

DIALECT MATTERS:
L2 SPEAKERS' BELIEFS AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT JAPANESE
DIALECT

By

Jae DiBello Takeuchi

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(Japanese)

at the

University of Wisconsin-Madison
2015

Date of Final Oral Examination: June 22, 2015

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Junko Mori, Professor, East Asian Languages and Literature
Naomi McGloin, Professor, East Asian Languages and Literature
Naomi Geyer, Associate Professor, East Asian Languages and Literature
Shigeko Okamoto, Professor, Language and Applied Linguistics, University of California,
Santa Cruz
Thomas Purnell, Associate Professor, English

© Copyright by Jae DiBello Takeuchi 2015
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgements

I have been looking forward to writing these acknowledgements for a long time – because that would mean I was finished! But now that I find myself faced with this task, I realize I can never adequately articulate how grateful I am for all the guidance, support, and encouragement I’ve received along the way from so many people. I am truly grateful that I have been able to complete my graduate degrees at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, made possible by being able to work as a teaching assistant and a project assistant throughout my time here. For this I want to thank the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature, specifically the faculty of the Japanese Program: Professors Junko Mori, Naomi McGloin, Naomi Geyer, and Dr. Takako Nakakubo. I have learned so much through working with each of you. My experiences as a TA and PA have taught me perhaps as much as my coursework and I know that what I’ve gained from these experiences will serve me well as I embark on the next part of my journey.

Many people have also supported my academic pursuits. First of all, I want to thank my advisor, Professor Junko Mori, who guided me through coursework and research for both my MA and my PhD degrees. I have learned so much from Mori-sensei, I’m not sure where to start – with the analysis, of course! My first course with Mori-sensei was a conversation analysis course, and this is where I first learned what it meant to do a close analysis of a stretch of talk. Although I did not use CA in my dissertation, the analytical skills I learned from Mori-sensei have served me well and I will draw on these skills in my future work. It’s hard to express how grateful I am for being able to have Mori-sensei as my advisor. Trying to write a dissertation can often feel like floundering in the dark; Mori-sensei’s timely and thorough feedback always helped me find my way. I also want to thank my committee members: Professors Naomi McGloin, Naomi Geyer, Shigeeko Okamoto, and Thomas Purnell: each of you have contributed valuable feedback and I

want to thank you for the time you've spent working with me. Numerous other faculty at UW-Madison have helped me in my graduate studies, in particular I would like to thank Professors Jane Zuengler and Richard Young for inspiring me and challenging me both in your classes and also for talking me through complicated ideas in meetings and office hours. I also would like to thank the many friends and colleagues I have been fortunate to find among my fellow graduate students. Margaret Merrill and Sunny Schomaker, what would I have done without you two! Our writers group meetings were always the highlight of my week, both for the insights and the laughter they yielded. I have learned so much from both of you, and your support and encouragement has helped me through many a discouraged day. For your friendship and support, I thank Chiharu Shima and Kelsey White. To the TAs in the Japanese Program, it has been a joy working with you all and I look forward to keeping in touch as we progress in our careers.

I also want to thank my family for their unwavering support, encouragement, and patience, especially my parents Lou and Marie DiBello and Jeff Reeder and my in-laws Minoru and Yasuko Takeuchi. To my mother, Nan DiBello, what can I say? You are the best human I know and if I am even a little bit like you, I am very proud. Thank you for being more interested in my research than anyone else, and always listening and talking with me about it; and for being there for me, as a mother, a teacher, a friend, through all of my endeavors. To my husband, Kenji, thank you for coming halfway across the world with me, for taking care of me every day. I could not have done this without you by my side.

Lastly, I want to thank the 44 people in Japan who agreed to be study participants, taking time out of their busy schedules to meet and share with me a little bit of their lives. I cannot thank each of you by name, but that does not diminish my gratitude. Without all of you, this dissertation would not exist.

Abstract

DIALECT MATTERS:
L2 SPEAKERS' BELIEFS AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT JAPANESE
DIALECT

Jae DiBello Takeuchi

Under the supervision of Professor Junko Mori
at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

This qualitative interview study investigates the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of second language (L2) speakers of Japanese who were JET Programme participants living and working in Ehime, Japan. The dialects of Ehime differ significantly from Standard Japanese and can pose problems to someone unfamiliar with them. In local communities such as those in Ehime, in addition to Standard Japanese, L2 speakers often encounter Japanese Dialect and must negotiate its understanding and use.

Conducted within a constructivist framework, this study draws on theories of linguistic ideologies (Silverstein, 1979), linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), and L2 identity and investment (Norton, 2000/2013, 2006), and seeks to understand the relevance of dialect from the perspective of L2 speakers. The study examines how L2 participants' stances toward dialect use compared to those of their Japanese counterparts. The study also considers whether dialect functions as linguistic capital for L2 speakers and whether dialect-as-linguistic-capital differs for L2 speakers in comparison to first language (L1) speakers.

Participants were 20 L2 speakers of Japanese and 24 L1 speakers of Japanese. All L2 participants had been living in Japan for a year or more at the time of the study. Data include background questionnaires, open-ended, semi-structured interviews in participants' first languages (i.e., English or Japanese), and observations of participants' daily life activities. All L2 participants encountered dialect and negotiated complex linguistic choices about whether to use it. For L2 speakers who live and work in Japan, such as the L2 participants in this study, dialect matters for how they understand the speech used around them and for how they perform their identities as they navigate local communities.

By examining how L2 speakers negotiate choices between standard and dialect, this study expands our knowledge of the role of non-standard varieties for L2 speakers. Theoretical contributions are made to research in sociolinguistics and second language acquisition (SLA) regarding L2 identity and how speakers negotiate linguistic choices in Japanese; the findings also extend the conceptualization of linguistic capital for L2 speakers. Broader implications for the field of SLA and for the teaching and learning of Japanese as a Foreign Language are also considered.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	i
Abstract.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	7
2.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	7
2.1.1. Linguistic Ideology.....	8
2.1.2. Linguistic Capital.....	9
2.1.3. Investment.....	12
2.2. CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN JAPANESE.....	14
2.2.1. Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect.....	14
2.2.2. Creation of Standard Japanese.....	16
2.2.3. Dialect Revival.....	17
2.3. JAPANESE DIALECT AND L1 SPEAKERS.....	20
2.3.1. Code-Switching between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect.....	21
2.3.2. Japanese Dialect as a Resource.....	22
2.3.3. Linguistic Choices in New Locations.....	28
2.3.4. L1 Speakers' Perceptions about Japanese Dialect.....	31
2.4. JAPANESE DIALECT AND L2 SPEAKERS.....	33
2.4.1. L2 Speakers' Encounters with Japanese Dialect.....	34
2.4.2. Japanese Dialect and the JSL Curriculum.....	39
2.4.3. L2 Speakers' Awareness and Intentionality about their Japanese Language Use.....	42
2.4.4. Identity and Imagined Communities.....	46
CHAPTER 3: DATA AND PROCEDURES FOR ANALYSIS.....	49
3.1. INTRODUCTION.....	49
3.2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY.....	51
3.2.1. Location: Ehime, Japan.....	52

3.2.2. Dialect in Ehime	57
3.2.3. The JET Programme	60
3.3. PARTICIPANTS	63
3.3.1. L2 Participants	68
3.3.3. Core L2 Participants	69
3.3.4. L1 Participants	72
3.3.5. Core L1 Participants	74
3.4. DATA	75
3.4.1. Background Questionnaire.....	76
3.4.2. Interviews.....	77
3.4.3. Observations	80
3.4.5. Dialect Products	83
3.5. PROCEDURES OF ANALYSIS.....	83
3.6. RESEARCHER’S POSITIONALITY.....	88
3.7. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS	92
3.8 CONCLUSION.....	94
CHAPTER 4: DIALECT PRODUCTS AND L1 SPEAKERS THE LINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF EHIME.....	95
4.1. INTRODUCTION	95
4.2. DIALECT PRODUCTS IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE.....	96
4.2.1. Dialect Signage	97
4.2.2. Dialect Merchandise and Digital Products	101
4.2.3. Dialect in Print and Online Media	105
4.3. L1 PARTICIPANTS AND DIALECT	108
4.3.1. Hamada	112
4.3.2. Yoshio.....	120
4.3.3. Nakamura.....	132
4.3.4. Naoki.....	141
4.4. CONCLUSION.....	149
CHAPTER 5: L2 SPEAKERS AND JAPANESE DIALECT POSSIBILITIES AND PITFALLS	154

5.1. INTRODUCTION	154
5.2. FACTORS.....	156
5.2.1. Membership	156
5.2.2. Identity and Voice.....	157
5.2.3. Trajectories	158
5.2.4. Linguistic Ideologies.....	159
5.3. DIALECT USE STANCES	160
5.3.1. Use, Incorporation of Dialect.....	163
5.3.2. Non-use, Rejection of Dialect.....	183
5.3.3. Ambivalence about Dialect Use.....	204
5.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	227
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	233
6.1. INTRODUCTION	233
6.2. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS	233
6.2.1. Research Question 1	233
6.2.2. Research Question 2	236
6.2.3. Research Question 3	242
6.3. CONCLUSION.....	246
6.4. CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	248
6.5. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	250
6.5.1. The Role of L2 Speaker Gender	250
6.5.2. The Role of Age.....	252
6.5.3. The Role of Race	254
6.5.4. Defining Dialect.....	254
References.....	257
Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Email and Social Networking Site Posting (English)	266
Appendix B: Japanese Language Recruitment Email.....	268
Appendix C: Samples of Consent Forms.....	270
Appendix D: Sample Questionnaires.....	276
Appendix E: Japanese Language Ability.....	282
Appendix F: Interview Protocols	284

Appendix G: Transcription Conventions 291
Appendix H: Sample Site Permission Forms 292

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table 3.1. Descriptions of degrees of rurality.....	54
Table 3.2. List of cities and towns where participants lived.....	56
Table 3.3. Dialect in a sentence, example 1.....	59
Table 3.4. Dialect in a sentence, example 2.....	60
Table 3.5. L1 Participant Information	68
Table 3.6. L1 Participant Information	72
Table 3.7 Evolution of theoretical coding.....	87
Table 4.1. L1 Participants.....	109
Table 5.1 L2 Participants' Dialect Use Stances.....	161

FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Map of Japan.....	52
Figure 3.2 Map of Shikoku.....	55
Figure 3.3 Map of Ehime's Three Regions: Toyo, Chuyo, and Nanyo.....	58
Figure 4.1. Sign for Bakery.....	97
Figure 4.2. Traffic safety sign.....	98
Figure 4.3. Baggage claim area at Matsuyama Airport with dialect slogan signage.....	100
Figure 4.4. Streetcar with the same dialect slogan.....	100
Figure 4.5. Dialect Magnets.....	101
Figure 4.6. Bary-san Clear File.....	102
Figure 4.7. Screen capture of Bary-san's "dialect lesson"	103
Figure 4.8. LINE stickers with dialect phrases.....	104
Figure 4.9. Two books devoted to Ehime Dialect.....	105

Figure 4.10 Screenshot of blog with Iyo-ben dictionary.....107

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the most common ways for an English-speaking foreign national to find work in Japan is as an English teacher, especially through programs such as the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. The JET Programme, sponsored by the Japanese government, is the largest program, with over 4000 participants annually, who are placed in Japan's 47 prefectures.¹ Most JET participants are not placed in major cities; rather, they are sent to regional cities and towns, with some participants in rural farming and fishing villages.² For JET participants in such non-urban placements, in addition to Standard Japanese, they often encounter and need to learn how to understand Japanese Dialect. Nevertheless, Japanese language ability is not a prerequisite for the Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) position, which makes up approximately 90% of all JET positions.³ Consequently, Japanese ability among ALTs varies widely. Some ALTs go to Japan with little or no Japanese background, while others go after years of high school and college-level study. ALTs may end up in workplaces with other ALTs as well as Japanese coworkers who have excellent English skills, or they may be sent to workplaces where they are the only JET participant, and almost all of their Japanese coworkers are unable to speak English. In such cases, general Japanese language ability is an essential skill; when the JET placement is in a dialect-using region, the ability to acquire knowledge about dialect also becomes important. Thus, it is not surprising that, although JET Programme participants are hired by virtue of their status

¹ A prefecture is an administrative division of a Japanese region; it is analogous to a state in the United States.

² In 2012, for example, there were only 10 JET participants in Tokyo, while there were 104 JET participants in Ehime (a prefecture on the island of Shikoku known primarily for its fishing and agricultural products).

³ The remaining JET positions are Coordinator for International Relations (CIRs), which make up slightly less than 10% of JET positions, and Sports Exchange Advisors (SEAs), which make up less than 1% of positions. Unlike ALTs, CIRs are required to "have a functional command of the Japanese language." SEAs are recruited based on government or Olympic committee recommendations; as such candidates cannot apply for this position without such a recommendation; the language requirements are unclear. (<http://www.jetprogramme.org/index.html>).

as native speakers of English, when they arrive at their placements, they often find that it is their Japanese language ability and how they navigate the complex system of Japanese speech styles that shape their experiences in local communities.

Researchers in sociolinguistics argue that language is not solely a tool for relaying information. Rather, different speech styles carry more or less “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 1991) depending on contexts and speakers and linguistic choices are crucial sites for speakers to negotiate their status, identity, or power (e.g., Norton, 2000/2013). Contemporary spoken Japanese presents speakers with numerous linguistic choices, including those between plain and honorific speech styles, men’s and women’s languages,⁴ and those between Standard Japanese and numerous regional dialects. As part of the post-Meiji movements of nation-building and modernization, Standard Japanese, based primarily on the dialect used by middle-class residents of Tokyo (Shibatani, 1990), was promoted as the national language and continues to maintain centrality in Japanese language education in Japan as well as overseas. Despite official promotion of Standard Japanese, the use of regional dialects in Japan has persisted and in recent years dialects are even experiencing a revival (e.g. Jinnouchi, 2007; Ramsey, 2004). Dialects have been extensively studied with regard to first language (L1) speakers of Japanese, and researchers have described L1 speakers’ use of and opinions about dialects (e.g. Ball, 2004; Carroll, 2001a, 2005; Inoue, 2006; Long, 1996; Ohuchi, 2014; Okamoto, 2008a, 2008b; Sunaoshi, 2004). These studies demonstrate that Japanese Dialect is an important speech style within the larger Japanese linguistic repertoire, and researchers have found that L1 speakers use dialect as a resource for a variety of interactional goals. Such findings point to an understanding

⁴ Gendered language refers not to grammatical gender such as found in languages like French, but rather it refers to Japanese women's language (*joseigo*) and men's language (*danseigo*), which comprise sets of words and speech styles that are said to be appropriate for use only by one gender or the other.

of dialect as linguistic capital. Given the significance that dialect plays in L1 interactions, we can expect it to play a similarly important role in interactions between L1 speakers and second language (L2) speakers. Further, the prevalence of dialect use means that L2 speakers, especially those such as JET participants in smaller communities, are likely to encounter dialect and will need to negotiate its understanding and use. In spite of these clear indications of the relevance of dialect for L2 speakers, there is little research that addresses dialect from the perspective of L2 speakers of Japanese.

While research on L2 speakers and Japanese Dialect is limited, researchers have studied L2 speakers' negotiations of other Japanese speech styles, such as men's and women's language, honorifics, and pitch or voice quality (Itakura, 2008; Ohara, 2001; Siegal, 1994). These studies demonstrate that L2 speakers have a high level of awareness about Japanese speech styles and that they make strategic choices that strive for a balance between their sense of self and the perceived linguistic norms of the second language. In other words, L2 speakers make intentional choices based on their understanding of the social meanings of available speech styles. However, whether L2 speakers approach choices about Japanese Dialect with similar intentionality has not been examined.

To address the gap in the field about L2 speakers and Japanese Dialect, this study investigates the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of Japanese L2 speakers who are current or former JET Programme participants in Ehime, Japan. The dialects of Ehime differ significantly from Standard Japanese and can pose problems to someone unfamiliar with them.⁵ Moreover, there are few resources to help L2 speakers acquire information about dialects,

⁵ Differences between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect include accent and phonological differences, as well as lexical, morphological and syntactic differences. Ehime Dialect will be described in Chapter 3.

increasing the likelihood that they will experience difficulty trying to understand dialect.⁶ My analysis of L2 participants' descriptions of their experiences with and ideas about Japanese dialects makes it possible to examine the relevance of dialect for L2 speakers and consider whether or how Japanese Dialect functions as a form of linguistic capital for them. In short, this study demonstrates that dialect is a significant feature of spoken Japanese and L2 speakers' perceptions of dialect merit study in their own right. For L2 speakers who live and work in Japan, such as the L2 participants in this study, dialect matters for how they understand the speech used around them and for how they perform their identities as they navigate local communities. Of particular relevance is how L2 speakers negotiate linguistic choices as they find their voices, both in Japanese and in Japan. In light of these issues, my research is guided by the following research questions:

1. What beliefs and perceptions do L2 speakers report about Japanese Dialect and Standard Japanese? How do their beliefs compare to those held by their Japanese counterparts?
2. What dialect use stances do L2 speakers describe in interviews? What factors do they take into account in arriving at those stances? How do L2 participant dialect use stances compare to those of L1 participants?
3. Does dialect function as linguistic capital for L2 speakers, and if so, how and in what ways? Does dialect-as-linguistic-capital differ for L2 speakers in comparison to L1 speakers?

To address these questions, I conducted a qualitative interview study within a constructivist framework. Drawing on theories of linguistic ideologies (Silverstein, 1979), linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), and L2 identity and investment (Norton, 2000/2013, 2006), I sought to understand the relevance of dialect from the perspective of L2 speakers. Interviews were chosen as the primary data collection method in order to focus on participants' beliefs and perceptions.

⁶ Although there are some English-language books which introduce Osaka or Kansai Dialect to a general audience, I have been unable to find similar books or textbooks introducing other Japanese dialects.

Study participants included both L2 speakers of Japanese and L1 speakers of Japanese who were the coworkers and friends of L2 participants. I conducted open-ended, semi-structured interviews in participants' first languages (i.e., either English or Japanese). Interviews with L2 participants included questions about their experiences with Japanese language (both studying and using it), their beliefs about Japanese language and its many speech styles, their experiences in Japan, and their plans for the future. Interviews with L1 participants covered topics about their own language use beliefs and habits and included questions about their beliefs about L2 speakers' Japanese language use. I also conducted observations with a subset of L2 participants in daily life activities (including workplace and non-workplace contexts). Conducting these observations helped me to put into context the stories and experiences L2 participants shared during interviews and helped me to better understand their linguistic daily lives in Ehime.

By examining how L2 speakers negotiate a complex array of Japanese speech styles, this study contributes to sociolinguistics and expands our knowledge of the role of non-standard varieties in a second language for L2 speakers. Theoretical contributions are made to research in second language acquisition (SLA) that examines L2 identity and how speakers negotiate linguistic choices in Japanese (e.g., Ohta, 1993; Ohara, 2001; Siegal, 1994). My findings also problematize the conceptualization of linguistic capital for L2 speakers. Specifically, although Standard Japanese is unquestionably linguistic capital for L2 speakers, it is also the case that Standard Japanese is not the only speech style with the potential to become linguistic capital for L2 speakers. However, although dialect offers the potential of being linguistic capital for L2 speakers, at issue is whether or how dialect-as-linguistic-capital differs for L2 speakers in comparison to L1 speakers. Finally, this study's findings about L2 speakers' beliefs and

perceptions about dialect have implications for the teaching and learning of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL).

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 presents a literature review that includes a discussion of my theoretical framework and clarifies aspects of spoken Japanese that are relevant to the topic of dialect. I review major findings from studies of L1 speakers in order to consider how dialect functions as a resource for L1 speakers and to examine L1 speakers' perceptions about dialect. Next, I introduce studies that focus on L2 speakers of Japanese, including studies describing their encounters with Japanese Dialect, as well as those describing the intentionality L2 speakers bring to their linguistic choices. In Chapter 3, I introduce the research context (Ehime, Japan) and describe the L2 and L1 participants, the types of data collected, and the procedures of analysis. I also reflect on my own positionality as a former JET participant, an L2 speaker of Japanese, and as a researcher in order to consider how these various positions intersected with other aspects of data collection and analysis. Analysis is presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 introduces the linguistic context in which L2 participants are situated when they live in Ehime. I do this by first examining dialect products found in Ehime, followed by an analysis of interview data from four core L1 participants. Chapter 5 focuses on the L2 participants, and begins with an explanation of the factors that L2 participants took into account as they negotiated Japanese linguistic choices. Next, I introduce six core L2 participants and present an in-depth discussion of how these participants described their dialect-related experiences. The dissertation concludes with Chapter 6, in which I summarize the findings and consider implications and future research directions.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Few studies address the topic of Japanese Dialect from the perspective L2 speakers. However, a great deal of research details how they negotiate linguistic choices with regard to Japanese honorifics and gendered language. In addition, there is considerable research on Japanese Dialect and its role and importance for L1 speakers. Together, these studies suggest some of the ways dialect may be relevant for L2 speakers, but they are ultimately incomplete. To address the gap in the literature and develop an approach to studying L2 speakers and dialect, in this chapter I detail research that addresses Japanese Dialect, L2 speakers, and dialect's possibilities as linguistic capital. I begin by reviewing literature that supports the development of my theoretical framework, including a discussion of linguistic ideology, linguistic capital, and investment. Next, with regard to Japanese language specifically, I detail research that examines and clarifies differences between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. I also report on research that demonstrates how dialect functions as a resource for L1 speakers. The discussion of dialect and L1 speakers is followed by an examination of the literature on L2 speakers, including studies which offer insight into L2 speakers' perceptions and opinions about their own use and comprehension of Japanese. I also introduce the few studies which address L2 speakers and dialect. The literature review underscores the relevance of research on Japanese Dialect and L2 speakers and highlights the gap that my findings help fill.

2.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I begin with a set of concepts that form the foundation upon which my examination of participants' beliefs and perceptions is built. First, I discuss the notion of linguistic ideologies, or

beliefs that speakers hold about language. These views of language form the underpinnings of linguistic capital. Linguistic capital, which is part of Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital, is a useful frame for considering whether or how Japanese Dialect functions as a resource for speakers. The economic metaphor of linguistic repertoires as capital is also relevant for research that considers L2 speakers' investment in the second language. Together, these three concepts offer a theoretical framework that facilitates the examination of speakers' attitudes toward Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. This theoretical framework also informs how I approach and interpret the data collected in this study.

2.1.1. Linguistic Ideology

Silverstein (1979) defined linguistic ideologies⁷ as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification” (p. 193) for language use; in other words, linguistic ideologies can be understood as one way that speakers understand and justify why they speak the way they do. An important feature of linguistic ideologies is that they represent beliefs or ideas about language that speakers assume, perhaps unconsciously, are shared by others. For example, Woolard (1992) pointed out that while linguistic ideologies may originate in speakers' “experiences or interests,” they tend to be “presented as universally true” (p. 237). Similarly, Rumsey (1990) described these ideologies as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language” (p. 346). The element of ‘shared-ness’ and the depiction of certain ideas about language as being “commonsense” and “taken for granted” are salient in my data.

Another key feature of linguistic ideologies is the relationship of ideology to legitimate language – Woolard (1992) described this as the “intimate connection to social power and its

⁷ Researchers vary in whether they use the singular, ideology, or the plural, ideologies. I generally use the plural in order to acknowledge that beliefs about language are based on multiple and sometimes competing ideologies.

legitimation” (p. 238). Linguistic ideologies make possible notions of appropriateness, the idea that some speech styles are more appropriate than others in certain situations. For those speakers who have access to the perceived appropriate speech style, use of that speech style facilitates access to key social situations and to other speakers. At the same time, speakers who lack the ability to use the appropriate speech style may find their access limited or restricted. Implicit in the notion of legitimate language is the idea that the right to speak a certain way is not universal, instead, some speakers are seen as having more rights to a certain language or speech style than other speakers. Thus, another feature of linguistic ideologies pertains to language ownership (cf. Wee, 2002) and the legitimation of speakerhood. In short, linguistic ideologies are beliefs about language that are used to justify linguistic choices and linguistic behaviors. These beliefs are assumed by speakers to be shared by others and play a role in the creation and recreation of certain language(s) and speech styles being seen as legitimate and others as not. Further, these beliefs carry assumptions about who are the legitimate speakers (owners) of a given language or speech style.

2.1.2. Linguistic Capital

Bourdieu’s theory of language, especially his notion of “linguistic capital” (1991), has received increasing attention, most recently by scholars studying language policy and multilingualism (e.g. Silver, 2005; Vaish & Tan, 2008). Bourdieu’s theory of language is based on his notion of an “economy of symbolic exchanges” (1991, p. 37) in which he argues that symbolic power is unevenly distributed. Linguistic exchanges are not merely exchanges of discrete pieces of information, instead, Bourdieu explains, they are “also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized” (p. 37). Bourdieu makes extensive use of economic metaphors to describe social phenomena; and his use of the

term “capital” is of particular relevance to my research. Capital, as used by Bourdieu, refers to that which is valued in a particular context (what Bourdieu calls a “field”). Bourdieu’s descriptions of symbolic capital and cultural capital are particularly well-known. Linguistic capital is a form of cultural capital and refers to the type of language that is valued in a particular context. Bourdieu and other scholars who incorporate his theory of language into their work (e.g. Harrison, 2009; Vaish & Tann, 2008) focus on the linguistic capital afforded to speakers who have “legitimate competence,” or competence in the “legitimate language” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 44); in other words, the ability to use the (type of) language that is valued in particular social exchanges. Bourdieu’s writings on linguistic capital focus on the linguistic capital of standard languages in comparison to regional dialects. Scholars such as Harrison (2009), Vaish and Tan (2008) and Silver (2005), who write about English as linguistic capital, take a similar approach in examining how a standard or prestige language functions as the legitimate language and affords its speakers linguistic capital, for example, in terms of educational and occupational access. Grenfell (2011), a recognized Bourdieusian scholar, explains that legitimate language is “a socially dominant linguistic form” (p. 51) and linguistic capital is made up of competence in the legitimate language, which then makes it possible for individuals to gain access to “desirable echelons within the social structure” (p. 53).

Although Bourdieu focuses primarily on the linguistic capital of standard languages, he also notes that the value of linguistic capital is dependent upon particular contexts (fields) and speakers’ dispositions. This leaves room for the consideration of other forms of language (e.g., non-standard forms, dialects, etc.) as linguistic capital. Extending Bourdieu’s work, Grenfell (2011) notes:

Besides the highly objectified, publically recognized styles of language, there is a multitude of forms which might each act as ‘the legitimate language’ for a particular social context: as noted, even unorthodox and dissident linguistic forms can be ‘orthodox,’ ‘consecrated’ and ‘legitimate’ within a social microcosm, within a particularly bounded milieu. (p 54).

In other words, what counts as linguistic capital depends on the social context of the linguistic exchange. Thus, although I agree with those researchers who take the position that it makes sense to view English, for example, as a form of linguistic capital within a global economy, I argue that it is also the case that the notion of linguistic capital can be extended to other, more local, contexts. With regard to Japan, the “legitimate language” is unarguably Standard Japanese; however, in local contexts in which speakers are using Japanese Dialect, a speaker who is able to use that dialect will have greater access to the relevant linguistic capital of that particular context.

Bourdieu’s framework provides a useful way to discuss how language, and various speech styles including dialects, can act as resources for various purposes. Context, interlocutors, and other situational aspects play interconnected roles in determining what kinds of language will have more or less linguistic capital for various kinds of speakers in various contexts. Thus, Bourdieu’s notion of linguistic capital can be used to talk about how various speech styles, or various kinds of linguistic competence, are differentially viewed by speakers as being or not being beneficial, in other words, being or not being forms of linguistic capital. For example, for a Japanese (L1 or L2) speaker, if Japanese Dialect is perceived as facilitating communication or easing access to some context or group of speakers, we can describe dialect as linguistic capital for that speaker in that context. If a speaker does not view dialect as relevant or useful, then we can say that dialect does not function as linguistic capital for that speaker. Further, speakers’ perceptions on a particular speech style as beneficial or not inform their linguistic choices

regarding whether to use that speech style. Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital provides a framework to examine language and consider how various speech styles can function as linguistic capital.

2.1.3. Investment

Speakers' perceptions about the value or linguistic capital of a language or speech style are connected to their "investment" in the language. Norton (2000/2013, 2006) developed the notion of investment as an alternative to the more traditional SLA notions of integrative and instrumental motivation.⁸ Her conceptualization of investment draws on Bourdieu's economic metaphor and she argued that:

if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of **symbolic and material resources**, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good **return on that investment** – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources (p. 10, emphasis added).

Studies addressing speakers' investment in the L2 bring into relief how beliefs and perceptions are partly shaped by the degree to which they are invested in learning and using the L2. Norton (2000/2013) argued that investment better describes the complicated and often ambivalent emotions that L2 learners display towards the L2. Investment acknowledges the "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10). This notion of investment can be used to examine whether or to what degree L2 speakers make efforts to acquire and use various aspects of the L2. For speakers who make efforts to learn and use a particular speech style in the L2, we can then consider the ways in which that speech style is believed to act as a "symbolic or material

⁸ Within the field of SLA, research on motivation is generally focused on motivation as an individual difference and on understanding and explaining language learning outcomes (cf. Ortega, 2009). Because this study is not focused on language learning outcomes, an in-depth examination of studies of motivation and the various ways motivation has been conceptualized within SLA is beyond the scope of this discussion.

resource.” Norton’s idea of a “return on investment” is also relevant when considering, for example, a Japanese L2 speaker’s approach to dealing with a speech style such as Japanese Dialect in that whether the L2 speaker perceives a return on the investment in learning dialect may play in role in their decisions about how much, if any, effort to put into learning and/or using that dialect. Norton also noted that “a learner’s investment in the target language may be complex, contradictory and in a state of flux” (p. 11), reminding us that an L2 speaker’s beliefs and perceptions about the L2 may change over time, in particular as language proficiency or connections with the L2 community evolve.

One piece missing from Norton’s economic metaphor is a discussion of the possibility that there may be some ‘cost’ for making certain linguistic choices. An L2 speaker may decide that the perceived cost of choosing a particular speech style is greater than any perceived return. For example, the speaker may want to use slang or dialect as a way to align his/her speech style with that of L1 friends, but may decide not to use that speech style due to fear of being corrected. (An example of this is presented in Ohta (1993), discussed below.) In this way, anticipated returns on investment versus concerns about costs from such investment may be difficult to reconcile, leading to increased feelings of ambivalence toward L2 speech style choices.

Together, the notions of linguistic ideology, linguistic capital, and investment offer a theoretical framework within which linguistic choices between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, and the beliefs and perceptions that play into those choices, can be considered. Although I have introduced each concept separately, they are linked in the following way: ideological notions about which language or form of language is more appropriate and more correct form the basis of legitimate language. Legitimate language, in turn, is at the heart of linguistic capital, making linguistic capital dependent upon linguistic ideologies. Finally, the notion of investment

itself is based on the economic metaphor. L2 speakers' understandings of how languages and forms of languages are differentially valued influence their sense of investment. Speakers' investment, and what they decide to invest in, is informed by internalized linguistic ideologies. Further, the degree to which they envision a return on their (linguistic) investment is in part determined by the benefits they anticipate from specific linguistic choices, in other words, outcomes that they anticipate will be facilitated by the use of a given language or speech style which they believe offers them linguistic capital. Linguistic ideologies, linguistic capital, and investment can be applied to any language; in the next section I turn to Japanese-specific literature to consider how these concepts apply to the Japanese linguistic context.

2.2. CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN JAPANESE

While the previous section detailed general concepts from which I draw in conducting my analysis, in this section I introduce issues specific to Japanese, in order to give context to the linguistic choices I focus on in this study, namely those between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. To support the study of Japanese Dialect from the perspective of L2 speakers, it is useful to situate Japanese Dialect within the larger context of contemporary spoken Japanese. Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect differ in important ways, and below I describe some of those differences. In addition, Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect evolved in the context of social change in Japan, and I briefly review relevant historical background as well as more recent findings that demonstrate dialect's role in modern Japan.

2.2.1. Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect

Contemporary spoken Japanese includes both Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. For the purposes of this study, I use the term Standard Japanese without distinguishing between Standard Japanese (*hyoojungo*) and another frequently used term, Common Language (*kyootsuugo*). I do

this in part because almost all of the participants in this study used the expression *hyoojungo*. In addition, most English-language literature tends to use the term Standard Japanese and a discussion of the distinctions between Standard Japanese and Common Language is beyond the scope of this literature review.⁹ It is worth noting, however, that the Standard Japanese is viewed by many scholars to be an ideological construct (e.g., Gottlieb, 2005.; Heinrich, 2005, 2012; Kubota 2014), as will be discussed below (in Section 2.2.2.). In addition to using the term Standard Japanese, I also refer to Japanese Dialect (in order to contrast dialect with standard). This is not meant to obscure the fact that there are numerous regional dialects; however, my focus is not on the specific features of individual dialects. Instead, I am interested in the juxtaposition between dialect and standard as speech styles, their social meanings, the roles each play in linguistic daily life, and in the perceptions of speakers who tend to treat “standard” and “dialect” as separate, bounded entities. For these reasons, I generally refer to Japanese Dialect in the singular, while acknowledging that there is a great deal of variation across regional dialects.

There are numerous dialects spoken in Japan today, and some are different enough so as to be “mutually unintelligible” (Shibatani, 1990, p. 185). Shibatani reports that the existence of Japanese dialects was recognized at least as early as the Nara period (A.D. 710-793), and that during the seventeenth century, the Kyoto dialect was recognized as the standard dialect. However, “the linguistic dominance of the Kyoto dialect gradually eroded as Edo [present-day Tokyo] began to assert its political and economic force and began to develop culturally as well” (p. 186). Shibatani reports that the Tokyo dialect began to replace the Kyoto dialect “as the standard language around the end of the eighteenth century” (p. 186). These reports demonstrate the long history of tension between dialects and the question of which variety is seen as the

⁹ See Satoh and Yoneda (1999) for more on the use of terms Common Language versus Standard Japanese.

standard variety. In addition, the way the standard variety has shifted historically suggests the dynamic nature of how legitimate language is determined, and by extension, of what counts as linguistic capital in Japanese.

Contemporary differences between dialect and standard have been described by researchers in a variety of ways. Shibatani reported that one way dialect groups are determined is based on accent patterns, and he listed the following major divisions: “(1) between the Ryūkyuan dialects and the mainland dialects; and (2) between the Western dialect group and the Eastern dialect group of the mainland” (p. 187). Shibatani also explained that there are two patterns for how dialects are distributed: “one is the opposition between the Eastern Japan dialects and the Western Japan dialects, and the other is the opposition of the central areas and the peripheral areas” (p. 189). Other researchers also consider how the differences between standard and dialect can best be described. Gottlieb (2005) discussed lexical and verbal inflectional differences. Okamoto (2008a, 2008b) looked at differences in terms of pitch, as well as phonological, morphological and lexical features. These differences can also be considered in terms of whether comprehension is impacted when a speaker encounters an unfamiliar dialect. For example, if there is a single lexical difference (e.g., one word is different) or an individual morphological difference (e.g., a difference in verb ending), it may be possible for a listener to infer the meaning from the larger context. However, if there is a combination of differences in the same utterance (e.g., phonological, lexical and morphological differences co-occurring) it may be more difficult to make inferences. (See Chapter 3 for examples of Ehime Dialect.)

2.2.2. Creation of Standard Japanese

The language now generally called Standard Japanese (*hyōjungo*) is based on the Meiji era (1868-1912) dialect of middle-class residents of Tokyo (e.g., Shibatani, 1990; Gottlieb, 2005).

Many scholars have written about how Standard Japanese was created as part of Japan's nation-building efforts that started during this period. For example, Heinrich (2012) reported that "the idea of Japanese as a national language was ... actively and purposefully created in response to the very specific requirements of Japanese modernization" (p. 4). As part of this, there were extensive efforts to promote the Tokyo dialect as Standard Japanese, including through textbook dissemination, curricular requirements, and through standardization of language used by Japan's radio and later television broadcaster, NHK (*Nippon Hoosoo Kyookai*, Japan Broadcasting Corporation) (Carroll, 2001a; Gottlieb, 2005; Okamoto, 2008a; Ramsey, 2004). As part of its efforts to promote Standard Japanese, starting in 1901, the Ministry of Education¹⁰ required Standard Japanese to be used in all textbooks and taught in schools. At the same time, "local varieties of Japanese became representative of backwardness" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 6). Promotion of Standard Japanese was accompanied by a concurrent movement to eradicate dialects, called *hoogen bokumetsu undo*, 'movement to eradicate or beat down the dialects' (Okamoto, 2008b; Sunaoshi, 2004). Dialect use was disparaged, and children who used their local dialects at school were punished, for example by being forced to wear a *hoogen fuda* or "dialect tag" (Gottlieb, 2005; Ramsey, 2004). The official policy of promoting Standard Japanese and discouraging Japanese Dialect continued until the end of World War II. It has also been noted that even after the official policy to eradicate dialects ended, the underlying ideology in which dialects were devalued continued to play a role in Japan's language policy making (Okamoto, 2008a).

2.2.3. Dialect Revival

Despite efforts to eradicate dialects, dialect use persisted and official policy towards dialects gradually softened in the years after World War II (Carroll, 2005; Ramsey, 2004). Carroll

¹⁰ The Ministry of Education was created in 1871 and sets educational and curricular guidelines that are closely followed by schools throughout Japan.

(2001a) reported that at least as early as 1989, the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines were changed to include provisions that elementary school students be able to distinguish between their local dialect and Standard Japanese. This change in curricular guidelines represented official recognition of the value of dialects, primarily because it acknowledged dialect as an important part of cultural heritage. The most recent Ministry¹¹ guidelines maintain this provision (MEXT, 2008). Carroll (2001a) noted that one of the results of these curricular guidelines was that they provided official sanction of the practice of code-switching between standard and dialect. At the same time, Carroll (2001b) also argued that "despite the more positive comments on dialects in curriculum guidelines, the emphasis is largely on tolerance, rather than any active promotion of dialects" (p. 186). Indeed, Standard Japanese retains its status as the "legitimate language," especially because it continues to be the medium of instruction in educational contexts as well as the language of print and broadcast media.

Nevertheless, popular attitudes toward dialect appear to be changing along with changes in educational policy regarding dialects. Ramsey (2004), for instance, describes surveys that report positive feelings associated with dialects, as well as the recent popularity of dialect speech contests and gift items with dialect words written on them. Similarly, Jinnouchi (2007) argues that Japan is experiencing a "dialect boom" and even goes so far as to say that, in contrast to the "dialect inferior complex" seen post-World War II (Shibata, as cited in Jinnouchi, 2007), Japanese people now may have an inferiority complex if they are *unable* to speak a dialect. Recent research in dialectology reports that part of this trend can be seen in increasing use of dialect by young people (e.g., Kobayashi, 2004; Tanaka, 2007).

¹¹ In 2001, the Ministry of Education merged with another ministry to become the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT). Its central role in determining Japan's national educational curriculum remains unchanged.

At the same time, claims of a dialect boom may be overstated, however, especially given surveys which continue to find that not all Japanese dialects rank equally-well in terms of speakers' subjective perceptions of dialects (e.g., Okamoto, 2008a; Sunaoshi, 2004). In recent work, Tanaka (2014) described how dialect's place in Japanese society has evolved from one of stigma to one of greater prestige, however she also acknowledged that dialect is most fashionable in regions where it is used the least. Conversely, Kubota (2014) argued that "strong contempt for non-standard forms of [Japanese] language exists to date" (p. 21). These more recent works demonstrate that the complexity of dialect's place within Japanese language is far from resolved.

Thus, while the status of dialect is improving in the abstract, dialects are not all equal in comparison to each other. Instead, some dialects were historically, and continue to be, considered prestige dialects (e.g., Inoue, 2006). Prestige dialects tend to be those used in more urban cities, generally in Western Japan, in particular the Kansai Dialects, which include Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe (e.g. Shibamoto-Smith & Occhi, 2009). On the other hand, low-prestige dialects tend to be from more rural areas and the dialects from the Tohoku region (in Northern Japan) are generally considered to have the lowest prestige and to be the most different from Standard Japanese (e.g. Miyake, 1995; Sunaoshi, 2004). This too however may be changing. Although the Tohoku dialects have historically been viewed as having the lowest prestige, anecdotal evidence suggests that, in the wake of the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, the status of the Tohoku dialects may be changing, as Japan as a nation has made efforts to show its support for the area in the aftermath of the earthquake and nuclear disaster (also see the afterward in Tanaka, 2011).

Thus, popular perceptions about dialect are complex and sometimes ambivalent: while certain dialects have more prestige than others, in some instances dialects continue to be viewed

as occupying a lower status compared to Standard Japanese. Nevertheless, there is no question that dialects are more tolerated and are associated with more positive images than in years past. Researchers note that when dialects are evaluated positively, it is in regards to nostalgia and positive emotions, while Standard Japanese is associated with intelligence and modern sophistication (Inoue, 2006; Okamoto, 2008b; Watanabe & Karasawa, 2013). In terms of linguistic capital, Standard Japanese might be said to have more linguistic capital in contexts where intelligence is valued, such as in workplace interactions, while Japanese Dialect might be said to be valued in contexts in which emotions are valued, for example in interactions with family and friends. When dialects are measured against each other, prestige dialects (such as the Kansai dialects) are likely to have greater linguistic capital than low-prestige dialects. What is not clear, however, is whether or how a dialect's relative prestige at the national level influences how its speakers feel about that dialect at the local level and whether that has any impact on the beliefs of L1 speakers regarding the use of their dialect by newcomers or outsiders, including both L1 and L2 speakers.

2.3. JAPANESE DIALECT AND L1 SPEAKERS

In this section, I examine some major scholarly works on Japanese Dialect and L1 speakers, which are a useful source of information about speakers' perceptions about JD and its relevance to their linguistic daily lives. Special consideration is paid to how dialect functions as a resource, how L1 speakers perceive dialect, and their linguistic choices between standard and dialect. This information can then be applied to examining what relevance dialect may have for L2 speakers. Further, the studies introduced below suggest some of the contexts in which L2 speakers may experience dialect use.

2.3.1. Code-Switching between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect

Given findings about the persistence of dialect and especially about the dialect revival, it is not surprising that many scholars have found that code-switching between standard and dialect is common in the spoken Japanese of L1 speakers. For example, Carroll (2001a) found that although some of the differences between standard and dialect have been reduced, Standard Japanese is not replacing dialects. Instead, speakers switch between standard and dialect “depending on the circumstances” (p. 10). Similarly, Long (1996) described these practices of switching between standard and dialect as “situational code-switching” (p. 122). Jinnouchi (2007) called the ability to use both standard and dialect a form of bilingualism, and he argued that bilingual code switching between the two results in viewing Standard Japanese as “just one of the varieties to be used depending on the situation” (p. 48). These authors’ findings are supported by the most recent public opinion poll by the Japanese government’s Agency for Cultural Affairs (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2010), which found that almost 80% of respondents felt that it was appropriate to choose between Standard Japanese or Japanese Dialect depending on factors such as context and other speakers.

At the same time, switching back and forth is not necessarily a neutral choice between available speech styles, as the above findings might suggest. Rather, it can be a site of struggle with implications for a speaker’s sense of self. Occhi (2008) solicited the views of Japanese university students who were dialect speakers from Miyazaki Prefecture (on the island of Kyushu, Japan). Occhi described participants’ views about dialect use and dialect users, themselves included, as well as their views about the ideologies embedded in Japanese linguistic choices. She found that participants “expressed feelings of affection towards dialect” (p. 108) but they also adopted a practical stance towards choosing speech styles to align with local norms,

which Occhi described as a “when in Rome” (p. 108) stance. Participants’ comments revealed how they chose not only between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, but also from among different local dialects. For example, when moving from a smaller area to a larger regional city, participants used the dialect of the regional city even when it differed from their original dialect. One participant reported feeling homesick upon hearing his local dialect. Another participant described her use of either dialect or “standardlike” speech as being dependent on contexts, and Occhi reported that the woman “framed her dialect and standard switching behavior as consciously performed, necessary and stressful” (p. 101). Occhi argued that it is a “social fact that when rural speakers go urban in Japan they take on Standard Japanese as protective coloration” (p. 102), and she described students at universities in Tokyo who hide their regional origin by concealing their dialect and adopting Standard Japanese. Occhi called this use of Standard Japanese “passing” (p. 102), and she noted its similarity to a participant described by Inoue (2006, introduced below) who adopted Standard Japanese after relocating to Tokyo because it was perceived to offer access to upward social mobility. These reports shed light on what counts as linguistic capital for L1 speakers, and they suggest that linguistic capital is highly context- and interlocutor-dependent, dynamic and changing, rather than static or fixed.

