reproduced the daily casual conversation between students in a Japanese classroom but simultaneously contributed to the multidirectional evolution during peer interaction.

Another student, Teru's struggle to think of what to say on the spot and putting it into English initially led him to translanguage and rudely express his resistance to continue working on the task, which blocked his partner from further participation. However, his trust and bond with his classmates transformed his participation over the school year. His acceptance of his peer's metalinguistic feedback and his alignment with his peer's humor led him to use translanguaging to a) go beyond what the teachers expected in an English classroom and co-construct a playful dialogue, and b) jointly construct dialogue through the subtle meanings realized through the Japanese language and negotiate meaning. These similarly contributed to another reproduction of the daily relations and practices in a Japanese classroom, but also to the multidirectional evolution during peer interaction.

Unlike the previous two students, Tomo's aspirations to ask for help from his peers to overcome his limited English proficiency led him to use translanguaging, not to express resistance to extend dialogue but to position his classmates as supporters to facilitate his participation and jointly construct dialogue, which turned out to match Naoto's objectives of having students "[l]isten to others, become interested in what they say, and ask relevant questions". Over the school year, he incorporated what he learned from his peers to support the use of the target language, and in spite of his negative comments towards his achievement of the classroom expectations, his use of the dominant language and reproduction of existing practice and positions supported the multidirectional evolution during peer interaction.

The last section turned to question-and-answer sessions during show-and-tell oral presentations, which was another key practice of the classroom that came upon completion of essays. Although these sessions had the potential to transform existing practices through what students brought to class, most sessions finished after one verbal exchange as

students appeared to be much more focused on conducting their speeches, which were graded, than un-graded question-and-answer sessions, reproducing the distinct positions of speakers and listeners and practices with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. Naoto's awareness of this reproduction was clear in his statement that students "can't make questions" and that he was struggling to deal with this "problem", to the extent to expressing his continuous failure in developing students' behaviors as listeners. However, translanguaging enabled Naoto and students to mitigate traditional teacher-student hierarchies and use language as in a casual conversation in the classroom, which transformed dominant practices of question-and-answer sessions and contributed to the multidirectional evolution during question-and-answer sessions.

In sum, English accomplished what the teachers expected. Students worked on the topic question, which reproduced practices and positions of daily classes with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. Japanese was used in language related episodes to realize subtle meanings that helped negotiation and mitigating traditional teacher-student hierarchies. This was an English language classroom, and as a full-time English teacher at Easthill High, I initially had negative feelings towards peer interaction in the focal classroom that was co-constructed in ways that included students' large use of Japanese, despite objectives to be conducted in English. However, analysis showed that translanguaging reproduced daily casual conversation that contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom, realizing meanings that would have been difficult if participants only used English. From a pedagogical perspective, such translanguaging might be questioned for preventing students from opportunities to engage in English. From a social perspective, Japanese allows participants to achieve their social objectives. Still, the corollary is that existing local relations and practices were reproduced. Considering the nature of aspirations towards building and maintaining interpersonal relations, this raises questions on how reflecting on use of multiple languages can help

reconsidering teaching designs and transforming existing practices of the language classroom. I will elaborate on this further in the next discussion chapter and provide implications for classroom teachers, teacher-educators and researchers of classrooms to further understand teachers' and students' use of languages and what it means to teach/learn an additional language in a language classroom.

4.6 Summary of findings

In this chapter, I conducted analysis from a seven-month classroom ethnographic data from English classrooms at a Japanese boys' junior high school to examine teachers and students' "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" in culturally specific ways (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p.163). In particular, I focused on development of students' and teachers' interpersonal relations as they are realized in practice through language. I first illustrated how JET-ALTs' aspirations for belonging in the classroom and their orientation to their positions dominated, leading them to use Japanese and reproduce the familiar routines of a Japanese classroom to negotiate their position as a teacher in the classroom. However, as JET-ALTs' formal objectives are to increase classroom English use and transmit foreign culture to students, such reproduction of Japanese practices may be critiqued from a pedagogical perspective. Nevertheless, JET-ALTs' reproduction was accepted by JTEs and students, which contributed to the co-construction of daily classroom practices in ways that mirrored non-language classrooms in Japan. As such relations and positions are subtle and relatively invisible to notice, more attention to JET-ALTs' aspirations for belonging and their orientation to their positions may better help them maximize their contribution to the classroom. In addition, it was not clear how such relations and positions influenced the multidirectional evolution of the classroom practice and students' opportunities to participate. Language learning is a multidirectional

process, and greater attention can be drawn to students' expert knowledge of the local language and culture, which can facilitate JET-ALTs' socialization.

Next, I explored the first-year junior-high "General English" class and described Takumi's priorities for maintaining established Japanese classroom practices, which limited students' (and at times, JET-ALTs') participation. Over the school year, Takumi's aspirations to control students and maintain the flow of class shaped and reshaped his practices in ways that led him to dominate conversation and position students as passive participants in the classroom. At times, Takumi's aspirations led him to position JET-ALTs as passive participants, even though they were hired to be the experts of the language being taught. Takumi's teaching history was a powerful influence on such reproduction of classroom practices and existing distributions of power. However, these practices are counter to the educational reform of English education, the new educational strategy of "proactive, interactive and deep learning" and class objectives designed by Easthill High. In addition, Takumi's awareness of the conflicts and tensions underlying his choices, which Takumi described during the interview that it "may not be something good", raises a question of how local teachers are supported in examining their beliefs to control students and maintain the flow of class, and its implications for pedagogy.

Then, I explored the third-year junior-high "English Communicative Sessions" class and found that similar to the first-year "General English" class, open-ended discussions were restricted by the conversational template that was introduced to support these discussions, as well as by Naoto's fear of losing the flow of class and Paul's casualness in sharing but not soliciting stories from students. Thus, the rhythm of the "traditional" Japanese classroom prevailed: teachers controlled the conversation and students listened to the teacher. Even when Naoto introduced the new six-step structure, which forced students to elaborate on their own statements and exchange roles to ask questions, Naoto's priorities for keeping the flow of class and teacher control was

maintained, and teachers retained control of what students shared during dialogue. Similar to Takumi's class, existing classroom practices and distributions of power were reproduced. Nevertheless, students' awareness of classroom expectations became one of the contributors for them to replicate Paul's frequent use of the imperative, "Tell me more" to negotiate teachers' expectations, but also construct humor and play with the power and control of each other. Still, it positioned students distinctly as listeners and speakers, reproducing existing distributions of power with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. As such, students' higher English proficiency did not transform existing practices and positions, and classroom practices still limited student participation over the school year. The continuing debate on educators and institutions maintaining control has again come to the fore.