2.3.2. Japanese Dialect as a Resource

A significant body of research examines the social meaning of dialect and considers how its use can function as a resource for various interactional goals. For example, Kobayashi (2007) reported that contemporary dialect usage has shifted from being a tool for relaying messages to one that allows interlocutors to display to each other their shared hometown or regional background. By doing so, he argued that rather than performing a communicative function, dialect allows speakers to convey a sense of belonging. Building on Kobayashi’s findings,

Ohuchi (2014) examined the use of dialect in emergency radio programs (*rinji kasai hoosookyoku*) after the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. Ohuchi found that dialect use in emergency radio programs had three functions: 1) to display a sense of belonging and feelings of hometown even when listeners were in evacuation shelters far from home; 2) to provide relief from the stress of the disaster and instill courage in the listeners; and 3), to aid in the preservation of the dialect even when dialect users were separated from each other (p. 15-16, translation by this author).

While research such as that of Kobayashi's and Ohuchi's focuses on dialect's role within a specific region, choices between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect are often motivated by much more than regional issues. Indeed, although dialects are often assumed to be simply indexes of regionality, many researchers have found that use of dialects goes beyond the indexing of regional origin and performs numerous pragmatic functions. These findings demonstrate that dialect can function as a resource in a variety of contexts, and they suggest how dialect can be a form of linguistic capital in certain local contexts. For example, Okamoto (2008a), in contrast to researchers who describe the mixing of standard and dialect as code-switching, argued that Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect are not treated by speakers as "discrete codes" and, when speakers mix standard and dialect forms, "the notion of code-switching is not adequate" (p. 230) to describe their practices. Instead, Okamoto used the term "variant choice" which she viewed as "a resource for style management, as it relates to formality" (p. 245). Okamoto also addressed the difficulty of categorizing a particular form as either exclusively standard or dialect, in particular because standard and dialect forms are often used together in the same utterance, and individual speakers may differ in their views of what is considered standard or dialect. Okamoto's findings demonstrate the complexity of defining

speech styles and underscore the potential for a variety of speech styles to function as linguistic capital, depending on context and interlocutors.

Ball (2004) examined discourse data and found that a primary function of dialect was not as an index of regionality, but instead dialect performed a socioindexical function, indexing stances of alterity (sameness and difference). Drawing on the notion of *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group), Ball argued that a speaker's use of dialect can index solidarity with an addressee and index the speaker and addressee as members of the same in-group (*uchi*). Similarly, Standard Japanese can index out-group (*soto*) membership and highlight the differences between speaker and addressee. At the same time, Ball argued that the use of Standard Japanese for the benefit of a non-dialect using interlocutor can also be viewed as a "solidarity building move" (p. 370) in that it strives to make the interlocutor comfortable by matching one's speech to the interlocutor. Ball's findings are relevant when considering whether or how dialect functions as a resource for indexing speakers as in- or out-group members. In addition, although Ball did not discuss competence as a feature of code-switching, his findings hint at possible benefits for those who are able to choose either standard or dialect as needed.

While Ball examined the role of choices between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect in non-work-related interactions, Sunaoshi (2004) investigated the speech of regional, working-class women in professional interactions. Sunaoshi problematized traditional conceptions of "Japanese women's language," which she argued is a "prescribed norm and thus does not represent the way Japanese women actually use language" (p. 187). She found that the speech of her participants was "dialect-dominant" (p. 188) and contained little or no examples of Standard Japanese-feminine forms. Instead, the use of dialect forms, along with the avoidance of Standard Japanese forms, functioned as a resource for solidarity building between a farming advisor and

the farmers. When Standard Japanese forms were used, they functioned to “indicate appropriate social distance” (p. 197) and the social meanings of those Standard Japanese forms were altered as a result of their being used within the context of dialect use. Sunaoshi also argued that the gendered linguistic norms of Standard Japanese should not be assumed to apply to dialects.

Whereas Sunaoshi examined dialect use in women’s speech, SturtzSreetharan (2006) examined dialect and masculine speech. She used naturally occurring conversational data, in which all participants were male and coworkers, to focus on how “a regional dialect is an additional source of strategy for achieving moment-to-moment positioning of interlocutors” (p. 173). Her participants used a mixture of Standard Japanese and Hanshinkan Dialect, a prestige dialect spoken in the area from Osaka to Kobe. SturtzSreetharan found that dialect indexed “seniority, solidarity, and familiarity” (p. 178), while Standard Japanese forms “may carry too much authority and not enough solidarity to target the stance” (p. 183) that a speaker wished to display. She concluded that dialect forms, by indexing localness, make it possible to “signal solidarity and authority” (p. 183), describing, for example, how the force of the act of sanctioning a coworker can be mitigated by combining standard and dialect forms. SturtzSreetharan also described how the same dialect forms can be used for a variety of interactional purposes: in one interaction participants “use dialect forms to increase familiarity and solidarity, whereas [a participant in another interaction] uses dialectal forms to soften the force of his disapproval” (p. 188). In addition, her participants relied on multiple strategies, including using masculine forms and dialect forms as resources for displaying various stances. SturtzSreetharan’s depictions of the interplay between dialect and other linguistic features, especially masculine speech forms, demonstrate the complexity involved in speech style choices.

Her findings add to our understanding of how dialect and masculine speech forms can function as linguistic resources in workplace contexts.

While Sunaoshi and SturtzSreetharan examined dialect and gendered speech in naturally occurring conversation, other researchers examine Japanese speech styles used in fiction or film, in other words invented and scripted dialogue. Although an in-depth consideration of this field of research is beyond the scope of this discussion, one important concept deserves attention here, namely that of “role language” (*yakuwarigo*) as conceived of by Kinsui (e.g., Kinsui, 2003, Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2011). Role language refers to ways that a particular character’s speech is created by drawing on linguistic stereotypes so that the audience will associate that character with a particular type of person in terms of age, gender, nationality, and social status. Although not limited to dialect features, role language often makes use of dialect forms and other non-standard features. Because role language tends to be used by supporting characters while main characters use Standard Japanese, one concern is that it may reinforce linguistic stereotypes and perpetuate the privileged status of Standard Japanese and the stigma associated with certain speech styles or dialect features. Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi (2009) take up this question in their examination of the language used by romantic heroines.

Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi (2009) examined how gendered linguistic norms are recreated through the differential use of dialect in the scripted speech of characters in a Japanese romantic TV drama. Although their data did not come from naturally occurring conversation, Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi argued that the way dialogue is written for TV drama characters makes it possible to consider whether female dialect speakers are or can be “authentically” feminine, and also whether some dialects are better at expressing femininity than others. The authors conclude that when dialects are used by a romantic heroine in a TV drama, urban and/or

prestige dialects (such as the Kobe Dialect) can be used, but more rural dialects are not used by romantic heroines. Echoing other authors cited in this paper (e.g. Okamoto, 2008a; Sunaoshi, 2004), Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi point to such use of urban, prestige dialects as evidence that not all dialects are equal. Rather, prestige dialects can be said to have greater linguistic capital than more rural dialects. While Jinnouchi (2007) argues that Japan is experiencing a dialect boom, Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi suggest that dialect is treated only as a “cute accessory,” and may be seen as attractive by Standard Japanese speakers who view dialects as “exotic, like foreign languages” (p. 538). Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi argued that TV viewers ultimately seem to prefer “dialect lite” (p. 531), or dialect that has been reduced to a few key (and possibly stereotyped) features. The authors concluded that although the use of dialects in a TV drama appears to recognize dialects as valuable, because dialects are mainly used by supporting characters and for “language play, it continues to mark dialectal speech as ‘other’ and peripheral” (p. 538-9).

While Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi’s findings, and notion of role language introduced above, are based on scripted dialogue, fictional depictions of language demonstrate how authors perceive popular attitudes toward dialect and its speakers. As such, it is not surprising that the notions of dialect lite or dialect as a cute accessory are similar to phenomena described by other researchers examining naturally occurring conversation, especially with regard to the speech of young people in urban centers like Tokyo. Kobayashi (2004) has described recent trends in dialect use as the accessorization of dialect. He argued that the standardization of Japanese has instilled dialect with a “scarcity value” which has in turn contributed to the commodification of dialect. At the same time, Kobayashi (2007) pointed out that this phenomenon is observed

primarily in the Kanto region in which use of dialects is more limited, while in the Kansai region dialect retains its vitality and as such accessorization has not yet occurred.

These phenomena are also addressed in Tanaka's (2007a, 2007b, 2011) research. She described the evolution of dialect from being the language of daily life to being a tool that speakers make conscious use of for various effects.¹² She calls this *hoogen-kosupure* or dialect cosplay (costume play). Tanaka explained that one defining feature of dialect cosplay is that it does not need to be a "real" or "authentic" dialect, it merely needs to match interlocutors' perceptions of what dialect sounds like, and in this aspect it draws on linguistic stereotypes and is similar to role language. Like Kobayashi, Tanaka found that dialect cosplay is most used by young people in urban areas. However, she pointed out that its use in internet blogs and social media mean that dialect cosplay should not be dismissed as a phenomenon relevant only to Tokyo. In addition, the kinds of dialect use Tanaka and Kobayashi describe (e.g., isolated dialect features such as sentence-final particles or emotive expressive) is an example of how dialect (features) can perform a symbolic function by being inserted into speech that could otherwise be characterized as standard.

2.3.3. Linguistic Choices in New Locations

Although many studies of dialect focus on people using their local dialect in that dialect's region of origin, another important question relates to how people negotiate dialect use after moving to a new region. For example, Inoue (2006) conducted an ethnographic study in a large Japanese company in Tokyo from 1991 to 1993. Although Inoue's study mainly focused on issues related

¹² Tanaka (2007, 2011) categorized types of dialect use based on whether or to what degree the dialect being used was connected to the speaker's hometown. She assigned categories such as "real dialect," "virtual dialect," "hometown dialect," and "fake dialect." While these categories are useful to consider the many ways dialect tokens are used, the phenomena she described are based primarily on the speech of young Tokyoites and it is unclear to what degree, if any, these categories are relevant for the participants in this study. As such, I omit a more detailed discussion of this aspect of her research.

to features of women's speech, she also described the language choices made by participants who relocated to Tokyo from dialect-speaking regions. For example, Inoue described participants who moved from the Kansai region to Tokyo, and retained a great deal of Kansai Dialectal features in their speech. Their experiences were contrasted with those of another participant, "Sawada," who moved to Tokyo from the Tohoku region (a low-prestige dialect region). Inoue reported that, in Tokyo, Sawada worked hard to erase all traces of Tohoku Dialect from her speech, taking on Standard Japanese speech styles and in particular using the strongly feminine forms that are a part of Standard Japanese women's speech. Sawada was described as leading a "bidialectal" life because her interactions with family members in the Tohoku region were conducted in dialect while her interactions with co-workers and friends in Tokyo were conducted in standard. For Sawada, the use of Standard Japanese was crucial for her identity, and she reported feeling that she could not go back to using her former dialect without negative consequences for her personality. On the other hand, the speakers from Kansai, who continued to use their Kansai Dialect even when working in Tokyo, described their choice to maintain dialect use as being due to the desire to avoid creating a "double personality" (p. 271). Inoue argued that the different levels of prestige of each dialect surely played a role in these disparate approaches, and that, for Sawada, the choice to replace her low-prestige dialect with standard offered her upward "socioeconomic mobility" (p. 271). Although Inoue drew on Bourdieu's work, she did not make specific reference to linguistic capital; however, her description of Standard Japanese as a resource for socioeconomic mobility can be understood as being due to the linguistic capital afforded by Standard Japanese. The linguistic choices of other participants can also be considered in terms of the perceived linguistic capital offered by different dialect-related choices, as well as an anticipated identity-cost as a result of adopting Standard Japanese. Specifically, for

the participants who relocated from Kansai to Tokyo, the choice to maintain Kansai Dialect suggests that Kansai Dialect offered them more linguistic capital than did Tokyo Dialect. The only drawback to Inoue's work is that it is based on data collected from 1991-1993. Since the "dialect boom" described by Jinnouchi (2007) and dialect cosplay described by Tanaka (2011) are recent phenomena, it would be worthwhile to reconsider how more recent transplants from regional areas to Tokyo negotiate choices between their dialects and Standard Japanese. Nevertheless, Inoue's descriptions of how speakers negotiate linguistic choices in a new area can inform our questions about what counts as linguistic capital for various speakers especially in contexts of speaker mobility.

While the findings from Inoue described above were based on people who moved from other regions *to* Tokyo, Hendry's (1992) participant observation study focused on housewives who moved *from* Tokyo to Tateyama, a provincial town where dialect use was common. Hendry described the use of dialect and standard in Tateyama and the surrounding fishing and farming communities, in particular how the local dialect, unlike Standard Japanese, did not include honorific forms. Hendry found that, when newcomers from Tokyo continued to use standard forms, and in particular Standard Japanese honorific forms, it allowed them to maintain their connection to Tokyo, but simultaneously created social distance between the newcomers and long-term Tateyama residents. Hendry explained that for housewives from Tokyo, "their ability to adjust their language [e.g. by using less honorific forms to adapt to local JD norms] had a profound effect on their success in integrating themselves into the local neighborhood" (p. 346). Hendry concluded that patterns of language use (with regard to dialect and standard-honorifics) "serve an important social role of expressing group distinctions within Japanese society" (p. 348). Hendry also noted that residents new to an area may succeed at adopting local customs, but have

a harder time adopting the local dialect, thus preventing them from being able to “fit in completely” (p. 349) even though they strive to adopt other (non-linguistic) local customs. She speculated that true “sophistication” (p. 351) may come from the ability to adjust one’s speech (e.g. using more or less honorifics, or more or less dialectal forms) based on features such as context and interlocutors. Although Hendry did not incorporate the notion of linguistic capital in her analysis, her comments about sophistication suggest one way to extend linguistic capital beyond the notion that it is derived from “legitimate competence” in a “legitimate language” (cf. Bourdieu, 1991); instead, Hendry’s findings suggest that the ability to take advantage of several speech styles, including non-standard ones, may be itself a type of linguistic capital. Like Inoue (2006), Hendry’s data is also at least 20 years old, so more recent information is needed. However, both Hendry’s and Inoue’s findings make important contributions in terms of what they tell us about the linguistic choices speakers face when relocating to a new area.

2.3.4. L1 Speakers’ Perceptions about Japanese Dialect

In addition to findings about the ways dialect functions as a resource, several studies offer insight into how L1 speakers view dialect. For example, Okamoto (2008a) conducted a short survey of her participants. She found that participants viewed Standard Japanese as “polite, formal, correct” (p. 245), while they associated dialect with “feeling, informal situations, warm feelings” (p. 246); some respondents also described dialect as “rough” (p. 246). Okamoto (2008b) reported on various survey results which show that Standard Japanese is rated more highly on “intellectual image” while dialects are rated positively in terms of “emotional image” (p. 152). Similarly, Occhi (2008) observed that the dialect speakers in her study tended to express affection for dialects, while at the same time taking a practical view about when dialects should be used (e.g., with friends from one’s hometown) and when it might be more appropriate to use Standard

Japanese (e.g., in a job interview). Miyake's (1995) survey of speakers of the Yonezawa Dialect (a Tohoku dialect) is notable for the positive views that were reported, especially in light of the consensus that the Tohoku dialects tend to be viewed negatively and are considered to be low prestige dialects. Miyake found that although Tohoku dialects may lack prestige on a national level, locally, the Yonezawa Dialect is considered a prestige dialect and respondents to her survey described feeling pride in their dialect. Finally, Inoue's (2006) participants demonstrate the range of reactions dialect speakers can have when relocating to a region that does not use the same dialect. As described above, Inoue found that speakers from the Kansai area viewed the maintenance of their dialect as important to their sense of self. However, the participant from the Tohoku area described the opposite feeling, namely that after having adopted Standard Japanese, it became the most natural speech style for her and she described feeling that she could not revert to her old dialect-using self without losing her current personality. These findings demonstrate that L1 speakers make distinctions between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect in terms of the appropriateness of each for various contexts. In addition, the degree of prestige carried by different dialects seems to influence both speakers' perceptions as well as their linguistic choices between standard and dialect. Finally, in the context of mobility, speakers navigate Japanese linguistic choices in diverse ways.

The works reviewed in this section demonstrate that dialect can function as a resource in various situations, for example as a resource for building rapport in work contexts (e.g., Sunaoshi, 2004), maintaining one's ties to one's hometown (e.g., Ohuchi, 2014) or as a resource for connecting with a new community (e.g., Hendry, 1992). At the same time, dialect may be seen as a barrier to upward mobility and speakers may reject their regional dialect in order to fit in with perceived norms (e.g., Inoue, 2006; Occhi, 2008). Some of these works are based on data that is

10 or more years old; in light of the “dialect revival” and anecdotal evidence, for example, about changes in the status of the Tohoku dialects, newer research is needed to see whether or how dialect use and perceptions have changed. Nevertheless, the studies introduced above demonstrate that dialect use remains common, and occurs in a variety of workplace and non-workplace settings. Further, researchers described the complex and diverse feelings that L1 speakers have towards Japanese Dialect and towards questions of whether, when, and how switches between standard and dialect should be made. Their findings point to the diversity of factors that influence what counts as linguistic capital for various speakers and contexts. These studies also suggest that L2 speakers can be expected to encounter dialect use while in Japan, and we may rightfully wonder about L2 speakers’ awareness of and opinions about dialect. Given the variety of contexts in which dialect has been shown to be used as a resource, it seems likely that dialect use can also play a role in L2 speakers’ linguistic daily lives in Japan.

2.4. JAPANESE DIALECT AND L2 SPEAKERS

Few studies focus specifically on Japanese Dialect and L2 speakers; however, numerous studies include reports of L2 speakers’ encountering dialect. These reports, which I introduce below, shed light on how L2 speakers deal with issues surrounding dialect. In addition, I introduce work from the few researchers who consider whether JD should be introduced into Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language (JSL/JFL) instruction, including the only study that I am aware of that examines L2 speakers’ awareness of dialect and their interest in receiving dialect instruction. Next, I introduce key studies that describe the awareness and intentionality with which L2 speakers approach decision-making about other types of Japanese speech styles, such as honorifics and gendered language. These studies demonstrate that L2 speakers tend to have a high level of awareness about Japanese sociolinguistic norms, and they use this awareness to

guide their linguistic decision-making. Finally, I introduce SLA research that considers issues related to L2 speakers' identity and imagined communities. Taken together, the studies reviewed below support an analysis of issues such as L2 speakers' investment in dialect and whether L2 speakers employ intentionality in their approaches to dealing with dialect.

2.4.1. L2 Speakers' Encounters with Japanese Dialect

Numerous studies offer glimpses of dialect use within L1/L2 Japanese interaction or offer brief descriptions of L2 speakers' experiences with dialect. These studies show some of the contexts in which L2 speakers encounter dialect use, and suggest the degree of awareness about and importance of dialect for L2 speakers. Even from the limited reports available, we can begin to see what kinds of questions need to be asked to develop a more complete understanding of dialect's relevance for L2 speakers and how to best consider whether or how dialect functions as a form of linguistic capital for L2 speakers.

Siegal's (1994) ethnographic longitudinal study of four Western women studying Japanese in Hiroshima, Japan included a brief description of L2 speakers' difficulties with dialect. One participant complained about a neighbor who used "a very heavy Hiroshima dialect" (p. 180) that the participant found to be "often incomprehensible" (p. 180). Siegal also reported that participants' lack of knowledge about the differences between Standard Japanese and Hiroshima Dialect lead to pragmatically inappropriate uses. Siegal criticized the lack of conversational practice in the learners' study abroad instruction; however, she stopped short of discussing how instruction to facilitate dialect understanding could have provided the learners with valuable linguistic tools.

Although some of Siegal's participants had short home stay experiences, she did not include much information about participants' interactions with their host families. Iino (2006), on the other hand, focused on the interaction between American exchange students and their Japanese host families in Kyoto, Japan, and found that the exchange students were exposed to various non-standard forms, including regional dialects and "foreigner talk" (p. 152). Although the host families reported in questionnaires that they spoke Kyoto Dialect to each other at home, Iino's video data shows that family members code-switched when speaking to the American students. Of particular interest is the fact that when shown the video data, the host families were surprised at how different their language use was with the exchange students, echoing Long's (1996) argument that L1 speakers may be unaware of mixing Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. Iino found that although the host families may have believed that the most appropriate speech to use when speaking to the American students was Tokyo Dialect (i.e. Standard Japanese), they used a "hyper-normalized" style of Japanese that was "neither Kyoto dialect nor Tokyo dialect, but instead, FT (foreigner talk)" (p. 168). Iino suggested that the host families may have applied "a different set of rules" (p. 166) to the American students, and he speculated that this may be due to host families' belief that Kyoto dialect is not "correct Japanese," or that the American students would not be able to understand the dialect. However, although foreigner talk may have been easier to understand, Iino noted that foreigner talk may also emphasize the student's foreign-ness and highlight the distance between the home stay student and the host family.

Iino also described how the American students struggled with defining their identities and roles within Japanese society. In particular, one issue they faced was to what extent "non-Japanese in Japan are expected or allowed to assimilate with native Japanese" (p. 160).

According to Iino, “speaking fluent Japanese may not always be sufficient or even appropriate in some situations. In fact, ‘speaking like a native’ can at times be inappropriate” (p. 160), although Iino did not specify what kinds of situations these might be. Iino also considered various expectations about how L2 speakers speak or should speak, arguing that L1 speakers do not necessarily expect L2 speakers to “speak and behave like a native, and at the same time non-native speakers themselves may not wish to speak and behave like a native” (p. 171). Iino concluded that “if the American students behave like a native Japanese, then the Japanese hosts may feel that the student is *henna* (strange) *gaijin* [foreigner]” (p. 171). Unfortunately, Iino did not problematize such notions *henna gaijin*, which may be othering¹³ for the American students.

While Iino examined the language use patterns of short-term American exchange students and their Japanese host families, Mori’s (2012) study included some L2 speakers who were long-term residents of Japan. Mori conducted a close analysis of both L1/L1 and L1/L2 Japanese interactions. One question Mori considered was what elements were relevant in the process of L2 learners becoming members of a new community. Similar to Iino’s discussion of how host families adapt their speech to accommodate home-stay students, Mori described the language patterns of multigenerational families who had previously hosted foreign exchange students. She noted the families’ mixing of Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, and concluded that it is likely that foreign exchange students heard dialect used in host family talk. Echoing Iino, Mori argued that while a host family’s speech adjustments may help the home-stay student’s comprehension, at the same time language adjustments may “reconfirm the students’ status as outsiders” (p. 155). Mori concluded that L2 learners in Japan will encounter a variety

¹³ I use the term “othering” to describe ways in which a dichotomous notion of “self” and “other” is discursively created such that the “other” is conceived of as (irreconcilably) different; othering also involves assigning essentialized and stereotyped identities to the “other” (cf. Kubota, 1999; Palfreyman, 2005; Yamaguchi, 2004).

of speech styles, including Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of linguistic capital, Mori pointed out that although Standard Japanese offers L2 learners a certain amount of linguistic capital, not all speakers adhere to an easy-to-understand version of Standard Japanese. Thus, Mori argued, L2 learners need to be able to comprehend the different types of speech styles (including JD) that they encounter. Further, she made the important point that learners need sufficient knowledge of Japanese to understand how their own choices about speech styles will influence the impressions they make on others.

Of particular relevance for my proposal is Mori's description of "Ms. Wang," an L2 speaker of Japanese who had previously worked as a Japanese/Chinese translator. Mori detailed Ms. Wang's ambivalence towards Japanese Dialect. For example, Ms. Wang described her attempts to avoid using dialect forms, even though her L1 co-workers used them so frequently that Ms. Wang found the forms slipping into her own speech. Ms. Wang discussed her previous work as a translator and explained that her Japanese speech needed to be accessible to all Japanese speakers. At the same time, Ms. Wang acknowledged that if she used some dialect forms, it might decrease the distance between her and her co-workers.

Mori's description of Ms. Wang presents an example of the awareness about dialect that L2 speakers can have, and it shows the strong feelings L2 speakers may have about how they want their own Japanese language use to sound. Itakura (2008) offered similar examples in her study of male L2 speakers' perceptions about masculine Japanese speech styles, and she described how their perceptions influenced their Japanese linguistic choices. Itakura conducted semi-structured interviews with L1 Cantonese speakers who were professionals working in Japan-related businesses in Hong Kong. Although Itakura's main focus was on how participants use masculine Japanese language, dialect use was also mentioned. For example, one participant,

Patrick, described what he saw as a similarity between dialects and masculine Japanese forms: “according to [Patrick], masculine speech and dialects are ‘secret forms’ which only insiders have access to” (p. 474). Another participant, Arnold, who previously lived in Osaka, was described as using Osaka Dialect forms in combination with Standard Japanese masculine forms. Based on Arnold’s use of “casual expressions and dialects,” Itakura concluded that “for Arnold’s work contexts, informality was a particularly salient feature of masculine Japanese speech” (p. 474).

While the research described above details L2 speakers who are able to recognize dialect and distinguish between standard and dialect, numerous anecdotes describe how other L2 speakers who learn Japanese while in Japan but may not be aware of the distinctions between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, with the result that they may use dialect forms unknowingly. Shima (personal correspondence, April, 2012) described finding something similar in her data. She conducted an ethnographic study of Filipina and Indonesian nursing interns who had been in Japan for a year or less. The interns had not received instruction in Japanese prior to going to Japan and were learning Japanese for both everyday and professional purposes. Shima described participants who correctly used dialect forms that they had most likely picked up from patients’ speech and other non-professional discourse. However, based on the participants’ backgrounds and Shima’s familiarity with their Japanese learning process, Shima concluded that they probably did not realize that they were using dialect forms. Shima’s observations raise the question of how L2 speakers/learners encounter and become aware of the existence of dialects, and whether, in the absence of comprehension problems, it is important for L2 speakers to be able to distinguish between standard and dialect forms.

The works introduced above demonstrate that L2 speakers in Japan are exposed to dialect use in a variety of situations, such as in home stay contexts and work settings. There also appears to be variety in the degree to which L2 speakers are aware of dialect use, and the degree to which they use dialect (knowingly or otherwise) in their own speech. We can also see that, at least some of the time, dialect use presents a comprehension challenge for L2 speakers, and ability to understand dialect may or may not coincide with the choice or desire to use it.

2.4.2. Japanese Dialect and the JSL Curriculum

Given that L2 speakers are exposed to Japanese Dialect use, and may have trouble understanding dialect forms, a logical question is whether or how dialect should be addressed in the teaching of Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language (JSL/JFL). Long's (1996) study examined how L1 speakers mix regional dialect forms with standard forms, and he considered the impact such mixing might have on L2 speakers. Long argued that *first* language speakers sometimes do not have a clear understanding of whether a particular form is Standard Japanese or Japanese Dialect, and they can be unaware of mixing standard and dialect. Because L1 speakers may be unable to control such mixing, Long suggested that "foreign language-learners living in nonstandard-speaking areas should be given some degree of instruction to facilitate their understanding (*though not necessarily their usage*)" (p. 131, emphasis added) of non-standard forms. Long is one of the few researchers (others include Iino, 2006; and Jones, 2003) to make the connection that the frequency with which dialects are used all but guarantees that L2 speakers in Japan will encounter dialect use, and thus some dialect instruction may be necessary to help those speakers understand what they hear. However, Long's view assumes that L2 learners will not need (or perhaps not want) to actually use dialect themselves, although he does not address why this might be. As such, Long may be unwittingly participating in a tradition of othering in which L2

Japanese speakers are treated as if they do not need to learn or use Japanese to its fullest extent and in all of its varieties (cf. Burgess, 2012).

Jones (2003), on the other hand, argued that Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language (JSL/JFL) curricula should include instruction in non-standard forms of Japanese. He criticized traditional JSL/JFL instruction that seeks to prepare JSL students primarily for business settings, saying that this approach makes less sense since the collapse of Japan's bubble economy and that “the typical student of Japanese living in Japan is no longer an expatriate businessman” (p. 559). Instead, Japanese language learners may be involved in a variety of occupations, may have a Japanese spouse and family members, and may intend to stay in Japan indefinitely. Jones pointed out that such students have different Japanese language needs that are not met by traditional JSL/JFL curricula limited to Standard Japanese. According to Jones, “the omission of non-standard language variation means that students are missing out on learning a lot of authentic language” (p. 561) and he argued that the ability to adapt to local dialects will help L2 speakers become a part of the Japanese communities in which they find themselves. While Jones did not discuss linguistic capital, we can expect that he would treat dialect as a form of linguistic capital for L2 speakers, based on his argument that non-standard forms are a crucial part of “real, living language” (p. 563) and that knowledge of non-standard forms will benefit L2 speakers as they become part of local communities in Japan.

Jones's appeal for adding non-standard language to the JSL curricula is consistent with Mukai's (2003) research findings about L2 speakers and Japanese Dialect. Mukai considered the views of Japanese language learners themselves, and her findings underscore the importance of dialect for L2 learners in Japan. She used a survey questionnaire to examine how aware L2 learners are of dialect, and she explored their attitudes toward dialect use and instruction. Mukai

surveyed 34 foreign exchange students attending university or graduate school in Matsuyama City (Ehime, Japan). Through the survey items, she examined their perceptions and beliefs about Matsuyama Dialect (MD) and whether they wanted to receive instruction in Matsuyama Dialect. Mukai reported that almost all the respondents believed it was necessary to understand Matsuyama Dialect to some extent and most said it was necessary to be able to use Matsuyama Dialect to some extent. In addition, more than half said they wanted to be taught Matsuyama Dialect. Regarding their experiences with Matsuyama Dialect, most said they had experienced difficulty due to being unable to understand Matsuyama Dialect. Survey responses showed that students experienced difficulty in the following situations: talking to friends; at part-time jobs; while shopping; and during class. Mukai found that some Matsuyama Dialect forms were misunderstood, and that students frequently misunderstood the pragmatic intent or level of politeness encoded in the Matsuyama Dialect forms. Finally, when asked about their language use habits, almost half of students responded that they spoke Standard Japanese, only some used both Standard Japanese and Matsuyama Dialect, and others appeared to be confused about what they were speaking. Similar to Jones's argument that language ability which includes non-standard forms is important because it helps L2 speakers to fit in to Japanese communities, Mukai concluded that "students recognize the importance of MD as a way to have better relations with the Japanese" (p. 118, my translation) in the area where they live. Departing from Long (1996) and Iino (2006), Mukai argued that instruction in Japanese as a second language should be designed to not only facilitate students' understanding of dialect forms and ability to distinguish between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, but also to help students learn how to use the dialect forms they encounter.

Mukai's study is an important first step toward understanding L2 speakers' awareness of and perceptions about Japanese Dialect, but there were several limitations to her study. First, the participants were all students, and may leave Japan soon after finishing their schooling. The inclusion of long-term or even permanent residents would be a helpful addition to her study. It also would facilitate consideration of whether L2 speakers with greater connections to a community know and/or use more dialect forms. Mukai's work is also limited because it relied on a multiple choice questionnaire. In spite of these drawbacks, Mukai's survey findings clearly demonstrate that L2 learners are aware of dialect, and their desire to learn it points to the possibility that they perceive the potential of dialect to function as a form of linguistic capital.

2.4.3. L2 Speakers' Awareness and Intentionality about their Japanese Language Use

As L2 speakers increase their Japanese language proficiency, they also tend to develop greater awareness of the linguistic choices that Japanese presents, such those between honorific and politeness levels. Thus, it is not surprising that several researchers have studied how L2 speakers negotiate choices about Japanese speech styles. Their findings demonstrate that L2 speakers approach their own Japanese language use with intentionality, and that L2 speakers are motivated by a complex set of factors that include wanting to be pragmatically appropriate in terms of perceived Japanese sociocultural norms, as well as wanting to maintain their own "voice" or sense of self within the context of speaking Japanese. For example, Siegal (1994) described female participants' identity struggles as they negotiate Japanese language use within Japanese society, in particular the resistance by some of the learners to perceived gendered norms of Japanese language use. The desire to adhere to Japanese linguistic norms without adopting what they viewed as undesirable linguistic femininity was a particular concern for several participants. Siegal's participants displayed meta-awareness of the speech style choices available to them in

Japanese, and they made critical judgments about how those styles fit or clashed with their own self-images and/or the identities they wanted to present in their daily lives in Japan.

While Siegal examined the identity struggles of female L2 speakers in Japan, Ohara (2001) examined the pitch and voice quality of female speakers. Building on her earlier research findings that a higher-pitched speaking voice in women was valued as being feminine and polite, Ohara studied differences in the pitch and voice quality of women in the U.S. She compared three different groups of women: beginning Japanese language students, Japanese L2 speakers who were bilingual (in English and Japanese), and Japanese L1 speakers who were also bilingual (in English and Japanese). Ohara found that the L2 speakers who were bilingual (but not the beginning Japanese learners) made conscious decisions about pitch when speaking Japanese. L2 speakers who used a higher pitch in Japanese were influenced by their desire to conform to perceived Japanese cultural norms. Those who did not use a higher pitch did so based on their negative judgments of the “language habits of Japanese women and their greater social implications” (p. 244). Ohara also reported on the participants’ “belief that their foreign appearance made them exempt from some of the constraints that apply to Japanese women” (p. 245). Ohara argued that many female L2 speakers in Japan experience “competing foreign and Japanese identities” (p. 247), echoing Iino’s (2006) question (described above) about how much L2 speakers are expected to or want to assimilate into Japanese culture and/or sound like a native speaker of Japanese. Ohara concludes that her participants “reflected quite critically on Japanese culture, particularly the attitudes toward and expected about gender” (p. 246). Although Ohara’s study makes an important contribution to our understanding of how L2 speakers make choices about their Japanese speech, there are some limitations. In particular, because all her participants were living in the US at the time of the study, it is difficult to consider whether there were any

drawbacks for those who chose not to observe norms of pitch/voice quality. In addition, Ohara's data is more than 10 years old, and we must wonder how Japanese gendered norms about women's voice quality have changed in recent years.

Ohara and others considered the question of how much L2 speakers want to or are expected to conform to Japanese linguistic norms. Other researchers have considered whether or to what extent more "target-like" language use, along with more advanced proficiency, is seen as beneficial by L2 speakers themselves. Ohta (1993) interviewed five L2 speakers (who were all Caucasian Americans) to determine the applicability of Miller's "law of inverse returns" (cited in Ohta, 1993), which refers to the idea that the better an L2 speaker's Japanese ability becomes, the less they benefit from those language abilities. Ohta found that, for her participants, Miller's law did not apply, and instead the participants reported numerous benefits from improved Japanese language ability. In addition, participants described a high level of awareness about the complexities involved in Japanese language, for example participants attended to the appropriateness of various conversation styles. Although Ohta did not use the frame of linguistic capital to examine her participants' experiences, her account shows that as their Japanese language abilities improved, the participants were better able to take advantage of the linguistic capital offered by more refined Japanese language skills.

One of Ohta's participants, "Rick," shared comments that are especially relevant to the examination of L2 speakers' intentionality. Rick described being corrected for using colloquial or men's Japanese. As a result, he made a conscious decision to avoid using those forms, even when his interlocutors were using them. Ohta noted that "being corrected for using slang may be a fairly common phenomenon" (p.219) for L2 Japanese speakers. She speculated that corrections may occur because of the participant's appearance (i.e. not looking Japanese), because of "non-

native features” in their speech, or because the participant’s “use of slang was not completely native-like” (p. 220). Ohta also considered the possibility that “Japanese people do not like to hear non-natives using a too-colloquial form of their language” (p. 220); her comments echo those of Ohara and Iino, and suggest that as an L2 speaker’s Japanese proficiency increases, the question of just how “native-like” to speak may become more urgent. Of particular interest is the fact that Rick stopped using colloquial language because he was constantly being corrected, an example of an L2 speaker choosing to make a particular style of speech “off limits” to himself in order to avoid unwanted consequences. Although Ms. Wang (Mori, 2012) did not describe similar reasons, there is some similarity in her choice to avoid a speech style being used by one’s interlocutors. Rick commented that he knew “what was slang and what wasn’t” (p. 219) and he chose not to repeat words the way they were used by L1 interlocutors. Unexamined in Ohta’s article is the question of any possible negative consequences for L2 speakers such as Rick. By choosing not to use so-called non-standard forms, an L2 speaker may be able to avoid unwanted corrections from L1 speakers, but what does such a speaker miss by limiting his/her speech styles in this way? An additional question relates to Ohta’s comments regarding the expectations Japanese people may have regarding L2 speech. Her research is over twenty years old and we may wonder whether or how preferences for L2 speakers’ use of various Japanese speech styles have changed. These questions need to be considered, especially with regard to L2 speakers who live in Japan long-term and may want to be involved in local communities in more than a superficial way. The intentionality that L2 speakers bring to negotiations of slang and other non-standard speech styles suggests another question pertinent to my study, namely, do L2 speakers approach negotiations of dialect with similar intentionality?

2.4.4. Identity and Imagined Communities

As discussed above, researchers have described L2 speakers' struggles with identity (e.g., Siegal) and the benefits for L2 speakers whose Japanese language ability increases (e.g., Ohta, 1993); these studies are part of a larger body of work that examines L2 learners' identity-related issues. While Norton's (1995, 2000, 2001) work is not connected to Japanese or issues of dialect, her conceptualizations of L2 learners' identity, and imagined communities are relevant to any discussion about L2 learners. Norton (2000) argued that a theory of identity needs to "integrate the language learner and the language learning context" (p. 4); this argument can be extended to L2 speakers and the L2 speaking context. Norton gave the following explanation of how she views identity:

I use the term identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands the possibilities for the future. I argue that SLA theory needs to develop a conception of identity that is understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction. In taking this position, I foreground the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity. (p. 5)

Norton's approach considers identity in terms of a person's day-to-day interactions and the context in which those interactions occur. I would add that it is important to take account of the linguistic daily life, in other words, the various ways in which a speaker encounters language, including interactions in which the speaker is both directly and indirectly involved and the diversity of speech styles he or she encounters and notices. Examining what is salient for an individual speaker can help us arrive at a more complete understanding of the role of language in an L2 speaker's identity.

Along with identity, the idea of “imagined communities” offers a useful way of articulating how L2 speakers conceive of themselves and their relationship to other (L1 and/or L2) speakers and groups. The idea of “imagined communities” was first posited by Anderson (2006) to describe the way that a group of people who will never meet are still able to think of themselves as members of the same (imagined) group or community. Anderson argued that a nation is an example of an imagined community. Kanno and Norton (2003) described imagined communities as referring to “groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination” (p. 241). They added that, in our daily lives, we are affiliated with “communities whose existence can be felt concretely and directly” (p. 241), such as workplace communities. We are also affiliated with imagined communities which, although neither concrete nor immediately accessible, nevertheless play equally important roles in our daily lives. Norton (2001) argued that an L2 learner’s identity and investment cannot be fully understood without taking into account the imagined community. Norton’s ideas about identity and imagined communities, along with investment (introduced above), can be used to inform the examination of Japanese L2 speakers in Japan and consider how they negotiate Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect in their linguistic daily lives.

In this chapter, I have introduced the theoretical framework which supports my analysis, which will draw on linguistic ideology, linguistic capital, and investment to facilitate an examination of the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers. I introduced contemporary spoken Japanese and considered the evolution of dialect through stigmatization, tolerance, and finally acceptance as part of Japan’s linguistic heritage. Research in Japanese dialectology has described the ways that dialect can function as an interactional resource and at the same time has considered how, despite increasingly positive attitudes toward dialect, dialect

retains some of the stigma from past eras. Thus, the place dialect occupies in Japanese linguistic daily life is complex and contingent upon numerous situational factors.

In the latter half of this chapter, I have reviewed research and findings that shed light on how L2 speakers encounter dialect. The studies examined include home stay interactions (Iino, 2006; Mori, 2012), workplace interactions (Itakura, 2008; Shima, personal correspondence), and descriptions of students' experiences (Mori, 2012; Mukai, 2003; Siegal, 1994). L2 speakers in Japan have been found to encounter dialect use in a variety of situations and with a variety of interlocutors, including in host families, in classes they attend as exchange students, in work settings, with friends and co-workers, and in daily situations such as shopping. The limited studies that address L2 speakers' perceptions and beliefs about dialect have also been described (Itakura, 2008; Mori, 2012; Mukai, 2003). With the exception of Mukai, none of these authors made L2 speakers' opinions about dialect their central focus. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that L2 speakers encounter dialect use, and some use it themselves. An in-depth understanding of the beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers about Japanese Dialect will contribute to the study of Japanese L2 speakers. The findings that I report in this study address how L2 speakers evaluate dialect's importance and whether they recognize, or care about, the various ways that dialect has been shown to act as a resource in Japanese language interaction. In the next chapter, I introduce the data and methodology upon which this study is based.

CHAPTER 3: DATA AND PROCEDURES FOR ANALYSIS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Speech styles present a range of choices which are neither neutral nor undertaken in isolation – instead, speakers make choices while taking into account such factors as context, situation, interactional goals, and interlocutors. Further, speech style choices can have significant impacts on the outcomes of interactions as well as on the identities and relationships of the interlocutors involved. For L2 speakers, speech styles can add complexity to the already challenging task of communicating in a second language. Often L2 speakers need to navigate complex speech style choices in spite of having unresolved issues relating to L2 competence or an incomplete understanding of the pragmatic impact of their choices. When the choice in question is between Standard Japanese or Japanese Dialect, L2 speakers also have to navigate a set of issues that include questions of appropriateness, authenticity, and membership.

The purpose of this qualitative, interview-based study is to examine L2 speakers of Japanese and their beliefs and perceptions about Japanese speech styles, and specifically about Japanese Dialect. A better understanding of how Japanese L2 speakers perceive the speech style choices available to them and how they construct their stances toward those speech styles will contribute to the field of SLA in general and have implications for teachers and learners of Japanese as a foreign language in particular. In order to examine the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers of Japanese, I focused on the following questions:

1. What beliefs and perceptions do L2 speakers report about Japanese Dialect and Standard Japanese? How do their beliefs compare to those held by their Japanese counterparts?

2. What dialect use stances do L2 speakers describe in interviews? What factors do they take into account in arriving at those stances? How do L2 participant dialect use stances compare to those of L1 participants?
3. Does dialect function as linguistic capital for L2 speakers, and if so, how and in what ways? Does dialect-as-linguistic-capital differ for L2 speakers in comparison to L1 speakers?

Working within the qualitative research paradigm and in particular within a constructivist framework (e.g., Creswell, 2007; Crotty, 1998), I chose qualitative interviewing as the main methodology because it is uniquely suited to the goals of examining L2 speakers' beliefs and perceptions about dialect and their Japanese linguistic choices. Following the constructivist approach, I relied on participants' accounts to understand how they negotiated the Japanese linguistic choices that were available to them. I view interview data not as representative of some objective truth, but as representative of participants' beliefs about the topics at hand (e.g., Block, 2000; Talmy, 2010). Further, I see those representations as being co-constructed in the interview context in which talk occurs between researcher and participant (e.g., Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Mishler, 1991; Roulston, 2011). As such, I attended to my own contribution, as the interviewer, to the interview process, and I view the participant voices I "collected" as co-constructed in and through the interaction I had with each participant in socially-situated contexts (in this case, in the context of a research interview). The accounts produced and the beliefs and perceptions described in interview talk are valuable resources for examining the beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers. Examining interview talk helps us understand L2 speakers and how they understand their own experiences. Interviews are a discursive process and the data that result from this process are "taken to reveal contingent truths and emergent theories of the self, co-constructed between ... interviewer and interviewee" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 6). Thus, although I recognize that the researcher plays a role in the kinds of data that ultimately get

collected, I nevertheless view interview data as important and relevant representations of participants' beliefs and perceptions. Examining such data furthers our understanding of how L2 speakers navigate the linguistic environments in which they find themselves when they live and work in Japan.

In this chapter, I discuss the data and methodology that I used to answer the above research questions. I begin with a description of the research context and setting, followed by a detailed account of the participants and selection criteria. Next, I describe the types of data collected for this study and I detail the method used for analysis. I also discuss my positionality as a researcher and how my own background relates to the study topic and participants. Finally, I discuss the study's limitations and delimitations. As the section below will show, each choice from participant selection to data analysis was guided by fundamental principles of qualitative research and a commitment to understanding participants' experiences within participant contexts.

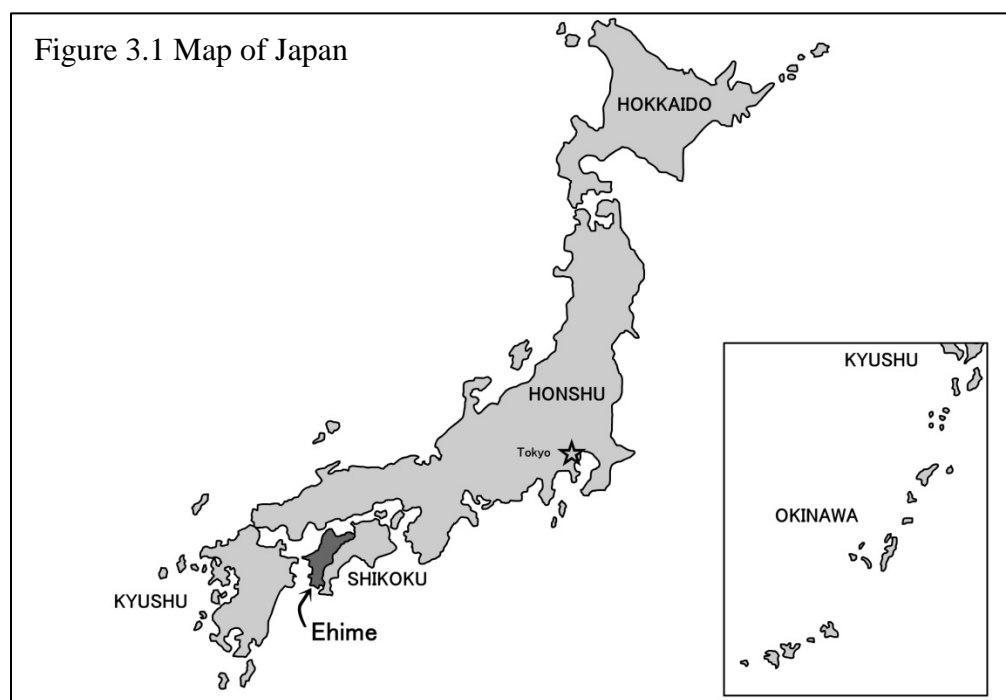
3.2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

In order to examine L2 speakers' beliefs and perceptions of Japanese Dialect, I wanted to work with L2 speakers who had experience living and working in Japan, rather than looking at, for example, L2 learners currently engaged in US-based formal instruction or L2 speakers who were in Japan as study abroad students. I made this distinction because anecdotal evidences suggests that L2 speakers who live and work in Japan and have been doing so for a year or more have more varied interactions with a wider range of L1 interlocutors in their local communities compared to those who are primarily in a formal learning context. A more diverse range of experiences is then likely to result in the L2 speaker being exposed to a more diverse range of speech styles. In addition, because I was interested in speech styles and especially in dialect, I

was interested in the linguistic experiences of L2 speakers in a location other than a metropolitan area like Tokyo, since those L2 speakers would be more likely to encounter a variety of speech styles, including non-standard varieties. I chose to conduct my research in the prefecture¹⁴ of Ehime, Japan, because I lived in Ehime for 12 years, am familiar with the dialects there, and have a great deal of knowledge about the regions within Ehime and their similarities and differences. In addition, I decided to recruit participants from among L2 speakers currently or formerly employed in Ehime through the JET Programme because of my own experience with that program. This also allowed me to ensure that all participants in my study shared some key aspects in their living and working conditions, and, as such, in their linguistic environments.

3.2.1. Location: Ehime, Japan

Ehime is on the island of Shikoku (see Figure 3.1), and thus is physically removed from the island of Honshu, where Tokyo, Osaka, and other major urban areas are found. Shikoku, at



(Map: Kenji Takeuchi)

¹⁴ A prefecture is an administrative district similar to a U.S. state. Japan has 47 prefectures.

18,301km², is the smallest of Japan's four main islands¹⁵ and has four prefectures, each with a capital city and an airport. However, transportation within Shikoku is made difficult by the fact that the middle of the island is mountainous, and most travel has to be done along the coast or by the limited train lines. Ehime Prefecture, at 5,678km², is slightly smaller than the US state of Delaware, and has a population of approximately 1,406,000 people (as of August 1, 2013¹⁶). There are just under 8,000 foreign residents registered in Ehime, and less than 400 of these foreign residents are from English speaking countries (EPIC, 2013).

Both because of its location and population, Ehime is often viewed as a rural prefecture. Rurality, or the degree to which an area can be considered rural, impacts daily life in a variety of ways, such as the types of services that are available to all residents (e.g., public transportation, shopping, entertainment, life-long learning opportunities, and medical facilities). Rurality also impacts the types and availability of services directed at L2 speaking residents, such as the presence or absence of town information in English, English-speaking health care providers and town workers, as well as proximity to other L2 speakers and ease of travel to and from larger cities or an L2 speaker's home country. Rurality also influences the type and availability of local jobs and social networks or communities. Although the capital of Ehime, Matsuyama, has most of the services, facilities, and amenities of a medium-sized city, the rest of Ehime is moderately to very rural. I developed categories of rurality in an attempt to capture the subtle and not so subtle differences from one area to another within Ehime, since such differences have an impact on the L2 participants who live there. (See Table 3.1 for description of rurality categories.) Although Ehime has a number of factories and Matsuyama's economy is relatively diversified, in many cities and towns in Ehime, agricultural and marine industries make up a significant portion

¹⁵ <http://www.gsi.go.jp/KOKUJYOHO/MENCHO/201310/shima.pdf>

¹⁶ <http://www.pref.ehime.jp/>

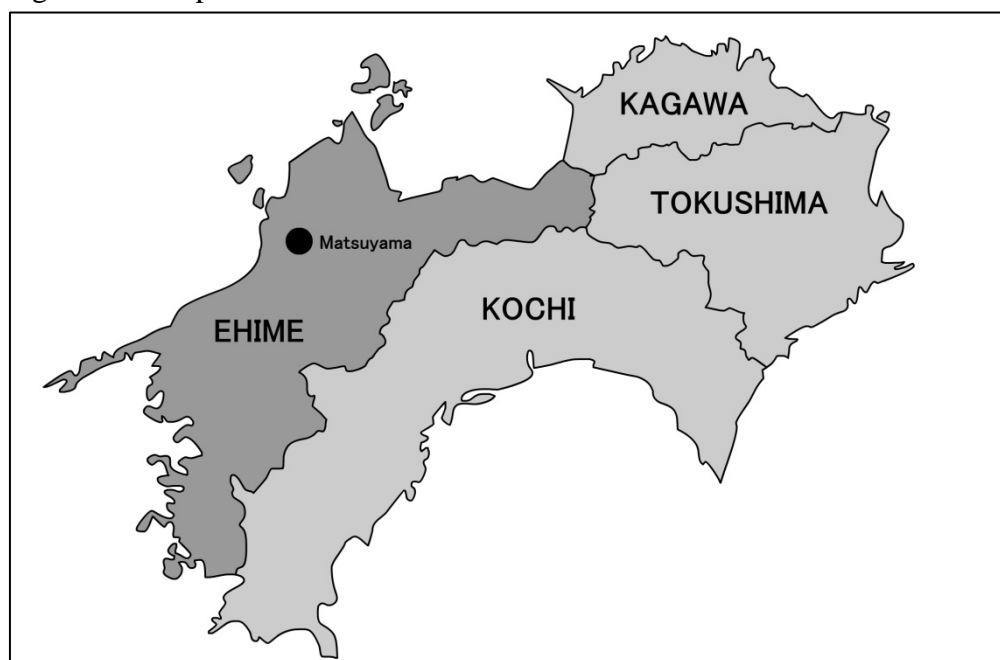
of the economy. Unlike metropolitan areas in other parts of Japan, there are few IT, financial, or trading companies, with the result that the most readily available jobs for English-speaking foreign residents are those teaching English.

Table 3.1. Descriptions of degrees of rurality

Rurality	Description
Very rural	low overall population, low population of English-speaking foreigners, far from Matsuyama, far from other cities, no train station or only local train line, inter- and intra-city bus service very limited, few JETs nearby, shopping and entertainment facilities limited, access to English-language books and import foods limited or unavailable
Moderately rural	overall population fairly low, population of English-speaking foreigners also low, slightly closer to Matsuyama and other cities, bus and train service available but somewhat limited, slightly better shopping and entertainment facilities, some JETs nearby, may be some JETs in same workplace
Slightly rural	population larger than very and moderately rural locales, larger number of English-speaking foreigners, closer to Matsuyama, better inter-city train service, some ferry service, more shopping and entertainment options, more JETs nearby, two or more JETs in same workplace
Capital city (Matsuyama)	prefectural capital, numerous government and public services for Japanese and foreign residents, large number of foreign residents (including English and non-English speaking), numerous shopping and entertainment facilities, numerous options for inter- and intra-city bus and train service as well as air travel and ferry service options, English-language books and import foods easily available
Urban/metro	large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka; all urban/metro areas are outside of Ehime and Shikoku; these locales are included here because some study participants who are ex-JETs moved to urban/metro areas after completing their JET contracts

Ehime is on the western side of the island of Shikoku, and its capital is Matsuyama. (See Figure 3.2). There are currently twenty cities and towns in Ehime. The participants in this study lived in nine of those. Table 3.2 (below) lists each city or town where one or more study participants lived. All towns are given pseudonyms in order to protect the anonymity of the

Figure 3.2. Map of Shikoku



(Map: Kenji Takeuchi)

participants; the exception to this are urban/metro areas and the capital of Ehime, Matsuyama, because these areas have a sufficient number of L2 speakers and current and former JET participants to ensure that participants' identities will not be discernable simply by association with them. Table 3.2 also includes an index of the degree of rurality for each area based on the categories introduced in Table 3.1. The number of registered foreign residents and the number of English-speaking foreign residents is also included because municipalities with larger numbers of foreign residents tend to have more services for those residents. In addition, I include the number of English-speaking foreign residents because these residents might be members of groups or networks which foreigners (and my participants) can utilize as resources, for example, to learn about Ehime from other English speakers or to receive assistance with adjusting to life in Japan.

Table 3.2. List of cities and towns where participants lived*

City/Town Pseudonym	Rurality	# of Foreigners (English-speaking countries)	L2 Participants	L1 Participants
Matsuyama**	Capital city	2,579 (168)	Paul, Elizabeth, Alyssa, George	Kondo, Takahashi
Asahi-shi (Umikawa)	Slightly rural (very rural)	1,922 (37)	Liam, Branden	Tanaka, Kawamura
Yoshikawa-shi	Slightly rural	877 (22)		
Koyama-shi	Slightly rural	303 (12)	Melissa, Scott, Janet, Austin	Naoki, Hamada, Nakamura, Endo, Fujiwara, Maeda, Shibata, Watanabe, Sasaki, Akemi, Kobayashi, Susumu, Fumihito, Chiyo, Yukiko, Sugimoto, Sakamoto, Shinji
Miyaoka-shi (Harada, Tsurukawa)	Moderately rural (very rural)	260 (6)	Daniel, Louis	
Hamada-cho	Very rural	66 (5)		
Sasaoka-cho	Very rural	68 (2)	William	Yoshio
Takekawa-cho	Very rural	52 (6)	Sam, Tyler, Fionna, John	Tomomi
Furukawa-cho	Very rural	18 (1)		
Takata-cho	very rural (moderately rural)		Grace	
Kansai**	Urban/Metro		Nina	
Greater Tokyo Metro Area**	Urban/Metro		Mike	

* Refers to residence at the time of the study. Towns with no participant name listed represent locations where participants lived prior to their current residence, and prior to the beginning of this study.

** Not a pseudonym.

In addition to the impact of rurality on services, facilities, and amenities, rurality is also relevant for the following reasons. First, intuitively, we might expect the linguistic environment

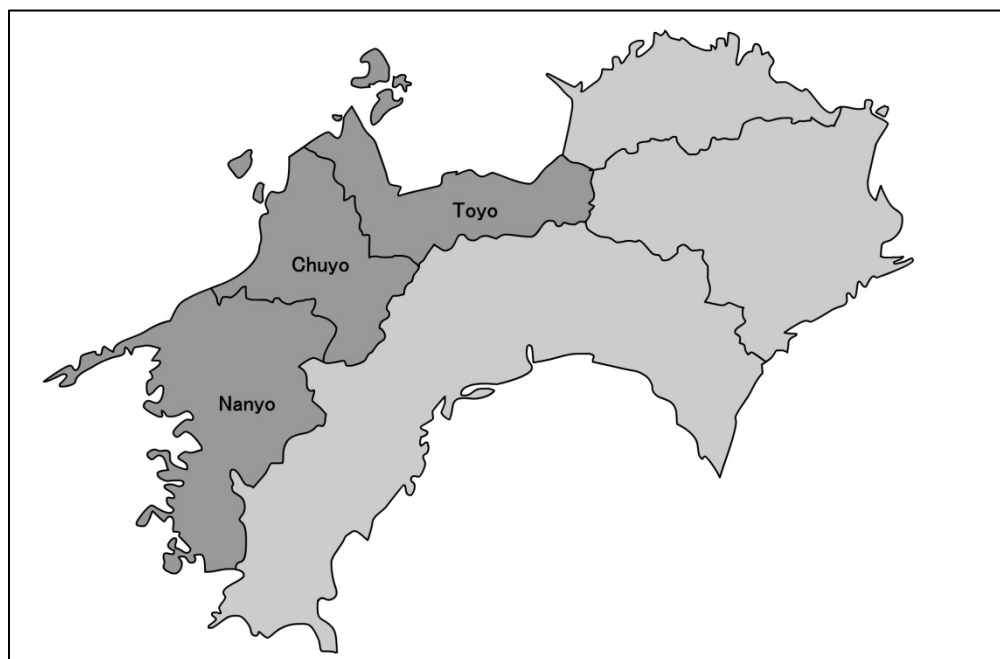
of more rural areas to exhibit more dialect use. Although my objective was not to quantify dialect use, I was more interested in the degree to which participants viewed their local communities as being characterized by more or less dialect use. Impressions reported in interviews suggest that, indeed, participants expected more rural areas to have more and/or heavier dialect use. Second, JET participants seemed to have had a different daily experience depending on whether they lived in Matsuyama, in one of the larger cities, or in one of the smaller, more rural areas. Those in more rural areas described more frequent participation in community events and local festivals, as well as more interaction with L1 speakers of a greater variety of ages and occupational backgrounds. These interactions appear to have influenced the linguistic environment of participants.

3.2.2. Dialect in Ehime

The dialect of Ehime is generally called Iyo-ben (Ehime was previously called Iyo, and *ben* means dialect), however, it has been pointed out that Iyo-ben often refers most closely to the dialect of the Chuyo region and especially of Matsuyama (Doinaka, 2005¹⁷). (See Figure 3.3. for a map of Ehime's three regions: Toyo, the eastern region; Chuyo, the central region; and Nanyo, the southern region.) In addition to dialect differences within the three regions of Ehime, there are also subtle dialect differences from one town to the next. To reflect this, Ehime residents often refer to the dialects of each town specifically, using the name of the town or city and *ben*. For example, accent patterns differ across Ehime, with some areas having accents similar to the Kansai region, the Kyushu region, or even the Tokyo region (e.g., Doinaka, 2005; NHK, 2005). Comparing the dialects of Ehime with Standard Japanese, we can categorize differences in terms of lexical, morphological, and phonological differences. Examples of lexical differences include:

¹⁷ Akira Doinaka is the penname of Akira Tanaka.

Figure 3.3 Map of Ehime's Three Regions: Toyo, Chuyo, and Nanyo



(Map: Kenji Takeuchi)

the use of *oru* (to be) instead of the standard verb *iru*; *ken* (so, because) in place of standard *kara*; and *hiyai* (cold) instead of the standard *samui*. One representative morphological difference is found in the verb conjugation of the present progressive or resultant state, which in Standard Japanese are both expressed with the *te*-form of the verb plus *iru*. However, in the dialect form, either *yoru* or *toru* is attached to the verb stem. These two endings then allow for a distinction not made in Standard Japanese: verb stem+*yoru* is used for the present progressive, for example in *ki-yoru*, which means “is coming” and refers to an action in progress. On the other hand, verb stem+*toru* is used for resultant state, as in *ki-toru* means “is here” (in other words, “has come”). In Standard Japanese, both of these meanings are expressed with *kite-iru* and the resultant state can be distinguished by adding an adverb such as *moo* (already). Other examples involve phonological differences such as the use of vowel lengthening and shifting to change adjectives into adverbs, as in *yoo* (well/often) compared to the standard *yoku*; and a different conjugation pattern for negative verbs, as in *dekin* (cannot do) instead of the standard *dekinai*, and *taben* (not

eat) instead of standard *tabenai*. While these words appear to be similar to Standard Japanese, they are often used in ways that do not have the same meaning or nuance. One example is the dialect phrase *yoo taben*. Due to the sound similarity, it might be assumed that the equivalent to this phrase in Standard Japanese would be *yoku tabenai*, which could mean “don’t eat very much” in terms of either frequency or amount. Based on that, then, the dialect phrase *yoo taben* might be assumed to have the same meaning; however, this dialect phrase means “can’t eat.” This is one example of how dialect features can present comprehension challenges. Table 3.3 gives another example, in this case showing how different kinds of dialect tokens can be used together. (This sentence uses dialect tokens from the Nanyo regional variant of Ehime Dialect.) As the example in Table 3.3 suggests, some of these

Table 3.3. Dialect in a sentence, example 1. “It’s really raining, so come home soon.”

ED	gaina	ame-ga	furi-yoru	ken	hayoo	monte-kisai	ya
SJ	sugoi	ame-ga	futte-iru	kara	hayaku	kaette-kite	ne
Eng	really	rain	falling	so	soon	come home	SFP
Type	L	N	M	L	M, P	L, M	L

L=lexical; N=no change; M=morphological; P=phonological; SFP = sentence-final particle.

dialect tokens can differ enough to have the potential to impede comprehension even for L1 speakers. The dialect example in Table 3.3 shares only one word in common with its standard equivalent (*ame-ga*, rain), while the rest of the example is composed of dialect tokens. However, this example should not be taken to mean that whenever speakers in Ehime are using dialect, they are using only dialect phrases and tokens with very little standard features. Some speakers may indeed speak this way, but it appears to be most common for speakers to use what might be best described as a mixed variation in which dialect tokens (especially verb endings, sentence-

final particles, and iconic lexical items such as *ken* in place of *kara*) are used along with standard features. This is based both on my own observations as well as on descriptions participants shared in their interviews, and is consonant with findings from research in Japanese dialectology which describe how dialect and standard variants are mixed in complex ways that serve interactional and stylistic needs (e.g., Okamoto, 2008a, 2008b; Tanaka, 2007, 2014). Utterances in which dialect tokens were used mid-utterance, with utterance endings made up of standard features were especially common in the language use I observed in workplaces. See Table 3.4 for an example.

Table 3.4. Dialect in a sentence, example 2: “I have to go to Matsuyama, so I can’t attend the meeting.”

ED	ashita-wa	Matsuyama ni	ikan to	iken	ken	kaigi ni	derenai	n	desu
SJ	ashita-wa	Matsuyama ni	ikanakereba	ikenai	kara	kaigi ni	derenai	n	desu
Eng	Tomorrow	to Matsuyama	not go	won’t do	so	meeting	can’t attend	E	C
Type	N	N	M	M	L	N	N	N	N

N=no change; M=morphological; L=lexical; E=explanation marker; C=copula.

3.2.3. The JET Programme

As mentioned, all of the L2 participants in this study were current or former JET Programme participants in Ehime. The JET Programme is sponsored by the Japanese government and employs foreign nationals to work in Japan, either as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) who teach English in public schools (from elementary to high school level), or as Coordinators for International Relations (CIRs), who usually work in local government offices such as city or town halls. JET employment contracts generally begin in August, are initially for one year and have the possibility of renewal for a total of up to five years of employment.¹⁸ This means that although employment through the JET Programme allows extended residence in Japan, it is not a

¹⁸ Prior to 2007, contracts could only be renewed for a total of three years of employment (<http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/history.html>).

means of permanent employment. By using the JET Programme as a criterion for L2 participant selection, and by conducting participant recruitment in May and June, I was able to ensure that all of my participants had been living in Japan for at least ten months (if not more) when they started participation in my study. At the time of the study, twelve L2 participants were current JETs (ALTs) and seven were former JETs (one of whom was a former CIR, the rest were former ALTs). Of the seven former JETs, all were still living in Japan but three were no longer living in Ehime.

In 2012, there were almost 4,000 JET participants in Japan, representing 40 countries. The vast majority were from English-speaking countries and more than half of all JETs were from the US (JET Programme, 2014). ALTs make up approximately 90% of all JET positions. Japanese language ability is not a prerequisite for the ALT position, although many ALTs have some Japanese language ability when they start their JET positions. On the other hand, CIRs are expected to have a “functional command” of the Japanese language¹⁹ and translation and interpretation are often part of CIR job duties. JET participants are placed in Japan’s 47 prefectures. However, most JET participants are not placed in major cities; rather, they are sent to regional cities and towns, with some participants placed in rural farming or fishing villages.²⁰ In 2012, for example, there were only 10 JET participants in Tokyo, while there were 104 JET participants in Ehime (JET Programme, 2014).

¹⁹ <http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/positions.html> Note that the JET Program website does not explain what is meant by a “functional command” of Japanese, however, unlike ALTs, CIRs are expected to be able to conduct most of their work-related duties in Japanese without assistance from a translator.

²⁰ Detailed statistics about rural placement are unavailable, but some estimates suggest that more than half of all JETs are in rural areas (Metzgar, 2012).

There are roughly 100 JET participants in Ehime every year,²¹ of these, fewer than 10 are CIRs, the rest are ALTs. JET placements in specific municipalities and workplaces vary, and the number of JETs in each contracting organization and in each municipality varies. For example, there are 20 JETs placed in Matsuyama, Ehime's capital city, while other JETs may be in positions where they are the only JET participant in their workplace, or even in their town. Some ALTs may be based out of a local board of education (BOE) and travel to specific schools each day, while other ALTs may be based in a specific school. ALTs who are placed in BOEs are more likely to have other ALTs as coworkers, but most ALTs conduct school visits on their own (without the presence of another ALT or CIR). In addition, whether or not there are English-speaking Japanese coworkers in any given workplace varies greatly. As a result, the degree to which a JET participant is immersed in a local community and/or isolated from other JETs varies greatly. All of these details influence the degree to which a JET participant needs to use Japanese, however, most of the L2 participants in this study described Japanese language skills as important because most of their coworkers had limited or no English skills.

While individual JET placements vary in terms of the size of the workplace and presence or absence of other JETs, there are numerous ways in which JET participants' situations are similar. For example, housing arrangements are generally made by the contracting organization (usually the local school board), and JET participants tend to live in the municipalities in which they work (as did all of the participants in this study). In addition, it is not uncommon for JET participants to be connected to community clubs and events, sometimes formally as part of their work duties or informally through being introduced by coworkers and supervisors to opportunities to participate in local activities and festivals. As a result, JET participants are often

²¹ This estimate is based on a review of several years of participant statistics I received by contacting CLAIR, the organization that administers the JET Programme.

involved in local community activities that bring them into contact with L1 speakers of a wide range of ages and occupational types. The JET Programme also offers support for JET participants in a variety of ways. The most relevant to this study are Japanese language textbooks and correspondence courses that JET participants have access to through CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations), the organization which administers the JET Programme.

An additional component of being in the JET Programme is the awareness, mentioned by many JETs, of being connected to a cohort of other JET participants. In this regard, being a JET is like being part of an “imagined community” (Norton, 2000) of JET participants, both within Ehime as well as across Japan. JET participants form connections with other JETs during various formal activities (e.g., mandatory orientations and workshops) as well as in informal work-related and non-work-related activities (e.g., creating newsletters, conducting volunteer activities, and organizing group travel opportunities). These activities make it easy for JETs to connect with other JETs both within and outside of Ehime. These connections are then maintained and fostered in a variety of ways, including through formal and informal gatherings (e.g., Ehime JETs have a welcome party and a going away party for new and departing JETs every year) as well as through the use of social networking (e.g., an Ehime Facebook group). The strength of this JET connection played a role in the success of my participant recruitment as well: I believe that my position as a former JET participant made it easier for me to recruit participants. My own positionality will be discussed in greater detail below.

3.3. PARTICIPANTS

The primary participants for this study were L2 speakers of Japanese who were L1 speakers of English. Secondary participants were L1 speakers of Japanese who were the counterparts of one

or more of the L2 participants. L2 participants were selected for this study based on the following criteria. First, as explained above, all L2 participants were current or former JET Programme participants who were placed in Ehime as ALTs or CIRs when they began their JET employment. I did not exclude former JETs who had moved away from Ehime as long as they were still living in Japan. I chose to recruit only those still living in Japan to ensure that Japanese language use was more likely to be relevant to participants' daily lives. My Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol only provided for participants whose first language was either English or Japanese, so for the Japanese L2 speakers, I recruited only those whose first language was English. This also ensured that I had access to all participants' first languages. I did not treat Japanese language ability or length of residence in Japan as criteria (in other words, participants were not excluded from the study based on "insufficient" Japanese language ability or length of residence). However, because the JET employment contract generally starts in August every year, and I conducted my recruitment in May and June, I was able to ensure that all L2 participants had been living and working in Japan for at least 10 months at the time of the study. The main selection criterion for L1 speakers of Japanese was that they be the counterpart of one or more L2 participants in the study. I considered any L1 speaker to be a counterpart if he or she worked with, was a friend of, or in some other way had regular interactions with an L2 participant. There were no criteria related to L1 speakers' English language abilities. Although I did not treat place of residence as a criterion for L1 speakers, all of the L1 participants were living in Ehime at the time of the study, and most were originally from Ehime as well.

I did not have a specific goal for the number of participants before I began participant recruitment. Because this is a qualitative study, I was not concerned with having a large number of participants. I also did not have any hypotheses about what factors might be relevant in

participants' beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language. Instead, I wanted participants to have a wide range of backgrounds in order to capture a richer account of the experiences and perceptions of L2 speakers in Ehime. For example, I wanted to have L2 participants with a range of Japanese language learning backgrounds, various lengths of residence in Ehime and participants both with and without the experience of living elsewhere in Japan. Another concern was the possibility that I might schedule a meeting with a potential participant only to end up unable to meet with him/her due to external factors, in particular because a large part of my research activities was conducted during typhoon season. For this reason, I decided to include anyone who was willing to participate and who fit the criteria above. This resulted in 20 L2 participants and 24 L1 participants. These participants will be discussed in greater detail below.

The main method of L2 participant recruitment was snowball sampling. For an earlier pilot study, I was introduced to L2 speakers through acquaintances in Ehime. For this study, I contacted those L2 speakers who participated in the pilot study and asked them to help by either introducing me to or forwarding my recruitment email to people they knew who might fit my criteria (i.e., L1 English speakers who were current or former JET participants in Ehime). I made use of social networking sites (e.g., Yahoo Groups, Facebook) that have Ehime- and JET-specific groups (I was already a member of some of these groups from my time living in Japan, and for some other groups, I became a member while conducting the pilot study). I contacted members of these groups by posting announcements to the group and sending recruitment messages directly to members who had profiles that were visible to other members. (See Appendix A for a sample recruitment emails and social networking site recruitment posting). One consequence of both the participant selection criteria and of the use of snowball sampling is

that most participants knew some of the other participants. In addition to the tendency for current JETs to know each other, L2 speakers in Ehime who are former JETs often know current JETs socially or are involved in work- or volunteer-related activities with current JETs. Further, the use of snowball sampling meant that some participants who were recommended to me were close friends or coworkers (or sometimes both) of the person doing the recommending. An additional outcome of L2 participant recruitment relates to participants' gender. Although I aimed to have a similar number of male and female participants, the final participant group included only seven female L2 participants and thirteen male L2 participants.

Recruitment of L1 participants was also based on snowball sampling. I asked L2 participants to either introduce me to or forward my recruitment email to L1 speakers they knew, including friends, coworkers, and L1 speakers who were members of hobby and sporting clubs in which L2 participants were active. (See Appendix B for the Japanese language recruitment email and English translation). Recruitment of L1 participants resulted in a higher number than the L2 participants because some L2 participants introduced me to several L1 speakers and many of those L1 speakers agreed to participate in the study. At the same time, some L2 participants did not want to introduce me to any of their L1 counterparts, or when they did, the L1 speaker(s) declined to participate. The twenty-four L1 participants who ultimately participated were the counterparts of nine L2 participants. Another feature of L1 participant recruitment is that there were slightly more participants who had work connections to an L2 participant than those who had non-work connections to an L2 participant. I do not know if this is because non-work L1 counterparts were more likely to decline to participate or because L2 participants tended not to recommend non-work connections for participation. There were only nine female L1 participants out of twenty-four. In addition, the ages of L1 participants tended to be older than the ages of L2

participants – there was only one L1 participants in his twenties; there were seven L1 participants in their thirties; the remaining L1 participants were all in their forties or older. This seems likely to be connected to the fact that many L1 participants were people with whom an L2 participant had a work-connection, and while L2 participants who were current JETs tended to be in their twenties, their L1 counterparts represented a wider age range.

Before conducting any data collection activities, participants were asked to sign a consent form. Consent forms were provided in either Japanese or English, depending on the participant's first language. For participants interviewed through Skype, I used an oral consent process (see Appendix C for each type of consent form). In order to protect participants' anonymity, I use pseudonyms for all participants. I also altered the following information in order to maintain anonymity. First, participants' places of residence in Ehime were given pseudonyms (with the exception of Matsuyama, as explained above). In addition, some participants were active in sports clubs, dance or performing clubs and other hobby activities. In these cases, I avoided labeling the club or activity as an additional privacy protection.

Because participation in the study was voluntary, it is likely that there was a certain amount of self-selection involved. For example, in order to participate in the study, participants had to agree to meet with me at least once for the interview, a time commitment that is more significant than other common research activities such as completing an online survey. Thus, for the L2 participants, it may be likely that the people who agreed to participate were those who had a greater interest in Japanese language and perhaps who had positive experiences with the language or with studying the language. On the other hand, those who were less interested in Japanese language or had negative experiences may have been less likely to agree to participate. Although this was undoubtedly a factor, it was mitigated by the fact that I was able to recruit a

relatively large number of participants, which added to the diversity of perspectives in the data I ultimately collected. The use of snowball sampling also may have influenced participant selection in a variety of ways. Because L2 participants introduced me to potential participants, I may have missed potential participants who were outside of the social and work-related networks of participants. Further, people who ultimately agreed to participate may have done so due to positive regard for the person who introduced me to them. I suspect this played a role with the L1 participants in particular, especially because of the frequent positive comments they shared. (My identity as a foreigner and L2 speaker may have played a role as well, as discussed below.) However, as is common in qualitative research, my goal was not to arrive at generalizable findings, instead I sought to understand the experiences of the participants.

3.3.1. L2 Participants

L2 participant recruiting resulted in twenty participants. Table 3.5 shows some background information about each participant, including their Japanese language ability, which is based on self-assessment conducted through the background questionnaire (see Section 3.4 for explanation of the questionnaires and other data types). The first six participants were core participants who are introduced in Chapter 5. The remaining participants are listed in order of length of residence in Japan, with current JET participants followed by former participants.

Table 3.5. L2 Participant Information

Name	Nationality (Race)	Gender	Age	JET Status	Japanese Ability	Yrs in Jpn	Rurality of residence
Daniel	New Zealand (Caucasian)	M	20s	Current	advanced	4	very
Liam	USA (Caucasian)	M	20s	Current	advanced	3	very /slightly
Melissa	New Zealand (Caucasian)	F	20s	Current	intermediate	3	slightly
William	USA (Caucasian)	M	20s	Current	advanced	2	very
Branden	USA (African-Amer)	M	20s	Current	advanced	2	slightly
Scott	USA (Caucasian)	M	20s	Current	intermediate	1.5	slightly
Louis	USA (Hispanic)	M	30s	Current	advanced	4.5	slightly
Austin	USA (Japanese-Amer)	M	30s	Current	intermediate	4	slightly

Elizabeth	USA (Caucasian)	F	20s	Current	intermediate	3	capital city
George	USA (Japanese-Amer)	M	20s	Current	intermediate	3	slightly
Janet	UK (Caucasian)	F	20s	Current	intermediate	2	slightly
Tyler	UK (Caucasian)	M	20s	Current	beginning	2	very
Fionna	UK (Caucasian)	F	20s	Current	beginning	1	very
Sam	USA (Caucasian)	M	40s	Former	advanced	15	very
Paul	UK (Caucasian)	M	30s	Former	advanced	11	slightly → capital city
Grace	UK (Caucasian)	F	40s	Former	advanced	10	very
Nina	USA (Caucasian)	F	30s	Former	advanced	9	very → urban/metro
Alyssa	USA (Caucasian)	F	30s	Former	intermediate	9	very → capital city
Mike	USA (Caucasian)	M	30s	Former	advanced	7	very → urban/metro
John	Canadian (Caucasian)	M	40s	Former	beginning	5	very

All names are pseudonyms. Names in bold are core participants who are introduced in Chapter 5.

Thirteen L2 participants were current JETs at the time of the study, the remaining participants had finished their JET positions anywhere from two to twelve years prior to the time of the study. Current JETs had been living in Japan for around one to four years, while former JETs has been living in Japan for five to fifteen years. Most, but not all, of the former JETs were still working as English teachers, and three former JETs were no longer living in Ehime. Among the L2 participants who were no longer employed through the JET Programme, four had been living in Japan continuously since starting their JET positions, while three had left Japan at some point and returned. Although I hoped to have an equal number of female and male participants, I was less successful in recruiting female participants, and in particular, female L2 speakers with advanced Japanese language ability. Some female L2 speakers to whom I was introduced declined to participate due to scheduling issues; however, overall, I was introduced to a higher number of male participants, and that is reflected in the ratio of male to female participants in the participants who were ultimately recruited.

3.3.3. Core L2 Participants

In order to conduct a more in-depth analysis, I selected a sub-group of participants from among the L2 and L1 participant groups. I took into account the following factors in selecting core L2

participants. First, I considered whether a participant was a current or former JET participant – I decided to select core participants from the group of current JETs in order to ensure that they had similar working and daily life conditions. A side-effect of this choice was that core participants were closer in age and had all been in Japan for less than five years. I also considered Japanese language ability, and I noted that the three participants who reported that they had beginning level Japanese ability also did not share enough details about their (very limited) Japanese language use to permit an in-depth analysis. This led me to select only L2 participants with intermediate Japanese ability or higher to focus on as core participants. I also selected core L2 participants from among those participants for whom I had additional data sources beyond the participant interview. For example, for several L2 participants I had also recruited one (or more) of their L1 counterparts as study participants. Other L2 participants had a close friend who was also an L2 participant, and with some L2 participants I had also conducted some type of observation with the participant in a daily life activity (such as observing the participant in his/her workplace or in an organized leisure activity). These additional data sources allowed me to consider participants' accounts within the context of what I learned during observations or from other participant-counterparts. Having these intersecting data sources allowed me to triangulate what I found through the interview analysis. The following six L2 participants (listed in order of length of residence) were chosen as core L2 participants and are focused on in Chapter 5.

Daniel – Daniel had a long-term connection to Japan and Japanese study. His experience working in various jobs in Japan prior to JET contributed to his overall Japanese language ability as well to the high value he placed on appropriate language use and especially on using Standard Japanese. He planned to stay in Japan long-term.

Liam – Liam had less experience with Japan and Japanese study compared to most other study participants, and he did not intend to stay in Japan after completing his JET position.

Nevertheless, he had worked hard to obtain advanced Japanese language ability and he was passionate about learning and using dialect.

Melissa – Although Melissa had had a long-term connection to Japan and studying Japanese, like Liam, she did not intend to remain in Japan after completing her JET position. She professed a love of dialect, although she was less sure about her own use of it. In addition to Melissa's perspectives on dialect use, including her as a core participant offers an important opportunity to consider the connection between dialect and gender.

William – William had studied Japanese prior to joining the JET Programme and he planned to stay in Japan for the foreseeable future. In addition to his work-related duties, his participation in a traditional performing group was an important part of his life in Japan. He viewed learning and using dialect as a way to fit in to his local community.

Branden – Branden also had a long connection to Japan and studying Japanese, however, although he knew he wanted to have a Japan-related career after finishing the JET Programme, he had less clear plans than many other participants. Branden was also concerned about his approach to dealing with Japanese speech style choices and he wanted his Japanese language use to fit his own image of his voice.

Scott – When I met Scott, he had already decided he would only stay in Japan for only two years, although he hoped to pursue a Japan-related career post-JET. He did not see dialect to be of any personal benefit and he described his status as a “white foreigner” as a barrier to assimilation in Japan.

3.3.4. L1 Participants

When I recruited and enrolled L2 speakers to participate in the study, I also asked them if they could introduce me to any L1 speakers who might be willing to participate in the study. I explained that anyone with whom they had work or social connections would be fine and I did not express a preference either way. Some L2 participants declined but many agreed to forward my Japanese-language recruitment email (see Appendix B) and some also offered to introduce me to L1 speakers. In most cases, though not all, I interviewed the L1 counterpart after interviewing the L2 participant, and in some cases, I interviewed the L1 participant after conducting an observation in which the L1 participant was present. I recruited twenty-five L1 speakers. However, I decided not to include one L1 participant because I was unable to interview this participant's L2 counterpart (due to logistical problems). See Table 3.6 for a list of the twenty-four L1 participants who I included in the analysis for this study.

Table 3.6. L1 Participant Information

Name	Age	Gender	Hometown (Current residence)	L2 counterpart	Occupation
Hamada	40s	F	Matsuyama (Koyama)	Scott, William	Junior high school English teacher
Yoshio	50s	M	Sasaoka (Sasaoka)	William	Civil servant (town office), section head
Nakamura	50s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, Sam, Melissa	BOE department head (formerly math teacher, principal, and ALT supervisor)
Naoki	20s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, others	Self-employed
Tanaka	30s	M	Miyaoka (Asahi)	Liam	Elementary school teacher
Sakamoto	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, Koyama	BOE senior staff and ALT main supervisor (formerly JHS teacher)
Shibata	50s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Melissa	Junior high school teacher
Sasaki	40s	F	Matsuyama area (Koyama)	Melissa	Elementary school English teacher
Endo	50s	F	Koyama	Austin	Junior high school Japanese (kokugo)

			(Koyama)		teacher
Maeda	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Janet	Self-employed
Yukiko	30s	F	Kansai (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	BOE administrative assistant, assists with ALT scheduling
Watanabe	30s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Austin	Junior high school teacher (English)
Kobayashi	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott	Junior high school math teacher
Chiyo	40s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Paul	Company employer
Kondo	50s	F	Matsuyama (Matsuyama)	George	Civil servant
Takahashi	30s	M	Kansai (Matsuyama)	Liam	Civil servant
Kawamura	40s	M	(Near Asahi) (Asahi)	Liam	Elementary school teacher
Fumihiro	30s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Paul	Self-employed
Shinji	40s	M	Koyama (Kansai) (Koyama)	Scott, Koyama	Self-employed
Fujiwara	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, others	Junior high school teacher
Akemi	30s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	Self-employed
Sugimoto	50s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Austin, Koyama	Junior high school principal (formerly teacher, BOE section head, formerly supervised ALTs)
Susumu	40s	M	Kanto (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	Self-employed
Tomomi	30s	F	Takekawa (Takekawa)	John	Elementary school teacher

All names are pseudonyms. Pseudonyms were created using either a family name or a given name, depending on how the L2 participant referred to the L1 counterpart.

Names in bold are core participants who are introduced in Chapter 4.

Out of twenty-four L1 participants, only nine had a non-work connection to an L2 speaker – such connections included friendship and being a member of a group in which an L2 participant was active (e.g., sporting club, hobby activity, performing arts club etc.). The remaining L1 participants all had a work-connection to one or more L2 participants, many were co-workers

and a few were in supervisory positions over one or more L2 participants. With the exception of three participants, all L1 participants were originally from Ehime and many were living and working in their hometowns. One notable feature of the L1 participant group was the age range: most (sixteen) L1 participants were in their 40s and 50s, six were in their 30s and only one L1 participant was in his 20s. I suspect that the large number of L1 participants who were older than most of the L2 participants was due to the work-connection. There were nine female L1 participants, making the smaller number of female participants similar in the L1 and the L2 participant groups.

3.3.5. Core L1 Participants

As with the L2 participants, I selected a smaller group from the L1 participant group in order to conduct a more in-depth analysis of their interviews. One finding from the L1 participant group was the striking similarity of their comments regarding their own stances toward dialect use as well as their beliefs about dialect and L2 speakers. Because there was less overall variety in interview findings among the L1 participants (compared to L2 participant interviews), I chose only four participants (as opposed to six participants for the L2 core group). In making this selection, I first considered L1 participants with whom I had also conducted an observation (either for work or social activities). Next, I wanted to include at least one person who reported dialect non-use, and I wanted to include at least one female L1 participant. After selecting participants who met these two criteria, I considered L1 participants whose interviews were longer (since they offered more comments and insights in general) and whose interviews included both representative comments (i.e., expressing sentiments or views similar to those expressed by other L1 participants) as well as some unique comments or comments that offered especially rich insights into their beliefs and perceptions. The following four L1 participants

were chosen as core L1 participants and are focused on in Chapter 4. They are listed here in the order in which they appear in Chapter 4 along with a key take-away from each interview.

Hamada – Hamada described dialect as being connected to identity and hometown. She also talked about her experiences learning new dialect words after moving within Ehime. She reported that she felt affinity if L2 speakers used dialect.

Yoshio – Yoshio was very passionate about dialect. He described dialect as a tool for fostering friendship and intimacy, and (unlike other L1 participants) he also described using it strategically in work situations. He saw dialect use by L2 speakers as a sign of their connection to the local area and as way to strengthen his friendship with them.

Nakamura – Nakamura described dialect as “the country’s treasure.” At the same time, he was very concerned about carefully distinguishing between when dialect or standard was appropriate. He described L2 dialect use as a sign that the L2 speaker had “put down roots” in the community.

Naoki – Naoki was one of the few L1 participants who reported not using dialect and he felt it was important for L1 speakers to use Standard Japanese with L2 speakers. Naoki was also the only L1 participant in the 20-29 age range group.

3.4. DATA

For this study, my primary data were derived from qualitative interviewing because I was most interested in understanding participants’ beliefs and perceptions about Japanese speech styles and dialect. In order to get a better understanding of the linguistic context in which L2 participants were situated, I also collected the following types of data. First, I asked all participants to complete a background questionnaire. Second, I conducted observations with a subset of participants. Third, I collected samples of dialect products found in Ehime. Each of

these four types of data intersected with the others and informed my understanding and analysis of interview data. Below I describe each type of data and how they were collected.

3.4.1. Background Questionnaire

I asked all participants to complete a background questionnaire before beginning the interview. For participants with whom I met in person, the background questionnaire was completed in my presence (after participants signed the consent form). Often participants asked a few questions while completing the questionnaire, and talking through the questionnaire with them functioned as a sort of ice-breaking activity in advance of the actual interview. For the few participants who I interviewed through Skype (and thus did not meet in person), I asked them each question on the questionnaire and circled the answers based on what they said. Because there was often a fair amount of conversation (both in person and through Skype) while participants completed the questionnaire, I started the audio recording (after receiving permission) before participants began the questionnaire, so that I had a record of any discussion that arose during the questionnaire portion.