Lastly, I explored an alternative explanation to the reproduction of classroom practices by paying closer attention to translanguaging in the third-year class. English was used for students to work on the topic question as expected by teachers, which reproduced practices and positions of daily classes with less space for expanded language practice. Japanese was used in language related episodes to realize subtle meanings that helped negotiation and mitigating traditional teacher-student hierarchies, in ways that reproduced daily casual conversation that contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom. Such translanguaging may be critiqued from a pedagogical perspective that it prevents students from engaging in English language use. However, from an interpersonal perspective, it was translanguaging, which was a daily part of the classroom, that enabled students and teachers to realize such expansion of the classroom. This raises questions of a) whether such interpersonal perspective to build and maintain relations has been discussed in the debate of using the first/additional language, and b) how translanguaging has been discussed to reconsider the curriculum and transform existing practices of the language classroom.

The following chapter will develop the points I have just made and discuss what language means for teachers and students to co-construct positions and practices in a language classroom.

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

As I stated in Section 2.2.1, learning a language is not only a cognitive process, or about producing accurate structures of language. Language learning is situated, and learners and teachers exercise their agency in drawing on the affordances and interweaving the resources that are available in where language is being used (Duff & Doherty, 2015). In this chapter, I will link the theory of L2 socialization with the findings from the language classrooms, where I analyzed how teachers and students used language and simultaneously developed social relationships and discuss implications to facilitate the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom.

In addition, I will link the findings with the larger sociocultural Japanese educational context, which is undertaking educational reform to transform to new practices of “proactive, interactive and deep learning”. As I summarized in Section 2.4.3, these practices differ from the “traditional” Japanese classroom practices where students passively listen to knowledge-driven teacher-dominant lectures. Students are now expected to use knowledge to think, make judgements and express what they are capable of doing, and numerous books and training courses have been developed to facilitate the introduction of these new learning practices. However, local contingencies and beliefs related to English education conflict with this educational reform and consider English only as a subject for entrance exams and for understanding ideas. In addition, although *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014a) aims to have junior high school students deal with familiar topics and simple information exchanges, and senior high school students understand abstract content and present, debate and negotiate, how participants achieve meaningful negotiation of language during such activities is veiled and unaddressed in the language curriculum. This chapter aims to

provide insights from the empirical analysis on how participants exercise their agency and build relationships through available resources to co-construct classroom practices.

In Section 5.2.1, I will summarize the socialization of JET-ALTs into the dominant local practices of the classroom, draw attention to a) their aspirations for belonging, b) their orientation to their positions in their classrooms, and c) the asymmetries of power with JTEs, and discuss ways to further realize their potential contributions as described in educational policies. In Section 5.2.2, I will recap the relationships of JTEs and students, describe the conflicts and tensions arising from JTEs during their continuous reproduction of “traditional” teacher-dominant classroom practices, and discuss how initial teacher training and on-going professional development could better support JTEs to transform existing social relations and practices (if possible). In Section 5.2.3, I will summarize how translanguaging transformed social relations of JET-ALTs, JTEs and students in the classroom, draw awareness to the interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions of languages, discuss how to further incorporate such functions into classroom practices to facilitate the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom, and conclude in Section 5.2.4 by providing theoretical and pedagogical contributions of this thesis.

Throughout this chapter, I hope to highlight how relationships and practices co-construct or are co-constructed through language and mediate social functions and purposes, and including what that means for students and teachers to participate in a language classroom.

5.2 Key points from analysis

5.2.1 JET-ALTs and aspirations for belonging

To improve English education in Japan, *the English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014a) states that teachers are to conduct English lessons in English and include “high-level linguistic activities” such as presentations,

debates and negotiations. To facilitate this plan, further employment of ALTs has been proposed to encourage international exchange and use of English in the classroom (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015). In other words, the government's strategic placement of ALTs aims to bring in practices, cultures and languages that are different from those of a daily Japanese classroom.

However, learning or teaching of a language is situated (Douglas Fir Group, 2016). Through this perspective, this study sheds further light on the complicated process of teachers living up to governmental expectations and implementing new dimensions of practices, cultures and languages (e.g., Duff & Uchida, 1997; Uzum, 2017), because ALTs simultaneously negotiated power relations and socialization into local linguistic/cultural practices to establish their roles in their teaching context. Importantly, this study found that it was not the practices which the government expected but the familiar routines of a Japanese classroom that the JET-ALTs were socialized into and thus reproduced in the English language classroom.

Although socialization into new practices has been established as a complicated process (e.g., Alexander, 2025; Newman & Newman, 2009), this research extends how differences in aspirations intersect in the classroom. A contributor to the reproduction of familiar routines was JET-ALTs' aspirations for belonging that shaped their decisions to adopt existing Japanese practices and relationships. Their choices at times made salient the hierarchy between the teacher and students and their teacher voice, and at other times less salient. Another contributor elaborates on the multidirectional nature of language socialization in additional languages (Duff & Anderson, 2015). Although choices contrasted with governmental objectives of the JET programme or school expectations towards them, there was little resistance from JTEs and students towards their choices. Such choices were a daily part of their participation, which realized the language classrooms in ways that reproduced familiar routines of a Japanese classroom.

These findings add to previous studies on the impact of one's natural and internal aspirations to build interpersonal relations during the socialization process (Anderson, 2017; Lee et al., 2009), illustrating that further awareness on ALTs' socialization into local practices can support such aspirations and facilitate their potential contributions in the classroom. Such reproduction of a Japanese classroom may be critiqued from the pedagogical perspective of MEXT (2014a), but to facilitate ALTs' socialization and establish their roles, acknowledgement of their aspirations from governmental and local educational institutions is key.

One thing not to overlook is ALTs' relationships with students, where "traditional" Japanese learning practices of teachers controlling conversation (Butler, 2011) were frequently reproduced. There were a number of instances which illustrated how JET-ALTs' attempts to belong restricted students' opportunities to contribute. During the interviews, ALTs' aspirations for belonging were clearly stated, but nothing was mentioned about student participation. This illustrates that how supporting ALTs' reflection on the impact of their choices could influence practices in the classroom, as they might have been unaware of how students' positions resulted from their aspirations for belonging.