I made five versions of the questionnaire to tailor the content to specific participant backgrounds: current ALT, former ALT, current CIR, former CIR, and L1 speaker. Although the topics of questions were largely similar, some questions were altered to fit the background of the participant (e.g., questionnaires for former JET participants included more questions in the past tense). (See Appendix D for samples of the questionnaire). The questionnaires for all participants asked participants to circle an age range and basic information about their job or position. For the L2 participants, the questionnaire also asked about their future plans regarding the JET Programme and staying in Japan, past experiences in Japan, Japanese language study experiences, and current Japanese language use habits. The questionnaire also asked a series of questions

designed to guide L2 participants through a self-assessment of their Japanese language ability. I then used participants' answers to assign a label of beginning, intermediate, or advanced ability based on how they answered the questions. (See Appendix E for a description of how Japanese ability was determined.) The background questionnaire for L1 participants began with questions about age, workplace, and hometown. The remaining questions asked about the types of interactions the L1 participant had with L2 speakers (e.g., through work or social activities) and whether those interactions were conducted in Japanese, English, or a mixture of the two. As with the L2 participants, I began recording at the beginning of the questionnaire and having participants complete the questionnaire while talking through the questions served an ice-breaking function. After the questionnaires were completed, I began the interview and often made reference to some of the information gathered from the questionnaire.

3.4.2. Interviews

As explained above, I selected qualitative interviewing as the primary form of data collection because it is the best approach for the goal of understanding participants' views (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I view interview talk as arising from a "joint production" (Mishler, 1991) between researcher and participant, who are "co-constructors of knowledge" (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, p. 18). This co-constructed knowledge then becomes one important representation of a participant's subjective understanding of his or her experience (cf. Seidman, 2006) and offers valuable insight into his or her beliefs and perceptions.

I designed the interviews to be semi-structured and open-ended and I created interview protocols based on topics related to my research questions. I reviewed the interview protocol used in the earlier pilot study and made changes to interview questions as well as to my interview practice in response to reflections on what did or did not work well in the pilot study.

For example, I included more general background questions early in the interview, which helped participants relax and feel more comfortable talking. That also provided an opportunity for me to learn about what was important or salient to participants based on what stories or topics they introduced before I asked more specific questions. I also added questions based on my reading of previous research findings from studies of both Japanese L1 speakers and L2 speakers. Interview questions were based on the following topics: 1) background questions, including questions about work and leisure time; 2) Japanese language questions, including language use habits and opinions about studying and speaking Japanese; 3) dialect-specific questions; 4) questions regarding Japanese language identity; 5) wrap-up questions and a chance for the participant to ask me questions. As with the background questionnaires, I created separate protocols for each type of participant background, and interview protocols for L1 speakers were written in Japanese. (See Appendix F for sample interview protocols for L2 and L1 participants.)

Interviews were conducted in locations convenient for and generally chosen by the participants, and audio recordings were made of all interviews. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face with the participant. There were six participants who either were unable to meet with me in person or I was unable to travel to meet them; with these participants I conducted interviews using Skype. Audio recordings were also made of all Skype interviews. Because I was recording, I did not take any notes during the interviews. This allowed me to focus on the interview and, for example, to pay close attention to participants in order to ask more targeted follow-up questions. All interviews were conducted in the participants' first language – English for the L2 participants and Japanese for the L1 participants. Interviews with L2 participants were conducted before observations. Interviews with L1 participants were often conducted after observations. This was because L1 participants were introduced to me by L2 participants and any

introductions generally happened after an observation due to logistics and participants' schedules. In some cases, an L1 participant agreed to participate in the study after meeting me during an observation.

During the interviews, I followed interview practices suggested by Duff (2008), who was informed by Kvale (1996). For example, I used a variety of question types, including: direct and indirect questions; probing and specifying questions (especially in follow-up questions); interpreting questions; and the use of silence to encourage participants to continue (e.g., Duff, 2008; Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). I also tried to avoid leading questions. However, it is important to note here that I view all questions as potentially leading questions, in that the way a question is worded influences the answer that is given (cf. Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). In recognition of that, I was careful to use the same wording for questions from the interview protocol, since those were questions that were asked of all participants. For example, in the interview protocol for L2 participants, I asked “what do you think about dialect?” In the interview protocol for L1 participants, I asked “方言についてどう思いますか” (“what do you think about dialect?”) and I was careful to use this wording with all participants.

I transcribed all interviews to be used for analysis. (See Appendix G for transcription conventions). Transcripts included all of my own comments (including questions, follow-up questions, and continuers such as “uh huh” and ああそうですか “oh really”) as well as all utterances made by the participants. I also made in-line notes in the transcript describing audible, non-verbal behavior including laughter and pauses (although I did not time the length of pauses). I used these transcripts for analysis and coding. In the analytical chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), I present excerpts from the transcripts which do not contain as much information as is contained in

the transcripts; this was done in order to focus on the content of the excerpt and to make interview excerpts easier to follow for the reader. For example, in the excerpts, I omitted my own continuers (e.g., utterances such as “uh-huh”). I also omitted off-topic side talk in order to keep excerpts to a manageable length. All omissions in excerpts are marked by ellipsis marks (symbolized by three periods). Other changes to the excerpts include replacing proper and place names (which are signified by brackets) as well as names or descriptions of clubs or activities. This was done in order to preserve participants’ anonymity. In such cases, I either used pseudonyms or general descriptors, such as “performing group” instead of using the specific name of the activity or type of performance. Finally, if the interview question was included in the explanation prior to the excerpt, I did not include the question in the excerpt.

3.4.3. Observations

In addition to interviewing, I also conducted observations with a subset of L2 participants. The goal in conducting observations was to observe a linguistic environment that was part of the L2 participant’s daily life in Japan. This provided an important source of triangulation when combined with other data collected. In all of the observations, one or more L1 participants were also present, as were non-study participants. Observations were conducted in participants’ workplaces and in locations where participants were engaged in non-work activities in public or privately-owned locations. All people present were made aware of my presence as a researcher and oral consent was obtained from those who were present but were not study participants (study participants signed written consent forms prior to the observation). Workplace observations were conducted in the staff rooms of public schools where an L2 participant worked. My IRB protocol did not allow for the observation of minors so I did not conduct observations in locations inside schools where children would be present. (See Appendix H for sample site

permission forms.) Non-workplace observations were conducted during organized activities in which L2 participants were involved, including hobbies (e.g., performing groups or learning activities) and leisure activities (e.g., sporting clubs).

Selection of participants for observations was based on L2 participant willingness and availability. If an L2 participant was willing and available to allow me to conduct an observation and if I was able to receive permission to conduct the observation (permission from both the IRB and from other people co-present at the site), then I conducted the observation. In accordance with my IRB protocol, I did not record or directly quote anyone during observations. I did not retain personal information, including names, about anyone present who was not a study participant. Observations in workplaces were conducted for a limited time, usually a few hours. Observations of non-work activities were generally conducted for the duration of the activity, usually from two to three hours. For example, for sports or hobby practice, I generally arrived at the same time as the L2 participant and stayed until the practice concluded.

In addition to observing participants' linguistic environments, through the observations, I also aimed to develop an impression of the degree to which an L2 participant was integrated into that activity or workplace. One way that I did this was by observing the physical environment and how people interacted within those physical contexts. For example, I made note of the layout of the area, how people entered and exited, and the types of greetings they used. For workplaces, I observed the location of the participant's desk and who and what were close by. In hobby and leisure activities, I observed whether there were any set or pre-determined locations for people and objects used in the activity. Often there were, especially for performing groups. Activities often began with people setting up or taking a position, and I observed how these details were

negotiated by those involved. These physical details helped me understand with whom the L2 participant interacted and gave me an idea of the type, frequency, and quality of interactions.

Throughout all observations, I attended closely to the language use of those present. In addition to considering the use of Standard Japanese and dialect, I also paid close attention to the level of formality and the use and type of honorific language of various exchanges. As people moved around and entered and left, I noted how different people spoke more or less formally and the degree of formality between different sets of interlocutors. In workplaces, I also observed the language used by people when they made or received telephone calls. In addition, I noted conversations between the L2 participant and L1 coworkers, including greetings as well as work- or task-related discussions. Some examples include, first, in a workplace, I observed a class planning session between the L2 participant (an ALT) and an English teacher (who was an L1 speaker of Japanese). Second, during the practice of a performing group, I observed the L2 participant give instructions to another member (an L1 speaker) who needed help in remembering a routine. Finally, although I tried to stay out of the way and avoid any active participation, L1 speakers often made it a point to speak to me. In those cases, I noted how they interacted with me, including such things as how they acknowledged me and the language they used while speaking to me. It was common for L1 speakers to see me as a guest of the L2 participant, and in several cases, L1 speakers made it a point to praise the L2 participant while talking to me (often while the L2 participant was able to hear their comments). I drew from these experiences to help me understand the L2 participant's relationships with their communities and coworkers. Although IRB restrictions prevented me from recording or directly quoting anyone who was not a study participant, I was able to observe a great deal about relationships and the kinds of language used, and I was able to consider when and how dialect forms were used, and

by whom. After each observation, I made detailed notes about what I had observed. These observations then helped me to triangulate findings from the interview data.

3.4.5. Dialect Products

In addition to data collection conducted with participants, I also collected samples of dialect products specific to Ehime. I collected examples of these products in order to consider not only the linguistic content of the products, but also how they were displayed, where they were found, and who the intended audience might have been. Further, I was interested in examining dialect products because they are part of the linguistic environment in which L2 speakers are situated. Dialect products I collected include photographs of dialect signage in public places, dialect merchandise, as well as examples of dialect that appear in digital and print media designed for a general audience. Some items I purchased or photographed while other items I found through internet searches. For items that were found online, I only included examples of items for which I was able to verify the location. Examining dialect products helped me to understand the role of dialect in Ehime and how dialect is depicted in various ways depending on whether the intended audience is a group of local residents, tourists, or consumers. These dialect products, which are introduced in Chapter 4, offered an additional source of data that I drew on for triangulation.

3.5. PROCEDURES OF ANALYSIS

Data analysis was conducted within the qualitative research paradigm. Data analysis procedures and in particular coding activities were data-driven, iterative, and inductive. I also adopted Wolcott's (1994) approach of distinguishing between descriptive, analytic, and interpretive processes. At the descriptive stage, I considered each participant as a whole (cf. Creswell, 2007; Erickson, 1992) using their accounts of past experiences, future plans, language learning

histories, current work and non-work activities as well as beliefs and perceptions to arrive at a more complete picture of each participant. Throughout the descriptive and analytic process, I made it a point to start with L2 participant data and continuously moved between L2 and L1 data. This decision reflects the fact that my central concern was the beliefs and perceptions of L2 participants and I viewed data from L1 participants and observations as resources to enrich my understanding of L2 participants and the sociolinguistic context in which they were situated. After transcription was completed, I compiled various tables and information sheets to visually display information about participants in ways that allowed me to consider similarities and differences and the presence or absence of any patterns.

A key activity at this stage was categorizing L2 participants' stated views about dialect. I made note of both how participants described dialect as well as what they reported regarding their own use of dialect. My first goal was to describe all the ways participants made reference to dialect, which was a necessary step toward my second goal of categorizing their views. As Wolcott (1994) points out, description itself is also an act of analysis in that choosing what to describe was informed by my research questions and goals as well as by my reading of previous research on L2 speakers. While describing participants' views and comments, I was simultaneously categorizing those comments. This back and forth process is representative of the overlap between description and analysis.

Another important component of the descriptive step was examining the relationships among participants and determining which participants knew each other and in what capacities. I did this by creating participant clusters which allowed me to see the connections between different participants, including connections among and across L2 participants and L1 participants. In addition to helping me understand the connections among participants,

participant clusters gave me a better understanding of the communities and linguistic environments of L2 participants with whom I did not conduct observations. Although I do not use these participant clusters in the upcoming analytical chapters, they were an important tool for examining participants' communities.

After the descriptive process, the next step was a thematic and content analysis. Wolcott (1994) defines analysis as referring "quite specifically and narrowly to systematic procedures followed in order to identify essential features and relationships" (p. 24). Through close analysis of interview data, I sought to understand these features and relationships and to code them in terms of themes as a way to better understand and make connections among what the L2 participants shared in their interviews. Themes were then used to create larger categories in order to facilitate further coding. Some themes were anticipated (cf. "pre-existing codes," Creswell, 2007) in that they either were noted during transcription or were suggested in the findings of my earlier pilot study. In addition, some themes were built in to the interviews because of the content of the interview protocol. Examples include: future plans, Japanese study, dialect, fitting in to the workplace, fitting in to the community. I then broke down those themes into subthemes. For example, the theme dialect included the subthemes: learning about dialect, noticing dialect in the speech of others, using dialect at work, using dialect with friends, avoiding dialect.

My approach to the coding itself was informed by the work of qualitative researchers such as Creswell (2007) and Saldaña (2009, 2013). First, I approached coding as an iterative process in which I read through transcripts multiple times. With each coding pass, I was able to add new codes as well as reconsider previously applied codes. Throughout the coding process, I used holistic codes. Saldaña describes holistic coding as coding larger units, in this case, longer stretches of talk or entire stories, rather than a line-by-line approach to coding. I used holistic

coding because I view interview data as being co-constructed by interviewer and interviewee; as such, I attended to my own questions and comments as well as the comments and answers of participants. This allowed me to better understand how interview talk emerged in and through the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. I also made use of *in vivo* coding, which Saldaña and others describe as deriving codes from actual words used by participants. The use of *in vivo* coding during initial coding passes allowed me to better represent participants' voices. However, because I also wanted to make cross-participant comparisons, in subsequent passes I often re-named *in vivo* codes to make it easier to apply the same codes across participants.

I also identified the emotional color of each coded unit. For example, I assessed whether there was a strong emotional orientation (positive or negative) by considering the language used by participants. An example here would be "I hate it when" or "my favorite thing is". Alternatively, if participants displayed disinterest or a lack of connection, this was also noted. An example here would be something that is depicted as irrelevant or uninteresting, or an absence of emotional language. Other aspects that were considered during coding include stories of difficulties and how they were overcome, as well as the site and situation of stories or events that were described. I also made note of participants' assessments and evaluations of their own stories. Finally, I followed Creswell's approach of not counting or quantifying codes because to do so would create the risk of overlooking the importance of codes that may include numerically fewer entries but have greater weight based on participants' treatment of them.

As analysis continued, some themes or codes were abandoned or renamed to better reflect what I was seeing in the data. I also gradually supplemented descriptive and analytic codes with codes which were more theoretical (cf. Duff, 2008). An example of this is locating a code such as "using dialect to fit in" and supplementing it with "membership." It was during this stage that

analysis blended into interpretation as conceived by Wolcott (1994). Wolcott describes the interpretive process as “considering questions of meanings and contexts” and asking such questions as “what is to be made of it all” (p. 12). Whereas the thematic analysis facilitated examination and categorization of participants’ descriptions and stories, the interpretive analysis facilitated an examination of the data in light of my theoretical framework and research questions. Ultimately, the thematic analysis and interpretive analysis came together in my final coding passes. Table 3.7 presents a list of codes I developed early in the interpretive process, and the codes I ended up employing in the final step. The final codes were then used in the L2

Table 3.7 Evolution of theoretical coding

Initial Codes	Final Codes
Identities – what identities are claimed? negotiated? rejected?	Identity/voice – how do participant express their sense of self, how do they report wanting to sound
Positioning – by self, by others, in communities	Membership – what communities are participants members of? How do they depict their own membership
Place/role of dialect – for participants? For L2 Japanese? in local communities?	Linguistic ideologies – what do participants attend to as correct, appropriate or expected?
Knowledge – do participants depict themselves as having/lacking knowledge about dialect?	Trajectories – how participants describe their past experiences and where they see themselves going in the future
Capital – what kinds of capital (social, cultural, linguistic) are made relevant in interview talk?	Linguistic Capital – whether or how participants see dialect or standard as interactional resources
Investment – in Japan, in Japanese language, in local communities	
Subjectivity – who is the “main character” in participants’ stories	

participant analysis which is presented in Chapter 5. I also used these codes in the analysis of L1 participant data; however, because I primarily used the L1 interview data as a method of triangulation and to better understand the L2 participants’ experiences, I do not make reference

to the results of L1 participant coding in Chapter 4 (the chapter in which I focus on the L1 participants).

3.6. RESEARCHER'S POSITIONALITY

Having introduced the participants, data and analysis procedures, I would now like to describe my background and consider the various ways in which my background (who I “am,” for example, in the eyes of a participant) influenced the data collection and analysis. In various ways, I might be seen as an “insider” or “outsider” by participants. As mentioned above, I was a JET ALT in Ehime for three years. While I was working as an ALT, I also met and married my husband, a Japanese man. After my JET position ended, I moved to my husband’s hometown and we lived there for another nine years, where I was employed by the local board of education in a position not unlike a JET ALT position. During that time, in addition to my teaching duties, I also helped orient newly arrived JET ALTs who worked in the same BOE. Because of my background as a former JET and my long experience living and working in Ehime, some L2 participants might have seen me not as a relative stranger but as a “fellow JET.” I might have also been seen as a “fellow foreigner in Japan,” and in some cases as someone with more experience with and knowledge about living in Japan or studying Japanese as an L2 speaker. These possibilities seemed especially likely when a participant asked me for advice or asked me questions about Japanese. In addition, for the American participants, I may also have been seen as a “fellow American.” Being seen in these ways could have a variety of impacts on the L2 participants. First, it is my belief that my identity as an “ex-JET” was at least partially responsible for the overwhelmingly positive response I got when recruiting participants from the JET community in Ehime. JETs have a reputation for helping each other out, and I was pleasantly surprised by the willingness of JETs to make time to meet with me and share their

experiences with me. Second, my background likely influenced how L2 participants shared their thoughts with me. For example, my background may have led to L2 participants assuming some shared experiences and knowledge, and it might have helped them feel more comfortable sharing their thoughts with me. Such feelings of familiarity could have positive effects on the interviews in terms of resulting in more in-depth comments and detailed stories. At the same time, it might also result in fewer details given if there were an unconscious expectation that I would understand their situation without explanation. I tried to account for those possibilities by asking follow-up and clarifying questions, but there may have been times when I missed opportunities to ask for clarification because I, like the participants, may have assumed greater shared understanding than was warranted. These various factors may have resulted from participants seeing me as “one of us” or as a fellow member of an imagined community of JETs or English-speakers in Japan.

At the same time, it may be that not all participants viewed me as “one of us” in these ways. For example, I am significantly older than most of the L2 participants, and I am no longer a JET or an Ehime resident. I may have been seen as a “researcher” or, because of my graduate schooling and language ability, as a teacher or someone from whom to learn about Japan and Japanese language. Further, some of the pilot study participants were introduced to me by acquaintances from my former workplace, and when those participants introduced me to other possible participants, my connections to a particular BOE were sometimes mentioned. My ability to speak in Japanese with their Japanese coworkers and supervisors was also noted by many. As a result, it is possible that some L2 participants viewed me as being connected more closely to their (Japanese) supervisors than to the (present-day) JET community. Such feelings would

undoubtedly influence outcomes of interviews with L2 participants, for example, by making them feel less comfortable talking about concerns or negative experiences.

Similarly, L1 participants' views of me were also likely to have been influenced by my background in complex ways. First, L1 participants may have seen me as an outsider for a variety of reasons. For example, I may have been seen as a "researcher" or "graduate student," and possibly as someone who was pursuing a higher level of education than many participants. Another factor that may have been an influence is the fact I was introduced to L1 participants by an L2 participant. As such, L1 participants might have viewed me as someone closely connected to the L2 participant or perhaps as "another foreigner." Being seen as a "foreign researcher" might have led to being viewed as someone with whom to maintain a certain amount of polite distance. On the other hand, some L1 participants may have seen me as a "fellow teacher" and as someone with connections to education in Ehime. For example, some L1 participants, even those that I had never met before, told me that they had heard of me or seen me when I was still living in Ehime (e.g., at regional professional development meetings or at events where I spoke as a panelist). Some L1 participants remembered my former connection to an Ehime BOE, and some people told me I had once taught their child English. These L1 participants tended to call me "Jae-sensei" (*sensei* means teacher in Japanese, and is also used to show respect) rather than the more neutral Jae-san or Takeuchi-san (which might be translated as Ms. Takeuchi and is a standard, neutral form of polite address). In such cases, rather than treating me as a stranger, I was treated as a fellow teacher.

Another factor in the interviews with L1 participants was the use of Japanese language for the interview. In some cases, L1 participants told me they were relieved to learn I could speak Japanese and some participants complimented my Japanese or asked questions about my

Japanese language ability. In addition, although all of the interviews with L1 participants were conducted in Japanese, I noticed that my own use of politeness markers and honorific forms varied across interviews. There is a strong cultural preference for using polite language with someone one does not know well, and especially if the person is older (as many of the L1 participants were). The use of polite forms is also called for in situations where one person is aware of placing some burden on the other. In the case of the interviews, I was very aware that people were making time in their busy lives to participate in my study, and it was difficult for me to not use polite language and honorific forms. Even in the midst of interviews, I sometimes reflected on the fact that the tone of the interview (polite, restrained, a certain amount of distance) would likely influence the outcome of the interview and perhaps make it less likely that an L1 participant might feel comfortable sharing difficult or negative opinions with me. With those L1 participants who were very friendly toward me and with whom I felt it easier to speak somewhat more casually, I felt that the interviews themselves were often richer, longer and included more detailed comments by the participant. In these ways, the use of Japanese honorifics in interview questions might be seen as detrimental, but this was not consistently the case. For example, other L1 participants focused on the fact that I speak Japanese and have a Japanese spouse as a basis for finding commonality with me. Rather than causing greater distance in such cases, my use of Japanese honorifics seemed to make these L1 participants feel at ease and more comfortable in talking to me.

In short, my positionality with relation to each study participant was never that of a “neutral researcher” (something I do not believe exists). Instead, in each instance, and even from moment to moment within an individual interview, I might be seen as either an insider or an outsider from the point of view of the participant. I do not believe these factors played any

predetermined role, nor were they consistent from one participant to another. In addition, even as I sought to understand who each participant was and learn something about his or her beliefs and perceptions, my own identity and beliefs were also being negotiated, created and re-created throughout each interview. My identity and beliefs were also present when I conducted analysis and interpretation, as I believe they are for all researchers. I view this not as a weakness or drawback to the study, but instead as a situation that all researchers face. Because I wanted to understand participants' beliefs and perceptions, I made use of data-driven, iterative, and inductive procedures of analysis as a way to always bring my focus back to participants' voices. In addition, having a relatively large number of participants (for a qualitative study) helped me recognize the diversity of experience and opinion in my participants.

3.7. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

This study has some limitations and delimitations which need to be considered. First, participants' backgrounds and the location of the study may limit the extent to which findings are transferrable to other L2 speakers of Japanese. In order to ensure that I had access to participants' first language, I chose to recruit L2 speakers whose first language was English. I also chose to recruit participants who were employed through the JET Programme to ensure that L2 participants shared similar aspects to their daily lives, and, further, to take advantage of my background knowledge of and experience with the JET Programme. Finally, I decided to recruit L2 participants who had been placed in Ehime for their JET positions; this allowed me to draw on my knowledge of Ehime and of Ehime's dialect throughout the study. Transferability of findings might be seen with L2 speakers who teach English in Japanese in other capacities (i.e., not through the JET Programme) or with L2 speakers who live in work in other prefectures and away from metropolitan areas. However, linguistic norms and local attitudes toward dialect are

likely to differ. Further, the experiences of L2 speakers whose first language is not English or who live in major metropolitan areas might also differ in important ways from those of participants in this study.

While the above delimitations were due to choices I made in designing the study, there were also some limitations. For example, in recruiting study participants, I was unable to recruit a significant number of female L2 participants who were currently living in Ehime and had advanced Japanese ability. I also was unable to recruit many female L1 participants. In addition, the age ranges of the L2 participant group and that of the L1 participant group was significantly different. Almost two-thirds of the L1 participants were in the 20-29 or 30-39 age range at the time of the study (and more than half of all L2 participants were in the 20-29 age range). However, among the L1 participants, more than half were in the 40-49 age range, and only one L1 participant was in the 20-29 age range. Because of these demographic details, there are limits to any conclusions I might make about the relationship of age or gender to my research questions.

Another limitation of the study relates to the choice to use qualitative research interviews for the primary data collection method. This was a good choice for my research questions, which focus on the beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers. However, because I did not collect recordings of interactions among participants or data about the amount or type of dialect used, this study cannot address questions that relate to how, how much, or what kind of dialect is used or by whom. In spite of these limitations and delimitations, I believe this study asks important questions and suggests one set of possible answers to those questions.

3.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I introduced the study context and participants, the type of data gathered and the procedures used for analysis. My central concern was with the beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers and how they navigate Japanese speech style choices, in particular those between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect. I chose qualitative interviewing as the best method to examine this issue. Procedures for analysis were data-driven, iterative, and inductive, and drew from the work of qualitative researchers, both in how analysis was conceived (as consisting of descriptive, analytical, and interpretative steps) and in the use of thematic and content coding. Triangulation was conducted by comparing the perspectives of L2 participants with those of their L1 counterparts, and considering those findings in light of what I learned through observations and by considering the linguistic context of Ehime. In the next two chapters I consider, first, in Chapter Four, the perspectives of L1 participants in order to consider the linguistic beliefs and perceptions of L1 participants with whom L2 participants interact. Chapter Four's look at dialect products gives us an idea of the linguistic environment in which L2 participants are situated, while its focus on L1 participants allows us to consider the kinds of linguistic ideologies that L2 participants are likely to encounter in Ehime. Next, in Chapter Five, I turn to the L2 participants and examine their beliefs and perceptions about dialect and the stances they report regarding their use of dialect. In Chapter Five, we see how dialect represents both challenge and opportunity for L2 speakers as they negotiate who and how they want to be in Japan.

CHAPTER 4: DIALECT PRODUCTS AND L1 SPEAKERS THE LINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF EHIME

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Understanding prevailing linguistic ideologies in Ehime is a first step in examining the beliefs and perceptions of L2 participants regarding dialect and the linguistic choices they face. To that end, in this chapter I examine dialect in the visible environment and analyze L1 participants' interviews and their dialect-related beliefs and perceptions. Dialect products are visible in public spaces in the form of signage and other products. These products show how dialect is commodified for local branding and commercial purposes. The picture of dialect that emerges from observing dialect products is one of a largely symbolic marker that draws on positive stereotypes of dialect as warm, friendly, and nostalgic. In their interviews, L1 participants expressed beliefs and perceptions that were largely consonant with depictions of dialect that emerge from dialect products. By examining comments L1 participants made in interviews, we can begin to understand the local linguistic norms and prevailing linguistic ideologies in Ehime. Taken together, the dialect products introduced in this chapter along with the beliefs and perceptions of L1 participants suggest some of the ways that L2 speakers encounter dialect when they live in Ehime.

In the sections below, I begin with a brief overview of some dialect products in the linguistic landscape of Ehime, including signage and dialect merchandise such as souvenirs and digital products. I also present a description of print and digital media that introduces Ehime Dialect to a general audience. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an in-depth analysis of interviews with four L1 participants who represent the range of dialect use stances reported by

L1 participants. Focusing closely on these four participants facilitates an examination of the kinds of linguistic ideologies that are made visible in interviews; this then lays the foundation upon which to examine the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 participants, which will be taken up in Chapter 5.

4.2. DIALECT PRODUCTS IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Before turning my attention to the L1 interview data, I first introduce some of the ways that dialect can be encountered in public spaces in Ehime. Drawing on the field of linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) which focuses on bi- and multilingual signage as well as language use in cyberspace (e.g., Gottlieb, 2010; Heinrich, 2010), I consider dialect products found in Ehime, including signage, dialect merchandise, as well as dialect-related online and print media which introduces Ehime Dialect to a general audience. Examining these kinds of products informs our understanding of dialect's role in the prevailing linguistic ideologies, since, as Gottlieb (2010) argues, "the kind of language found in public spaces plays a significant role as a barometer of language ideologies" (p. 323). The products I introduce below demonstrate what kind of dialect is visibly accessible and suggest the symbolic role that dialect plays as a marker of local culture. Dialect products contribute to creating a "personality" (Ben-Rafael, 2009) for Ehime that is depicted as distinct from other regions and that both creates and reinforces positive stereotypes of Ehime Dialect as warm, soft, and friendly. This section describes dialect in the linguistic landscape of Ehime by introducing: a) dialect signage, b) dialect merchandise, including souvenirs and digital products, and c) print and online media focused on introducing Ehime's dialect to a general audience. These dialect products suggest how linguistic ideologies of dialect manifest in the visible environment and give an idea of some of the ways that dialect products are used, namely: as a (dialect) commodity, for local branding, as well as for

codification and preservation efforts. In addition, dialect products simultaneously make use of and recreate or reify positive stereotypes of dialect. Finally, examining dialect products in the visible environment suggests some of the ways that L2 speakers encounter dialect in Ehime.

4.2.1. Dialect Signage

A variety of dialect-related signs can be observed in Ehime, including signs in which the message uses dialect as well as signs which do not use dialect but which have a message *about* dialect. Some, though not all, of these signs serve a commercial purpose. In this section I introduce some of those signs.²² One example is seen in Figure 4.1, which pictures a sign advertising baked goods. The sign reads as follows (dialect tokens are underlined): *doko kara kita n da. hoo de. honnara mikan-pan koute kairi. ee omiyage ni naru yo. ima yake-yoru ken* “Where are you coming from? Oh really? In that case, buy some mandarin orange bread. It will be a good souvenir. We’re baking some now.” This sign appears to target both people from other

Figure 4.1. Sign for Bakery²³



areas in Ehime as well as visitors from outside of Ehime as its intended audience and potential customers. Although local residents are also potential customers, the sign’s opening question,

²² All English translations are by this author. None of the signs or websites introduced here included English in the original item.

²³ <http://ameblo.jp/gotonbo2/entry-11393200700.html> (retrieved Feb. 21, 2015).

“where are you coming from,” suggests that the audience is especially those who are not from the immediate area. Dialect use in this sign functions as a marketing tool which draws a link between the warmth of dialect and the warmth of just-baked bread. This interpretation is supported by advertising copy found on a website ranking the top ten Ehime food products (i.e., edible souvenirs) that people are most happy to receive, the website reports:

道後温泉で有名な愛媛は、温暖な気候が育んだ、ゆったりした観光地です。海の幸、山の幸はもちろん、柔らかな方言が、観光に訪れた人々に至福の時間を提供してくれます²⁴ “Ehime, famous for Dogo Hot Springs, is a tourist destination with a gentle climate. Visitors here will be blessed with the fruits of the sea, the delicacies of the mountains and the soft dialect that Ehime has to offer”²⁴

Although this website does not use dialect, it presents “soft dialect” along with the warmth of Ehime’s climate and famous spa, its seafood and produce, as commodities (cf. Beal, 2013) that make Ehime more appealing to visitors.

Another example of dialect signage is a traffic safety sign near a small elementary school (Figure 4.2), a warning which reads *tobidashi yamesai ya*, “stop jumping out (into the road).”

Figure 4.2. Traffic safety sign (dialect token is underlined)²⁵



This sign is likely to be directed at schoolchildren, both because of its location (near an

²⁴ <https://www.rankingshare.jp/rank/ydfobpelqn> (retrieved Feb. 21, 2015).

²⁵ http://s.webry.info/sp/osteriaarietta.at.webry.info/201301/article_1.html (retrieved Feb. 21, 2015)

elementary school) and also because it does not use any kanji,²⁶ making it easier to read for younger children. Unlike the sign for the bakery, which has a commercial motive, this sign serves the functional purpose of promoting traffic safety. The intended audience for this sign is also likely to be local residents, specifically those who live in this neighborhood, since this road is not a major thoroughfare. Further, the lack of kanji in the sign and the use of the dialect command form (stem+*sai*), which is often explained as being equivalent to the Standard Japanese polite request form (*te-kudasai*),²⁷ evoke a parent or teacher gently admonishing a young child. In this way, the sign makes use of stereotypes of local dialect as gentle to soften the tone of the warning. It should be noted that not all signs in this area use dialect, however the ones that do appear to be geared particularly toward local residents, unlike the signs I introduce next.

The last example of dialect signage is slightly different from the previous two. This sign (shown below in Figure 4.3) greets arriving passengers at the baggage claim area of Matsuyama Airport. After taking this photo, I learned that this slogan was part of the city's annual revitalization campaign, *Kotoba no Chikara*²⁸ (The Power of Language), and was also placed on streetcars in Matsuyama (see Figure 4.4). The slogan reads *hoogen maru-dashi no sono koe ga, ikki ni furusato o tsurete kuru*, “hearing a voice thick with dialect brings [your] hometown to you all in an instant.” The expression *maru-dashi* implies “letting it all out” with no attempt at or concern with hiding, in this case, one's dialect, suggesting perhaps pride in the local dialect. Similarly, *ikki ni* “all at once,” gives a feeling of momentum and excitement at being reunited with the dialect of one's *furusato*, the romanticized vision of hometown. With these expressions,

²⁶ Kanji are characters used in Japanese writing which were adapted from Chinese characters. In addition to kanji, Japanese writing also uses two phonetic syllabaries (hiragana and katakana). School children learn the syllabaries first and characters are learned gradually over several years of schooling. As a result, text intended to be accessible by younger children often makes exclusive use of the syllabaries and contains no kanji.

²⁷ Although the dialect stem+*sai* form looks similar to the standard stem+*nasai* command form, the meaning of stem+*sai* is said to be softer and closer in meaning to the *te-kudasai* or even *tara doo desu ka* forms.

²⁸ <http://www.kotobanochikara.net/>

Figure 4.3. Baggage claim area at Matsuyama Airport with dialect slogan signage.
方言まるだしのその声が、イッキに故郷を連れてくる



(photo: Jae Takeuchi)

Figure 4.4. Streetcar with the same dialect slogan.²⁹



the sign's message encourages readers to make positive associations with dialect, and appears to be designed to be accessible to any who may encounter it. For example, those returning home from a trip might interpret the sign as a message that they should experience a feeling of homecoming when they hear the local dialect. At the same time, the slogan can also be taken as a type of marketing or branding tool, encouraging visitors to experience the local dialect as a unique feature of the area. Another characteristic of this slogan is that it does not use any dialect tokens in its message. Rather than introduce examples of dialect, the slogan instead encourages

²⁹ http://www.kotobanochikara.net/romen_densya.html (retrieved Feb. 21, 2015)

the reader to react positively when encountering dialect, and thus reinforces the association of dialect with a generic hometown, which also makes the slogan more universal.

4.2.2. Dialect Merchandise and Digital Products

In addition to dialect signage, another way that dialect is found in public spaces is on dialect merchandise, including actual as well as virtual or digital merchandise. Dialect souvenirs have become increasingly common across Japan, something Ramsey (2004) attributes to the tendency for Japanese Dialect to be regarded with “positive nostalgia” (p. 102). Unlike with signage, dialect souvenirs must be paid for, are sold at airport gift shops and train stations, as well as at local shops and department stores, and are generally smaller (and thus in some ways less visible) than signage. Nevertheless, retail spaces are part of public space by virtue of their accessibility (cf. Heinrich, 2010), and dialect merchandise in particular treats dialect as a commodity in which cute and fun become key selling points. Examples of Ehime Dialect can be found on dialect souvenirs such as magnets, keychains, stationery goods, stickers, and handkerchiefs. Figure 4.5 shows magnets with “representative” expressions from Ehime Dialect for sale at an airport gift shop at the Matsuyama Airport, along with the sign labeling them as “dialect magnets” (*hoogen magunetto*) and giving the price (¥420, approximately \$3.50).

Figure 4.5. Dialect Magnets with slogans including: *suki yaken* (I like you), *indeko-wai* (I’ll go and come back), *hojaken* (that’s why).



(photo: Kenji Takeuchi)

Some towns in Ehime have local mascots, and those mascots often have a large selection of souvenirs available for purchase. One particularly well-known example is the character called Bary-San,³⁰ a bird-like creature and the mascot for Imabari, one of the larger towns in Ehime. A fairly recent creation, Bary-san merchandise includes key chains and stationery goods and has become common throughout Ehime as well as across Japan since the character won a character contest in 2012.³¹ Many Bary-san items include a phrase or slogan in dialect, as seen in Figure 4.6, in which a file folder is decorated with the slogan *nai-nattara ikan ken, konnaka ireto-ki* “it won’t do to lose this, so put it in here for safe keeping”

Figure 4.6. Bary-san Clear File



(photo: Jae Takeuchi)

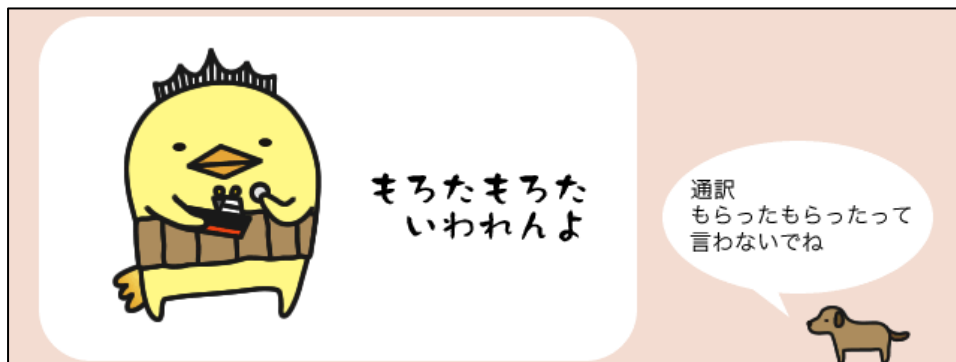
In addition to their use in souvenirs, local mascots often have an internet presence with official webpages, blogs, or Twitter accounts, and users can buy actual or virtual merchandise.

³⁰ <http://www.barysan.net/>

³¹ <http://www.yurugp.jp/ranking/?year=2012>

For example, Bary-san’s online presence includes a Facebook page and a Twitter account³² with over 170,000 followers, as well as an official webpage including a page with a series of dialect lessons (see Figure 4.7 for one example).

Figure 4.7. Screen capture of Bary-san’s “dialect lesson”³³



These dialect lessons are set up like print cartoons, and each lesson includes the mascot, Bary-san, introducing a dialect expression with a cartoon dog giving the Standard Japanese translation. In the example presented in Figure 4.7, the dialect expression is *morota morota iwaren yo*, with the Standard Japanese translation given as *moratta moratta tte iwanai de ne*, “don’t go bragging that you got it you got it” (i.e., got a present). Dialect merchandise and especially products that display Bary-san with dialect phrases commodify dialect and present it as a desirable item to purchase. They also serve a codification role by isolating and labeling dialect phrases and translating them into Standard Japanese, thereby emphasizing the differences between dialect and standard. In addition, such items strengthen the association between the dialect and the region, and play a role in the branding of Ehime as distinct from other areas (cf. Beal, 2013).

Another example of dialect products, in this case, digital products, are virtual stickers³⁴ available for use with the smartphone messaging application called Line.³⁵ These stickers can be

³² <https://twitter.com/barysan>

³³ From: <http://www.barysan.net/profile/lesson1.html#> (retrieved June 9, 2014)

purchased by users of Line and then inserted into messages sent through the Line app (similar to how emoticons are used). As with other dialect merchandise, these stickers represent another way that Ehime Dialect is commodified. One interesting feature of digital products such as these is that they are likely to have a more limited and younger age range for their target audience (LINE's target audience is said to be teenagers through young adults³⁶). A sample of LINE stickers with Ehime (Uwajima City) Dialect are shown in Figure 4.8.

Figure 4.8. LINE stickers with dialect phrases.³⁷



The character in the stickers is the Ushioni, Uwajima's protective spirit. Each sticker (there are 32 in all) depicts the Ushioni with a dialect expression. The expressions shown in Figure 4.8 are: *te-ya te-ya iu na te-ya* "te-ya, te-ya, don't say te-ya" (*te-ya* corresponds to *da-yo* in Standard Japanese and performs an emphatic function or stresses one's own assertion); *iken ken* "I can't, so" or "that's unacceptable, so," *itte kurai* "I'll go and come back," *soo ya nashi* "yes that's right," *iya te-ya* "I'm telling you I don't like it." In addition to the targeted audience of LINE

³⁴ See: <http://thenextweb.com/asia/2013/07/12/stickers/>

³⁵ <http://line.me/ja/> or <http://line.me/en/>

³⁶ <http://techcrunch.com/2013/03/17/line-the-social-entertainment-platform/> (retrieved Feb 26, 2015).

³⁷ <https://store.line.me/stickershop/product/1044928/ja> (retrieved Feb. 26, 2015).

users, another feature of these stickers is that, unlike the Bary-san dialect lessons described above, these do not include translations, suggesting that the audience may be either Ehime or Uwajima residents, or perhaps young dialect “cos-players” (Tanaka, 2007) from urban areas like Tokyo.

4.2.3. Dialect in Print and Online Media

Dialect is a frequent topic of Japanese language print and online media targeted at a general audience. Popular literature about Ehime Dialect (such as those shown in Figure 4.9) tends to focus on describing the characteristics of the dialect and such books are often set up as dictionaries or glossaries with dialect words and their equivalents in Standard Japanese.³⁸

Figure 4.9. Two books devoted to Ehime Dialect: *Ehime Kotoba Zukan* (Ehime Dialect Picture Book) and *Iyo no Omoshio Hougen-shuu* (Iyo Fun Dialect Album)



The books in Figure 4.9 include a light-hearted book aimed at adults, *Ehime Kotoba Zukan* (Ehime Dialect Picture Book) (Doinaka, 2005) as well as one for a younger audience, *Iyo no*

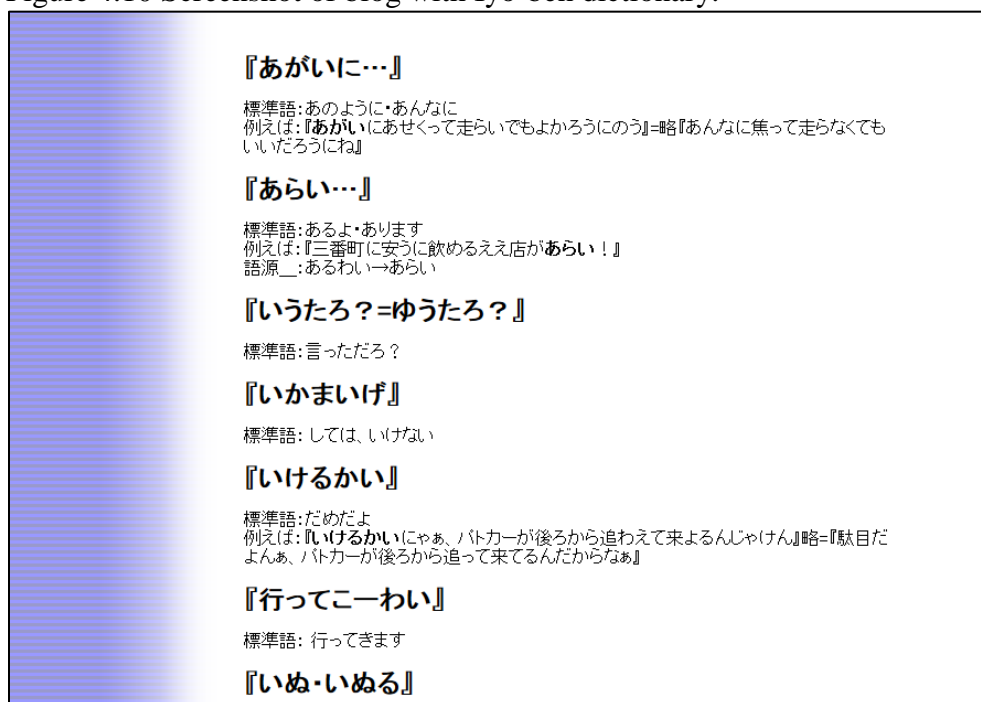
³⁸ All of the books introduced here are geared to an L1 speaking audience. Although there are numerous guides and how-to books intended to introduce “prestige” dialects such as Kansai Dialect to L2 speakers, I have been unable to find any books about Ehime Dialect that are geared toward L2 speakers.

Omoshiro Hoogen-shuu (Iyo Fun Dialect Album) (Hasegawa, Miyamoto, & Ehimeken Hogen Kenkyu Dokokai, 1996). The Ehime Picture Book is centered around the idea that Ehime's dialects are in danger of being lost (p. 2). It begins with descriptions of the dialect distinctions within Ehime and the remainder of the book is separated into topics that explain dialect words and their Standard Japanese equivalents. The inclusion of trivia sections and cartoon illustrations contribute to the light-hearted feel of the book. The Iyo Fun Dialect Album is geared to a younger audience (likely late elementary school and junior school age readers) and is primarily a dictionary of dialect words and expressions with their Standard Japanese translations. It is not clear whether these books are specifically geared toward a local, Ehime-based audience or a more national audience; however, the content of the books shows that the reader is not expected to know the dialect words and phrases being introduced.

In addition to traditional paper books, there are also numerous online sites devoted to Ehime Dialect (or to the dialect of a specific town within Ehime). Unlike books, websites are accessible for free with no geographical restrictions, making it sometimes difficult to determine the intended audience. A simple web search revealed more than ten websites devoted to Ehime's dialects, primarily web pages set up as dictionaries or glossaries with lists of dialect words and phrases along with their Standard Japanese equivalents. I also found dialect-related pages within larger commercial websites (e.g., websites for an Ehime-based bank, a travel company, and a local food producer) as well as websites created by amateur bloggers. An example is shown in Figure 4.10, which is a screenshot of the dialect page from an amateur blogger's website. The dialect page presents a list of dialect words and phrases (in hiragana order) in a large font, followed on the next line, in a smaller font, with the Standard Japanese equivalent and, for

selected items, an example of the dialect word in use and sometimes the origin of the dialect word.

Figure 4.10 Screenshot of blog with Iyo-ben dictionary.³⁹



It is worth noting here that there are many blogs and amateur websites with dialect pages and glossaries similar to this one. This particular website does not specify the creator's reason for including a dialect page, however, he does state that he was born in Ehime and the website itself was created as part of his hobby activities. Some other websites make reference to goals of preserving the dialect expressions they learned in their childhood; however, all of the websites I was able to locate appeared to be created by amateur bloggers or web designers, as opposed to linguists or people otherwise involved in linguistic scholarship. Thus, one message of these websites is that they define, or perhaps expand, the notion of who can assume the role of dialect

³⁹ <http://yatokame.tyanoyu.net/iyoben/iyoben.htm> (retrieved Mar 5, 2015).

expert: They use their status as Ehime “natives” as evidence of their status as dialect experts, implicitly depicting themselves as legitimate users and teachers of dialect in the process.

The examples of dialect in public spaces presented above serve the following ideological functions: 1) to commodify dialect and use it for commercial goals or as a branding tool, (2) to codify dialect and label it as Ehime Dialect which is distinct from other dialects and from Standard Japanese, (3) to preserve the dialect, or depict it as something worth being preserved, and (4) to take advantage of positive stereotypes of dialect, and particularly of Ehime’s dialect, in which dialect is depicted and perceived as being warm, friendly, homey and both the target and source of nostalgia. In the next section, I consider the results of L1 interviews. By examining L1 participants’ comments about dialect, we can see how their beliefs and perceptions are largely consistent with the presentation of Ehime Dialect found in dialect products. Taken together, these findings facilitate a better understanding of the linguistic ideologies in Ehime.

4.3. L1 PARTICIPANTS AND DIALECT

Interviews with L1 participants were conducted in Japanese. After participants completed a written questionnaire (see Appendix D), I asked them a series of questions about their experiences interacting with L2 speakers. Next, I asked about their views of dialect in general and their dialect use or non-use. Questions included:

- 方言についてどう思いますか “what do you think about dialect?”
- 方言が好きですか “do you like dialect?”
- 方言を使いますか “do you use dialect?”

These questions were followed by questions about dialect and L2 speakers, with the main questions being:

- 愛媛 (この町) に住む外国人は方言を理解することは必要・大切だと思いますか “do you think it’s necessary/important for foreigners living in Ehime to be able to understand dialect?”
- 外国人は方言を使うことは必要・大切だと思いますか “do you think it’s necessary/important for foreigners to use dialect?”

These questions were followed by questions about whether the L1 participant’s view of L2 speakers language use was influenced by the L2 speaker being male or female, and the last questions asked the L1 participant if he or she had any advice for L2 speakers coming to live in Ehime. (See Appendix F for the complete interview protocol for L1 participants.) By examining their answers, I was able to analyze L1 participants’ views about dialect in general, their stances toward their own use of dialect, and how they viewed the necessity or relevance of dialect comprehension and use for L2 speakers. The results of those findings are in Table 4.1. This table shows each L1 participant (beginning with the core L1 participants) lists their age group, L2 counterpart(s), and a short summary of each participant’s views about dialect for themselves and for L2 speakers. L1 participant pseudonyms were chosen using either family names (e.g., Hamada) or given names (e.g., Naoki), depending on how the L2 participant referred to the L1 counterpart.

Table 4.1. L1 Participants (loosely ordered by dialect use stance)

Name	Age		Hometown (Current)	L2 Counterpart	Dialect View Dialect Use Keyword	L2Comprehension L2 Use
Hamada	40s	F	Matsuyama (Koyama)	Scott, William	Positive Use JD=identity	Not necessary but great for fitting in
Yoshio	50s	M	Sasaoka (Sasaoka)	William	Positive Use JD=tool	Not necessary, no need to force it, but JD important for fitting in, wants William to use JD
Nakamura	50s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, Sam, Melissa	Positive Use “country’s treasure”	Not necessary, but helpful; it would be bad if L2 Ss used only JD
Naoki	20s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, others	Neutral Non-use JD not relevant	Neither understanding nor use is necessary (no other comment)

Tanaka Tanaka (continued)	30s	M	Miyaoka (Asahi)	Liam	Positive Use JD=friendly; SJ=distant	Comprehension is important; use is not necessary but would be beneficial for friendliness
Sakamoto	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, Koyama	Mixed Use Was worried about dialect as a teen	Would be helpful, use helpful for fitting in, Japanese people will feel warmth from L2 JD use
Shibata	50s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Melissa	Positive Use JD=local flavor, unique expression	Not necessary, but wants L2 Ss to understand; use or non-use, either is fine.
Sasaki	40s	F	Matsuyama area (Koyama)	Melissa	Positive Use JD= setting mood	If possible, understanding helps; use can be helpful
Endo	50s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Austin	Positive Use JD=fun, experimenting	Not necessary but could be fun and beneficial
Maeda	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Janet	Positive Use JD = important	Wants Janet to understand JD b/c she lives here; it would be good if L2 Ss used JD
Yukiko	30s	F	Kansai (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	Positive Use JD= good for jokes	Not necessary but beneficial
Watanabe	30s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Austin	Positive Use loves dialect	Not necessary, but helps L2 Ss be loved & accepted
Kobayashi	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott	Positive Use uses a lot of dialect, “clump of dialect”	Since this isn’t Tokyo, JD understanding is important; if L2 Ss use JD he feels happy
Chiyo	40s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Paul	Neutral Use Doesn’t want to use JD too much esp. w/ L2 Ss	Not necessary but it’s nice if L2 Ss use the local JD; but if they go elsewhere it may be troublesome
Kondo	50s	F	Matsuyama (Matsuyama)	George	Positive Use	No necessary but helpful to understand, she’s happy if L2 Ss use JD
Takahashi	30s	M	Kansai (Matsuyama)	Liam	Positive Use JD is a habit	Important to understand JD; if L2 Ss use JD, Japanese people will feel closeness
Kawamura	40s	M	(Near Asahi) (Asahi)	Liam	Positive Use Unconscious use	Not necessary but a plus
Fumihiro	30s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Paul	Positive Use (limited) Uses JD naturally w/ neighbors	Not necessary esp. b/c JD is limited geographically; he’s happy if they use JD
Shinji	40s	M	Koyama (Kansai) (Koyama)	Scott, Koyama	Positive Use Uses non-Ehime JD b/c it’s cool	Not necessary but beneficial

Fujiwara	40s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Scott, others	Neutral Use (limited) Young people don't use JD	Understanding JD is somewhat important; use is not necessary but helpful; however, SJ is fine
Akemi	30s	F	Koyama (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	Neutral to positive Use Uses JD w/ elderly, not w/ L2 Ss	JD understanding is necessary if interacting w/ wide age ranges of Japanese people; if L2 Ss use JD, others will be happy
Tomomi	30s	F	Takekawa (Takekawa)	John	Positive Use Does not use JD w/ L2 speakers	Not necessary
Sugimoto	50s	M	Koyama (Koyama)	Austin, Koyama	Positive Non-use Unconscious use	Not necessary but beneficial; when he hears L2 Ss using JD he thinks they've lived here a long time
Susumu	40s	M	Kanto (Koyama)	Koyama ALTs	Positive Non-use disinterest	Understanding is important b/c L2 Ss live here; using JD is natural b/c that's what they hear

Names in bold represent focal L1 participants. Ss = speakers. Place names are pseudonyms, with the exception of Matsuyama and larger regions (Kansai, Kanto).

As the table shows, most L1 participants held positive views about dialect and used words like warm (*ataatai*) and friendly (*shitashii*) to describe dialect. In addition, almost all L1 participants reported that they used dialect themselves. Three participants reported that they used dialect only rarely, and two participants reported that they did not use dialect at all.⁴⁰ When asked about dialect and L2 speakers, almost all L1 participants reported that neither dialect comprehension nor dialect use were necessary for L2 speakers living in Ehime. However, most L1 participants then qualified their statements by adding that, for those L2 speakers who were able to understand and use dialect, there were numerous benefits to be had in terms of their relationship with L1 speakers in local communities. In order to get a better understanding of the dialect-related beliefs

⁴⁰ It should be noted that one of the L1 participants who reported dialect non-use, Susumu, was not originally from Ehime, which is likely to be relevant. In addition, this also means that of the L1 participants from Ehime, only two reported that they did not use dialect.

and perceptions of L1 participants, below I focus on four L1 participants: Hamada, Yoshio, Nakamura, and Naoki. I chose to focus on these participants based on the fact that they were each the L1 counterpart of one or more L2 participants focused on in Chapter 5 and each were present during one or more times when I conducted an observation with an L2 participant. In addition, I chose L1 participants who were from Ehime, with one participant having moved from one area of Ehime to another and I excluded participants who were not originally from Ehime.

4.3.1. Hamada

Hamada was a junior high school English teacher in her 40s. She was from Matsuyama, but had moved to Koyama three years prior to the time of the interview. Her husband's hometown was Koyama, and her teaching post at the time of the interview was in Koyama. She had taught with numerous ALT participants in the past and, at the time of the interview, she was teaching with Scott (one of the core L2 participants examined in Chapter 5). Hamada reported positive views about dialect in general and her comments about the ways dialect could function as an interactional resource were similar to those made by several other L1 participants. She also described her own dialect use, and she distinguished between the Matsuyama and Koyama dialects and described her efforts to adopt dialect features specific to Koyama. Regarding L2 speakers and dialect, she reported that she would not expect L2 speakers to be able to speak dialect, but if they did it would be beneficial for them and she said that their dialect use would cause her to feel positively toward them.

During the dialect-portion of the interview, I asked Hamada what she thought about dialect, here is her response:

Hamada: 方言に対してそのものに対して、というのは、その人のアイデンティティを現すのに、ものすごくこう、分かりやすいものなのかと思います。私、あ

のう、ずっと松山にいて、で、こちらに3年前に[ここ]に来て、松山と[ここ]はやっぱり違うんですね。すぐ、話せばすぐ分かる、あ、この人は、松山から来たとき、あ、この人は[ここ]、でも、こっちの方の出身の人だというのが分かるので、ま、自分の故郷そのものに愛着を持ったりですとか、あるいはその人のアイデンティティーが分かったりとか、そういう、なんかあったかみのあるものなんじゃないかなと思いますね。⁴¹

Hamada: regarding dialect itself, the thing itself, I would say, it reveals a person's identity, so I think it [dialect] makes it really easy to understand. I was in Matsuyama for a long time, and then three years ago I came [here], and, as expected, Matsuyama and [here] are different, if you talk [to someone] you'll be able to tell right away, oh, this person, when I came from Matsuyama, this person is [from here], but, being able to tell that someone is from here, well, [dialect shows] attachment to your own hometown, or you can tell someone's identity, so things like that, I think, [dialect] somehow has a feeling of warmth.⁴²

In this excerpt, Hamada described dialect as something that reveals a person's identity. She described moving to Koyama from Matsuyama and how the dialect made it possible for her to tell whether people were from the Koyama area or from Matsuyama. She also added that through dialect, one could feel attachment for one's hometown, and that dialect had a feeling of warmth to it. Her comment about the role dialect plays in how one experiences one's hometown recalls the dialect signage introduced above encouraging an association between dialect and hometown. Hamada's comments show both her positive regard for dialect in general and also how closely she attended to the differences among dialects within Ehime.

Over the course of talking about her experiences moving from Matsuyama, Hamada talked about her own efforts to use Koyama Dialect. The following is an excerpt from that portion of the interview:

⁴¹ See Appendix G for complete transcript conventions. Brackets [] represent a word I changed in order to protect participants' anonymity, in this excerpt, the participant does not say that town name (if she did I could use the pseudonym) but another expression which would reveal the location, so I substitute "here" in order to retain the meaning of her comment. In English translations, bracketed words also include nouns inserted which are understood in the Japanese original.

⁴² All translations of Japanese language interview excerpts are by this author.

Hamada: 私はできる限り、Koyama のことばを使うようには心掛けてはいるんだけど

JT: なるほど。それはどうしてですか。

Hamada: やっぱりこの地域に溶け込みたい、子供たちが使っている、その方言を使って溶け込みたいというのが一つあるのと、やっぱり、こう、Koyama でも住んでいる以上は Koyama 人になりたいなという気持ちです

Hamada: I make an effort as much as possible to use Koyama dialect, so

JT: I see. Why is that?

Hamada: After all, I want to become a part of this community, one thing is that I want to use what the kids use, that I use that dialect and become a part of [this community] well, and as long as I'm living in Koyama, I feel that I want to become a Koyaman

Here Hamada explained that she strived to use Koyama Dialect as much as possible. In response to my asking why, she discussed her desire to become an integrated member of the community, and also to use the dialect that the children (in other words, her students) were using. She added that as long as she was living in Koyama, she felt that she wanted to become a “Koyaman,” implying that using Koyama Dialect was a way to do that.

I also asked Hamada if there were times when she intentionally tried to use dialect, here is her reply:

Hamada: 相手が[ここ]の方だったらもう、できるだけその相手の方のことばに合わせようと努力してます。学校に限らず、あのう、[ここ]の親戚に会う時ですか、主人の友達に、主人はずっと Koyama の人間なんですけども、こちらの人に会うときとか

Hamada: If the person [I'm speaking to] is someone from [here] then, I try as much as possible to match that person. That's not just limited to school, um, for example when I meet relatives who are from [here], or my husband's friends, my husband has always been in Koyama so, when I meet people from here and so on.

Here, Hamada described her conscious efforts to match her dialect to the dialect of the person to whom she was speaking. She added that this was not limited to school contexts (i.e., her workplace) but that she also tried to use Koyama Dialect with relatives who were from the area and with friends of her husband. Interestingly, in the earlier excerpt, she described her connection of dialect with strong feelings for one's hometown; however, here she prioritized the interlocutor's hometown (and thus dialect). This suggests how strongly she perceived the role of dialect in strengthening connections to others.

In spite of Hamada's strong desire to use dialect to become integrated into her new community, she found that the process of maneuvering between two dialects was not always a smooth one. Hamada shared the following examples when I asked her if she ever felt that the Koyama Dialect was difficult:

Hamada: あのう、[ここ]では、正座のことを、あのう、正座するこうちょこんと座ることを、独特な表現をするんです。それがもう全く分からなくて、それを聞いて、笑われたことがあります。えっ知らないのって((laughs))

JT: 笑われるんですね。そうですか。で、先生は、例えばご自分のお家に帰るときとか、松山の方言は使いますか。

Hamada: 使っているつもりなんですけども、実家の母に、なまったねって言われました

Hamada: Well, [here], sitting in *seiza* [formal seated position] , sitting in *seiza*, well to sit with your legs tucked up nicely, [people here] use a special expression for that. I didn't have any idea what it was, so I asked about it and was laughed at. Huh? You don't know what that is? They said

JT: oh, you were laughed at, I see. Really? So then, when you return to your home, do you use Matsuyama Dialect?

Hamada: I try to, but at home my mother says, oh you have an accent

In this excerpt, Hamada shared two experiences. First, she described encountering an unfamiliar Koyama Dialect word and being laughed at when she asked what it meant. Next, in response to my question, Hamada reported that, when she returned home to visit her mother, she thought she was using Matsuyama Dialect (her “native” dialect) but her mother said it sounded like Hamada had an accent. The verb *namaru* is a lay term which can be translated as “to speak with an accent,” but it should be noted that it can refer not only to accents but also to other dialect features such as sentence final particles, dialect words, or verb conjugation. As such, it is not clear which meaning of *namaru* was intended in Hamada’s mother’s comment. Given that there are some accentual differences among the three regions in Ehime (Doinaka, 2005), the mother may have been reacting to a perceived Koyama accent in Hamada’s speech or to some other dialect token that the mother identified as being not part of Matsuyama’s dialect. Regardless, her mother’s comment suggests that Hamada had acquired some linguistic features which were unexpected by her mother.

While Hamada’s first example (being laughed at for not knowing a word) shows the difficulty of acquiring a new dialect and one potential consequence of not knowing, the second example (being told she had an accent by her mother) suggests that Hamada’s efforts to adopt the Koyama Dialect may have been more effective than she intended or expected. It also shows how difficult it can be for speakers to be fully aware of (dialect-based) accents that they themselves are using (cf. Hendry, 1992; Okamoto, 2008b). Although Hamada perceived herself as able to consciously adopt Koyama Dialect, she was less able to control switching between Koyama Dialect and Matsuyama Dialect, at least where accents were concerned. Further, her account shows some of the ways that L1 speakers attend to each other’s speech, for example by displaying their expectations about shared linguistic knowledge or about how one is expected to

sound, especially when speaking in a way that does not meet those expectations. Finally, it is interesting to compare Hamada's experiences to those of the participant examined in Occhi (2008), who described as stressful the efforts she made to adapt her dialect to that of a new city. Although Hamada did not describe her experiences as stressful, we can nevertheless see that the transition was not always a smooth one.

I next asked Hamada what she thought about dialect and L2 speakers, starting by asking if she thought it was important for L2 speakers⁴³ who came to live in the area to be able to understand the dialect.

Hamada: そうですね、そこまでのレベルは要求しなくてもいいんじゃないかと個人的には思うんです、簡単な日常会話、標準語での日常会話が理解できれば、もうそれで十分じゃないかと。方言はやはり、あのう、私たち、同じ愛媛で、地域が違う人にとっても難しいものなので、ちょっと、こう、もう一段、レベルが上がりますよね、方言まで理解するとか、方言までしゃべるようになるというのは、はい

Hamada: Well, personally, I think it's ok not to expect that [high of] a level, simple every day conversation, if they can understand daily conversation in Standard Japanese, I think that's really enough. After all, dialect is, well, we, even within the same Ehime, it's difficult [to understand] someone from a different region, so, well, um, they [foreigners] would go up one level, wouldn't they, to understand dialect, or go as far as to use dialect, um, yeah.

In these comments, Hamada explained that she would not expect L2 speakers to have the language skills necessary to understand dialect, but that it would be sufficient if they could understand daily conversation in Standard Japanese. This comment implies that she viewed dialect to be significantly more difficult than Standard Japanese, an interpretation supported in her next comment in which she said that dialect can even be difficult for "us" – in other words, even for Japanese L1 speakers and people from Ehime, dialects from other regions could be

⁴³ In the interviews, I used the word *gaikokujin* (foreigner).

difficult to understand. These views may explain why Hamada described dialect comprehension, and then dialect use, as adding another level of difficulty to the task for L2 speakers of learning and using Japanese. Her view that dialect is difficult even for people from Ehime also emphasizes regional differences while downplaying similarities across Ehime.

I also asked Hamada what she thought about the use of the local dialect by L2 speakers living in the area.

Hamada: 私は好意的に思います。こちらに溶け込もうとか、こちらの辺でしか使われない言葉だけでも、がんばってその、本当に生きて使われている方言を使ってくれるというのはすごく、親近感を覚えます

Hamada: I think of it positively. They try to fit in here, by trying to use language that's only used around here, dialect that's really living and used here, and it's, I feel a lot closer to them if they use dialect

Here, Hamada said she viewed dialect use by L2 speakers favorably because she saw it as their effort to fit into the local community. In particular, she described L2 speakers' use of dialect as efforts to use a dialect that was used only in the local area, and such efforts made her feel a sense of affinity or friendliness toward the L2 speaker. It is notable that she described L2 dialect use in the same way that she described her own use of Koyama Dialect, namely as being motivated by a desire to fit in.

Next, I asked her if she ever heard any of the ALTs she worked with using dialect, and she replied that she had, so I asked if that ever struck her as odd (*iwakan*). This question (外国人が方言を使っているのを聞いて、違和感を感じたことがありますか “does it sound odd/*iwakan* to hear a foreigner using dialect”) was asked of almost all L1 participants. The question itself came about because of the tendency for language use that results in a feeling of strange-ness to be described with the word *iwakan* (e.g., Inoue, 2006). None of the L1

participants, including Hamada, responded directly to this question in the affirmative; however, this may be due more to the word's negative connotation rather than to an actual lack of *iwakan* with L2 speaker dialect use. Here is how Hamada responded to the question of *iwakan*:

Hamada: 違和感？そうですね、ぱっと聞いたときは、ああ、がんばって方言使ってるなというのはあのう、やはり、ふっと思いますね

Hamada: Odd? well, when I just suddenly hear it, I think, ooh, they're really making an effort to use dialect.

Hamada did not say that she felt *iwakan* when hearing an L2 speaker's use of dialect; instead, she said that when she heard an ALT using dialect, she took it as a sign that they were making an effort to do so. Here again, she implied that dialect was difficult and that using it required making an effort. Although Hamada did not describe her reaction to dialect use by an L2 speaker as one of feeling *iwakan* or oddness, it is important to note here that there seems to be an underlying assumption that L2 speakers will not use dialect, and so when they do, it is surprising. Thus, although Hamada did not accept the word *iwakan* to describe her reaction, she did seem surprised by such dialect use. This may suggest a view that Standard Japanese is the default speech style choice for L2 speakers, in contrast to her own speech style choices, which were described as being governed by the desire to match her speech to those of her interlocutors. One conclusion from this is that Hamada's expectations for L2 speakers and dialect use were not the same as her expectations for her own dialect use.

Regardless of her expectations regarding L2 dialect use, Hamada's comments about dialect show an overall positive view of dialect and its use as a way to fit into a local community. At the same time, she saw dialect (in particular, a new or unknown dialect) as challenging for L1 and L2 speakers alike. She also described her view that dialect ability was not necessary for L2

speakers, but as something that demonstrated their desire to fit in. Next, I introduce Yoshio, who also held positive beliefs about dialect.

4.3.2. Yoshio

Yoshio was in his 50s and worked in the town office in Sasaoka Town. Sasaoka was also his hometown, and Yoshio was the L1 counterpart of William (introduced in Chapter 5). He worked in the same town office as William. Although Yoshio was not William's supervisor, he held a higher-level administrative position and through that position he had also worked with several of William's predecessors. Yoshio first came to know William when William came to Sasaoka as an ALT. In addition to their workplace connection, Yoshio was the assistant leader of a traditional Japanese performing group of which William became an active member. Through their participation in the performing group (which included regularly scheduled rehearsals, performances, and social events), Yoshio and William interacted outside of work several times a week. Yoshio reported strongly positive views about dialect and was enthusiastic about his own dialect use, as well as about William's dialect use. Yoshio described dialect as a tool for strengthening interpersonal relationships; at the same time, his views about dialect use by female L2 speakers were somewhat complex, as the excerpts introduced in this section show.

During the interview, Yoshio discussed dialect using a variety of positive descriptors. For example, he described dialect's friendliness (*shitashimi*) and said that dialect was indispensable (*kakasenai*) for those living in the semi-rural towns of Ehime. I asked Yoshio what he thought about dialect:

Yoshio: えーとですね、方言そのものというよりは、あのう、私は役場の職員ですんで、おじいちゃんとおばあちゃんと話す時は、あのう標準語でしゃべると逆にあのう、向こうが、何いうかな、かまえられるんです...役場の職員と思われる

んで... あ、迷惑かけたなしとか... いうようなことばをかけとったら、おじいちゃんおばあちゃんも、あのう、親しみを感じてもらえるんで。私は、じいちゃんおばあちゃんと話す時はもう基本的は方言で話します
 ((Underlined text includes dialect))

Yoshio: Hmm, well, more than dialect in and of itself, um, I am an employee of the town office so, when I talk to grandpas and grandmas, um, if I use Standard Japanese, conversely, they, what I can say, they tense up... they think of me as a town office employee so ... if I use some language like sorry to have inconvenienced you *nashi* ((dialect ending)), or something, grandpa, grandma, well, they feel friendliness [toward me]. I basically use dialect whenever I talk to grandpas and grandmas
 ((underlined text includes dialect in the original))

Here Yoshio described his role as an employee in the town office, in which he often interacted with elderly town residents (i.e., “grandpas and grandmas”). He said that if he used Standard Japanese with them, they might feel defensive (*kamaerareru*) and they would think of him as an official representative of the town. However, if he used dialect when speaking with them (such as the dialect ending *nashi*, which he used in this excerpt) Yoshio said they would feel friendly toward him. Yoshio presented these examples as an explanation for why he generally used dialect when speaking with elderly people. In addition, he made it clear that his focus with dialect was not what he thought about dialect itself, but rather what dialect facilitated.

I also asked Yoshio if he liked dialect:

Yoshio: 好きですね。

JT: はい。それはどうしてですか。

Yoshio: うん、相手に親しみを覚えてもらえる、一番の近道だと思います。はい

Yoshio: I like it

JT: Ok, why?

Yoshio: Hmm, if you want the person [you're talking to] to feel friendly [towards you], [dialect] is the best shortcut to that, yes.

Here, Yoshio commented that dialect was the shortest route to making another person feel friendly, showing how he viewed dialect as an interactional resource. In this comment and others which follow, Yoshio depicted dialect as a tool for achieving interactional goals such as making an interlocutor feel relaxed or friendly toward the speaker (dialect-user).

The excerpts above show Yoshio's positive views of dialect and his conscious efforts to use dialect. I also asked him if he ever made a conscious effort to avoid using dialect:

Yoshio: んん、東京で仕事などで会う時ぐらいでしょうか。やけど、あのう、すぐに打ち解けたくなったら... 方言は逆に使います、無理して

JT: なるほど、向こうがこっちの方言じゃなくても

Yoshio: ちょっとでも、あのう向こうの和らげる気持ちが分かったら、どんどん使っていきます。

Yoshio: umm, Maybe just times like when I meet people in Tokyo for business. But, well, if I want the person to open up to me quickly, conversely, I use dialect even if it's a bit of a stretch

JT: Oh, I see, even if the other person doesn't speak this dialect

Yoshio: if I see that the other person is relaxing even a little bit, then I start using even more

Although Yoshio began by saying he would avoid dialect while in Tokyo for business, he corrected himself, saying that he actually would use dialect in those situations. Even if it required making an effort (*muri-shite*), Yoshio reported that he would use dialect if he wanted to make the interaction more open. If he felt that the listener was "softening up" toward him (*yawarageru*) then, he reported, he would continue to use even more dialect. This comment echoes the sentiment in the comment excerpted above in which Yoshio described dialect as the quickest route to making others feel friendliness toward the speaker.

Yoshio also explained how he made conscious and strategic use of dialect as a tool to help accomplish work-related goals. In the following excerpt, Yoshio shared a story about a time when he was representing his town at an event in Osaka to try to sell local land to people wanting to retire outside of metropolitan areas. In this excerpt, Yoshio used dialect both in the context of giving examples of how he talked in that situation as well as in sharing with me the successfulness of his approach.

Yoshio: 愛媛のブースを大阪でしますから、寄っていただいたらうれしいですと柔らかく言って、話をして写真なんか見せて、これいいな今度行きたいわいと、ああうれしいですなし、ということで使えば、それ何?という話になって、それから... 興味を持ってもろうたらいい... ま、実際に大阪の方、土地こうってもらって、今住んでもらいよるんですけど... やっぱ、そういうような、あ、それは、言ってはいかんけど、何いうな、仕事を成功させるための一つの手段として使うこともないとはいえない

Yoshio: I said, gently, I'll have a booth from Ehime in Osaka, and I'd be very happy if you stopped by, then I showed them some photos, and used expressions like, I want to go some time wai ((dialect ending)), I'm happy yeah, [they were like] what? And we talked about it, and from there... [I'd be] happy if you were interested [in the booth/land for sale]... well, some people from Osaka actually bought some land [here], and now they're living here... so, after all, that kind of, well I shouldn't say this, but, what, it's one technique to make business successful, and I can't say I don't use it that way

Here, Yoshio described how he made strategic use of Sasaoka Dialect as a way to capture the attention and interest of people who were not expected to be familiar with it. This story is an example of the purposeful use of dialect when talking with strangers in an interaction with a business goal, in a geographical area in which that dialect was not used. In this story, Yoshio described doing exactly what almost all the other participants, both L1 and L2 speakers, reported not doing, namely, using dialect with people they were meeting for the first time, in an area outside of the region where the dialect originates. Similar to the dialect products introduced earlier, Yoshio's strategic use of dialect draws on positive stereotypes which associate dialect

with nostalgia, friendliness, and the good things about country-life (*inaka*), images which were well-suited to the goals of Yoshio's business interaction.

As explained above, in all of the interviews with L1 participants, I asked about participants' thoughts regarding the importance of dialect understanding or dialect for L2 speakers. However, in Yoshio's interview, he brought up L2 speakers' dialect use before I asked about it. The next excerpt occurred when I asked about what kinds of Japanese skills Yoshio thought were necessary for L2 speakers who want to come and live in Ehime. Yoshio began by saying it depended on the goals of each individual and then he added comments about the role of dialect:

Yoshio: ALTさん、来られるALTさんのこっちで生活する目標とか目指すもので違ってくると思います。何が言いたいかというと、Sasaoka町の子供たちと大人の方とどのような接し方をしたいのか、友達のようなユニークなALTに...なりたいたいと思った時には例えば、Sasaokaの方言 しゃまだるいとか、そういうことを覚えて、それを出すとみんなは((clapping))楽しい...そのいろんな方言を使うALTさんがいれば、子供たちも親近感もわくと思うし

Yoshio: I think it depends on the goals or objectives of the ALTs who come here to live. What do they want to say, or, how do they want to interact with the children and adults of Sasaoka Town, or, if they think they want to become like a friend, or a unique ALT, so for example, if they use Sasaoka Dialect, like *shamadarui* or something, if they learn something like that, and use it, then everyone will be like ((clapping)) that's fun... if there's an ALT who uses various dialect [expressions], then I think the children will really feel friendly [toward that ALT]

In this comment, Yoshio first explained that the Japanese language skills needed by an ALT⁴⁴ depended on the goals of that individual ALT. Next, he said that for ALTs who wanted to be like a friend or be unique, they could use dialect. By suggesting that using dialect was one way that

⁴⁴ Although I asked about foreigners (*gaikokujin*), in his answer Yoshio talked about ALTs. The tendency to treat "foreigner" and "ALT" as almost interchangeable was not uncommon among the L1 participants and is likely due to the fact that, for many of the L1 participants, the only foreigners they interacted with were in Ehime because they were employed as ALTs.

an ALT could be unique, Yoshio implied that most ALTs did not use dialect. Similar to Hamada's comments, Yoshio's comments here may suggest an implicit view that Standard Japanese is the default for L2 speakers, so those who did use dialect would stand out as different and unique. As an example of a dialect token an ALT could use, Yoshio mentioned *shamadarui*⁴⁵ and then said that if an ALT used such language, it would be fun (*tanoshii*) and the children (i.e., schoolchildren) would feel closer to that ALT as a result. Here again we see the association of dialect with friendliness. Further, Yoshio described using dialect as one possible choice to be made based on an individual L2 speaker's goals or objectives. This suggests a conscious choice to use dialect for some strategic goal, and is similar to Yoshio's depictions of his own dialect use. After describing the potential benefits for L2 speakers who used dialect, Yoshio mentioned that for ALTs with other goals, there was no need for them to use dialect.

In the above comment, Yoshio said that for ALTs in general, dialect use or non-use could be determined based on an individual's goals. However, with regard to William's dialect use, Yoshio shared stronger feelings:

Yoshio: William さんはあのう、もう今年2年、今度3年目になるんで...もう少し、ん、そろそろ、おりたいというんやったら、方言も...使っていいんやないのとはな... 方言難しいとか言いよりますけど。

JT: Well, William has been here 2, 3 years... so, it's about time that, if he's gonna say that he wants to stay here, the dialect too... I'm kinda like, well, he could use dialect... he's saying that dialect's difficult though

Here, Yoshio talked about the amount of time William had been living in Sasaoka, saying that if William wanted to stay in Sasaoka, it was about time that he could be expected to start using the local dialect. This comment was followed with the comment that William was saying that dialect

⁴⁵ William explained that *shamadarui* was the same as the Standard Japanese term *darashinai* (sloppy), however, I was unable to confirm this.

was difficult, suggesting that, in addition to length of residence, Yoshio acknowledge that the choice of whether to use dialect could also be connected to an L2 speaker's Japanese competence.

Since Yoshio brought up the topic of dialect, I followed the above excerpt by starting the dialect questions in the interview protocol. Regarding questions about L2 speakers and dialect, Yoshio said that he thought it was important for L2 speakers to be able to understand dialect. However, with regard to the question of whether it was important for L2 speakers to use dialect, Yoshio focused on the importance of being appropriately polite:

Yoshio: 方言を使う時の丁寧語を全部マスターすることは難しいやと思うし...方言での謙譲語、尊敬語を全部こなすのが難しいと思います

Yoshio: I think it's difficult to master all of the polite forms of dialect ... I think it's difficult to have control over all the humble polite and honorific polite forms of dialect

This comment again shows how Yoshio attended to the difficulty of dialect, especially regarding dialect's polite forms. In addition, Yoshio also displayed his concern with using language that was appropriately polite.

After discussing polite forms, I asked Yoshio if he ever thought it odd (*iwakan*) to hear an L2 speaker use dialect. (Note that this question was about L2 speakers in general, but Yoshio again shifted his answer to talk about William).

JT: で、えーと、じゃあ外国人が方言を使って、違和感を感じたことはありませんか。

Yoshio: あ、そこは使うタイミングじゃないやろうとかいうのはあるかもしれませんね

JT: はい、そういうことで、その、使ってるからじゃなくて、

Yoshio: んん、やけど、William さんが例えばですよ、例えば、William さんがそれを全部マスターしてくれて、方言でしゃべりだしたら、本当に、アメリカに帰

ってほしくないな... なってしまうやろうな。行かない... それを自分の方言も全部分かってくー もらえるようになったら... んん、やっぱ、ダチやないですか、すごいな、友達やと思うんです... 帰ってほしくないな。今でも帰ってほしくないけども... [グループ]のメンバーやし

JT: well, um, so, have you ever felt it was odd to hear a foreigner using dialect?

Yoshio: ah, well, probably it's all in the timing

JT: yes, so, it's not that they're using it,

Yoshio: yeah, but, so for example if William were to master all of it [for me], and start speaking in dialect, really, I wouldn't want him to go back to America... I'd end up feeling that way ... don't go... and if he could understand all of my dialect, if he could do that for me, mm, yeah, we'd be really tight, wow, I'd think we were really friends... I wouldn't want him to go home. I don't want him to go home even now, he's one of our [performing group] members

In this excerpt, Yoshio did not directly answer my question, but instead said that whether an L2 speaker's dialect use sounded odd was dependent on timing, presumably when and with whom the dialect was used. Next, Yoshio discussed how he would feel if William mastered the dialect. This comment has several key implications for understanding Yoshio's beliefs about dialect and L2 speakers. First, Yoshio's use of "if" (*tara*) suggests that William had not yet mastered the dialect, and perhaps that mastering the dialect was not a foregone conclusion (in which case, Yoshio might have said "when" instead of "if"). In addition, by saying "master all of the dialect," Yoshio depicted this as a significant task (which is consistent with his comments about competence and difficulty). Further, by using the *te-kureru* form (which implies that an action is done for someone else's benefit), there is an additional implication that William's mastering of the dialect would be for Yoshio's benefit. Finally, Yoshio's description of his friendship with William being strengthened if William spoke dialect and understood Yoshio's dialect use suggests that Yoshio perceived dialect's role in interpersonal relationships and perhaps implies that dialect might be a required element for a deeper friendship with Yoshio.

Following these comments, I asked Yoshio if he wanted William (or ALTs in general) to use dialect. Note that although my question here did not refer William, the talk immediately preceding this was about William. However, Yoshio had been shifting back and forth between talking about William and talking about ALTs, so this is not surprising.

JT: じゃあ、ま、方言は使ってほしい、学んでほしい

Yoshio: ほしいですね。それがそれぞれ散らばった、ALTさんのここ Sasaoka に来た一つの証でもなるやろうし

JT: so, well you want him to use dialect, to learn it

Yoshio: Yes, I do. [After they leave here and] each one of them are all scattered around, [dialect is] one way to prove that they came here

Here, Yoshio responded to my question by saying that he wanted (either William or ALTs) to use dialect. He added that after ALTs leave Sasaoka (*chirabaru*) for other parts of Japan or to return to their home countries, dialect would be evidence that they had come to Sasaoka. In this comment, Yoshio did not specifically mention of William but instead described his wish that each ALT (*sore-zore*) would use the Sasaoka dialect as a sign or reminder that they had once lived there. Also implicit here is the view that those ALTs would eventually leave Sasaoka.

I also asked Yoshio whether his views on L2 speakers' Japanese language use changed depending on whether the L2 speaker was male or female:

JT: その、外国人が男性か女性かによって、言葉遣いとか、方言の使用とか、それに対しての Yoshio さんの意見とか考え方が変わりますか

Yoshio: ああ、私は、考え方はやっぱ昔の日本人なんで、男性で親しみを持った人には当然、俗にいう、方言なんかもどんどん使えような話はしますけども、女性にはそれはなかったですね。ま、紹介はしますけど...ま、例えばそれ[ALT]が女性であった場合には... 方言という、を教えてもらわないといけんというのは、あ、テリトリーというのではないですね、あまり...というよりは、あ、う、やっぱり、Sasaoka 町の他の町にない食事とか、ああいうものを、なんか、見てくれて

... 食べてくれて、こんな料理にしたらというアドバイスをもろうたりとか... いうとここに持っていくかなと気がしますがどな

JT: well, does your opinion about how foreigners talk, like in terms of language use or dialect, does your opinion change depending on whether the foreigner is male or female?

Yoshio: well, my way of thinking is like an old-fashioned Japanese person, so if it's a male, someone who I feel close to, of course I might say to them to really use a lot of so-called dialect but, if it's a female, I wouldn't say that. Well I'd introduce [her to dialect] but... well, for example, if it's the case that the ALT is a female, well I wouldn't think it's the place to say you should have them teach you dialect ... instead, um, well after all, I want them to see things or eat something that's not found elsewhere, things like that ... I'd give them advice like you should learn how to cook this dish ... I think that's the approach I'd take

In this excerpt, Yoshio began his comments by describing himself as old-fashioned, perhaps as a way to justify his comments. Next he said he would encourage males to use dialect but not females. Instead, he would encourage females to connect with what was unique about Sasaoka in other ways, such as through learning about unique dishes and local cuisine. His comments here suggest that he may have held a general belief that dialect use by female L2 speakers was unnecessary, or at least something that he would not make an effort to encourage. (This is similar to an experience described by Melissa which will be discussed in Chapter 5). However, earlier in the interview, Yoshio also made some direct remarks to me about my own dialect use. These remarks, introduced below, suggest that his views about L2 dialect use and gender were more complex. The excerpt here followed a discussion that arose from my asking Yoshio what he thought about dialect.

Yoshio: うん。けど、ジェイさんが ... あのう、ご主人の友達と話す時に、方言使われたら、すごいな！... 親しみわくやろうな

Yoshio: Yeah, but Jae ... well if you used dialect when you talk to your husband's friends, they'd be like, wow! ... they'd really feel friendly to you

In this comment, Yoshio speculated about what would happen if I used dialect with my (Japanese) husband's friends. Yoshio thought my dialect use would result in them feeling friendliness toward me. By saying "if" here (as in the excerpt where he talks about William), Yoshio might have assumed that I did not use dialect (prior to this excerpt, I had not specified one way or the other). As such, Yoshio's comment here might be seen as encouraging me to use dialect. Following these comments, I talked a little bit about my own experiences in Ehime and concluded with a comment about how I made an effort to distinguish between when to use Standard Japanese and dialect depending on the context and the people involved:

JT: でそうすると、方言と標準語の使い分けをいろいろがんばったんですけど

Yoshio: それはがんばってもらいたいな ... あのう、ALT といえども、町民、市民の方から電話があって、そうですケンな、と言ってもったら、それはうれしいやろう ... それはうれしいやろう((whispering)) あのう人、何いう人、でな、興味を持ってもらおうと思うし

JT: Well, so I tried to distinguish between when I use dialect or Standard Japanese

Yoshio: I'd want you to make an effort for that... well, for ALTs, towns' people, or city residents, if they called and [an ALT] answered the phone saying yes that's right *ken-na* ((dialect ending)), they'd be so happy... they be so happy ((whispering)), [they'd be like] that person, who is that, and I think they'd be really interested [in the ALT]

Yoshio's remarks here were a continuation from the excerpt above in which the topic at hand was my own use or non-use of dialect. After I explained that during my time working in Ehime, I made efforts to distinguish between when to use dialect or standard, Yoshio responded that that he would want me to make that kind of effort. However, it was not exactly clear what this effort entailed. For example, he might have meant that I should be careful to avoid using dialect at inappropriate times, or alternatively that opportunities to use dialect should not be missed. The latter interpretation is supported by Yoshio's previous comment (in which he speculated that my

dialect use would make my husband's friends feel friendly toward me). Next, Yoshio mentioned ALTs in general, and suggested that if an ALT used dialect on the phone (presumably in the workplace) it would make local residents happy and more interested in the ALT. These comments are general in nature and do not specify the gender of the ALT but instead make a strong claim that dialect use by an ALT would be received positively by local residents.

Thus, although Yoshio's earlier comment about female ALTs and dialect suggests that he thought female L2 speakers did not need to use dialect, his comments to me directly (also a female L2 speaker) encouraged me to use dialect. One possible explanation is that he may have viewed me differently because I have a Japanese spouse, and I had lived in Ehime for a long time. Another possible factor is that I was proficient at Japanese. Yoshio's comments about not encouraging female ALTs to use dialect may have been intended to apply to a more recently arrived female ALT without other ties to the community, and perhaps with less developed Japanese skills. In the context of dialect use by an ALT answering the phone in the workplace, there may also have been an assumption of more advanced Japanese ability that might make dialect use more likely. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions, but comparing Yoshio's comments directed at me with his comments about female ALTs in general shows the complexities and is suggestive of some of the factors that may be involved how dialect-related beliefs are shaped and expressed. Regardless of how we interpret Yoshio's comments about dialect use by female L2 speakers, his comments about dialect in general give an impression of his strong feelings about dialect and its role in interpersonal relationships. Nakamura, introduced below, also shared strong feelings about dialect, especially its appropriate use.

4.3.3. Nakamura

Nakamura (age 50s) was working at the Koyama City Board of Education at the time of the interview, and Koyama was also his hometown. In addition to his current position, Nakamura previously taught and worked as vice principal and principal at several schools in and near Koyama. Because of this, he had worked with and supervised numerous ALTs. At the time of the interview, he was in a supervisory position over the Koyama ALTs (Scott, Melissa, who along with Scott is introduced in Chapter 5, as well as Austin and Janet). Nakamura had also worked with another study participant, Sam, in the past. Like many other L1 participants, Nakamura described dialect in positive ways, for example, making note of its warmth, while also attending to the importance of making appropriate distinctions between when to use or not use dialect. This concern with appropriate usage was also evident in his ideas about L2 use of dialect, in that, although he thought L2 speakers could benefit by using dialect, he expressed strong concerns that it would be inappropriate if L2 speakers used only dialect to the exclusion of Standard Japanese.