Such relationships are subtle and are relatively invisible, and in my case it was only after analysis I was able to see how the ALTs' agency contributed to the reproduction of dominant Japanese practices. Well-designed support for professional reflection could feature in training programmes that raise awareness of their socialization into the language classroom and its contribution to the multidirectional evolution of the learning context. Effective training programmes could also highlight how students may be novices in terms of English language proficiency, but their expert knowledge about the local language, cultures and practices can create opportunities to facilitate ALTs' aspirations for belonging, which can simultaneously create further opportunities for students to explore intercultural communication.

This can be illustrated from the example in Section 4.2.6, where Paul used フアイト (*faito*), a Japanese chant, to encourage students in what from a local perspective was a rather unnatural manner. Students as experts could have taught Paul about situated use of フアイト (*faito*), or the JTE could have modelled for students how to support Paul in using the expression. Another example is in Sections 4.2.3 to 4.2.5, where Paul was introducing the “A picture that moved my heart” essay/speech based on students’ school trip to the Tohoku region of Japan. Students could have not only described their experiences during the trip but as experts could have also taught Paul about the culture of Tohoku, such as about the history of world heritage sites or rituals of temples they visited. The pragmatics of doing this well is what MEXT and ALTs want, and through such shifts, the ALTs’ personal aspiration could be met while students simultaneously engaged in meaningful negotiation of language.

This thesis also illuminates ALTs’ negotiation of power with local teachers as another thing to consider when discussing their socialization (Miyazato, 2009). In this study, although the power relations were not always salient, the JTEs were firmly in control of JET-ALTs. In Section 4.3.3, the expert language skills of Eric were used in a way that met his potential as described in educational policies when he modelled conversation with Takumi, but in Section 4.3.4, even though the exchange was largely in English, Eric’s contribution was limited to when he was given permission by Takumi to speak. This positioning of Eric was described by Takumi as coming from his own teaching experiences, where providing further space for JET-ALTs made the class uncontrollable and caused “deep trouble”. However, there was no resistance by Eric of such positioning in the classroom, which suggests that he was not actively reflecting on how he could contribute to students’ learning but remaining dependent on Takumi’s direction. Thus, reflection amongst all educators might produce productive conversations about how change could advance students’ language development.

These examples advance that English language superiority is not a guarantee of ALTs' participation (Ishihara et al., 2018). One reason for this links to the gap in status as ALTs are “assistants” and work for “full-time” JTEs. Another reason comes from the gap in sociocultural expertise in the local context. The sociocultural knowledge and experience of local educators and institutions creates a power dynamic that may make it difficult for newcomers, including ALTs, to introduce new classroom practices and carry out what they are capable of doing. Rather, those newcomers can become “powerless” (Miyazato, 2009) participants and become subject to local educators and institutions, unless they have access to the expertise and resources to transform such asymmetries of power.

As such, there is little evidence that employing ALTs by drawing attention to their pedagogic strengths of teaching language will transform dominant classroom practices, unless they are supported in a) developing local sociocultural knowledge (e.g. political discourse, educational policies, social structures and their interrelationship with the needs, practices and social relations in the local language classroom), b) using that knowledge in classroom practice, and c) reflecting on the impact of their choices. Thus, MEXT could play a valuable role in supporting ALTs by training them to reflect on their potential to contribute and their positions within Japanese classroom practices, and by facilitating their socialization into local classrooms to further the potential of what they (ALTs) bring into the classroom. Equally, JTEs have an important role to play in jointly supporting the ALTs in their reflections. This also suggests the need for further training of JTEs, which I will describe in the next section.

5.2.2 JTEs, classroom management practices and distributions of power

JTEs' priorities for the classroom also require examination. Considering the educational context of Japan and the JTEs' teaching histories (Bouchard, 2017; Glasgow, 2014), such priorities arguably illustrate the need to support JTEs' development as well.

With regards to JTE-student relations as I described in the previous section, JTEs' lengthy socialization into dominant practices of keeping the rhythm and flow of the classroom limited ALTs' contributions. But it is unreasonable to expect changes in JTEs' practices unless they also are supported through professional development to consider their work with ALTs and to reflect on their team-teaching practices. This support could enable a productive conversation between JTEs and ALTs about how they can work together to impact students' learning.

Next, this section will turn to the discussion of JTE-student relations, an area in which professional reflection might also support enhanced opportunities for student language learning. In these classrooms, in contrast to governmental aims to implement "proactive, interactive and deep learning" (MEXT, 2017), findings showed that classrooms were frequently co-constructed in ways that also limited student participation. In many cases, student participation was possible only with the JTE's permission, most noticeably when the hierarchy between the teacher and students was salient. Even when there was permission, students' participation was mostly limited to what the JTE expected from students or to short phrases and sentences. In the first-year English class, such classroom management practices were explained by Takumi to have come from his priorities for keeping the class under his control and not losing the flow of class. In the third-year class, student participation was frequently limited to stating one's position from a topic question and a reason for it, which, similar to the first-year class, led to less opportunities for students to engage in meaningful negotiation of language. This was explained by Naoto to have come from his fear of losing the "rhythm of class" when students got "in trouble" and became stuck, which shaped and reshaped such teacher-dominant classroom management practices over the school year.

However, these teachers simultaneously experienced conflicts and tensions. Such teacher-dominant practices were explained by Takumi as "may not be something good".

Naoto's practices of limiting student participation in the classroom were in contrast to his aspirations for wanting students "to control or lead the conversation". The reasons for maintaining such classroom management practices, despite conflicts and tensions, were explained to have come from their past teaching experiences, such as a) struggling to deal with silent students of limited English proficiency, b) having too many students in the classroom to enable "proactive, interactive and deep learning", or c) having too many things to cover to ensure time for students' contributions.

Being an insider as an English teacher in Japan myself, I find these reasons consistent with ideologies that dominate the sociocultural context and that interfere with the success of governmental measures targeting "proactive, interactive and deep learning." Takumi and Naoto's classroom management practices contribute to the reproduction of "traditional" practices of a Japanese classroom relevant to a) the Confucian ideology/ies that position teachers as strong authorities and holders of profound knowledge and students as obligated to passively receive knowledge (Butler, 2011), and b) a Japanese cultural feature of *wa* (harmony) that leads teachers to keep interpersonal relations in order and maintain the flow of class (Harumi, 2011).