In the first excerpt, I asked Nakamura about his opinions about dialect:

JT: Koyama の、ま、Koyama だけじゃなく、愛媛の方言があると思うんですが、先生ご自身は方言についてどう思われますか。

Nakamura: ん、方言は、んん、ま、あのう、国の宝ですから...やっぱ、生まれ育ったところの、ん、方言いうのは大事にしたいなとは思っています。

JT: はい。Koyama の方言が好きですか。

Nakamura: そうですね。あのう、特に、やっぱ暖かみがあるいう...と思えます。

JT: So Koyama, well not just Koyama, but there's Ehime Dialect, what do you yourself think about dialect?

Nakamura: yeah, dialect is, um, well, it's the country's treasure... after all, um, I think we have to really cherish the dialect of where we're born and raised

JT: Yes. Do you like Koyama dialect?

Nakamura: Yes, I do. Well, in particular I think that dialect has a feeling of warmth

In this excerpt, I started my question by referring to Koyama Dialect but then expanded it to include all of Ehime. However, in his response, Nakamura described dialect as *kuni no takara*, the “country’s treasure.” It should be noted that the Japanese word *kuni*, “country,” can mean country in the sense of a nation-state, but it can also mean a region or area within a nation, or refer to one’s hometown, especially in an interaction in which the interlocutors are both from Japan but do not share a hometown. An example of this is seen in the expression *o-kuni wa dochira desu ka*, which is often translated as “where are you from,” but means literally “where is your *kuni*” and can be asked from one Japanese person to another. Because of this, with *kuni no takara*, Nakamura could have meant “the nation’s treasure,” or “the region’s treasure,” or perhaps even “the treasure of the countryside.” Given that he was talking to me, an American, the interpretation of *kuni* as “nation” may carry more weight, but ultimately either interpretation is possible. Nevertheless, by saying *kuni*, rather than Ehime for example, Nakamura’s comment seems to refer to dialect in a generic or universal sense, similar to the dialect signage shown above in Figure 4.3, in which dialect was the topic, but not the means, of the message. I also asked Nakamura if he liked dialect, and in responding that he did, Nakamura ended his remark with one of the most commonly expressed sentiments (both by L1 and L2 participants), namely that dialect has a feeling of warmth to it (*atatakami*).

In the above excerpt, Nakamura’s description of dialect as the “country’s treasure” alludes to dialect’s role as an important, even if largely symbolic, part of cultural heritage. In

addition, Nakamura explained that he wanted to cherish or protect the dialect of his birthplace. His use of the expression *daiji ni suru* (literally, to treat as important) suggests both that he viewed dialect as valuable and at the same time as vulnerable. It is also difficult to ignore the possibility that Nakamura's role as an upper level administrator in the board of education may have influenced how he expressed his stance in these and other remarks throughout the interview.

I next asked Nakamura if he used dialect, to which he responded that he did:

Nakamura: ええ、いろいろ使いますが、やっぱり、その、相手によってやっぱり使い分けますね...で、あのう、方言を使うとなってくるとやっぱりその分、その、親しみの度合いによって違ってきますし、...で、仕事の場では極力、あのう、方言が出ないような形で... はい、気を付けてはおります

JT: じゃあ、職場で、ま、意図的に方言を使わないようにするということですか。

Nakamura: ええ、そうですね。日常の中でもやっぱり使い分けは... します

JT: じゃあ、どなたと方言を使われますか。

Nakamura: やっぱり、友達ですね... やっぱり、ま、言葉は悪いですけども、ま、気心の知れた...ところでやっぱり使いますし

Nakamura: yes, I use various [dialect expressions] but, well after all, I distinguish how I use it depending on the person I'm talking to... and, well, if I'm going to use dialect with someone, then it differs depending on the degree of familiarity ... and, at work, I really take the position of trying as much as possible to not use dialect... yes, I am careful about that

JT: so, then, in the workplace, you try intentionally to not use dialect, right

Nakamura: yes, that's right. Even in daily life, I distinguish how I use it

JT: so, who do you use it with?

Nakamura: Well, friends, right... after all, well, it sounds bad but, well, [someone who] I trust and am really close to... in that case, I do use it

In this excerpt, Nakamura stated that he used dialect, adding that it depended on the person and he made distinctions about with whom to use it depending on the degree of closeness. He

added that he made efforts to avoid dialect at work as much as possible.⁴⁶ In response to my question about with whom he used dialect, he replied that he used dialect with friends and with people with whom he had a close and trusted friendship. It is notable that he prefaced this by saying “it’s a bad way to say it,” however, *kigokoro no shireta*, “well-known and trusted,” does not have a negative connotation. Instead, by saying *ma* “well” and then pausing, suggesting that he was about to say something somewhat negative, he may have been attending to the fact that by suggesting a specific person or group is “well-known and trusted” he was also implying that some others are not well-known or trusted, and thus those are people with whom he would not use dialect. Further, the expression *kigokoro no shireta* suggests that Nakamura viewed dialect as a kind of insider’s code, something to use with not just anyone, but with a select group of people who meet certain criteria in terms of their mutual relationship. The overall impression of Nakamura’s description of how he used dialect is one of carefully-made choices and a prioritization of appropriateness.

In the next excerpt, which directly followed his comments above, Nakamura discussed his views on dialect use by ALTs:

Nakamura: んで、特に、あのう、ALTの人たちはやはりあのう、よく地方で、その方言しか使わない... その方言に、こうかなり強い思い入れがあって、方言しか使わないゆうところがありますよね... 但し、あのう、外国の方々にそれをしてしまうと... やっぱ、その一部でしか、あのう、通じない... 言葉が身についてしまいますから... やっぱ、あのう、なるべく、きれいな日本語 を使わんといけんかなと... という形で気は遣います

⁴⁶ Although the focus here is on participants’ perceptions rather than actual use, it is notable that I heard Nakamura using dialect in various contexts with coworkers while I was conducting observations at the Koyama Board of Education. His use of dialect tended to be in casual conversation or, for example, at the beginning of phone calls before getting to the main task of the phone call. In this way, Nakamura’s dialect use was similar to what I observed in the workplaces of other participants. In addition, Nakamura used some dialect tokens during the interview.

Nakamura: And then, especially, well, sometimes people who are ALTs end up using only dialect, dialect that's only used in that area... and they have strong feelings about that dialect and they only use the dialect... however, well, for foreigners, to have them end up doing that... learning [dialect] that's only understood in a limited area... well, as much as possible, [we] have to use pretty Japanese... that's how I try to be careful about it

In this comment, Nakamura described ALTs who have a strong attraction (*kanari tsuyoi omoi-ire*) to the local dialect where they live. Describing ALTs that used only a dialect which was understood in only a limited geographical area, Nakamura depicted this as problematic (by using the *te-shimau* form, which conveys a sense of regretability). An additional factor here is the use of ALT to refer to the L2 speaker. Although there was a tendency for L1 participants to use the term “ALT” in ways that suggested they were using the word as interchangeable with “foreigner,” it should be noted that “ALT” refers to the employment or occupation of the L2 speaker. Thus, it may be the case that there was a tendency to view Standard Japanese as the default speech style for foreigners, and because many L1 participants encountered those foreigners (ALTs) in the workplace, there may have been an additional expectation of the use of Standard Japanese given the context. Nakamura's concern about appropriately distinguishing between standard and dialect supports this interpretation. Finally, Nakamura concluded his comment by saying that he made efforts to use only “pretty Japanese” (*kirei-na nihongo*), suggesting a sense of duty to ensure that his Japanese language use was not a negative influence on the local ALTs. Although he did not clarify what was meant by *kireina nihongo*, given its juxtaposition to dialect, it is likely that it referred to Standard Japanese. This interpretation is supported by the frequent use of words like “proper” or “correct” by both L1 and L2 participants to refer to Standard Japanese, and it belies an implicit treatment of Standard Japanese as the most correct speech style, and thereby as the default. Because Standard Japanese was treated as the default, in particular for formal or workplace contexts, it did not need to be explicitly labeled. Further, by described

Standard Japanese as *kirei*, it also implies that Japanese Dialect was not pretty or proper. In addition, despite Nakamura's concern with *kirei-na nihongo*, it is notable that in his comment, Nakamura used dialect tokens when saying “must use,” *tsukawan to iken* (the Standard Japanese would be *tsukawanai to ikenai*). Regardless of the irony of this (perhaps unconscious) dialect use, the comment is another example of the strong concern Nakamura had with linguistic appropriateness and is suggestive of competing ideologies in which dialect occupies a special place as an insider's code, and even as the country's treasure, while at the same time, it is Standard Japanese that can be called “pretty” and that retains its position as the default speech style.

After hearing Nakamura's concerns about ALTs who used “only” dialect, I asked if he had ever heard any ALTs using dialect:

JT: ALT が方言を使っているのを聞いたことがありますか。

Nakamura: ALT が方言を使うところはないですね。ただ、あのう、ALT、以前 ALT で、あのう、Takekawa 町にいた時に、あのう、元 ALT で... 彼は、やっぱ、あのう、Takekawa 弁を使いますね。ですから、もう、そこに、根を下ろして ... というような状況だとやっぱ、その分、方言を聞く機会も多いでしょうし、で、彼も、その方言と標準語の使い分けをしっかりと... できていますから... そこのところは... よく、元 ALT でタレントになっている... あのう山形弁の人がいますよね、ああいうような、ん、ま、それは一つの売りでしょうから

JT: そうですね。あの人、使い分けているとは言えないんですよね、ほとんど方言だけですよね

Nakamura: そうですね... そこのところではありませんので、Sam さんも... だからそこのところでは、うん、しっかり、うん、使い分けができとるかというような気はします

JT: Have you ever heard ALTs using dialect?

Nakamura: I've never heard ALTs using dialect. But, well, an ALT, someone who was an ALT before, um, when I was in Takekawa Town, well, that ex-ALT... he uses the

Takekawa Dialect. So, well, he's put down roots there... so in that situation, after all, one has a lot of opportunities to use dialect, and so he really distinguishes between using dialect and Standard Japanese ... he does that well ... there's a former ALT who's a celebrity ... um, the one who uses Yamagata Dialect, someone like that, well, I guess that's part of his act [how he sells his act]

JT: Yes, right. We can't really say he distinguishes, right, it's just almost all dialect isn't it.

Nakamura: yes, that's right ... Sam doesn't do it like that ... in that regard, well, it seems like he distinguishes very well

In this excerpt, Nakamura answered no, that he had not heard any ALTs using dialect (although it is interesting to note that other L1 participants reported they had heard ALTs using dialect).

Nakamura next described Sam, an L2 speaker who is a former ALT and, at the time of the interview, was still working as an English teacher in Ehime (and who was also a participant in this study). Nakamura described Sam as using the local dialect, which Nakamura saw as evidence that Sam had “put down roots” (*ne o orsohite*) in the community. Nakamura praised Sam's skillful control of switching between dialect and Standard Japanese. Nakamura also mentioned a dialect-using celebrity who offers another example of the commodification of dialect. Although Nakamura acknowledged that dialect was part of the act for the celebrity, describing dialect as one of the ways the celebrity sells his act, Nakamura favorably compared Sam and Sam's ability to distinguish when to use or not use dialect, in comparison to the dialect celebrity, who is famous for using only dialect. These comments further show Nakamura's concern with making appropriate choices between dialect and standard, something that the celebrity was seen not to do.

Next, I asked Nakamura if he ever thought it sounded strange to hear Sam use dialect:

JT: じゃあ、Samさんが方言を使って、先生は違和感を感じるということはありませんか。

Nakamura: はないですね... その時は、もう、違和感というよりかは、あこの人はしっかりここに根を下ろしているんだと ... やっぱそういうふうな思いのほうがいすごいですよね

JT: so Sam uses dialect, do you ever think it sounds strange?

Nakamura: no, I don't... that time [when he uses dialect], well, rather than sounding strange, I think, oh this person has really settled in here... his feeling [of settling in] is really great

Nakamura's response here shows the respect he felt for Sam's language use, both Sam's ability to use the local dialect and the meaning that Nakamura ascribed to that, namely that Sam's dialect use represented strong connections and commitments in the area. By evaluating Sam's dialect use positively, Nakamura shows the value he placed on dialect as a symbolic marker of one's connection to the community. This is similar to Yoshio's depiction of William's understanding of (Yoshio's) dialect as representative of a tighter friendship. In addition, because Nakamura stressed Sam's ability to make distinctions about when to use standard versus dialect (in contrast to the celebrity who made no such distinctions), this comment is also consonant with Nakamura's earlier comment in which he expressed concern about exclusive use of dialect by an ALT.

After the above excerpt, I continued with the dialect-related questions from the interview protocol and asked Nakamura about his views on dialect and L2 speakers in general:

JT: 愛媛に住む ALT なり外国人なり、は方言を理解する必要があると思いますか。そして、使う必要があると思いますか。

Nakamura: いえ、その必要性はないと思います。ただ、あのう、一つ、地域に溶け込む、... 地域の人たちとより親しくなる、という手法として、その方言を身につけるといいうのも一つの方法ではないかと思いますが... 特にそれに固執する必要はないんじゃないかなゆう気がします

JT: So for ALTs or foreigners who live in Ehime, do you think it's necessary for them to understand dialect. And is it necessary for them to use dialect?

Nakamura: No, I don't think that's a necessity. But, well, one thing is, to become integrated into the community... to become more friendly with the local people, I think one way to do that is to learn dialect... though I feel there's no need to enforce that

In this question, I combined the questions about understanding and use (because the interview time was limited). As a result, it is not quite clear whether Nakamura thought both understanding and use were unnecessary or whether his response was mainly related to use. Nevertheless, after first saying it was unnecessary, Nakamura added that if an ALT wanted to fit in or become more integrated into the community, acquiring dialect was one method to make that happen. However, Nakamura also added that it was not necessary to insist that ALTs learn dialect. Nakamura's comments are similar to those of many other L1 participants; this idea that dialect abilities would facilitate fitting in to the community was shared by almost all L1 participants.

The next excerpt came after I asked Nakamura about whether his views about L2 speakers' Japanese language use, including dialect and other language use, changed depending on whether the speaker was male or female.

Nakamura: んん、そうですね、特に取り立てて、男性だからこうやないといけん、女性だからこうじゃないといけん、そういうような思いはありません...ただ、あのう、子供と接する... 立場ですから... やはりそここのところは、あのう、ある程度あのう、使う日本語は子供の手本になる... 例え、片言であったとしても... やはり、あのうスラングのような、ま、隠語のようなものも日本にもありますし、やはりそういった言葉はやっぱ成長期の子供に相応しくないんで... そこの使い分け... をしてもらえれば... やっぱそれは例え片言であっても... OK やと思います

Nakamura: yes, well, not especially, I don't think that because someone's male they have to be this way, or female they have to be this way... but, well, they are in the position of interacting with children... so to a certain extent, the Japanese they use will become the children's role model ... so for example, even if it's broken Japanese, there's slang or code words in Japan, that kind of language isn't appropriate for children in their

formative years so... I want them [ALTs] to ...make that kind of distinctioneven if it's broken Japanese... I think it's ok

Here, Nakamura began by stating that he did not have any specific opinions about how an L2 speaker should speak based on whether they were male or female. However, he explained that because ALTs work with schoolchildren, the Japanese language they used would become a model for the children. Nakamura explained that even if an ALT was only able to speak *katakoto no nihongo*, “broken Japanese,” it was very important that they not use slang or other kinds of inappropriate language. Nakamura added that because children were in their formative years, it was very important for ALTs to distinguish between what kinds of speech would be appropriate or not. This comment is consistent with his earlier comments about making appropriate usage distinctions, suggesting how his expectations for teachers in general may have influenced his beliefs about the language use of L2 speakers who were teachers through their ALT positions. Throughout his interview, Nakamura showed both the importance he placed on dialect's role in the community as well as his view that making appropriate speech style choices was crucial. In contrast, Naoki, introduced next, did not appear to attach much significance to dialect use.

4.3.4. Naoki

Naoki, from Koyama, was in his 20s at the time of the interview, was the youngest L1 participant in my study, and was the only L1 participant in the 20-29 age group. Naoki was introduced to me by Scott and he knew many other L1 and L2 participants in my study (including those who lived in Koyama as well as elsewhere in Ehime). At the time of the interview he was independently employed, and his previous position was as an office worker in a local company, so he was also one of the few L1 participants who did not work either as a public school teacher or as a city office worker. Unlike most other L1 participants, Naoki reported that he rarely used dialect, and I did not observe him using dialect during the interview or at other times when I met with him.

During Naoki's interview, dialect came up before I asked about it when Naoki mentioned that the ALTs he knew sometimes asked him about the meaning of dialect words, so I also asked if he ever heard any L2 speakers using those terms.

JT: あのう、さき、Koyama の言葉とおっしゃったんですけど、あのう、彼らも方言とか Koyama の言葉を使っているのを聞いたことありますか。

Naoki: ありますね。

JT: どんなのを使っているんですか。

Naoki: えーとですね。ええ、あのう、なんだっけな、しよらんとか... そういう、あとは、なんとか ... それなんとかよく言うんですよ

JT: well, so earlier you talk about dialect, so well, have you ever heard them using dialect, or Koyama language?

Naoki: Yes, I have.

JT: What kind do they use?

Naoki: Well, let's see... hmm, um, what was it, shiyoran ((not doing)).... that kind, what else, nan-na or something, they often say *sore nan-na* ((what's that))

Here, after a bit of thought, Naoki gave two examples of dialect expressions he had heard L2 speakers use. The examples he gave were 1) *shiyoran* “be not doing” (JS: *shite-inai*), in which the present progressive and negative are conjugated using dialect morphology, and 2) *nan-na* “what” (SJ: *nani*), which is a lexical interjection. I asked where he thought L2 speakers learned these expressions and whether Naoki used these kinds of expressions himself:

JT: 彼らは、そういう表現をどこで学んでると思いますか。Naoki さんご自身はそのような言葉を使いますか。

Naoki: んん、こう普段では使わないですけど、あのう、おじいちゃんおばあちゃんとか、古い年代の人とこういうことを言うよ、面白いやろう? という、の会話の時にそういうのは言ったりしますね ...

JT: じゃあ、あのう、同級生とかと話す時はあまり使わないんですか。

Naoki: 同級生？自分の同級生ですかね

JT: はい

Naoki: たまに、そこまで、こう、ああ、言わないですけど、軽く、がいなとか、そういうことは言いますけど

JT: しよらんとか

Naoki: しよらんとかは言いますね

JT: Where do you think they learn those expressions? Naoki, do you use that kind of language yourself? ((e.g. dialect))

Naoki: Well, I don't usually use it, um, I might say, grandpa and grandma or older generations say things like this, isn't it interesting, or something, so in a conversation I might talk about that ...

JT: so, then, you don't use it when you're talking to your old school friends?

Naoki: Old school friends? My old school friends?

JT: yes

Naoki: Sometimes, but I don't use it that much, maybe, casually, I'll say something just like gaina or something

JT: What about shiyoran?

Naoki: I do say shiyoran

First, Naoki stated that he did not use dialect, outside of the context of giving examples of the kinds of dialect one might hear when talking with older generations. Next, I asked if he ever used dialect when talking with former school-mates (this question came from the fact that other L1 participants sometimes described using dialect with people they had known since elementary school etc.) After repeating the question, he sounded a bit hesitant, saying “sometimes, but not that much” and then giving one example, *gaina* “really/very” (SJ: *sugoi, taihen*). Making reference to an example that Naoki had mentioned earlier in the interview, I asked him if he ever used *shiyoran* (which had come up earlier), he laughed and said that he did use that word. This exchange suggests one of the complexities involved in talking about dialect, namely the question

of what speakers think of when asked questions such as “do you use dialect.” It may be the case that Naoki was originally thinking of lexical examples of dialect, as in the example, *gaina*, he gave here, and, as such, in his initial reply he may not have been considering other types of dialect tokens. However, when I asked about a specific example, *shiyoran*, which Naoki had mentioned earlier in the interview, he laughed and acknowledged that he did indeed use that expression. This exchange can be better understood within the context of other L1 interviews in which participants (e.g., Sugimoto) reported that they did not use dialect even as they were using various morphological dialect tokens. We might speculate that Naoki did use some dialect tokens (although unlike some other L1 participants, he did not use those forms in the interview). However, regardless of whether or to what degree he used those forms, what is important here is that, unlike most other L1 participants, Naoki depicted himself as someone who did not regularly or habitually use dialect.

I next asked Naoki if he liked dialect:

JT: この Koyama の方言というかま、伊予弁、愛媛の方言は好きですか。

Naoki: 好きですね。

JT: なんで s- どうしてですか。

Naoki: やっぱりこう、人情味がある、あたたかい感じですかね、こう、ん、田舎、という感じですよ... 都会ではなく、カントリーな

JT: Do you like Koyama Dialect, or well, Iyo-ben or Ehime’s Dialect?

Naoki: Yes, I like it

JT: Wh- why?

Naoki: Well, after all, it has a feeling of a human touch and a feeling of warmth, so and well, a country feeling ... not urban but country ((or rustic))

In spite of Naoki's earlier depiction of himself as someone who rarely used dialect, here Naoki said that he liked dialect. In his answer, he expressed sentiments similar to many other L1 participants in describing dialect as having a sense of humanity and warmth to it. He also described dialect as "country," rather than urban, and he explained this by using both the Japanese word *inaka* and the English word "country" with Japanese pronunciation, *kantorii*. Given that this was presented as an explanation for why he liked dialect, both *inaka* and *kantorii* appear to have a positive connotation, perhaps a romanticized vision of the countryside, reminiscent of the positive nostalgia mentioned above.

I also asked Naoki if he ever intentionally tried to use dialect. When he hesitated, I added "excluding times when you're talking to grandpas and grandmas," since he had earlier described dialect as being used by older generations, and here is what he said:

JT: あのう、あえて方言を使おうと思う時はありますか... おばあちゃんおじいちゃんとか、そういうご年配の方と話す以外の時は

Naoki: ん、あえて、こう、なんででしょうね、こう、意図的に話すというか、こんな言い方あるよ、みたいな、面白いフレーズがあるよ、そういう時だけですよね... ん。かな。だから、ま、自然に出てるかもしれないんですけど、自分が気づかないうちに

JT: Well, is there ever a time when you think you'll intentionally use dialect? ... Besides times when you're talking to grandpas and grandmas or people from older generations?

Naoki: um, intentionally, hmm, I wonder, well, using it intentionally, I think only when I say something like, there's this kind of expression, here's a funny phrase, only times like that, yeah, so, well, I guess there's times when it [dialect] comes out naturally, when I'm not aware of it

Here Naoki described himself as not using dialect intentionally, with the exception of times when he told L2 speakers about dialect as a way to talk about something that was fun. He also noted that there may be times when dialect "comes out naturally" (*shizen ni dete-ru*) and he was

not aware of it. His answer here differed significantly from many other L1 participants who described specific situations in which they used dialect. For those L1 participants, dialect was seen as playing an important role in interpersonal relationships or functioning as a resource for specific interactional goals. However, for Naoki, dialect was not described in those ways. Further, the one example he gave was not of dialect use per se but rather an example of meta-talk *about* dialect.

I also asked Naoki if there were any times he intentionally tried to avoid dialect, to which he replied:

Naoki: ありますね

JT: どういう時ですか

Naoki: やっぱり、方言だとより理解できないところもあるんですね、だからみんな標準語を勉強してるというのが、きっと、海外の方は標準語で日本語を勉強して、で日本に来られているという、みんなそういう意識があるんじゃないかなと思って、一応標準語に直して、すると伝わるんじゃないかという

JT: んん、じゃあ、その外国人の友達と話す時はあまり、方言が出ないようにしてるわけですか。

Naoki: そうですね。

Naoki: yes, there are

JT: like when?

Naoki: Well, after all, if it's dialect, sometimes it can't be understood, so everyone studies Standard Japanese, probably, I think everyone is aware that people from overseas study Standard Japanese and then come here, so, I guess if I just change it to Standard Japanese, it'll be understood

JT: um-hm, so then, when you talk to your foreign friends, you don't really, you try not to use dialect

Naoki: yes, that's right

In his answer, Naoki stated that dialect can sometimes be hard to understand. He also described his understanding that L2 speakers generally study Standard Japanese before coming to Japan, so if he felt that if he “changed it to Standard,” what he was saying would be understood by L2 speakers. Note here that although my question was not focused on L2 speakers, Naoki’s answer was. Further, he explained that “everyone” (*minna*) was aware that L2 speakers study Standard Japanese, but it is not clear who this “everyone” might be. Naoki might have been referring to his L1 speaking friends, or possibly to all L1 speakers who interact with L2 speakers. In addition, what Naoki described here can be seen as another kind of distinction-making (*tsukai-wake*), although he did not label it as such. Whereas other L1 participants talk about making distinctions between dialect and standard depending on the context (e.g., workplace or not) and interlocutors’ relationship (e.g., friends or strangers), Naoki’s account can be seen as making distinctions based on whether interlocutors were L1 or L2 speakers, in particular because he described “changing it to Standard Japanese.” This comment does not directly mention a concern with the difficulty of dialect, something mentioned by other participants (e.g., Hamada, Yoshio, and others). However, Naoki’s comment does imply a belief that studying Standard Japanese alone will not facilitate understanding of dialect.

I next asked Naoki if he thought it was necessary for L2 speakers in Ehime to be able to understand or use dialect, and followed up by asking whether he thought L2 dialect use was odd:

JT: あのう、愛媛に住む外国人、は、やっぱ方言を理解することは必要だと思いますか。

Naoki: んん、そこまでは思わないですね。

JT: そんなには、ま重要ではない

Naoki: ん。

JT: じゃあ、同じく、ここに住む外国人、方言を使うことは必要だと思いますか。

Naoki: 必要ではないと思いますね。

JT: んん、じゃあ使わなくても、別に。使っても、どうですか、こう、違和感を感じるとか

Naoki: 全然ないですね

JT: 使っても使わなくても、みたいな感じですか。

Naoki: そうですね。

JT: So, for foreigners who like in Ehime, do you think it's necessary for them to be able to understand dialect, after all?

Naoki: mmm, I don't think so, not to that extent

JT: So, it's not that important?

Naoki: yeah

JT: Well, then in the same vein, for foreigners who live here, do you think it's necessary for them to use dialect?

Naoki: No, I don't think it's necessary

JT: mm, then, they could not use it, or use it... how about that, do you feel it's odd [if they use dialect]?

Naoki: no, not at all

JT: So, like, they can use it or not use it

Naoki: yes, that's right

Naoki's answer here is similar to those of other L1 participants, namely that neither dialect understanding nor use was necessary, and, further, that if L2 speakers did use dialect, he did not find it odd. Although this view (of dialect ability as not necessary) is shared by most other L1 participants, Naoki's answer differs from other L1 participants in that he did not discuss any benefits to be had for L2 speakers who did use dialect. This is not surprising given that Naoki reported that he did not use dialect himself, but it does contrast with numerous other L1

participants who described dialect use by L2 speakers as beneficial in various ways. Ultimately, it appears that, for Naoki, dialect was little more than a fun conversation topic. One question Naoki's stance raises is whether it is representative of a younger generation for whom dialect is less relevant. Because Naoki was the only L1 participant in the 20-29 age group, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about how common his viewpoint may be for others in that age group. In addition, research in dialectology documenting the dialect revival and increasing interest in dialect on the part of young people has centered on young people in Tokyo so we cannot extrapolate those findings to young people in less urban areas like Ehime. Regardless of how common Naoki's stance may be, he offers a contrast to the other L1 participants introduced in this chapter and suggests that L2 speakers may encounter a diversity of stances with regard to dialect use and its relevance.

4.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have introduced dialect products in the visible environment and examined the interview data of four L1 participants. Examining dialect products shows how dialect can be used in public spaces for a variety of goals, including local branding as a way to associate Ehime (or a local area) with positive stereotypes of dialect's warmth and nostalgia. When dialect is used in signage, it can act as a marketing tool to sell a product to a range of potential customers, as seen in the bakery sign. Dialect usage can also serve a more immediate goal of communicating a message to a more limited audience, as seen in the traffic safety sign, and in that case, dialect can be used to soften the message. Dialect can also be described rather than used, as was seen in the airport sign, which informs readers how they should feel about dialect, namely, a sense of homecoming and a feeling of positive nostalgia. This kind of signage draws on a generic notion of dialect, rather than utilizing a specific dialect, and allows the reader to imagine whichever

dialect he or she prefers. Dialect is also commodified in the form of merchandise, in which the dialect itself becomes an object for sale, as was seen in the souvenirs and digital products introduced above. Dialect merchandise presents dialect as something playful and fun. The last dialect product introduced was digital and print media in which dialect is documented, codified and compared to Standard Japanese. These products reinforce linguistic ideologies of dialect as warm and friendly, and imply that dialect is both in need of and worth preserving.

In the examination of L1 participant interview data, the same sorts of linguistic ideologies were seen in how participants described their beliefs and perceptions about dialect both in general and also with regard to L2 speakers. L1 participants in this study overwhelmingly depicted dialect in positive ways, with most describing dialect as warm and friendly. Many L1 participants also associated dialect with positive feelings toward one's hometown. Hamada, for example, described dialect as a way to both tell where someone's hometown was and as a way to show one's affection for that hometown. She also saw dialect as revealing the identity of the speaker. Nakamura took a larger view in saying that dialect is "the country's treasure," and echoed concerns with dialect's preservation by describing his desire to protect dialect (*daiji ni shitai*). At the same time, almost all L1 participants discussed the importance of making distinctions between when to use Standard Japanese and when to use dialect. Dialect was described as appropriate for use with friends: some L1 participants described using dialect to make an interaction more friendly, while others described using dialect only with people who were closely trusted. Hamada, along with others, reported using dialect intentionally as way to match her speech to that of her (dialect-using) interlocutors.

Conversely, Standard Japanese was generally described as appropriate for workplace and formal interactions, and was often treated implicitly as the default speech style in these situations.

Words like “pretty” to describe Standard Japanese and attention to the importance of making appropriate speech style choices reinforced this. Further, some L1 participant comments suggest that the default speech style expected of L2 speakers was Standard Japanese and thus L1 speakers had a responsibility to use Standard Japanese when speaking with L2 speakers.

At the same time, a few L1 participants, including Yoshio, also described their views of Standard Japanese as being distant or as possibly making interlocutors (who were Ehime residents) uncomfortable, and this was given as another reason for dialect use. Yoshio, in particular, described using dialect in situations that would otherwise seem to warrant the use of Standard Japanese – namely business interactions in which he used dialect as a marketing tool to direct at people, potential customers, who were *not* from Ehime. While no one else described dialect use for business goals, Hamada described her efforts to acquire the local dialect when she moved to a different region within Ehime. This (new) dialect use was depicted as a conscious decision undertaken to better integrate into the new community. These depictions demonstrate how dialect use was viewed as an important interactional resource by most of the participants.

Taken as a whole, L1 participants’ views about dialect were overwhelmingly similar. The ways that L1 participants differed were in how they described their stances toward their own dialect use. Among those who reported using dialect (which the vast majority did), there were differences in how they described the situations in which they used dialect. The greatest difference, however, was seen in the few L1 participants who reported that they did not use dialect very much or at all. For these participants, such as Naoki, dialect was not depicted negatively – in fact, L1 participants who reported dialect non-use nevertheless expressed many of the same positive views of dialect expressed by those who also reported using dialect themselves. For them, dialect was depicted as a fun topic of conversation but little more. In

Naoki's comments in particular, it seems that dialect was connected to the language of grandparents, thus making it less relevant for his own use.

L1 participants' comments were also strikingly similar with regard to how they viewed the relevance of dialect for L2 speakers. First, although almost no one described dialect comprehension or dialect use as being necessary for L2 speakers, dialect was often described as an additional challenge to L2 speakers who were already struggling to learn Standard Japanese. Both Yoshio and Hamada mentioned the difficulty that dialect might pose for L2 speakers, while Nakamura described his concern with the possibility that an L2 speaker might use only dialect to the exclusion of Standard Japanese. At the same time, most L1 participants (with the notable exception of Naoki) described various benefits that would arise if L2 speakers did use and understand dialect. For example, Hamada reported that she would think positively of L2 speakers who used dialect. Nakamura (and several others) also described dialect use as one tool that L2 speakers could use to integrate better and more quickly into their local communities in Japan. Yoshio viewed dialect as a shortcut to becoming friendly with someone and felt that using dialect encouraged interlocutors to be more open to him and he depicted dialect as having the potential to play a similar role for L2 speakers, and specifically in his friendship with William.

The depictions of dialect and dialect use introduced in this chapter lay the foundation upon which findings from L2 participants, taken up in the next chapter, can be better understood. Positive depictions of dialect, as well as dialect's connection to the (sometimes symbolic) notion of hometown, suggest not only the role that dialect plays in interpersonal relationships and memberships in local communities, but also the possibility for dialect to function, or be perceived to function, as an insider's code. Standard Japanese, on the other hand, acts as the default in professional or formal interactions, and may be the expected speech style for use by L2

speakers. At the same time, it can also be perceived as distant, hinting at potential drawbacks to the sole use of Standard Japanese. It is in this context that L1 participants' oft-repeated comments about making distinctions (*tsukai-wake*) between standard and dialect can be understood, since being able to determine which speech style is appropriate in a given situation is perceived to have implications for the outcome of those interactions. Thus, competing ideologies of standard as appropriate and dialect as warm and friendly reveal the complexity of navigating between the two speech styles.

As Chapter 5 will show, L2 participants shared many beliefs and perceptions with the L1 participants described in this chapter. It is the ways in which they differed that will help us better understand the implications of speech style choices for L2 speakers.

CHAPTER 5: L2 SPEAKERS AND JAPANESE DIALECT POSSIBILITIES AND PITFALLS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I analyze interviews with L2 participants in order to examine their stances toward their own dialect use. (See Appendix F for a sample L2 participant interview protocol.) In particular, I consider what factors emerged as salient in L2 participants' descriptions of their beliefs and perceptions about Japanese Dialect versus Standard Japanese and how they took those factors into account as they negotiated the Japanese linguistic choices available to them. I also pay close attention to how the orientation and salience of specific factors varied across participants. In addition, I consider how L2 participants perceived the role that dialect played in their memberships in various communities. As an examination of interviews shows, L2 participants reported a range of beliefs and perceptions about dialect. They also reported stances toward their own dialect use, and it should be noted that beliefs and stances were not always linked in direct or obvious ways. For example, participants might have perceived positive benefits from dialect use but chose not to use it themselves. Alternatively, a participant with some negative beliefs about dialect might nevertheless have felt compelled to use dialect. Broadly speaking, participants reported three main dialect use stances: 1) dialect use, or incorporation of dialect into their Japanese linguistic repertoire; 2) dialect non-use, or rejection of dialect; and 3) ambivalence toward dialect use, in which participants struggled to decide whether to use dialect. Although participants may have shared the same dialect use stance, the processes by which they constructed their stances could be very different. The following factors emerged as most salient for participants: a) memberships, b) identity and voice, c) trajectories,

and d) linguistic ideologies. These factors took shape differently for each participant and examining how participants negotiated complex constellations of factors is a useful way to understand how, and why, dialect use stances varied in the ways found in this study.

Participants reported a variety of factors when they described how they arrived at their dialect-related beliefs and perceptions, and which factors were depicted as salient varied from one participant to another. For example, one participant may have attended closely to whether or how his or her linguistic choices created or reinforced the “voice” that was seen as most in line with his or her desired identity. Another participant may have not attended explicitly to identity or voice concerns at all. Factors also tended to point toward, or be oriented to, a particular dialect use stance. For example, if a participant viewed dialect use as facilitating membership in a local community, then that participant’s membership concerns can be said to be oriented to a stance of dialect use. On the other hand, if a participant viewed Standard Japanese as an essential skill for membership in a professional community and dialect as a barrier to such membership, then that participant’s membership concerns can be said to be oriented to a stance of dialect non-use.

In the sections below, I first consider the factors that participants described in their interviews. I next introduce the dialect use stance groups and two participants in each group. Focusing on individual participants helps highlight the ways in which the orientation and salience of factors sometimes differed among participants with the same dialect use stance, as well as ways in which the orientation of factors could be similar for participants with different dialect use stances. By examining the dialect use stances reported by L2 participants and how they negotiated various factors in arriving at those stances, we can see that, although all L2 participants were faced with dialect-related choices, their ways of negotiating and navigating these linguistic choices were unique. For some participants, dialect use stances took shape

smoothly and with little or no contested negotiating. For others, dialect brought to the foreground membership concerns and stimulated questions about their status in local communities, forcing them to consider who they wanted to be in Japan, and how they wanted to sound in Japanese. It was in these ways that dialect could become a contested code choice in which both choices, to use dialect or not to use it, were perceived to have potentially undesirable consequences and far-reaching implications.

5.2. FACTORS

Before examining each dialect use stance, I first introduce the factors that participants attended to when discussing their dialect use stances and I explain how these factors can best be understood in individual participant contexts. Although I introduce the factors individually for ease of discussion, this should not be taken to mean that each factor is discrete or bounded. Instead there is overlap among factors and factors often influence each other, such that what may initially appear to be one factor (e.g., a participant's membership concerns) may also play a significant role in another (e.g., identity, envisioned future trajectory, etc.).

5.2.1. Membership

Membership refers to participants' views of themselves in terms of their relationships with others and their roles in various communities. As such, membership is inherently defined in relationship to others (this is also a key way that membership differs from identity, discussed below). A participant may be a member of numerous communities, including a workplace community, a neighborhood community, a community of local friends (L2 or L1 speakers), a community based around a hobby pursuit, such as music or sports clubs, a community of other JETs in Ehime. At the same time, a participant may attend to belonging to an imagined community (cf. Norton,

2000) such as “foreigners who speak Japanese” or “English speakers in Japan.” These communities may be more or less formalized and structured. For example, a workplace community is fairly structured and highly specified with clear roles for each member, and with most members regularly present. A hobby community may also be structured and involve regular practice or rehearsals, competitions or performances. On the other hand, a neighborhood community might be only loosely structured with interactions between members more haphazard and less frequent. While all L2 participants had multiple communities within which they fulfilled various types of membership roles, certain communities, and the memberships within them, carried greater salience for some participants than others. It is this salience that I draw on when discussing which membership roles became highlighted and were more closely attended to by individual participants.

5.2.2. Identity and Voice

Identity (e.g., Norton, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2008; Ohara 2001; Siegal 1994) refers to one’s sense of self, how one perceives oneself, and how one wants to be perceived by others (cf. Dörnyei, 2005). Voice (e.g., Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Hymes, 1996), which I treat as an embedded component of identity, refers to a participant’s concerns about, or desires for, how he or she sounds when speaking Japanese, including concerns about whether such features as accent and word choice fit with the participant’s sense of self. Drawing on Dörnyei’s (2005) notion of the “possible self” which represents “individuals’ ideas of what they *might* become, what they *would like* to become, and what they are *afraid* of becoming” (p. 99, emphasis in original), I take identity and voice concerns to include perceptions of idealized versions of self, and beliefs about how the actual self may or may not measure up to the ideal. The notion of voice is included here (rather than having it be assumed within the concept of identity) because it connects identity

explicitly to language and language use (in addition, some participants used the word “voice” themselves, which caused me to focus on voice early in my analysis). The notion of identity and voice is interpreted as especially salient when participants attend closely to how they sound, how they think they sound, how they want to sound, how they want not to sound, or whether a certain speech style fits their perceptions of their own voices.

5.2.3. Trajectories

Trajectories refer to a participant’s past, present, and future and include such things as place of residence, occupation (including work and schooling) and language learning trajectories.

Participants’ past trajectories include any past experience in Japan before coming to Japan as JET Programme participants and any past experiences learning Japanese and learning about Japan-related topics. An important piece of past trajectories is how participants understand their past experiences and the import that they attach to various past experiences. (In this regard, the notion of trajectories is similar to the ecological approaches put forth by researchers such as Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008). Present or current trajectories refer to what the participant is doing in the present (at the time of the interview) and how they understand and evaluate their current activities. Lastly, participants’ envisioned future trajectories refer to where they see themselves going in the future, both literally, in terms of where they plan to live and what kind of job they expect to be engaged in, as well as figuratively, in terms of any changes they envision for their identities and memberships. It should be noted here that, because my data consist of interviews taken at one point in time, I am not considering change over time. However, in their interviews, participants talked about past experiences and future plans, thereby making visible their understandings of these trajectories and making trajectories available as a tool for analysis. Trajectories are interpreted as salient when a participant makes extended reference to past

experiences or future plans as relevant to their language use practices or as reasons for particular linguistic choices.

5.2.4. Linguistic Ideologies

Finally, linguistic ideologies (cf. Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1992) refer to participants' attention to correctness in language use and to their understandings of social norms and local patterns of language use. Notions of correctness reported by participants include ideas about correct grammar and correct accent, as well as concerns about correct speech style based on situational and interlocutor-related features. Understandings of norms of language use include participants' reports about what kind of Japanese speech style use is expected and most appropriate in various situations, and also encompass their beliefs and perceptions about what kind of language use is most common in the local communities within which they live and work. Although I agree with the view that linguistic ideologies are always present and always factor into linguistic choices, some participants attended more closely to questions of correctness and expectations about and local norms of language use, and detailed their beliefs in interview talk. In such interviews and for such participants, then, linguistic ideologies are interpreted to be highly salient.

The factors introduced above all play a role in the linguistic choices participants make. As mentioned above, although each factor has distinct features, there is also a great deal of overlap among them and the boundaries from one factor to another are rarely distinct and often shifting. For example, there is a close connection between memberships and identity/voice in that both can be related to a person's sense of self. Where membership focuses on the self in relation to others, and one's role in relation to the roles of others, identity and voice are centrally concerned with the sense of self and how one perceives oneself, one's voice, and how one wishes

to be seen or perceived by others. Trajectories are likewise connected to memberships and identity and can include such things as how a participant understands the self in past experiences, what kind of a person he or she hopes to become and the memberships or community roles that are hoped for in the future. In addition, how trajectories are envisioned and understood influences the degree to which L2 speakers attend to linguistic ideologies of correctness and appropriateness. For example, if one hopes to enter into a professional career in Japan, membership in a professional community may be envisioned and Standard Japanese and honorific speech may be seen as indispensable abilities. Alternatively, a future trajectory in which one intends to stay in a rural community within the same workplace might lead to a greater focus on local memberships, with the result that correctness is deemphasized in favor of the friendliness perceived from using Japanese Dialect and casual speech styles. Thus, how linguistic ideologies are attended to is at least partly dependent upon a speaker's envisioned future trajectories. These are only a few examples of the ways in which the factors overlap, but they demonstrate that it is difficult to examine one factor in isolation from the others. In the sections that follow, I discuss each dialect use stance and introduce two participants who hold those stances. Close attention is paid to which factor emerged as most salient in each interview, allowing for an examination of how similar dialect use stances can result from different orientations and saliences of factors.

5.3. DIALECT USE STANCES

In order to better understand L2 participants' beliefs and perceptions about dialect, I first determined the dialect use stance for each participant based on interview talk, including comments participants made about dialect as well as answers to direct questions about dialect. The stances are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 L2 Participants' Dialect Use Stances

Name	Nationality (Race)	Age	DUS	Japanese Ability	Yrs in Japan	Rurality of residence
William	USA (Caucasian)	20s	use	advanced	2	very
Liam	USA (Caucasian)	20s	use	advanced	3	very /slightly
Sam	USA (Caucasian)	40s	use	advanced	15	very
Grace	UK (Caucasian)	40s	use	advanced	10	very
Paul	Scotland (Caucasian)	30s	use	advanced	11	slightly→capital city
Alyssa	USA (Caucasian)	30s	use	intermediate	9	very→capital city
Louis	USA (Hispanic-Amer)	30s	use	advanced	4.5	slightly
Austin	USA (Japanese-Amer)	30s	use	intermediate	4	slightly
Mike	USA (Caucasian)	30s	use	advanced	7	very→urban/metro
George	USA (Japanese-Amer)	20s	use	intermediate	3	slightly
Scott	USA (Caucasian)	20s	non-use	intermediate	1.5	slightly
Daniel	New Zealand (Caucasian)	20s	non-use	advanced	4	very→capital city
Nina	USA (Caucasian)	30s	non-use	advanced	9	very→urban/metro
Janet	UK (Caucasian)	20s	non-use	intermediate	2	slightly
Branden	USA (African-Amer)	20s	ambivalent	advanced	2	slightly
Melissa	New Zealand (Caucasian)	20s	ambivalent	intermediate	3	slightly
Elizabeth	USA (Caucasian)	20s	ambivalent	intermediate	3	capital city
John	Canadian (Caucasian)	40s	insufficient	beginning	5	very
Tyler	UK (Caucasian)	20s	insufficient	beginning	2	very
Fionna	UK (Caucasian)	20s	insufficient	beginning	1	very

(Names shaded and in bold are core participants introduced in this chapter; participants with insufficient Japanese language ability are not assigned a dialect use stance.)