In the context of deeply rooted dominant local practices, it is obviously unrealistic to solely rely on local educators, who are socialized into prioritizing control and flow, to transform such distributions of power and realize classrooms in which there is rich meaningful negotiation of language. In addition to existing training opportunities and books that focus on the pedagogic features of "proactive, interactive and deep learning", further professional development opportunities that draw attention to control and flow and provide opportunities to reflect on the relations and practices that accompany them might better help local educators and institutions evolve the classroom in a more productive manner.

But even though local classroom management practices and existing distributions of power were frequently reproduced, there were also instances they were not, as in the following example in which language use mitigated traditional teacher-student hierarchies. In question-and-answer sessions during show-and-tell oral presentations, there were possibilities for transforming teacher-dominant classroom practices, as knowledge transmission could have been initiated by students answering questions about what they brought to class. Despite such possibilities, most exchanges finished after a short exchange of turns, which reproduced the distinct roles of listeners and speakers. However, Excerpt 34 showed the potential of and for multidirectionality. During the exchange, Naoto's excitement to learn from a student about what was brought to class was expressed through his choices of an alternative pronoun, 俺 (*ore*), and verb conjugation, 知りたい (*shiritai*). This mitigated traditional teacher-student hierarchies and created a setting as in a daily casual conversation that enabled him to learn from a student, which also enabled the student to use his knowledge about what he brought to class and teach Naoto about it. This extends a characteristic of language socialization in additional languages, in which the novice can use his own expertise to teach the expert and engage in meaningful negotiation of language (Duff & Anderson, 2015; He, 2015).

As such, in contrast to studies that emphasize Japanese teachers' authority and the "traditional" practices of a quiet and teacher-dominant classroom, JTE-student relationships in the study were fluid. Although the multidirectional evolution of the classroom was frequently limited, there were still times when it was expanded. More attention to life histories, resources and expertise of learners can better create new dimensions of classroom practices, as it might expand space for learners to transmit their own knowledge to other participants, provided that relations are transformed to enable them to initiate and sustain conversation. To enable such conversation, rather than relying on the individual efforts of teachers, more support from teacher development and

governmental measures that draw attention to the dominant practices of prioritizing control and flow and provide opportunities to reflect on the positions and practices that come as a result can better help local teachers a) overcome the long-existing Confucian ideology/ies that learning is to be achieved passively from the teacher and the Japanese culture feature of *wa* (harmony) that contributes to teacher control and b) transform classroom practices that increase students' contributions.

Another key in Excerpt 34 that contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the classroom was translanguaging, which I will describe in the next section.

5.2.3 Translanguaging and negotiation of meaning/social relations

During data collection, it was when practices of a daily casual conversation entered the classroom that pedagogic practices transformed. A key to this transformation was translanguaging. Section 4.5.2 was an instance in which Paul's use of Japanese enabled him to position himself as a "real" person and develop "real" social relations with students. Such Japanese use was not questioned by students and JTEs, which contributed to Paul's translanguaging becoming a daily feature of the language classroom. Presumably no one recognized translanguaging's significance. Yet, Section 5.3 illustrated the subtle interpersonal meanings realized in the Japanese language, which mitigated hierarchal JTE-student relationships and transformed a routine practice into a meaningful negotiation of language. This section recaps examples of expanded peer interaction and discusses translanguaging's potentials of contributing to the multidirectional evolution of the language classroom.

Evolution of peer interaction is missing from the government's research and development on better implementation of "proactive, interactive and deep learning" in the Japanese classroom. As I summarized in Section 2.2.2 and briefly touched on in the previous section, language socialization in additional languages has a bidirectional,

reciprocal or multidirectional nature. Compared to L1 learners, additional language learners have a command of their L1 that is congruent with the cultural and linguistic norms of where the language is used (Duff & Anderson, 2015). Thus, additional language learners can use their own resources and expertise from those norms to collaborate with experts and peers, and bring something in return to their learning context. In fact, it can be argued that transformation of peer interaction in the language classroom is essential to achieve “proactive, interactive and deep learning”.

Peer interaction in Section 4.4.5 adds to subteaching between peers, which can become a powerful mediational tool for learners to negotiate and resist classroom practices (Mökkönen, 2012). Classroom expectations were well-known by students and Paul’s frequently used English imperative, “Tell me more”, was replicated by students to encourage their partner to expand dialogue, as well as to co-construct a playful dialogue mocking the teacher’s power to demand information from students. However, dominant classroom practices were still reproduced as students were distinctly positioned as listeners and speakers. In contrast, Sections 4.5.3 to 4.5.5 showed that casual use of Japanese enabled students to realize subtle meanings that supported more meaningful interactions. In effect, this further builds on previous studies of translanguaging that facilitates transformation of classroom practices (Li, 2018; Turnbull, 2019; Xiao & Chen, 2023), as it shifted peer interaction towards MEXT’s objectives. For Takeshi, English questions were limited to simple fixed form sentences, but Japanese was used to make relevant comments, engage in language related episodes, and realize subtle meanings that allowed him to ask for help. For Teru, his struggle with working on topic questions in English initially led him to use Japanese and rudely express his resistance to continue, but his trust and bond with his classmates transformed his participation and later enabled him to use Japanese and co-construct a playful dialogue, and/or to engage in richer negotiation of meaning on topic questions in which use of English advanced. For Tomo, in spite of his negative comments

about his achievements in class, using Japanese helped him position his classmates as supporters who facilitated his participation. To summarize, for these students, English was used to accomplish what the teachers expected students to do, to work on topic questions, which reproduced practices and positions of “traditional” Japanese classrooms with less space for expanded language practice. On the other hand, Japanese was used in language related episodes to realize subtle meanings that helped them deal with more complex interpersonal relations, which enabled richer and deeper thinking which was then reflected in their English use.

Such translanguaging is not described in *The English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization* (MEXT, 2014a), which wants teachers to provide opportunities for students to encounter English, and for junior high school students to use English to talk about familiar topics. Yet, using alternative pronouns, adding clause end particles, and/or alternating verb conjugations enabled teachers and students to express richer meanings which would have been difficult to achieve in English, considering students’ English proficiency.

What does this suggest for the language classroom? Findings showed that opportunities for developing social relations and expanding participation led to a language classroom in which language was used meaningfully. It was not pedagogic routines but daily casual routines that were key to this transformation. In other words, such negotiation was replicating existing routines through the dominant language, which in turn facilitated English language use. Considering people’s natural and internal instinct to make emotionally rewarding relations with each other (Anderson, 2017; Lee et al., 2009), it might be a large challenge to try to transform such daily casual routines realized through the dominant language and introduce new practices of “proactive, interactive and deep learning” realized through an additional language. MEXT has tried introducing various measures for decades in an attempt to transform long-existing teaching methods, but there

have been few attempts to disrupt long-existing practices and social relations that are dominant in the local classroom, which might be one of the reasons that explains the long-existing gap between governmental initiatives and local classroom practices.

Instead of demanding a monolingual classroom of the target language, the data suggests that use of the dominant language can build and maintain social relations and support language development. In addition, the data sheds further light on drawing attention to the language to realize meaningful negotiation and shift classroom practices (Dafouz & Hibler, 2013; Qi et al., 2015), as drawing upon such language can better help students work on familiar topics and simple information exchanges, or on “high-level linguistic activities”. This is because awareness in Japan seems to be limited to providing students with the grammar and vocabulary to express the experiential meaning, even though the language that realizes the interpersonal function also plays a great role during such exchange or activities. For example, what subtle meanings do the Japanese clause end particle *ね* (*ne*) or pronoun *俺* (*ore*) make that transform teacher-student relations? How can a similar meaning be made through the language being learned/taught?

Thus, this study extends how translanguaging contributes to the evolution of classroom practices (Probyn, 2019). Using Japanese can become a key for pragmatic language development, as MEXT wants in an English language classroom. Then, a language teacher can teach students how to express subtle meanings that enable them to deal with complex interpersonal relations in the target language, which helps students engage in meaningful negotiation through the language they are learning. Together with more use of each student’s life histories, resources and expertise, as I described in the previous section, the possibilities of shaping a classroom with expanded language practice can increase.

In addition, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, this highlights the opportunities that ALTs can gain from their aspirations for belonging and use of Japanese, as it is use of

Japanese that can simultaneously create opportunities for reflection and negotiation. If students only have the language to reflect and negotiate in the dominant language, an ALT's job will be to provide students with the language to do so in the target language and open space for expanded language practice. As teachers (and students) exercise their agency to not only teach (learn) language but also pursue social relations in where the language is used (Duff & Doherty, 2015), further attention to the interactional instinct of using languages could better help governmental measures and local institutions, if they are to transform "traditional" knowledge-driven and teacher-dominant practices of a Japanese classroom and realize "proactive, interactive and deep learning".

Then, the question remains how translanguaging can be planned into the language curriculum. In particular, the resources of the dominant language that are crucial to co-construct bonds in the classroom can be shed light upon explicitly (e.g., clause end particles, verb conjugations, pronouns) to understand what language is necessary to teach for students to realize such subtle interpersonal meanings through the target language. To make this possible, more empirical research from local institutions and classrooms can help mark and draw attention to interpersonal functions of language(s) that enable participants to contribute to the multidirectional evolution of the classroom.

Although language is not only about grammar and vocabulary, or understanding ideas (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1989), most language textbooks in Japan are organized based on such views towards language and do not draw enough attention to classroom dynamics developed through participants' language choices. Thus, findings from such research can help professional training develop JTEs' professional knowledge of pragmatics to enable them to learn how subtle interpersonal meanings can be expressed in the target language and incorporate it into their teaching. In addition, such research can help publishers and writers revise school textbooks and include interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions of language, and from a larger point of view, help MEXT not overlook

such functions of language when designing the course of studies and screening those textbooks. This can further help local institutions and classrooms not only facilitate teachers' and students' use of such functions through the target language but also transform the practices in a language classroom that enable more meaningful negotiation of language.

It bears repeating that translanguaging coincided with students' talking, which contributed to the multidirectional evolution of the classrooms as MEXT desires. Opposed to the stereotypical image of a quiet Japanese classroom (Butler, 2011; O'Dwyer, 2017; Turner, 2011), this study builds on previous work in which Japanese students were talking (Sato, 2013; Yashima et al., 2018), as there was more student participation as long as they were able to draw upon the language that develops relationships and mediates social functions or purposes. Thus, with further look at language use of participants, or translanguaging, especially at the interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions of language(s), there can be a better understanding of how language(s) can transform positions and practices that facilitate participation and create more opportunities to engage in meaningful negotiation of language.

5.2.4 Theoretical and pedagogical implications

This section draws on the discussion above and provides theoretical and pedagogical implications of this thesis. From a theoretical perspective, there were two points in this thesis that made contributions to studies of language socialization in additional languages. First, in contrast to such studies that described the socialization trajectory of participants into the target language and culture and/or into ongoing nationally transformed practices (e.g., Alexander, 2025; Anderson, 2017, 2021; Duff, 1995), this thesis described participants' reproduction of dominant practices, language and culture, in spite of governmental initiatives to transform them. As it was such practices, language and culture deeply rooted in their daily routines that realized their interests and interactional

instincts, shifts in policy, such as having ALTs come into the classroom and providing training opportunities and books that focus on the pedagogic features of “proactive, interactive and deep learning”, was not enough to provoke change and impact the dynamics of the classroom.

Second, this thesis also described participants’ non-resistance towards the shaping and reshaping of dominant local practices that furthered opportunities for negotiation of meaning with little marginalization of other participants. This was in contrast to studies that drew attention to dominant local practices, such as those which illustrated newcomers’ resistance towards dominant local practices that led them to marginalize themselves (e.g., Cho, 2013; Kim & Duff, 2012), or those which described locals’ resistance towards socializing newcomers into their dominant local practices (e.g., García-Sánchez, 2020; Talmy, 2008, 2015). On the contrary, findings of this thesis showed that reproduction of dominant practices could lead both teachers and students to participate and make contributions to the multidirectional evolution of the classroom.