It is notable that there are more participants in the use group, and that the ambivalent group has the fewest participants. This, however, should not be taken to have any quantitative significance, nor should it be taken to mean that more L2 speakers *in general* use dialect, only that for this group of participants, more were in the use group than otherwise. It may be the case that, for example, participants with a more positive stance toward dialect were more likely to agree to participate in the study. Alternatively, the low number in the ambivalent stance group might reflect a greater reluctance to participate in a study on Japanese language on the part of those with ambivalent feelings toward Japanese.⁴⁷ Another reason for the low number may be that an ambivalent stance toward dialect reflects a temporary stage that some L2 speakers experience but

⁴⁷ It should be noted that participant recruitment documents did not make mention of a focus or interest in dialect, but merely explained my interest in examining participants' beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language in general.

eventually move past. Regardless, of the participants in this study, a greater number took a stance toward dialect and incorporated dialect into their Japanese language repertoires in some form.

In order to facilitate a more in-depth cross-participant comparison, I selected six L2 participants, two from each stance group. These six participants share the following characteristics: They all had intermediate Japanese language ability or higher at the time of the interview. Based on observations as well as participants' self-assessment of Japanese language use and ability, intermediate or higher language ability coincided with greater frequency and variety of interactions in Japanese and with L1 interlocutors. In addition, although I was unable to conduct observations with all participants, I chose at least one participant in each stance group with whom I had conducted one or more observations. Although these observations are not described explicitly in this study, they allowed me to confirm participants' depictions of their Japanese linguistic environments and helped me to understand the stories and accounts participants gave of their experiences in Ehime. Further, the six participants introduced in this chapter were all current ALTs, and all were living in Ehime at the time of the interview. Some other L2 participants were former ALTs or CIRs, and some were living elsewhere in Japan at the time of the interview. By focusing on current residents of Ehime, I was able to ensure that these six participants shared a mostly similar linguistic frame of reference for dialect, namely, Ehime's dialect(s). Another shared characteristic was length of residence. As compared to other L2 participants who had been in Japan for ten years or more, the participants introduced below had all been in Japan for similar lengths of time: one participant had lived in Japan of a total of one and a half years, four had lived in Japan for two to three years, and one had lived in Japan for four years. This similar length of residence facilitated a comparison of participants' envisioned

future trajectories. Although some L2 participants were older and/or married, these participants were all in their 20s and unmarried at the time of the interview. Finally, I included a female L2 participant in this chapter in order to consider how gender may have played a role in participants' experiences. In the sections below, I detail two participants in each dialect use stance group and examine what factors were treated as salient in their interviews and how participants differed from each other.

5.3.1. Use, Incorporation of Dialect

Many of the L2 participants reported that they used dialect; in this section I introduce two of those participants, William and Liam, examine their beliefs and perceptions about their own dialect use, and consider what factors emerged as salient in their interviews. Both of these participants reported using dialect. William described dialect as a resource for fitting in to his local communities. Liam was very enthusiastic about dialect and felt that dialect and rough speech fit his self-image.

5.3.1.1. *William*

William reported a positive stance toward dialect use in his interview, reporting that he liked dialect, he liked to learn more about it, and he like to use it. In what follows, I introduce excerpts that demonstrate how William saw dialect as beneficial for membership concerns and show how past and future trajectories emerged as highly salient in his interview. By choosing to incorporate Japanese Dialect into his linguistic repertoire, William was able to create, display, and strengthen his memberships in local communities, especially his workplace and hobby communities.

William's past, current, and future trajectories were linked to Japan and Japanese language study and use. Although William had not visited Japan before beginning his ALT

position, he was interested in Japan and enjoyed manga. In college (in the U.S.), William majored in Japanese and was interested in Japanese literature. William also described his Japanese language learning trajectory as ongoing: At the time of the interview, after William had been in Japan for two years, he had advanced Japanese language ability (based on his answers to the self-assessment questions in the background questionnaire). In his JET position, William worked as an ALT in the town of Sasaoka-cho.⁴⁸ Sasaoka-cho is very rural in terms of location (especially proximity to the capital city), limited access to train lines, and limited local facilities such as hospitals, shopping malls and other entertainment facilities. Like many municipalities in Ehime (and in Japan), Sasaoka is the product of a recent merger between two formerly separate municipalities; the post-merger population was around 10,000. There were less than 100 foreign residents in Sasaoka (EPIC, 2013), although only two of these residents were from English-speaking countries. The total number of JETs (ALTs) was two at the time of the interview (although they worked in separate offices). Thus, in his daily life, both inside and outside of work, William had few opportunities to speak with other L1 speakers of English and most of his interactions (outside of teaching English classes) were conducted in Japanese.

One important activity for William revolved around his involvement in a traditional Japanese performing group,⁴⁹ a group he joined not long after arriving in Japan. William was the only non-Japanese member of the group; he attended rehearsals with the group twice a week, participated in public performances and attended frequent group social events as well. William's vision for his future trajectories included a continuing relationship with Japan. At the time of the

⁴⁸ *Cho* means town. Please note that all place names are changed to protect participants' anonymity (excluding Matsuyama, the capital of Ehime).

⁴⁹ Participants' hobby activities will not be specified in order to protect anonymity.

interview, he planned to work as a JET for the maximum five years,⁵⁰ and hoped to stay in Japan after JET as well. William's role in the performing group was clearly very important to him, and he reported that he hoped to continue his involvement in this performing art, even if he eventually moved away from Ehime. Because William saw himself continuing to reside in Japan, one of his goals was the further development of his Japanese language skills. To this end, he was studying for the second highest level (N2) of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT), with the ultimate goal passing of the highest level (N1). In addition to general study of Japanese language, William also described being attentive to his accent when speaking Japanese, and he seemed pleased to receive comments from L1 speakers that he had "very natural sounding Japanese," that he sounded "significantly more Japanese than a lot of westerners do," and that in the two years he has been in Japan, he had come to sound increasingly "*nihonjin-poku*" (like a Japanese person).

William's Japan-related and Japanese language learning trajectories overlapped with his membership concerns in that he perceived Japanese ability to play a role in membership. Although William was comfortable with his assessment of his accent and increasing fluidity in Japanese, he expressed concern about being able to participate in Japanese conversations without having to stop and ask for explanations or clarifications. When I asked William what was difficult about Japanese, he discussed difficulty understanding conversations in which key pieces of information are left unsaid, and he described difficulties because such conversations were fairly common:

JT: what would you say is the most difficult thing about Japanese?

⁵⁰ JET contracts are renewable on a yearly basis, for up to a maximum of five years.
<http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/faq/faq01what.html#08>

William: I know a lot of people would say kanji, but I don't necessarily agree. I think it's the omissions ... linguistically, how do you get away with saying nothing in a sentence but still having it mean something? But when you're trying to follow a conversation, you know, and especially as, you know, one, an outside person to the conversation, and two as, you know, a non-native speaker, you know like following the jumps that they're making, ah conversationally is actually really really rough ... if you're following someone in a conversation and they omit everything, you kind of either have to say like, wait can you go back and explain what you're talking about or you have to give up and let it go ... the conversation moves along so if you interrupt it, then, you know, you're, you look kind of like a jackass⁵¹

In this comment, William depicted himself in two ways, first as “an outside person to the conversation” and second, as “a non-native speaker.” The first descriptor can be seen as referring to his position in the interaction and his relationship to the other speakers, in other words as a newcomer, perhaps, to the workplace, or as someone without the appropriate background knowledge of the topic at hand. The second descriptor highlights his identity as an L2 speaker interacting with L1 speakers. In that context, William placed a great deal of importance on being able to understand without having to ask for explanation, and he actively disliked having to disrupt the conversational flow, saying that doing so makes “you look like a jackass.” Thus, in addition to avoiding “looking like a jackass,” not stopping a conversation to ask for explanation was a way for William to avoid drawing attention to his status as a non-native speaker.

The above comments suggest the connections that William perceived among Japanese language ability, membership, and identity. Japanese linguistic knowledge appears to have functioned as a resource for William to frame his participation and help him avoid disrupting the conversational flow. In addition to his concerns with Japanese language knowledge in general, many of William's comments, especially those introduced in the next excerpt, show that his interest in dialect in particular was a locus where language learning trajectories overlapped with

⁵¹ In English language interview excerpts, underlined text represents an important comment rather than something related to dialect, as in the Japanese interview excerpts.

membership concerns. This was particularly clear when William discussed the importance of dialect:

JT: do you think it's important for you to be able to understand dialect?

William: uh, I think for like day to day living, yeah. Um, and especially if you as a JET are trying to fit in, like, being able to understand it means that, you know, you're not having to constantly ask for clarification. And especially being able to use it in conversation shows the people that, you know, you're not just there to, you know, like dick around for a couple years and teach English and go back home, you're actually interested in the language and the people that you're around.

The above excerpt demonstrates that the importance of dialect knowledge for William lay in the fact that such knowledge facilitated his participation in interactions with L1 speakers. It is in this context that William's positive stance toward dialect use should be understood: he placed a high value on being able to understand dialect and he saw the understanding and use of dialect as facilitating membership and participation. It is also notable that, although I asked about the importance of understanding dialect, in his answer, William talked both about understanding and about using dialect. He characterized understanding dialect as important "if you're trying to fit in" and he viewed being able to use dialect as a way to display his commitment to the local community. In saying "*if you want to fit in,*" his comment acknowledges that not all L2 speakers may have fitting in as a goal, but for those who want to display a deeper commitment, dialect can be a useful tool. And indeed, for William, it was clear that he saw knowledge of dialect and the ability to use it as facilitating membership. As with his views about Japanese in general, William saw the understanding of dialect as a way to avoid interrupting the conversational flow, thereby avoiding calling attention to his status as a non-native speaker. Thus, dialect-related knowledge acted as a resource for accessing the local community and for managing his ongoing membership within that community. It is notable here that his views about dialect as a resource for fitting in

are similar to those expressed by Hamada in Chapter 4, in which she described her efforts to adopt dialect of the area to which she moved as a way to fit in to the new community.

As the above excerpt suggests, William's interest in incorporating dialect into his own Japanese linguistic repertoire was partly due to his view that dialect use was a way to strengthen his membership in his new community in Japan. It was also a way for him to distinguish himself from his former membership in an American college community:

William: I actually came to Sasaoka and I was sitting there and my hope was to learn the *hoben*⁵² (“dialect”) for the sole purpose of annoying the crap out of my professors because I wanted to be able to go back and just start speaking in *hoben* and have them go what are you saying? ... when I went back to [my college] I actually talked with one of my professors⁵³ a bit about the *hoben* and he thought it was really, it was quite fascinating.

This demonstrates that, for William, knowledge about dialect offered a way to display his current membership with the local community in Japan. At the same time, it allowed him to distinguish himself from his previous community by displaying to his American professors knowledge that he had acquired on his own and, specifically, knowledge that they did not have access to. In addition, the pleasure William seemed to find in knowing something about Japanese language that his former professors did not suggests another aspect of dialect: namely, that it facilitated access to insider knowledge which allowed William to depict himself as a member of the community in which dialect is used. The value of this insider knowledge was validated in the reported comment by the professor who described William's insider knowledge of dialect as “quite fascinating.” Thus, for William, another role of dialect was that it functioned as a type of

⁵² William mistakenly used the word *hoben* (practical) instead of *hogen* (dialect). It is likely that he confused the use of *ben*, which is used to refer to a particular dialect, with the *gen* of *hogen*, which is used when talking about dialects in general. I do not see this mistake as being significant or diminishing his remarks in any way.

⁵³ I confirmed that he was referring to professors who were American.

insider code, in which access to the code allowed him to position himself as an insider and a member.

When I asked William if he heard a lot of dialect in Sasaoka, he displayed the degree of his insider knowledge by not only offering examples of dialect that are relatively consistent across Ehime, in other words examples of Iyo-ben,⁵⁴ but also by discussing dialect tokens that are specific to the dialect of the town in which he lived, “Sasaoka-ben.” William shared several examples of Sasaoka-ben, labeling them as more or less common. One example of an uncommon dialect token is below, in which William talked about his coworker Yoshio, the participant examined in Chapter 4. Yoshio was also the *fuku-kaicho*, assistant leader, of William’s performing group. In the following excerpt, William described Yoshio as using “words that literally nobody else knows.”

William: there are certain individuals, one of whom is the *fuku-kaicho* ((assistant leader)) of our [performing] group ... who uses words that literally nobody else knows ... like it’s really obscure Sasaoka-ben and it’s so funny cuz people rib him about it left and right you know and we make jokes when he’s not there, cuz one of the words is like *shamadarui*

JT: *shamadarui*?

William: yeah it basically means like *darashi-nai* ((sloppy)), like you know, you look ridiculous ... but he’ll just, like he uses it so often, and it’s become like this thing, and you think of him and it’s like *shamadarui*! ... and so people rib him about it, right and he’s a good sport, he takes it all in stride, it’s pretty fun.

By giving an account of dialect “that nobody else knows,” William depicted himself as having sufficient insider knowledge to share with his coworkers the assessment that this dialect token was something unknown to others who were otherwise familiar with the local dialect. In addition, William readily offered an explanation of the dialect token in question, giving a Standard

⁵⁴ Iyo-ben is one of the ways people refer to the dialect of Ehime, Iyo is the older place name for Ehime, and *ben* means dialect.

Japanese equivalent in response to my question-like repetition of the dialect token he offered. More important than whether William's understanding of the word was accurate, what matters here is that he perceived it as such, which allowed him to display for me his insider knowledge of a dialect token to which he had access to and I did not. Further, William participated in teasing the *fuku-kaicho*, saying "we make jokes," and later "it's pretty fun." In these comments, and especially by using "we," William aligned himself with his coworkers and displayed his membership in the workplace community. Similarly, when I asked William whether he thought dialect was easy, he answered by sharing some forms that he used and others that he did not:

JT: um, do you think, well, I don't know if you want to separate Sasaoka and Iyo-ben, I'll leave that up to you, but do you think it [dialect] is easy, difficult?

William: um, it depends, like I've gotten relatively used to certain things. Like I use *kaman*⁵⁵ ((don't mind, JD abbreviated)) instead of *kamaimasen* ((don't mind, SJ polite)) um, or *kamawan* ((don't mind, JD)) I guess, ah, I've started using that pretty much exclusively, like I don't, the last time I, that would have been the first time I've said *kamawan* in like a year or so...

JT:., so do you- so you talked about *kaman*, so are there other dialect phrases that you use a lot?

William: uh, phooooo, not really, I mean, well I guess, I think it's Iyo-ben, we use *oru* ((be, JD)) instead of *iru* ((be, SJ)) quite commonly, so I'll use like *ken* ((because, JD)) in conversation, I use *ken*, and then *oru*, and like *kaman*, and then you know there's other stuff like that, you have the *gaina* ((tremendous, JD)) ...

JT: yeah, um, and then who do you use dialect with when you use it?

William: uh, pretty much everybody

Here we see William displaying his knowledge of dialect by giving an account of well-known dialect phrases that he used. He described his use of *kaman* as "exclusive" (i.e., he did not use the standard equivalent), thereby depicting his use of this dialect token as an established part of his Japanese linguistic repertoire. Further, as in the earlier excerpt, in this excerpt as well he

⁵⁵ Three other L2 participants, Louis, Daniel, and Melissa, mentioned *kaman* in their interviews. Also an L1 participant, Yoshio, used it in an interview. These examples are evidence of the great extent to which this dialect token is used, and also back up William's point about Iyo-ben.

used “we” when describing some of the dialect words he used, aligning himself with the L1 speakers in his local community who use those same dialect tokens. The use of “we” further serves to legitimize William’s dialect use, by depicting him as using the same language as everyone else, in other words, as conforming to local linguistic norms. Finally, in response to my question about with whom William used dialect, he responded “pretty much everybody,” again displaying dialect as a key component in his Japanese linguistic register.

As the above excerpts demonstrate, William had a positive stance toward dialect use and incorporated dialect tokens into his Japanese language repertoire. In addition, he took an active role in learning more about dialect, especially from his coworkers. His past trajectories included Japanese language study at an American college. His current trajectories were centered on cultivating memberships in workplace and hobby communities, while he envisioned his future trajectory continuing on its current path with a close connection to Japan and Japanese speakers. In addition, dialect knowledge was a resource for membership management: Using dialect tokens allowed William to display his interest in connecting with his L1 counterparts, and he used dialect and Japanese linguistic knowledge to manage his various memberships and to avoid drawing attention to his outsider status. Finally, William saw the value of dialect use as a way to display membership and commitment to the communities he was connected to in the present, and as a way to distinguish and separate himself from communities to which he was no longer connected. Next, I introduce Liam, who, like William, incorporated dialect use. However, Liam differed from William in the intensity of his enthusiasm for dialect.

5.3.1.2. Liam

Liam, like William, is in the group of participants with a positive dialect use stance. However, whereas William had both pre-JET Japanese language study experience and post-JET plans to

stay in Japan, Liam had neither Japanese learning experience prior to coming to Ehime, nor did he have any Japan-related plans for after he finished his JET tenure. Nevertheless, since coming to Ehime, Liam enjoyed studying Japanese and learning dialect. Liam's dialect use was closely connected to his view of dialect use as common where he lived, and his belief that dialect best fit his personality. Liam's feeling that dialect allowed him to express himself may explain why he was such an enthusiastic user of dialect, not only incorporating dialect, but actively embracing it. This was especially interesting since Liam did not have significant Japan-related past or future trajectories. However, it is likely that his trajectories (i.e., a past and envisioned future with little connection to Japan or Japanese language) may have played a role in his linguistic choices, even though trajectories were not highlighted explicitly in his interview. Namely, because he did not envision a need for Japanese skills in his future plans, there was no need for concern about acquiring Japanese which would be appropriate for workplace use, for example. Issues of identity and voice were highly salient in his comments, in which he reported that dialect fit his personality in spite of (or perhaps because of) his foreigner status. He also described his understanding that dialect was a key element of local linguistic practice. Thus, rather than a concern for any future language ability needs, Liam's positive view of dialect and his desire to incorporate dialect into his own Japanese linguistic repertoire were based on his enthusiasm for using dialect as a tool to communicate in ways that expressed his sense of self and his understanding that dialect use was expected in his community.

Liam's past trajectories did not include any experience with formal Japanese language instruction. Although he took one class on Japan (but not Japanese) in college and had visited Japan once as part of a short trip connected to that class, compared to most participants, Liam had little connection to Japan or Japanese culture before joining the JET Program. At the time of

the interview, Liam had been living in Japan for three years and was planning to return to the U.S. in a few months. He did not have any Japan-related plans for the future. Liam lived in Asahi-shi,⁵⁶ which is one of the larger cities in Ehime. Like many cities in Ehime, Asahi underwent municipal consolidation in the 2000s. Liam lived in what was originally one of the smaller towns, which, although it officially became part of Asahi in the consolidation, was geographically remote, making it difficult to get to the Asahi city center. Liam described his neighbors as being primarily fishermen and “old people.” In spite of the rurality of Liam’s neighborhood, Asahi itself was much less rural than many other towns in Ehime, in terms of shopping and entertainment facilities as well as ease of travel to Ehime’s capital city, Matsuyama (both by train and bus as well as by a modern highway). Like many JET participants in Ehime, Liam owned a car and this reduced the amount of isolation he might otherwise have felt due to his location. It also facilitated his participation in a traditional performing group, allowing him to drive to Matsuyama for weekly rehearsals.

One consequence of Liam’s past trajectory is that his lack of Japanese language background appears to have allowed him to bypass the struggle of trying to reconcile Japanese Dialect with previously-learned Standard Japanese, something other L2 participants described as a difficult or frustrating process. In spite of Liam’s lack of Japanese language background, after coming to Japan as an ALT, he studied Japanese using textbooks and was able to advance to the level of JLPT N2. Although his use of Japanese textbooks and his experience with the JLPT would suggest that he was developing a mostly Standard Japanese repertoire, Liam reported using dialect frequently:

JT: um, so you mentioned, so you use dialect some of the dialect, do you use it a lot?

⁵⁶ *Shi* means city.

Liam: oh I use it quite a bit... it's just more naturally for me to speak in it, rather than *hyoojungo* ((Standard Japanese)) because it's what I've learned naturally

Most notable here is Liam's response that he used dialect "quite a bit" and that dialect was more "natural" for him than Standard Japanese. He mentioned numerous times this notion that dialect use was natural for him. Further, like William, Liam described his use of the word *ken* as exclusive, saying that he did not use its standard equivalent, *kara*, thereby depicting his dialect use as well-established and unproblematic. When I asked Liam why he used dialect, he replied:

Liam: because it's what I learned firsthand... because I learned firsthand from speaking, so I learned mostly, I learned Japanese from being here, I made sure I progressed by using textbooks, but then for every, as much as I did stuff in textbooks, I then just learned stuff from drinking parties with old men. So, I've been learning Japanese through a combination of textbooks studying and then using it practically, so I have words, I know words that have come from both ... and all of my speaking practice has only ever come from using it locally, so I use it because that's how I speak Japanese, cuz that's how the people around me speak Japanese

Liam's comments describe his learning trajectory in a way that also makes an implicit claim about the legitimacy of his dialect use: it was "natural" for him to use dialect, because dialect was what he learned "firsthand," through speaking. This is also evident in how he displayed his identity as a Japanese speaker. Specifically, he made an identity claim that he was a particular kind of Japanese speaker: one who used dialect, because "that's how I speak Japanese." Thus for Liam, dialect use was a key part of his understanding of who he was as a Japanese speaker, namely, someone who used dialect as a matter of course. This identity claim was further legitimized by depicting it as in alignment with local language practices, in that he used dialect because "that's how people around me speak Japanese." For Liam, then, his past trajectories and current lifestyle may have facilitated his acceptance of dialect, since, unlike many L2 participants, Liam learned Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect at essentially the same time. Further, Liam saw dialect use as a central part of both his own linguistic repertoire as well as part

of local linguistic practice, and as such, he perceived his use of dialect as being in keeping with local norms, which in turn can be seen as a way for him to position himself as a member of his local community.

Liam described numerous contexts where he perceived dialect use to be the norm, including classroom talk in which teachers used dialect with students as well as other workplace and neighborhood interactions. As a result, Liam believed that he also needed to use dialect and avoid polite or Standard Japanese at schools to avoid being laughed at by the children he taught:

Liam: so I want to make sure, for one, this is where, a place where I feel, I like using *hoogen* and dialects⁵⁷ is that, at school, if I walk into a school with country hick kids, or the fisherman village kids, and say *desu kara* ((because, SJ polite)) or *achira ni* ((over there, SJ polite)) they make fun of me, cuz it sounds really silly to them, t- in a f- in a village of people who speak exclusively in hard dialect, to then walk in and be speaking what I guess would be the equivalent of in America and suddenly an English kid would walk in and speak very enunciated English, so that is one time where if I'm with the kids I particularly want to, I'm very careful about it, I can get very worried about how I sound, because they'll make fun of me, the children will make fun of you

Here we see evidence that Liam may have conflated polite or honorific language with Standard Japanese and causal language with dialect. However, regardless of whether or how he understood distinctions between Standard Japanese and dialect, what is important here is Liam's belief that there was a local expectation of dialect use, and that, as a result, he perceived the use of Standard Japanese as marked and as something that would incur undesirable consequences. Thus, in addition to Liam's language learning trajectory, in which he began his study of spoken Japanese in Asahi, thereby easing the process of incorporating dialect into his Japanese repertoire, Liam's understanding of linguistic ideologies and specifically of local norms of language use also pointed him toward dialect use.

⁵⁷ Although Liam said both "*hoogen* and dialects" here, I do not think this means he viewed dialect and *hoogen* as being separate or different. Throughout the interview, Liam used isolated Japanese words more frequently than other L2 participants, suggesting that inserting Japanese words into English was a habitual practice for Liam.

Another way Liam displayed his understanding of local linguistic norms was in his characterization of a certain amount of dialect use as being “the amount a normal person would use around here.” Liam shared the following comments with me when I asked if his former girlfriend (an L1 speaker of Japanese) used dialect:

JT: did she use a lot of dialect?

Liam: no, she, um, being from Asahi and also being from, particularly from the [neighborhood], she of course uses dialects and *hoogen* when she talks with her parents, and I would hear on the phone she'd use it. It wasn't particularly strong, it was just, say, the amount a normal person would use around here ...

JT: you mentioned that she used dialect to the level of what a normal person would use ... can you describe more what that is in your im- what's the level of dialect that a normal person uses

Liam: uh, a level of dial- in my mind there's a difference between just the normal amount of speaking with the dialect here and using things that particularly sound quite *gehin* ((vulgar)) or quite rude, rough, so there's sort of those two levels of *hoogen* here, there's just the normal amount of changing *shite-iru* ((is knowing, SJ)) to *shiyoru* ((is knowing, JD)) *to-ka* ((and so on)), *kittoru* ((is wearing, JD)) things like that is just sort of the lesser end of the *hoogen* but it's just sort of natural usage around here. Then you get a bit stronger things that just really sound more distinctly – oh and another thing would be instead of *kara* ((because, SJ)) using *ken* ((because, SJ)), *shiyoru ken* ((because is doing it, JD)) would just be sort of the amount that anyone around here is kind of using, unless they are trying, unless they aren't, purposely aren't using *hoogen*, whereas then there's stronger things like *shitton* ((is knowing, AD⁵⁸)), *netton* ((is sleeing, AD)), *nani tabetton* ((what are you eating, AD)), or other things such *ikiyuru* ((is going, JD)), *ikiyon* ((is going, AD)), *tabeyon* ((is eating, AD)), which is a bit more stronger, and then from there there's the things that sound a bit rougher such as using *ya*, *nani shiyon ya* ((what are you doing, AD)), *toka*, also using, and just for, casually referring to someone else as *omae* ((you, SJ casual))...

Here we see Liam's depiction of what he perceived to be “the normal amount” of dialect use in Asahi-shi. By using the word “normal,” Liam showed his understanding that there was more than one level of dialect, one of which was commonly used in everyday life and was therefore “normal,” while the other was rough, rude or vulgar. Interestingly, these “normal” dialect words

⁵⁸ AD here refers to Asahi Dialect, these dialect tokens are specific to dialect use in Asahi rather than in Ehime in general. Examples marked with JD are dialect tokens that are used throughout Ehime.

appear to be seen by Liam as the default forms of those words. In addition, after offering various examples of the “normal amount” of dialect and the “rougher” kind of dialect, Liam added “the amount that anyone around here is kind of using, unless they purposely aren’t using *hogen*.” This shows his perception that most people in his area used dialect most of the time, and that non-use of dialect only happened if it was done intentionally. From Liam’s comments here, we can see that he viewed his own dialect use as being in keeping with local norms, and he justified his use of dialect because dialect was what he has learned “naturally.”

Although Liam described his experience with dialect in a matter of fact way, during the interview he also described some experiences which suggest that, in the context of L1 speakers interacting with L2 interlocutors (i.e., with the L2 speaker as either speaker or hearer), dialect use could sometimes become a contested code choice. Specifically, there was tension between, on the one hand, Liam’s depiction of dialect as the local linguistic norm in general, and, on the other, his experiences which call into question whether or to what degree dialect use by or with L2 speakers was treated as normal or acceptable by L1 speakers. In discussing his girlfriend’s dialect use, Liam shared the following with me:

Liam: but she always said she couldn’t use it [dialect] with me, it just didn’t come naturally ...and that was probably because when we were, when we first started dating, she did have to slow down her speech for me, and my level was not at the l- was not where it is now ... the difference is she would go from saying things like *shite-iru* ((is doing, SJ)) which she would use with me, to using *shiyoru* ((is doing, JD)), [which she used with Japanese family and friends]

In this excerpt, Liam reported that his girlfriend did not use dialect with him because it did not “come naturally” for her to do so. He suspected that her lack of dialect use with him might have been due to his less proficient Japanese ability in the early stages of their relationship. Regardless of the reason, this experience did not seem to influence Liam’s choice about his own dialect use.

While the above excerpt dealt with the question of L1 speakers using dialect with Liam, in another excerpt, Liam also described how some L1 speakers reacted to the use of dialect when *he* used it himself. The following comment came in response to my asking Liam when he learned that Japanese has dialects:

Liam: I learned that almost right away because it's just very, topic, a big topic of conversation among a lot of Japanese people, oh what's, what's Iyo-ben, what's Asahi-ben ... and it's almost like *jiman* ((boasting)) in that many Japanese people just have conversations about what is that one, what's that *hoogen* ... so it came up a lot in conversation, also because it was what I was learning naturally from kids and things, people would be like, ah you're speaking *hoogen*, that's funny, cuz you're a foreigner

Here, Liam described learning dialect not only by hearing it in use, but also by hearing and participating in conversations about dialect. However, Liam also had the experience of being told that it was “funny” for him to use dialect because of he was a “foreigner.” Such a comment is suggestive of the types of linguistic ideologies to which he may have been exposed, namely a belief (held by at least some L1 speakers) that L2 speakers were not expected to use dialect. It is notable that Liam did not depict this as problematic, and that such comments did not appear to cause him to reconsider whether he might want to discontinue his own use of dialect (which is how another participant, introduced below, responded to similar experiences). Later in the interview, I returned to the question of how L1 speakers responded to his dialect use:

JT: so if you use dialect, do they make fun of you for using dialect?

Liam: um... yes, or that would be more like laughing, and adults do that a lot, because and really much more now than earlier, because now that I'm speaking so much and I'm using dialect so much, now it's getting very amusing of, look at the foreigner, he's speaking Asahi-ben, foreigners aren't supposed to speak Japanese like that, so that's happening a lot, and it might also be that I'm speaking particularly heavy accent, I'm speaking with a particularly heavy accent, I'm probably not sounding like a 25 year old Japanese man sounds like, I maybe sound like what a 25 year old fisherman shipbuilder sounds like, I maybe sound like what a 60-year-old old man sounds like, but my Japanese doesn't really match people's expectations, and then coupled with that, that I have an accent, I have an American accent when speaking Japanese which causes me to stress vowels and consonants in Japanese words more than a Japanese person would, so

therefore my accent might sound even a bit more kind of silly, cuz it's not only a heavy accent but it's also a heavy accent thrown in with an American accent

In answering my question about whether people made fun of him if he used dialect, Liam initially said yes but then qualified that by reframing it as laughing. This suggests that he may have wanted to present it in a less negative light than “make fun of” allowed. Liam also explained that, during his time in Ehime, he came to use dialect more (perhaps as his Japanese skills have improved overall), and again he made reference to reactions of L1 speakers that “foreigners aren't supposed to speak Japanese like that,” in other words, foreigners are not expected to speak the local dialect. This can be taken as a report of linguistic ideologies at play, in which L2 dialect use may be censured. By continuing to use dialect in spite of such comments, Liam may have used dialect as a way to perform an identity and his comments here (and those introduced below) suggest he may have enjoyed the fact that his Japanese did not “match people's expectations” of how a foreigner should sound. At the same time, he also speculated on possible reasons for L1 speakers' reactions to his Japanese use, considering reasons that found explanations beyond his foreigner-ness: in describing his own “heavy accent” as including both an American accent as well as an accent that sounded like “what a 60-year-old old man sounds like,” Liam acknowledged that there may have been at least two ways in which his speaking seemed incongruent to L1 interlocutors: first, he was using a local dialect with a mismatched (non-local) accent, and second, although he was in his early twenties, he described his language use as either more appropriate for someone much older, or more appropriate for someone who worked as a fisherman rather than as an English teacher. In spite of these potential issues, and in spite of reactions from L1 speakers that suggested it might be more appropriate for him to not speak the way he was, Liam continued to use dialect and clearly enjoyed doing so. What is more difficult to assess is whether Liam enjoyed using dialect *because* of its incongruence as a speech

style for a “foreigner,” or if he felt that adhering to local linguistic norms was a way to frame his participation as that of a member rather than an outsider.

These various excerpts present a complex view of Liam’s perceptions of the local linguistic norms of dialect usage, and describe experiences in which dialect use *by* him or directed *at* him was sometimes contested. We may well wonder why Liam’s enthusiasm for dialect was not dampened by these experiences, especially since for some other participants (e.g., Melissa) experiences of being laughed at for dialect use resulted in wanting avoid dialect use. The answer appears to lie in Liam’s belief that dialect allowed him to express himself and that it was a resource for the expression of his identity and voice.

Unlike William, who did not make identity or voice salient in his narrative, Liam was attentive to issues relating to language use and identity, in particular how he sounded and wanted to sound when speaking Japanese. Throughout the interview, Liam made reference in various ways to his identity as a speaker of Japanese. He also stressed the central role that Japanese played in his daily linguistic repertoire, for example, in comments such as the following: “basically every day I use Japanese more than I use English.” Using Japanese was important enough to Liam that he was willing to impose its use even with Japanese interlocutors who might otherwise have preferred to use English with him. Liam described numerous ways in which he attempted (and often succeeded) to ensure that conversations with L1 speakers would be conducted in Japanese. For example, he described interactions (one in particular a workplace, though not classroom, interaction with a Japanese teacher of English) in which the Japanese L1 speaker began in English, but Liam persistently responded in Japanese in order to force the conversation into Japanese. Which language gets chosen was contested, and the ultimate choice had implications for Liam’s status as a speaker of Japanese. It is in this context that we can

understand Liam's commitment to use dialect in spite of suggestions by L1 speakers (jokingly or otherwise) that he should use Standard Japanese. This is because, for Liam, dialect use was an essential part of his identity as a Japanese speaker.

Liam clearly enjoyed what he viewed to be the rough parts of dialect, as well as a rough speech style not specific to dialect and he was proud of his ability in these kinds of speech. For example, he told me that he was "very good at the very bad, rough sounding Japanese." In the next excerpt, Liam discussed his feelings about Asahi dialect and how he wanted to sound when speaking Japanese.

JT: um, so, in general, would you say that you like Asahi dialect?

Liam: yes I do, I like using it, I like its variations, I like the levels of using it, the different ways, different politeness levels, um, it just feels fun to use, feel like I can express myself by using it

JT: yeah, um, have you ever given thought to how you want to sound in Japanese

Liam: ah, my goal for how I sound in Japanese would be how I sound in English, and when I speak English with friends I curse a lot, I curse a lot and I speak very frankly and am often very loud and bombastic, so my goal for Japanese where I would like to be and consider myself to have, where I consider, I would consider myself to have, say, perfected or feel like a fluent point when I feel like I can speak in Japanese the same way I can speak in English and can be myself in Japanese the same way I can be myself in English ... which means being able to speak politely when I feel the need to and want to but also when I'm with friends, being able to comfortably curse

This excerpt tells us both about Liam's desired voice in Japanese and also shows how he viewed the local dialect. First, he said that dialect was "fun to use" and it let him express himself. These comments demonstrate how dialect acts as a resource for Liam to construct his ideal voice and identity in Japanese. Next, he described his goal of being able to sound the same in Japanese as he did in English, and described being "loud and bombastic," as well as being able to both "speak politely" and to "comfortably curse." Given his earlier descriptions of the rougher or ruder parts of the local dialect, we can begin to see another reason for Liam's attachment to

dialect: namely, he saw dialect as being well-suited to his personality. We may also conclude that dialect was more suited to his linguistic needs than Standard Japanese. This is likely part of the reason why even suggestions that foreigners should not use dialect and even being laughed at did not discourage him from using dialect. Beyond viewing dialect as a local linguistic norm, Liam viewed it as a resource for self-expression, a way to get closer to achieving his ideal self and his ideal voice (cf. Dörnyei, 2005).

Throughout the interview, Liam described his beliefs about dialect and Japanese language in general. In addition to his descriptions of his own dialect use, he shared his experiences with using dialect and choosing between Japanese and English in conversations with Japanese speakers. We get a clear picture of the importance to Liam of being able to choose the language used and we learn why he used dialect in his own speech. It is clear that Liam saw dialect as a resource for enacting his desired identity and for creating his desired Japanese voice in a way that matched his English voice. In these ways, dialect functioned as a resource for Liam. The excerpts introduced in this section also demonstrate which themes featured prominently in Liam's dialect use stance: linguistic ideologies, identity/voice, and trajectories. With regard to trajectories, Liam's lack of past Japan- or Japanese language-related experiences meant that he had no pre-existing template for Japanese language with which to compare the dialect he heard once he came to live and work in Ehime. He also did not envision any Japan-related plans for his future, which meant that he did not have any concerns about needing professional Japanese abilities for some future activities. In addition, linguistic ideologies also oriented Liam toward dialect use because he perceived a local expectation of dialect use, as well as negative consequences for using Standard Japanese. His descriptions of dialect use as "normal" and "natural" further demonstrate this orientation. Liam's decision to incorporate dialect into his

linguistic repertoire was also connected to his belief that dialect allowed him to express himself, and his feeling that dialect fit his desired voice and allowed him to create a Japanese language identity that was more like his English language identity. In these ways, dialect functioned as a resource for Liam, especially because it allowed him to express his desired identity and voice. This also explains why experiences that might otherwise be seen as discouraging his dialect use did not dissuade him from dialect use.

5.3.2. Non-use, Rejection of Dialect

While the participants introduced above chose to incorporate dialect into their Japanese linguistic repertoires, other participants in this study chose to reject dialect use completely. In this section I introduce two such participants, Scott and Daniel, and examine how they arrived at the decision to not use dialect. Although Scott and Daniel shared the same dialect use stance (i.e., rejection of dialect), their processes for reaching this decision differed. In Scott's case, dialect was seen as being unavailable for use by white L2 speakers due to their status as foreigners. Scott's choice to exclude dialect from his repertoire was based not on a view that dialect use held no value, but rather was due to his conclusion that his status as a "white foreigner" made any value of dialect use unavailable to him. In Daniel's case, rather than seeing dialect as unavailable in the way that Scott did, he saw dialect as being personally irrelevant. Daniel prioritized being able to speak politely and professionally, and he believed Standard Japanese to be more correct and appropriate. In the discussion below, I examine how the same stance, rejection of dialect, arose from different perspectives.

5.3.2.1. *Scott*

In Scott, we see an example of a non-use stance that was based on competing concerns, in which some pointed to dialect use while others pointed to dialect non-use. In Scott's case, membership and identity and voice emerged as highly salient in his interview, and linguistic ideologies and trajectories were somewhat salient, and these factors all pointed to dialect non-use. At the same time, Scott perceived the potential for dialect to function as a resource for L1 speakers. However, Scott's membership and identity concerns superseded any potential he saw in dialect as a resource for L2 speakers, with the result that Scott's understanding of his own membership and identity were the primary determinants of his decision to not use dialect. This is because Scott felt that any value to be had in using dialect was inaccessible to him due to his status as a "white foreigner." In addition, Scott envisioned his future trajectory taking him away from Ehime and he imagined Japanese language playing at most a work-related role in the future. Thus, in spite of recognizing the potential of dialect to act as a resource, Scott chose a stance of dialect non-use.

Scott's past trajectories included both Japan and Japanese language learning experiences. He had visited Japan several times before beginning the JET Program, although his previous visits had all been short vacation or volunteer trips. Scott had some exposure to Japanese language before coming to Japan as a JET, including taking high school Japanese classes in the U.S. However, he did not study Japanese during college, and only began studying Japanese seriously after starting his position as an ALT. At the time of the interview, Scott had been in Ehime for one year and was preparing to begin his second contract year. Scott lived in Koyama-shi, a slightly rural city. Koyama is one of the larger cities in Ehime and the current city is the result of a municipal consolidation in the 2000s. Scott lived in the city center, giving him access to adequate shopping and entertainment facilities, as well as convenient options for travel to

Matsuyama and elsewhere. Because of the central location of Scott's residence, it was easy for him to participate in community activities and he was involved in numerous hobby and sports groups which met regularly and he engaged in various types of group and public activities, including participating in festivals and performances. In some of these groups, Scott participated as a student or general member, in a some other groups, he acted as an instructor and played a more integral role. Scott's many group activities may also explain why he had a relatively large circle of L1 friends who were close in age to him (compared to other ALTs in Ehime).

Scott worked at the local Board of Education with several other ALTs as well as some L1 Japanese ALTs.⁵⁹ This made his workplace environment somewhat unique compared to other ALTs who did not work with other ALTs or who did not have many or any English-speaking Japanese co-workers. Scott had intermediate Japanese language ability and he was preparing to take the JLPT level N3 (the middle of 5 levels). Scott's intermediate language ability may explain the relative frequency of comments he made regarding his difficulty understanding certain people, and he described greater difficulty understanding dialect speech than William, Liam, Daniel, or Branden. Scott told me that he did not intend to continue working as an ALT or stay in Ehime after finishing his second year on the JET Program. He planned to return home to the U.S. when his ALT contract ended and hoped to work in the travel or tourism industry in the future. To that end, he wanted to continue studying Japanese. Thus, Scott's past, current, and future trajectories maintained a connection to Japan and Japanese language. However, while he did see the possibility of a future job in which Japanese ability might be necessary, he did not have any plans or desires to continue living in Ehime.

⁵⁹ These were L1 speakers of Japanese who were hired by the BOE as Assistant English Teachers. Only a few cities in Ehime employed these kinds of teachers, and their presence in the workplace meant that those JET ALTs had more access to L1 Japanese speakers who also spoke English.

In the interview, Scott told me that he did not use dialect expressions. Despite Scott's intermediate Japanese level, he was able to give some examples of well-known dialect tokens (e.g., *hiyai*, JD "cold") along with their Standard Japanese equivalents (e.g., *samui*, SJ "cold"), thereby demonstrating that his Japanese knowledge was sufficient to distinguish between standard and dialect; his knowledge of dialect supported his claim that he did not use dialect. I asked if his dialect non-use was a conscious decision, and he said that he thought it was. I next asked if he thought dialect was important in Koyama, here is an excerpt from that exchange:

Scott: um, It [is], with some people, but only a few people, and so, overall, not really, I don't

JT: yeah, yeah. Who would those people be?

Scott: yeah, um, I think, um, I think the, like the [sports] guys, that use it, I think, if I were to use, it would kinda be like a, ah! He's one of us! Type of feel, so for those relationships, yes, I think [dialect] is important, but the majority of the relationships in, at the workplace, and other places in Japan, and other places just around Koyama, I don't really think it's too important

JT: um, so do you think it's important for you to be able to understand dialect? cuz you wanted to be able to understand your [sports] friends

Scott: yeah, I think it, yeah I think it's important to understand, and it's interesting, you know? It's, it's culture, it's unique, and so, yeah, it's um, yeah

JT: do you think it's important for other non-native speakers or other JETs in general or is it just, a sort of a, you know, you you're, you hang out with the [sports guys] or you know what I mean, do you think it's more limited? Or is it more general

Scott: um... you said like for the other JETs?