As Kobayashi et al. (2017) described, most studies on language socialization have been conducted in North American contexts under TESOL programs. Thus, those conducted in EFL contexts and/or different year groups (e.g., Bankier, 2022, 2024), such as this thesis conducted in a secondary school in Japan, can make theoretical contributions to language socialization studies by providing a wider understanding of what are the traditional sets of practices that realize the individual aims and interests of these groups and dominate the classrooms, and what kind of access can support, if possible, the transformation of such practices (Friedman, 2023). In addition, by exploring how participants exercise their agency and build relationships, not only local institutions and teachers but also governmental measures, research and professional development can be provided with valuable insights for students to engage in meaningful negotiation of language. In this respect, more empirical and nuanced studies that explore affordances of

translanguaging could help further the understanding of classroom dynamics developed through participants' language choices (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020). In particular, more studies that focus on participants' monolingual use of the dominant language, in contrast to most studies of language socialization in additional languages that explore participants' use of the additional language(s) or where multiple languages are used (as my study did), might better help compare and contrast the interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions between languages and provide insights for teachers to develop their professional knowledge of pragmatics, and for governmental measures to create course of studies and screen textbooks that facilitate meaningful negotiation of language and expanded language use in the classroom.

Turning to pedagogical contributions of this thesis, I, as a full-time English teacher, found findings from this study to be surprising but beneficial to my teaching. I initially had negative feelings towards JET-ALTs' use of Japanese and replication of familiar routines, as they were against governmental and school expectations towards them to use English and introduce non-Japanese culture to the classroom (cf. The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015). However, analysis transformed me to respect and facilitate their strong aspirations and orientations to their positions and their classrooms, which also transformed my working relationship with JET-ALTs and led me to use their strong aspirations and orientations as opportunities for JET-ALTs and students to engage in meaningful negotiation of language. Now as a teacher educator, I will stress that simply employing ALTs will not transform dominant classroom practices, and that support in terms of sociocultural knowledge and experience is key to maximize their potentials during team-teaching. In addition, I initially considered open-ended discussions of the focal classrooms to be rich in English that included plenty of opportunities for students to participate, but analysis showed that the classrooms still reproduced "traditional" Japanese practices of teacher-dominant exchange (Butler, 2011), in which there was less space for

students to engage in meaningful negotiation of language. This not only led me to reconsider and stress the importance of conducting analysis before making any judgements about the classroom dynamics conducted through language (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020), but also how much teachers are socialized into prioritizing control and flow, even during sections that are designed to increase students' contributions. Furthermore, I initially had negative feelings towards students' large use of Japanese during peer interaction and wondered why they did not use English as expected by teachers, but analysis showed that affordances of translanguageing enabled students to realize different functions and subtle meanings that facilitated their meaningful negotiation of language. This led me to reconsider and stress how translanguageing can be used to create opportunities for expanded practice of the target language, or how those functions and subtle meanings can be shed light on and taught so that they can be expressed through the target language.

As such, findings from this study can facilitate initial teacher training and on-going professional development provide the necessary support for ALTs and local teachers to build relationships and mitigate asymmetries of power, and to transform long-existing linguistic/cultural positions that shape knowledge-driven teacher-dominant practices so that language classrooms with opportunities to engage in more meaningful negotiation of language use can be realized. Through such training programmes, I hope that classrooms can better become a context where students and teachers can exercise their agency to participate in ways that can maximize their own potentials and realize their aspirations and objectives through language.

5.3 Summary

This chapter recapped the findings from the language classrooms, and discussed possibilities to transform long-existing positions and practices to provide students with further opportunities for expanded language use. One thing that became evident was

although governmental measures aimed to realize “proactive, interactive and deep learning” by transforming local classrooms dominated by large control of teachers (MEXT, 2017), the interests of classroom participants continuously shaped and reshaped such long-existing positions and practices. In team-taught classes of JET-ALTs and JTEs, contrary to expectations towards JET-ALTs to construct new dimensions of practices for English learning and international exchange (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2015), it was familiar routines of the Japanese classroom that was (re)produced. One significant contributor to such reproduction sheds further light on one’s natural and internal aspirations to belong and build interpersonal relations (cf. Anderson, 2017; Lee et al., 2009), as such aspirations shaped JET-ALTs’ choices to use existing Japanese practices to facilitate their own socialization. In solo-taught classes by JTEs, contrary to governmental initiatives, established Japanese practices or flow of the classroom (Butler, 2011, Harumi, 2011) were prioritized and maintained by JTEs, which led to a reproduction of classroom management practices and existing distributions of power that largely restricted student participation. However, there were conflicts and tensions arising from the JTEs, whose reasons include the educational context of Japan and their challenging teaching histories. This shows how long-existing positions or practices largely influenced JTEs’ reproduction of such social dynamics in the local classrooms, which raises a question of whether there ever is a chance for transformation, especially if it was expected to be achieved under the responsibility of each educator or local institution.

One perspective that might better help transformation is to further illuminate participants’ social objectives and the multidirectional socialization of classroom participants (Duff & Anderson, 2015). Instead of drawing attention to the linguistic or cultural advantages of bringing in ALTs into the classroom, I call for more attention on their aspirations to belong and orientations to their positions and their Japanese classrooms, and on the social relations realized through the reproduction of familiar routines that were

subtle and relatively invisible to notice. Such aspirations shape negotiation of their positions in the classroom, which can also create opportunities for both ALTs and students to develop relations through expanded language use. This is the same for JTEs and students, as drawing attention on how JTEs position themselves and students to realize their objectives and considering how their relations can be mitigated might better help realize new dimensions of classroom practices and put “proactive, interactive and deep learning” into practice.

Looking at relationships of JET-ALTs and JTEs, this thesis elaborates on previous studies stating that being a language expert does not necessarily expand participation of JET-ALTs in the English language classroom (Ishihara et al., 2018; Miyazato, 2009). Rather, JET-ALTs’ “powerless” role as assistants or lack of sociocultural knowledge and experiences in where they were situated shaped and reshaped asymmetries of power and limited their contributions. More attention on ALTs’ access to such sociocultural knowledge and experience can better help them bridge the gap with local teachers, and facilitate ALTs, local educators and institutions mitigate their hierarchal relationships and transform existing team-teaching practices to further the potentials of what ALTs can bring into the classroom.

In addition, more attention can be drawn to instances of translanguaging (Li, 2018), and how one’s use of the interpersonal functions of language(s) reproduces practices of daily casual conversation that enables meaningful negotiation of language. Looking at relationships of JET-ALTs and students, student participation was frequently limited, as students did not make much reaction to JET-ALTs’ attempts to socialize or were not much allowed to participate because teachers dominated exchange. Although attention was drawn to JET-ALTs’ language superiority and alternative culture, they were not so much considered as what could expand students’ language use as what students could encounter. One way to expand their language use is to draw attention to ALTs’ use of the

interpersonal functions of language(s) to achieve their aspirations. Even if this includes their use of the students' first language, this can create opportunities for ALTs and students to engage in more extended negotiation of meaning, where ALTs can fulfill their roles by facilitating students to do so through the target language.

Similarly, during peer interaction, it was students' use of the interpersonal functions of the dominant language and reproduction of daily casual conversation that enabled them to go beyond rote patterns with less space for negotiating meaning and expand language use. Although such translanguaging is not in line with governmental measures to work on familiar topics and simple information exchanges, or present, debate and negotiate through English (MEXT, 2014a), such activities not only require understanding ideas but also building relationships with each other, during which translanguaging became a key for students to engage in language related episodes to realize subtle meanings that facilitate negotiation of meaning. Considering the interactional instinct of people to build relationships, this again raises a question of whether there ever is a chance of transforming the practices of existing daily casual conversation shaped and reshaped through the dominant language into those through the additional language. That being said, further attention on how to realize subtle interpersonal meanings through the additional language and how to include such meanings in the curriculum might better help students engage in expanded English language practice and enable a rich evolution of peer interaction.

Language classrooms are not only places to understand ideas, as participants' relationships and classroom practices construct or are constructed through situated use of language (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1989). In the study, access to interpersonal functions of language(s), Japanese in particular, and access to one's own life histories, resources and expertise, enabled participants to exercise their agency and contribute to a multidirectional evolution of the language classroom with expanded language use.

However, without such access, solely being a language expert did not expand the participation of JET-ALTs, and solely using English made it difficult for participants to realize subtle meanings to negotiate. In fact, lacking such access realized language that shaped and reshaped long-existing practices of a “traditional” *quiet* and teacher-dominant Japanese classroom (Butler, 2011, Harumi, 2011) with less space for meaningful negotiation of language. Translanguaging was a key that furthered the multidirectional socialization of classroom participants, which illustrates the need to conduct more empirical and nuanced studies of translanguaging to further understanding of classroom dynamics.

This thesis made theoretical contributions to studies of language socialization in additional languages by addressing participants’ reproduction of dominant practices, language and culture during an era of governmental initiatives to transform them, and by describing participants’ non-resistance towards reproducing dominant local practices that increased opportunities for negotiation of meaning without marginalizing other participants. Such findings can enhance further discussion on what are the traditional sets of practices that realize the individual aims and interests of participants, and what kind of access can help transform such practices (Friedman, 2023).

In addition, this thesis made pedagogical contributions by addressing that employment of ALTs is not enough to transform dominant classroom practices, and that supporting them in terms of sociocultural knowledge and experience is key to facilitate their strong aspirations and orientations to their positions and their classrooms. I also deepened the importance of conducting analysis before making judgements about classroom dynamics (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020), as there remains a strong degree of JTEs’ socialization into prioritizing control and flow, which might be difficult to tease out for reflection without exploration into the linguistic practices of participants. Furthermore, I illustrated how translanguaging can be linked to opportunities for expanded practice of

the target language, or how interpersonal functions of language(s) can be shed light on and taught so that they can be expressed through the target language. To put these points into practice, initial teacher training and on-going professional development can provide the necessary support for ALTs and local teachers to make reflections and transform long-existing positions and practices, which can increase opportunities for students to engage in negotiation of meaning and maximize their potentials in learning an additional language.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will begin in Section 6.2 by recapitulating the findings of this study through answering the three research questions. In Section 6.3, I will summarize the limitations of the study, and conclude the chapter in Section 6.4 by addressing directions for future research.

6.2 Recapitulation of findings

I will begin this section by addressing the first research question: *How do Japanese junior high school students and teachers co-construct foreign language classrooms in pursuit of formal and/or personal learning and teaching objectives?* During the study, the interest of classroom participants dominated. The aspirations of JET-ALTs to belong led them to negotiate their own socialization into local linguistic/cultural practices and reproduce familiar routines of a Japanese classroom. JTEs dominated a large part of the conversation, which came from JTEs' priorities for maintaining established Japanese practices or flow that led to the reproduction of classroom management practices and existing distributions of power with less opportunities for students to engage in meaningful negotiation of language. In team-taught classes, being language experts did not expand JET-ALTs' participation, as the gap in status and sociocultural knowledge and experience in the local context made it difficult for JET-ALTs to meet the formal objectives of their roles in the classroom. Students, during peer interaction, routinely followed rote patterns with little space for expanded language use, but at other times reproduced the practices of a daily casual conversation between students by engaging in language related episodes, which furthered opportunities for meaningful negotiation of language.

Next, I will address the second research question, *More specifically, how is learner/teacher agency realized through available resources to create interpersonal*

relationships and mediate social functions or purposes in their learning/teaching context?

The local Japanese language, culture and practices that were available for JET-ALTs to draw upon enabled them to pursue connections with students, and/or establish their role as teachers. This was not resisted by JTEs and students, which in turn opened space for JET-ALTs to reproduce the familiar routines of a Japanese classroom and pursue their aspirations for belonging and orientations to their roles. As for JTEs, the interpersonal functions of the Japanese language that were available for Naoto realized caring and bonding towards his students, or expressed his excitement to learn from students. This shaped a new dimension of teacher-student relationships that were distinct from the practices of a “traditional” teacher-dominant Japanese classroom, which enabled students to initiate dialogue and engage in expanded language use. As for students, the interpersonal functions of the Japanese language also made their life histories, resources and expertise available to draw upon. This enabled them to go beyond the reproduction of a knowledge-driven dialogue and realize subtle meanings to engage in language related episodes that were associated with more extended negotiation of meaning with teacher and peers.

Finally, I will address the third question, *How do the ways participants draw upon their linguistic and cultural knowledge shape the evolution of the learning/teaching context?*, by focusing on what limited such evolution to highlight points in need of better training and reflection to expand opportunities for students’ contributions. As for students and JET-ALTs, it was unclear whether JET-ALTs’ accessibility to the local Japanese language, culture and practices contributed to expand the evolution of the classroom. Although students were novices in terms of the additional language they were learning, they were also experts about their local language, culture and practices, which could have been used to support JET-ALTs’ aspirations to belong in the classroom and simultaneously engage in expanded language use. As for students and JTEs, when their access to the interpersonal resources of the Japanese language was not available, exchange was mostly

dominated by teachers and mostly limited to transmitting and understanding of ideas with less opportunities for negotiation of meaning. More attention to interpersonal and/or pragmatics of language(s) can better support their incorporation into classroom routines and practices, which can help participants realize subtle meanings that contribute to meaningful negotiation of language.

6.3 Limitations of the study

In this section, I will address the limitations of the study. First, although I made every effort possible to maintain a researcher's eye during the study, I was a full-time teacher, not only in Japan but also at the focal school, which could have influenced my approach towards conducting and completing the study (see Section 3.11). In addition, although I was aware throughout the study of how my power as a full-time teacher at the focal school could have affected researcher-participant relations, it still could have affected the participants' behavior and/or responses in interviews during data collection (see Section 3.10).

Second, I was not able to use audio data from peer interaction in the first-year class due to the random sitting of students and the noise level of class (see Section 3.7.1.2). This prevented me from observing the interrelationship between the practices of whole-class interaction and peer interaction in a beginner English class, which could have provided further implications to impact beginner students' participation and contributions to class.

Third, I chose not to conduct as many student interviews as expected due to the effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic (see Section 3.8). I only conducted a total of four interviews with third-year students (one interview with each student), and none with first-year students, which limited the understanding of the interrelationship between students' aspirations and participation in the classroom, especially of beginner English students.

Fourth, I did not transcribe data from sections of class in which Japanese was the main language for communication, which limited the scope of analyzing the plurilingual resources that participants draw upon in the language classroom. It was only after analysis that I found that comparing and contrasting the interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions of languages can better support the planning of a language curriculum for more extended negotiation of meaning through the target language.

In spite of such limitations, I consider my study to have enough data to answer the research questions and provide valuable theoretical and pedagogical implications, and envision that future studies can draw upon these limitations for further understanding of participants' social objectives and the multidirectional socialization of classroom participants.

6.4 Directions for future research

In this section, I will provide directions for future research based on the findings and discussion from above. As the theory of language socialization in additional languages describes, this study has demonstrated that learners do not unquestionably accommodate with where the additional language is used without exception. In addition to transmitting and understanding ideas, they exercise their agency by drawing on the affordances and interweaving the resources in the classroom to shape their positions and negotiate meaning. One notable finding from this study was that the stereotypical view of a quiet, knowledge-driven and teacher-dominant Japanese classroom was reproduced to some extent, which came from a) JTEs' priorities for maintaining established classroom management practices and distributions of power, b) JTE and students' lack of access to the interpersonal functions of language(s) that supports meaningful negotiation of language, and c) students' lack of access to their own expertise that enables them to position themselves in ways for initiating and sustaining dialogue. Thus, despite the wide attention towards the

government-led educational strategy of “proactive, interactive and deep learning”, it did not align with the dynamics of the local classroom, which left the strategy distinct from implementation.

Thus, more research is awaited to find the traditional sets of practices that realize participant’s individual interests and dominate the classrooms, and what kind of access can support, if possible, the transformation of such dominant practices to expand the multidirectional evolution of the learning context. Drawing upon the theory of socialization, analyzing language can lead to fine-grained findings based on language use of participants that co-constructs key interpersonal relationships and impacts classroom dynamics. In further studies, more empirical and nuanced studies of translanguaging could help the further understanding of how negotiation is realized through participants’ plurilingual resources. In particular, more studies that focus on participants’ monolingual use of the dominant language might better support the comparison and contrast of the interpersonal and/or pragmatic functions between languages. Such studies can provide insights for teachers to develop their professional knowledge of pragmatics, and for governmental measures to develop a language curriculum that expands multidirectionality through the target language.

To elaborate further, as I stated in Section 2.3.2, the analytical tools of SFL can enable deep investigation into one’s dynamic and functional use of his/her linguistic repertoire and bring about insights into linguistic resources that expand multidirectionality. To the best of my knowledge, however, not much research on language education that applies such tools is conducted in non-EAP contexts, nor on the oral mode, nor on the interpersonal resources of language other than how to express voice. Thus, applying such tools to investigate how participants use language in an EFL context can widen the methodological potentials of SFL by providing insights into what kind of language can be used to engage in meaningful negotiation of language and impact one’s learning. In

particular, as was the case for me as a researcher, it may help participants and researchers go beyond initial impressions and make reflections on language use to understand how language is making meaning and building relationships to impact classroom dynamics.

Through such research, I hope that there will be further insights for teachers and students, or newcomers and locals, to have space open to access their available resources and capitalize on the multidirectionality of language socialization by making the most of what they can afford in their teaching/learning context.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Refined codes

- Greeting - Whole class - Beginning of class
- Greeting - Whole class - Small chat
- Greeting - Whole class - End of class
- Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Instruction of task
- Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Building schema
- Pre-structured communication - Whole class - Modelling
- Structured communication - Peer interaction - Sequential monologues
- Structured communication - Peer interaction - Dialogic
- Post-structured communication - Whole class - Reporting from students
- Post-structured communication - Whole class - Feedback from teachers
- Pre-writing - Whole class - Instruction of task
- Pre-writing - Whole class - Building schema
- Pre-writing - Whole class - Modelling
- Pre-writing - Individual work - Searching information
- Pre-writing - Pair work - Searching information

- Writing - Individual work - 10-minute-writing
- Writing - Individual work - Essay writing
- Post-writing - Peer interaction - Sequential monologues
- Post-writing - Whole class - Reporting from students
- Post-writing - Whole class - Feedback from teachers
- Pre-individual presentation - Individual work - Practicing speech
- Pre-individual presentation - Pair work - Practicing speech
- Individual presentation - Monologic
- Post-individual presentation - Dialogic
- Grammar translation - Peer interaction
- Grammar translation - Whole class - Teacher explanation

Appendix 2 Morphological notations (amended from Teruya, 2007)

fml	formal
IMP	imperative
inf	informal
neg	negative

Appendix 3 Transcription conventions

Each excerpt begins with the transcript as spoken, and is followed by its full English translation in italics.

1. (#): indicates length of pause (e.g. (5.0) means 5 seconds).
2. Words in (()): indicates researcher's comment.
3. (x): indicates one word was inaudible from the recordings.
4. (xx): indicates two words were inaudible from the recordings.
5. (xxx): indicates three or more words were inaudible from the recordings.

**Picture that moves
my heart brainstorm**