JT: yeah or other non-native speakers of Japanese in Japan, in a general sense

Scott: ok, um, yes I think it's important to understand it at least, maybe not speak it but to understand it

In these comments, Scott acknowledged that dialect might be important with some people in limited contexts, giving the example of members of the sports club he participated in. Although he described dialect use as potentially facilitating his membership in that community, he went on

to say that in other communities (e.g., workplace communities or communities outside of Ehime), he did not think dialect was very important. Instead, he felt that for him and other L2 speakers in general, dialect comprehension was the most important skill. Further, he made reference to the cultural value and uniqueness of dialect but he was careful to point out that *speaking* dialect was not important. I followed up by asking why he thought dialect use was unimportant. His reply demonstrated one way in which his membership and identity concerns overlapped:

Scott: um, good question, well... I think, it's funny, we, ah, being a white foreigner who lives in Japan, I will always be different, and I will always look different, and at some point, no matter what I do, or how good my Japanese is, I'm not going to be Japanese, and probably until I die, people will say *nihongo ga joozu desu ne* ((your Japanese is very good))⁶⁰ ... which I'm sure you get, and ah... I don't know, I guess if I were able to assimilate into the culture fully and do things like speak the local dialect, and, feel like I'm one of the Japanese, it would be more important ... but because I don't see that happening in Japanese society, a foreigner fully being viewed as not a foreigner, I guess I don't really think it's too important

In this excerpt, Scott referred to himself as a “white foreigner.” It seems most likely that he included white here to contrast with Japanese or foreigners of Asian descent, especially since there were several Japanese-Americans in the JET community.⁶¹ Scott's use of “we” at the beginning of this excerpt may have been meant to include me, or perhaps an imagined community of other “white foreigners in Japan.” He next described his belief that regardless of how advanced his Japanese ability becomes, his foreigner-ness and white-ness would always be a barrier to “assimilating into the culture fully.” Thus, he felt that, for him and other foreigners, dialect was unimportant and its use would not downplay or alter his identity as a “white foreigner.” He hinted at the role dialect might play *if* he could assimilate, but concluded that it was not relevant for him because he would always be seen as a foreigner. This description

⁶⁰ “*Nihongo ga joozu desu ne*” is a common compliment given to those in Japan who are visibly foreign. It is the frequent subject of complaint by L2 Japanese speakers because it is seen coming from the assumption that non-Asian people are unable to speak Japanese (cf. Kumagai & Sato, 2009).

⁶¹ Scott did not make mention of how the experiences of Japanese-Americans in Japan might be different from his, and I did not ask, so I will not speculate about that here.

depicts his membership as limited and his identity (as a white foreigner) as something forced on him regardless of whether or not that was an identity he wanted to take on. As a result, Scott saw choosing to use dialect as pointless because it would not change his identity or membership in Japanese society.

Scott's perception of his membership and identity as being characterized and limited by his foreigner-ness highlights a paradox: although he was reluctant to see himself as an insider, he was a core member and valued participant in numerous (non-workplace) communities. In addition, partly due to these communities, Scott had a large network of friends that included both other ALTs as well as numerous L1 speakers. Thus, his membership concerns, and the restriction he felt due to being a white foreigner, did not result from being unsuccessful at entering local communities. To the contrary, he was a core and valued member in many communities. However, those memberships did not change his feelings because he felt that his status as a white foreigner could not be transcended. Thus, Scott's membership concerns pointed him to rejection of dialect use.

The above discussion centered on Scott's membership and identity concerns and shows that one reason for Scott's non-use stance was his belief that this ascribed identity as a "white foreigner" was something he could not transcend. Another reason was his orientation to linguistic ideologies, in which he saw Standard Japanese as more "proper" (a word he used to describe Standard Japanese) and as the more appropriate speech style for work-related language use. In the next excerpt, Scott talked about dialect-related discussions he had with Daniel (the participant introduced in the next section, and someone whom Scott knew socially). In his comments we see how linguistic ideologies manifested for Scott, in terms of his view that dialect or accented Japanese was less correct and was inappropriate especially in work contexts. His

comments also express a concern voiced by several L2 participants that dialect would become a bad habit.

Scott: um, I was actually taking with Daniel about this last night, um, I think I don't really want to learn it [dialect] very, I don't want to input that kind of accented Japanese and then later on, if I am trying to work in a job that uses Japanese to have that kind of very heavily accented country Japanese that I can't fix, um, and so, and so I don't really try very hard to learn it, I think- to understand, so that I can understand what people are saying, but to use it myself, I'm not really too interested it in, um

JT: yeah, yeah, so you started to say you were talking to Daniel

Scott: yeah I was talking to Daniel about it because, ah, he was saying he'd kinda made the same decision of like, I'll learn the dialect so I'll like understand it but, he might be living in Japan working at other jobs too and so um, he wanted to, kind of stick with the standard Japanese

Here, Scott described dialect as “very heavily accented country Japanese,” and implied that such language would require “fixing,” something difficult to accomplish. These comments show a linguistic ideology oriented toward the correctness of Standard Japanese. Further, in the phrase “heavily accented country Japanese,” we can also discern the influence of a negative stereotype in which dialect is viewed as having an undesirable accent and is associated with a lack of sophistication. It is also notable that Scott described his view as at least partly influenced by another L2 speaker, Daniel, suggesting that L2 speakers access information and ideas about Japanese speech styles not just from experiences with L1 speakers but also from interacting with other L2 speakers as well.

In addition to his linguistic ideologies, Scott's notion of his desired voice and of who he wanted to sound like also pointed him away from dialect use. At several points during the interview, Scott made comments that suggested what kinds of people, in his perception, used dialect: namely, fishermen and older people. This characterization is almost identical to Liam's. While for Scott, the speech of fishermen and older people was described as hard to understand

and sometimes something to make fun of, for Liam, it was not depicted negatively nor was it seen to be a reason for him to not use dialect. Scott, however, was clear that he did not want to sound like a fisherman or older person. Instead, he described wanting to sound like his close friend, Naoki (introduced in Chapter 4), who was closer to Scott's age and who did not use dialect.⁶² In the following excerpt, Scott responded to my question of whether he had given any thought about how he wanted to sound when speaking Japanese:

Scott: ah, yes I have. I actually tell my friend Naoki, I said I like the way you speak Japanese, I want to speak like you

JT: that's kind of the next question, so how does Naoki speak?

Scott: Naoki speaks um, he speaks politely without sounding like, without sounding like a whipped office employee, you know what I mean? A little bit, um, cuz there's a different language with, but um, but no, I mean, he's a young cool guy who also ah, he is respectable, you know, and I like the way his Japanese sounds, and it seems like it's received well by anyone. Um, I'm a bit of a mimic, and I just, I kinda like to talk to people who they're talking to me, like I'll find myself kinda playing along with the same intonation and stuff and my supervisor right now at the office has um a really distinctive, kinda older-man Japanese ah, Sakamoto-sensei, and, I mean, it's very funny, at *enkais* ((workplace drinking parties)) I've been asked to do impersonations of him ... and so when he speaks to me, like, I kinda wanna try it too ... but I don't really know what I'm saying, I'm just kinda like [imitating] ... and while that's funny, I mean, I, I think I kinda recognize that and, picked my friend Naoki who has more proper, polite-sounding Japanese

JT: and is he close in age to you?

Scott: um-hm

JT: is he like a co-worker or a friend

Scott: a, no he's just a friend, but yeah, he's closer in age to me, and, actually Sakamoto-sensei's Japanese is very difficult for me to understand, so while I think his accent's funny and fun to imitate, I really can't communicate with him, like I can with Naoki, I think my desire to be able to communicate with people also is

These comments show Scott's vision of how he wanted to sound. In particular, we see Scott's admiration for the speech of his friend Naoki, who he described as a "young cool guy" who did

⁶² As reported in Chapter 4, I interviewed Naoki, and he told me that he did not use dialect. During the interview and an observation, I did not hear Naoki using any dialect tokens.

not speak like a “whipped office employee,” but whose speech was “received well by anyone.” Scott also discussed his supervisor, Sakamoto-sensei (also an L1 participant in this study), whom Scott did not want to sound like. One complaint Scott had about his supervisor was that the supervisor was difficult to understand, and Scott stressed that he wanted to be easy to understand in order to be able to communicate with people. Although Scott described Sakamoto-sensei as having a “funny accent” that Scott liked to imitate, Scott said that he “really can’t communicate” with his supervisor. However, in Scott’s own speech, he placed great importance on being able to communicate with people (which Scott makes reference to at the end of this excerpt despite the fact that he did not complete the final sentence in this comment).

Another issue that became clear in Scott’s comments was the attention he paid to age-related speech characteristics. Naoki, whose speech Scott wanted to emulate, was described as a “young cool guy,” while Sakamoto-sensei, the supervisor whom Scott could not understand, was described as having “distinctive older-man Japanese.” One notable feature of Scott’s various non-workplace communities was the range of age-groups represented. In some communities, such as the sports club, most of the other members were described as in their fifties, while in others, members were between high school aged and twenties and thirties. Based on Scott’s experiences in these communities, as well as his observations of language use in his workplace community, Scott viewed dialect as primarily used by older people, whereas people he identified with, younger people like Naoki, were people he saw as not using dialect. These experiences show another way in which membership, broadly defined, combined with issues of identity and voice to point him away from dialect use. In other words, although Scott was a member of numerous local communities with a range of age groups represented, it was the younger people with whom he most closely identified, as seen in his comments about Naoki, and it was the

younger people whom he wanted to sound like, not like a “whipped office employee” or the sports guys or someone who used “older-man Japanese” like his supervisor.

As excerpts from the interview demonstrate, Scott’s membership concerns were complex. He was an active participant in numerous communities and was well-regarded by other (L1 speaking) members. In spite of that, Scott felt his status as a foreigner impacted his membership in a way that could not be transcended. With regard to identity and voice, Scott perceived dialect as being hard to understand and as a speech style used primarily by older men, whereas he wanted his own Japanese to sound “young” and “cool” and to be able to be understood by anyone. Finally, Scott’s view of the appropriateness of Standard Japanese seemed to be informed by an ideological view of Standard Japanese as more correct, as well as an envisioned future trajectory which would take him away from Ehime. Although Scott recognized dialect’s potential benefits as a resource for friendship and membership, he felt that any benefit to be had from dialect was unavailable to him due to his foreigner status. Thus, Scott chose a stance of dialect non-use. It should be noted that Scott’s stance was not ambivalent, unlike participants introduced below, whose competing views of dialect’s benefits and drawbacks prevented them from settling on one dialect use stance or another. Next, I turn to Daniel, who shared with Scott a stance of dialect non-use but who constructed his stance in ways that differed from Scott.

5.3.2.2. Daniel

Daniel, like Scott, is another participant who chose to reject dialect use in his Japanese linguistic repertoire. However, unlike Scott, Daniel did not attend to the question of whether or how his foreigner status might impact his status in local communities in Japan. Instead, Daniel’s disinterest in dialect was due to his view that dialect had no personal relevance or benefit, in contrast to Standard Japanese and especially polite language ability, which he saw as important

in both professional and personal contexts. Daniel's attention to notions of the correctness and appropriateness of Standard Japanese was highly salient in his interview and appeared to play a significant role in his linguistic choices; his view of the importance of Standard Japanese thus informed how he created his identity and voice in Japanese. Further, his past, current, and envisioned future trajectories, in particular past Japanese study in college in New Zealand along with past work experiences, future work plans, and envisioned future membership in a business professional community in Japan, contributed significantly to his prioritization of Standard Japanese. As such, Daniel saw no benefit in his own dialect use and he did not believe dialect played much of a role in his membership concerns. This contrasts with William, for whom membership concerns featured prominently in the decision to *use* dialect. It also contrasts with Scott, whose decision to exclude dialect from his repertoire was linked to his perception of constraints due to his identity as a white foreigner. Thus, although Scott and Daniel shared the same dialect non-use stance, they differed in terms of how they constructed their stances. Below I consider Daniel's dialect use stance and factors he considered in constructing it.

Daniel was very confident in his stance of dialect non-use; his confidence was displayed both in how he expressed his opinions about dialect as well as how he answered most of my questions without hesitation and without taking time to think about how to answer. Throughout the interview, he gave the impression of having already thought carefully about his own Japanese linguistic repertoire and of valuing conscious decision-making with regard to linguistic choices. A representative example is seen in the following excerpt:

JT: do you ever make an effort – not an effort, but do you ever intentionally use dialect?

Daniel: no

JT: Do you ever intentionally avoid dialect?

Daniel: All the time

JT: all the time. And um, so you mentioned-

Daniel: well it comes naturally to avoid it. I just don't use it

Here we see Daniel's firm conviction that dialect was not part of his Japanese linguistic repertoire, and that avoiding dialect came "naturally" to him. I next asked Daniel if he thought dialect was important in Ehime:

Daniel: I think it's, I think it's a, like a cultural thing. So and I think it's like a, ah, it's important for, what was it, individuality of the, or, is that the right word? Um, it's something to be proud of, I think as well, you know, like, my hairdresser will always say, ah do you know that this means, and do you know what this means? And I'm like, oh, you know, like when I first went along, I didn't know a lot of those words and um, but I think, yeah, there's a certain pride around their own dialect. So yeah, I think it's important for the Japanese people, but not so much, well, not so much for me, but, I think it's interesting, you know

JT: so do you think it's important – so you don't, it's not important for you to use it?

Daniel: no

JT: do you think it's important for you to be able to understand it?

Daniel: yes, I think so

Noticeable in how Daniel answered my questions here was the difficulty he had initially in describing why or how dialect was important in Ehime, especially compared to the quick, concise and unhesitating way he answered my questions about dialect use in the excerpt above. In spite of his initial hesitance here, Daniel ultimately described L1 speakers taking pride in the local dialect and being enthusiastic about teaching dialect tokens to L2 speakers. In that regard, Daniel recognized the importance of dialect for L1 speakers. However, he also mentioned that dialect was not important for him, and, further, prompted by my questions, that it was not important for him to use dialect, although he acknowledged that understanding dialect was important. This excerpt is one of many times Daniel made it clear that dialect use was personally irrelevant.

Another important theme in Daniel's dialect use stance was his past trajectory, which included extensive experiences with Japan and Japanese language study. Daniel studied Japanese throughout high school and university in New Zealand. His first visit to Japan was during high school when he participated in a home stay. Daniel next went to Japan on a working holiday visa⁶³ in between high school and university. While on working holiday, he lived in different regions (including the Kanto, Chubu, and Kansai regions) and worked in various types of jobs. These experiences appear to have contributed to his Japanese language development and to the development of his linguistic ideologies and views about correctness and appropriateness. Further, it meant that his information about Japanese language use did not come solely from either textbooks or from language use experienced in Ehime. It is against this background that we can understand such comments as Daniel's response to my question of whether he liked the dialect of Ehime, in which he said "I think there's cooler dialects out there." This comment, and many others, also functioned as a display of his knowledge about Japanese language in general.

One particularly important aspect of Daniel's language learning trajectory was his experience working in a service industry position during his working holiday in Japan. In this position, he learned about Japanese language in the workplace, including language use with supervisors and coworkers as well as with customers, and was required to master polite greetings and the honorific language used in customer service interactions. Daniel also participated with L1 speakers in weekly training sessions that focused on proper greetings and proper pronunciation. Daniel made reference to these experiences during the interview as a way of accounting for his overall Japanese language development as well as his ability and comfort-level with honorific language. These experiences also meant that, unlike Liam or Scott, Daniel

⁶³ A working holiday visas allows citizens of eligible countries, aged 18 to 30, to live in Japan for up to one year and allows visa holders to work to pay travel and living expenses. (http://www.mofa.go.jp/j_info/visit/w_holiday/)

arrived in Ehime having already established his own understanding of what kind of Japanese speaker he wanted to be.

Daniel displayed how much he valued being able to correctly use Japanese honorifics when I asked him how he would describe his current Japanese language ability:

Daniel: yeah, um, I think it's definitely way above average for the average foreigner living in Japan, I think, since I started studying at a young age as well, and I had that experience of working in the [service industry], there's a lot of, um, there's a big learning curve there, um, working, um at that age, in an environment that I wasn't used to at all, um, I went along to these um, you know they sort of make you go along, once a week you'd sort of be practicing just common greetings and pronunciation, pronunciation was a big one

JT: and that's the Japanese staff as well

Daniel: yeah, um and I think there, it was very good, I think, I don't have a non-Japanese accent when I speak, and a lot of people do mention that, especially on the phone, yeah they can't see who I am, um but they just assume I'm Japanese, so yeah, I think, yeah, there's a good portion of my Japanese ability is that, and confidence I think is a big one too, so, yeah, I've got the confidence, and another point I'm quite good at is I'm quite confident in speaking keigo ((honorifics)) and that again comes from learning [in the service industry], and then also, I came, when I went back to New Zealand I started working at a Japanese restaurant and that was really very good, the main customers were, who came to that restaurant were from the *taishikan*, the embassy, so, um, I was always you know, making an effort to be, with my utmost keigo and kenjogo ((humble language)) and all that, so that was very good

These comments show that Daniel valued not having a “non-Japanese accent” and being able to correctly use different honorific levels. Daniel's assessment of his skills in this regard also speaks to his commitment to being able to control his use of various speech styles. He made numerous comments about honorific language, calling each level by name, and stressing how he attended to when and with whom to use which register. The frequency with which he discussed honorifics shows how important it was to him.

Daniel attributed his knowledge of dialect to his experiences living and working in different parts of Japan. His comments below also show that he attended to making appropriate speech style choices early in his language learning trajectory:

Daniel: when I first started working there [in the service industry job], there was a lot of dialects being thrown around and um, at first you know it was hard to tell which was the dialect, and which was you know, normal Japanese, and yeah I was, at first I had to just check with people towards it, especially you know, after I got told off [by my boss for speaking too casually] I sort of thought, maybe I'm not supposed to be using dialects and that to my bosses and that either

Here, Daniel explained that he heard dialect during his working holiday experience, and he described initial difficulty distinguishing between dialect and Standard Japanese. He also characterized Standard Japanese as “normal Japanese,” a comment which suggests the notion that Standard Japanese was the default speech style, and indeed the normative one. In addition, similar to participants who referred to “proper Japanese,” Daniel’s comments show that he associated dialect speech with casual speech, and after being scolded by his supervisor for speaking too casually, he had concluded that he was “not supposed” to use dialect in situations in which casual speech should be avoided. In addition to offering a picture of how Daniel developed his awareness of Japanese speech styles, this excerpt is also an example of how Daniel’s language learning trajectories informed his linguistic ideologies, which in turn contributed to the formation of his dialect non-use stance.

After his working holiday, Daniel attended university in New Zealand; upon graduating with a Japanese-related major, Daniel returned to Japan through the JET Program. At the time of the interview, Daniel was completing his third year as an ALT. He lived in a small neighborhood (formerly a small town) in Miyaoka-shi. Miyaoka-shi is moderately rural and the neighborhood where Daniel lived is very rural. Access to services, facilities, and mass transit were limited and

Daniel used his car for most travel. At the time of the interview, Daniel was nearing the end of his JET contract and had already secured post-JET employment in Matsuyama. He had a long-term girlfriend (an L1 Japanese speaker) who was from Matsuyama and he described being very close to her family. He reported that he spoke mostly Japanese with his girlfriend and Japanese only with her family. Although her family used dialect, Daniel reported that he always used Standard Japanese with them, and he was careful to use only *desu/masu* or the polite style with her parents.

Daniel told me that he planned to stay in Japan indefinitely; thus, his current and envisioned future trajectories continued his connection to Japan and Japanese language. In addition, Daniel planned to stay in Ehime, although he was preparing to move to Matsuyama. Another element of Daniel's envisioned future trajectory was his desire to become part of a business professional community in Japan; acquiring a non-JET position was a first step in that direction. Daniel perceived his Standard Japanese ability as playing an important role in his success in securing his new position, and he believed that ability to use Standard Japanese and appropriate honorific language would continue to be important in his future professional endeavors.

The next excerpt demonstrates how Daniel's experiences prior to beginning the JET Programme continued to influence his linguistic choices long after he was in a different area and different type of workplace. The story Daniel shared also suggests how he developed the linguistic ideologies which were important in his dialect non-use stance. Daniel's past language learning experiences and his experiences working in Japan influenced his beliefs about Japanese language use, especially with regard to what constituted correct and appropriate Japanese. Of particular importance to Daniel was his ability to correctly distinguish between and make

conscious decisions about the various politeness levels; he saw his past experiences, both in formal instruction in New Zealand and in work contexts in Japan, as having provided him with important skills in this regard. The following excerpt occurred while Daniel was describing his current Japanese language ability:

Daniel: even now I'm often praised for how polite I am, talking to people. And I learnt that the hard way, I think, when I was working [in the service industry]. Um, I started off with the New Zealand way of thinking, I came in and my boss was so friendly to me, and I went, oh, he's speaking to me in the normal, friendly type of manner, you know, I'm sure I can, sort of reply in the same sort of fashion. And that sort of actually worked out for the first wee while. But, a few months down the track, you know, I might have, yeah, he might have been having a bad day or something and you sort of turn around and, sort of say, you gotta speak politer to me, and I'm like, I sort wish you'd have told me that to begin with! But, um, yeah like there's, and, from that point, I was always very conscious of how I spoke to my elders or just people above me. And um, yeah there's a lot of things you don't pick up on as well, like I thought *un* [yeah] was just another way of saying yes, but it's actually quite rude way of saying yes um depending on who you're talking to, so, um, and other things like, you know, if you're saying, should I do something, or should I do this, you know, I was helping my boss ... and I said *tetsudatte agemashoo ka* ((shall I help you)) and he sort of turns round and he says, and it's quite good because a lot of people sort of just, a lot of Japanese people will just forgive you, or just you're a foreigner or whatever, just almost pretend or not notice it, but that boss was quite good in the fact that he was sort mentioned, you shouldn't use *agemashoo ka* ((shall I do X for you)) to your elders, and yeah, just those sorts of things. And those experiences have really helped me out, so, um like a friend of mine, you know, he'll say, yeah, he's got a lot of *hoogen* and I sort of came back to Japan and I said I, you know, it's good for me to be able to understand it, but I don't think it's a good idea for me to use it all the time or, if you start to use it and it sort of sticks, and um, and then you just sort of can't stop using it sometimes, like this friend of mine

This excerpt demonstrates several aspects of Daniel's linguistic ideologies and shows how his past experiences influenced his current perspective about Japanese and about how to negotiate Japanese linguistic choices. First, although I had asked about his "Japanese level or ability" without specifying any particular skill, Daniel answered by noting that he was praised (presumably by L1 speakers) for his polite way of speaking. This suggests the degree of importance he placed on politeness as part of his overall Japanese ability and we might describe politeness as a key part of his Japanese persona. Daniel also described the experience of being

corrected for politeness or pragmatic mistakes as a positive one, saying that being corrected was “quite good” and “really helped” him. Daniel’s comment about the infrequency with which L1 speakers correct mistakes made by L2 speakers was echoed by other participants in this study; in that context, Daniel’s reports of being corrected seem almost like a point of pride. Daniel also depicted this experience as a turning-point which led him to pay more attention to how he spoke and to take into account to whom he was speaking. He repeated this idea of being careful about how he spoke to his elders several times during the interview and it was clearly important to him. Finally, it seems that Daniel used this experience, and the impact it had on how he negotiated Japanese linguistic choices, to set himself apart from another L2 speaker whom Daniel criticized as being unable to control his use of dialect. These past experiences made significant impressions on Daniel and they continued to influence how he negotiated Japanese linguistic choices, even after he was in very different contexts, regionally and in terms of his workplace.

Thus, in Daniel’s past, current, and future trajectories, we can see: 1) a range of regional contexts, 2) a range of professional contexts, and 3) a valuation of polite language and attention to adjusting speech styles based on interlocutors. The first two points suggest Daniel’s exposure to a variety of speech styles, including regional dialects as well as (standard) plain and polite speech in work and non-work contexts. The final point describes his own stance toward language use and the high value he placed on using polite speech to convey politeness and respect. This shows how linguistic ideologies which prioritized Standard Japanese influenced Daniel’s dialect use stance in terms of his view that Standard Japanese was more appropriate than dialect, especially because he viewed Standard Japanese as facilitating the use of honorific language. Further, Daniel’s comment about his L2 speaking friend who could not stop using dialect is an example of his concern that dialect use could become a bad habit, a concern expressed by other

participants as well. Although not included in the excerpts shared here, Daniel also talked about another friend (L2 speaker of Japanese) whom he described as being *too* polite when speaking Japanese. Thus, we begin to get a picture of Daniel's desire to be able to do a very nuanced kind of speech style shifting in which situational details (e.g., context and interlocutors) were accounted for in the speech choices that he made.

The above excerpts demonstrate the importance Daniel placed on being able to skillfully control his speech style. This was mentioned explicitly in the following excerpt. I asked Daniel whether he used Standard Japanese with his girlfriend, he told me he did and I asked if she used any dialect with him:

Daniel: yeah, she uses a lot of Iyo-ben or what have you, and um, yeah, every now and then I might slip a *ken* ((because, JD)) or something in there um, you know, I'll, it's never happened to someone older than me, it's never sort of been mixed in with my *teinei-go* ((polite speech)). Which I think is very good I haven't let that mix

JT: yeah and um, do you ever use it [dialect] and think, oh, oops?

Daniel: um, it depends on, I think the only times it's ever come out is when speaking to children or speaking to [my girlfriend]. May- moreso with the children, but when I say it, I know I'm saying it and I thought, ah that's ok. You know? um, but yeah, I think if I moved out of Ehime, to say, Tokyo or Nagoya, or somewhere else, I don't think, you know, that would come naturally, well I don't think the dialect would come naturally, whereas, the friend I mentioned earlier, I think he would sort of, go to Tokyo, I think he'd be, while his Japanese is amazing, again on paper and he knows a lot of words, I don't think it's gonna be very easy for him to find another job in Japan because he can't speak *keigo* ((honorifics)) properly.

Here, Daniel reported that although he occasionally used dialect unintentionally, he was aware of it when it occurred, stating that it was not a problem since it was never with "someone older" than him, and, crucially, since he claimed that he never mixed dialect with polite speech.⁶⁴

Again this shows the importance he placed on controlling his speech style and on awareness of

⁶⁴ With these reports, as well as all reports by participants of their linguistic behavior, there is no way to confirm the accuracy of Daniel's account of the degree to which his dialect use was limited. What matters here, however, is that this is how he understood his linguistic behavior, and this understanding features prominently in his depiction of himself as a competent Japanese speaker who, for the most part, successfully controls his Japanese speech styles.

how he was speaking and with whom. He also stressed that even if he left Ehime, dialect would not come naturally, in contrast to an L2 friend who was described as unable to control his speech styles. Daniel concluded that this friend would likely have a difficult time finding a post-JET job because he could not use honorific language “properly,” again demonstrating his perception that honorific language use was especially important for professional endeavors. This excerpt also suggests the possibility that Daniel might have used dialect more than he was aware of (i.e., “slipping a *ken* in”) but what matters here is his impression of how he talked and his view that controlling his speech styles was important, both in terms of his linguistic ideologies and for his enactment of his identity or Japanese language persona.

In Daniel’s interview, identity and voice emerged as salient and demonstrated the role of identity and voice in his rejection of dialect and in his valuation of Standard Japanese and polite language. Like many other participants, Daniel reported that he wanted to be able to sound “natural” in Japanese. In the following excerpt, I asked Daniel if he had ever given any thought to how he wanted to sound when he spoke Japanese:

Daniel: I want to sound, natural, I suppose that’s all. Just understanding, yeah, who to speak to, I suppose that’s what I’m doing now, I think I’m on a fairly good level with that.

JT: how do you figure out what natural is, what counts as natural?

Daniel: I’m sort of still talking about the whole politeness area, but um, knowing, just understanding a bit more, I think I’m fairly good, but knowing who to s- what to say to people in that gray zone. Every now and then I’ll watch a Japanese movie or something like that and I’ll hear Japanese or I’ll notice some Japanese in the street that I don’t use. Like *doomo* ((hey)) as a greeting, and I sort of checked with [my girlfriend] the other, I heard it again. I don’t say it myself but it’s another normal way to say hello or to introduce yourself. And I’d heard it a few times before, and I was like, who should I use t- am I allowed to use this to certain people? I d- you know, I basically knew what she was gonna tell me, but it was good just to check, just to sound as, I mean after all these years of studying you sort of just want to sound as natural as possible.

Here we see how Daniel's view of sounding natural was connected to politeness and being able to use the correct speech style or register with the appropriate person. Daniel's use of "natural" here contrasts with his earlier use of the word "natural" in terms of avoiding dialect. For Daniel, sounding natural meant being able to correctly control his speech style, and it was important enough that he reported making it a point to pay attention and do things like to ask his girlfriend for clarification. This allowed him to expand his repertoire in a way that fit with his ideal voice and was appropriate in terms of "knowing what to say to people in that gray zone." Notions of correctness and closely attending to interlocutors' status when choosing a speech style are repeated in this excerpt and demonstrate how his linguistic ideologies oriented him toward prioritizing Standard Japanese. We can also see these comments as demonstrating how Daniel aligned himself with an imagined community of speakers of Standard Japanese.

As the above excerpt shows, Daniel reported being very intentional in his Japanese use, for example when he described being aware when he used dialect (even accidentally), or when he described how he never used overly polite language with his girlfriend. These comments are examples of how Daniel saw the ability to make linguistic choices as an essential skill. It seems clear that, for Daniel, Standard Japanese was an important linguistic resource, but crucially, the greatest benefit was having the ability to make sophisticated speech style choices and match his speech to the interlocutors and to the needs of the situation. Ability to use Standard Japanese and honorific language allowed Daniel to speak Japanese in a way that was in line with his linguistic ideologies. Further, it allowed him to enact an identity, a voice for himself that fit his desired image and was in keeping with what he considered appropriate Japanese use. His past trajectories (both work-related and with regard to language learning) influenced his valuation of

Standard Japanese. Further, Standard Japanese fit with his envisioned future trajectory, in which he saw himself as part of a professional community in Japan.

5.3.3. Ambivalence about Dialect Use

The final dialect use stance is that of ambivalence: unlike participants in the previous two groups, the participants in this group, Branden and Melissa, struggled with deciding whether to use dialect and described both using dialect and trying to avoid it. Although Branden and Melissa had in common a sense of ambivalence about their dialect use, they differed in terms of the concerns which prevented them from reaching a decision. In addition, Branden and Melissa differed in terms of which factors emerged as salient in their interviews; Branden in particular had significant identity concerns. Further, Branden's ambivalence toward dialect can be described as primarily dialect-negative, because although he suspected that dialect use had compelling benefits in terms of membership concerns, he had negative feelings about dialect and felt it did not fit his voice or sense of self. On the other hand, Melissa's ambivalence toward dialect is best described as primarily dialect-positive, because she wanted to use dialect but her ambivalence came from concerns about unwanted consequences from dialect use.

5.3.3.1. *Branden*

In his interview, Branden described strong feelings about wanting to not use dialect as well as strong beliefs about the correctness of Standard Japanese. However, he also was concerned that his decision to avoid dialect use might have a negative impact on interpersonal relationships and he suspected that if he used dialect, it would play a positive role in strengthening those relationships. As a result, Branden was deeply ambivalent about dialect's place in his Japanese linguistic repertoire. Notions of identity and voice and linguistic ideologies were especially

salient in his interview; these concerns oriented Branden to the use of Standard Japanese and to prioritizing appropriate politeness registers. Branden expected to leave Ehime when he finished the second year of his JET contract and anticipated using Japanese for professional reasons in the future. As such, Branden's past and envisioned future trajectories also oriented him to dialect non-use. At the same time, Branden saw dialect as playing a facilitative role in memberships, and as such he saw dialect as having the potential to function as a resource for membership management. In this regard, Branden was similar to Scott, in that Scott also saw a possibility for dialect as a membership resource. However, while Scott's stance of non-use was due to his view that being a foreigner was a barrier to benefitting from dialect, Branden's desire to avoid dialect was connected to his feeling that dialect did not fit his identity. Branden was unable to reconcile these competing concerns, resulting in his stance of ambivalence toward dialect.

Branden's trajectories were closely connected to Japan and Japanese language learning. Branden was a Japanese major in his American university, and he had studied Japanese to a fairly high level while in university. He also participated in a study abroad program during which he lived in Tokyo for a year. In addition, unlike many participants, Branden had completed the highest level of the JLPT (level N1) a year before starting his ALT position and had advanced Japanese language ability at the time of the interview. When Branden came to Ehime as a JET ALT, he was placed in Asahi-shi, the same city as Liam. However, unlike Liam, Branden lived in the central part of the city. At the time of the interview, Branden was completing his first year in the JET Programme and was preparing to begin the second year. Given his long connection with Japan, it is not surprising that Branden expressed an interest in pursuing future work connected with Japanese language use such as interpretation and translation, a career in international relations, or possibly returning to graduate school in a Japan-related field. However,

Branden made it clear in the interview that he was not interested in staying in Ehime, and he was unsure of whether he would stay in Japan after leaving Ehime or return to the U.S.⁶⁵

During the interview, I asked Branden how he would describe his Japanese ability and how he would compare his current ability with when he first came started the JET Program:

Branden: once I actually got here I was really shocked because, like even though, like in Tokyo I was fine, like, I mean people commented on how like what happened to your Japanese but you know I was still able to communicate with old friends and that sort of thing. But when once I actually came to Asahi I couldn't understand people and that was a huge shock for me. But now like, I've gotten used to the accent and the different, like um, some of the Asahi-ben that comes out, so I know my level like has gone back up a lot

JT: right. Was the initial problem in understanding people really about dialect or accent or word choice or like

Branden: I think it was accent, yeah but I don't know, that's what I want to believe.

Branden's description of his initial difficulty in understanding speakers in Ehime as "a huge shock" shows his expectation of being able to communicate successfully in Japanese. As a result, his initial experience in Asahi of comprehension difficulties was experienced as "shocking." He next described his improved comprehension as due to "getting used to the accent and the Asahi-ben." When I asked for clarification about the cause of his understanding trouble, he answered that he thought it was the accent, adding that that was what he "wanted to believe." This description suggests that his identity as a 'good Japanese speaker' was less threatened if he could attribute comprehension trouble to the local accent or dialect, since that would allow him to avoid a negative assessment of his Japanese ability in general.

⁶⁵ Branden is the only participant in this study who is African-American. While race may have played a role in some of his experiences, Branden did not mention his race during the interview and he also did not make any indirect references to a role for race in the experiences he shared with me. Because I did not have questions about race in my interview protocols and I did not ask other participants about race, I also did not ask Branden questions about race. Therefore, I do not discuss the question of race in this section. However, see the Chapter 6, section 6.5.3 for a brief discussion of ways future research may include an examination of race in studying the experiences of L2 speakers in Japan.

I asked Branden if he heard a lot of dialect in his town, in his answer, he discussed Liam, who was his coworker at the city board of education and also a friend. Branden's reply lends support to Liam's depiction of the frequency of dialect use, and also suggests something about how Branden viewed speakers of dialect:

Branden: Mmmm, it, I think, ha, especially not compared to Liam, I think Liam gets it all day, every day

JT: yeah, because of his, because of his location?

Branden: his location yeah, and, I mean I think with the, yeah I think my kids are at an age where, and the teachers too um, like in class, they're trying to teach them more standard Japanese, and they're trying to only use the more standard Japanese, like when I go in the office,⁶⁶ it's mostly standard Japanese, right, so unless I find like a group of like *furyoo* ((delinquent)) kids um or I'm just sort of walking around listening to old people, then I don't really hear, um the like the... the actual, like, Asahi-ben kind of stuff

In answering my question, Branden first compared his experience to Liam's. Although Branden and Liam worked for the same board of education, they taught at separate schools in different neighborhoods. Branden described Liam's linguistic environment as dialect "all day, every day." In contrast, Branden explained that the teachers in his school (a junior high school⁶⁷) were trying to teach the students Standard Japanese. By saying that the children (most likely aged 13 through 15 years old) needed to be taught Standard Japanese, Branden implied that they might otherwise be using dialect. This comment also depicts Standard Japanese as something that had to be consciously taught, at least to children. Next, Branden said that he did not hear "the actual Asahi-ben stuff" unless he was listening to "bad kids" or "old people." The expression "the actual Asahi-ben stuff" suggests that there might be some other forms of the local dialect, echoing comments made by other participants in which they distinguished between Iyo-ben that was

⁶⁶ It is very likely when Branden said "office" here he meant the office at the Board of Education (BOE). Many ALTs distinguish between their workplaces in terms of the schools and the city offices where the BOE is housed.

⁶⁷ Branden's primary teaching duties were at a local junior high school and he made less frequent visits to an addition facility (introduced below), but it is likely that here he was referring to the junior high school.

common across Ehime, and more local dialects which were specific to individual towns or neighborhoods. Further, by describing dialect speakers as “bad kids and old people,” Branden painted a rather negative picture of them. Here we see linguistic ideological notions about what kind of Japanese is correct, namely Standard, because that is what teachers teach children in school. We also see a negative depiction of dialect speakers, which hints at another reason Branden may have not wanted to use dialect, perhaps to avoid associating himself with bad kids and old people.

Unlike other participants, who described Ehime residents as proud of the local dialect, Branden felt that local people did not recognize dialect as important:

Branden: I, I don't think people recognize it [dialect] as important, um, yeah

JT: and by people do you mean the Asahi natives, so to speak? The people who are born and raised here?

Branden: yeah, and even at the facility⁶⁸ sometimes I'll hear the teachers themselves say, oh Asahi-ben is like a, like a, I forget the word they used, but sort of a dirty or a lower kind of, a lower form of Japanese, and you should speak standard Japanese.

JT: that's interesting. Did they say something really negative, like, you know, like um, I wonder what it would be, you like vulgar or *gehin* or what's an

Branden: it wasn't anything to that level yeah, but just, I think maybe *kitanai* ((dirty)), something like that, and I mean I know some of that is, um, some of those situations are brought about by me being there and still having my, like, my standard-ish Japanese, you know, and them feeling like, oh, we can't have this Asahi-ben getting all over him

In this excerpt, Branden described people in Asahi as not “recognizing” dialect as important, suggesting that Branden thought dialect was more important than local residents did (and he later discussed his familiarity with efforts to preserve dialects in Okinawa as an example of how dialect could be treated as important). He explained that L1 speakers told him that he should use

⁶⁸ The facility refers to an alternative school option for children who have refused or are unable to attend traditional school (for various reasons including bullying or depression). Branden made school visits to this facility as part of his regular job duties.

Standard Japanese because Japanese Dialect was “dirty” or a “lower form of Japanese.” Branden speculated that these comments might have been due in part to his own use of Standard Japanese with L1 speakers who were using Japanese Dialect, and he described their concern that their dialect use would be a negative influence on him. Further, in describing his own Japanese as “standard-ish Japanese,” Branden depicted his Japanese speech style as becoming less standard than it previously was. In addition, it is possible that hearing L1 speakers speak negatively about dialect and suggest that dialect use could be a bad influence on him may have reinforced his preference to avoid dialect use.

When I asked Branden how he learned about dialect, he talked about various experiences, including exposure through manga and anime as well as learning about dialect from L1 speakers during study abroad in Tokyo. Branden also described his knowledge of Asahi dialect, so I asked him if he used any of the Asahi dialect elements in his own speech:

Branden: sometimes, like *ya-ken* ((it’s because, JD)) will like slip out, um but other than that I try and um just stay with my, or, I think it’s gone already, but stay to that standard dialect, yeah

JT: so you mentioned that *ya-ken* will just slip out, does that mean you try not to use it?

Branden: aaa, yeah, I think so, I think one thing is I know that that’s um, me sort of absorbing influence from the other people, and then, so I think I have resistance to like that, that, *ya-ken*, that’s not my voice.

JT: so would you say then that you sometimes make a conscious effort to not use the Asahi dialect

Branden: yes

In this excerpt, Branden characterized his use of dialect as unintentional, explaining that he tried to use Standard Japanese. However, he also commented that his Standard Japanese ability may be “gone already,” implying that his concern with losing his Standard Japanese ability was due to the influence of dialect. Further, he explained that his reason for trying to avoid using dialect was

partly because he did not want to allow his speech to “absorb influence from others.” And, crucially, he added that dialect tokens such as *ya-ken* did not fit with his image of his “voice.” I asked a follow-up question to learn more about how Branden envisioned his Japanese voice:

JT: what is your voice in Japanese?

Branden: ha, I don't, I don't think I have, ah, an answer for that, aside from, those things that I have a perception that just, come out, but, maybe just what I'm used, huh, see I know I'm, I know I'm contradicting myself, but like I think it's just like, it's what, I guess it's just my idea of what should come out naturally based on, and it must be based on what I've, what I have said previously and think that, ok this is how I speak Japanese, it must be something like that, and maybe it's just that, like, something like ya-ken, is a lot more easily identifiable

This comment shows Branden's concern with not contradicting himself, demonstrating first that he attended closely to his own views of Japanese language use, and second, that he held conflicting views about Japanese and that he was having difficulty reconciling those conflicting views. Branden also described how he believed he should sound, explaining that his voice in Japanese was based on his perception of “what should come out naturally,” and saying “this is how I speak Japanese.” These comments are similar to other participants who talked about wanting to speak naturally, and especially to Liam's explanation of his dialect use, “because that's how I speak Japanese.” Appeals to naturalness evoke a justification that one speaks the way one does because that is what is most natural. Thus, we might imagine that Branden's desired voice (cf. Dörnyei's “desired self,” 2009) was based on a notion that his most natural way of speaking would conform to the Standard Japanese style he had developed as a Japanese learner/speaker before coming to Ehime. However, Branden also pointed out that dialect tokens such as *ya-ken* were “more easily identifiable.” That identifiability may have made it possible for Branden to notice when his Japanese language use was not conforming to the image of his desired voice. In addition, this may explain how Branden and other L2 participants in this study

were able to discuss their dialect use and provide examples, because some dialect tokens were highly salient and thus easily spotted, both in one's own speech and in that of others. One source of linguistic tension, then, is observable in Branden's comments excerpted above in which he made it clear that these salient dialect tokens were something he wanted to avoid.

As we saw in the two excerpts above, Branden was very clear that dialect did not fit his voice. He also had strong feelings about what constituted correct and appropriate Japanese, and these feelings reinforced his desire to avoid dialect use. In the excerpt below, Branden described another experience which played a key role in developing his linguistic ideologies, namely his experience of formal Japanese language instruction in the U.S. Branden explained that he preferred to use polite speech rather than dialect, and I asked him to tell me about that:

Branden: I think it's, it's partly how I was taught, just, this is, um, we used JSL,⁶⁹ you know, so, um so, you know, you get that, there's that emphasis on, you know, using polite expressions, and that's sort of like the first Japanese that I was able to really, to really use and really like call myself, call my own, is all those formal expressions, and so that is sort of what comes out first, and then the same, um, towards older adults, the same things that I do in English, and that I feel the need to do, also play a role in that I think

Here Branden described the textbook from which he learned Japanese, which emphasized politeness. His description of polite Japanese as the "first Japanese I could call my own" suggests a sense of language ownership of that type of speech. Although Branden did not mention it explicitly, we can infer that because "polite Japanese" was what he learned first, it was also likely the speech style he was the most familiar with, and this may have given him a level of comfort that he did not have with other speech styles such as dialect. Branden also noted that he valued politeness and showing respect in English, and he described such displays of respect as something that he "feels the need to do." Thus, we might imagine how Branden's view of his

⁶⁹ JSL refers to the well-known Japanese language textbook series, *Japanese: the Spoken Language* (Jordan & Noda, 1987).

English speech as being polite, which he described not only as “things that I do in English” but also as “that I feel I need to do,” then translated into a desire to have his Japanese speech also be polite. This suggests how, for Branden, notions of identity and what Japanese speech styles fit his voice were closely entwined with linguistic ideologies in which politeness and formal expressions were valued because they were both the most familiar and perceived as the most correct.

Thus far, we have seen Branden’s experience with learning Japanese within a framework that emphasized politeness, and his view that Japanese politeness was consistent with the linguistic ideologies with which he was raised in the U.S. In addition to these influences on his view of Standard Japanese as more correct, he also described hearing L1 speakers in Ehime speak of dialect in what can be described as a negative way, and he described dialect tokens as not fitting his voice. If we only examined the above excerpts, we would conclude that Branden’s stance toward dialect was one of non-use. However, he also made numerous comments that showed his uncertainty about whether non-use was the right choice and he described ways in which he saw dialect use as conferring important benefits upon its speakers. Branden’s ideas about the positive role of dialect came at least partially from his observations of Liam and his perception that Liam’s use of dialect strengthened his membership in the local community and deepened relationships Liam had with L1 speakers. In the excerpt below, I asked Branden if he thought dialect understanding or use was important for ALTs living in Ehime. Branden’s comments in answering this question depict the positive elements he saw in dialect use:

Branden: oh, I think it [dialect] is [important], I think it makes a big, huh. Maybe that’s cont- ok, I think, maybe I’m contradicting my own, like, actions towards this but, um, I think it is, I think it does play a big part in your, sort of acceptance as a local inhabitant, uh, more, I mean I think it’s on that continuum with, can he speak Japanese, can he not speak Japanese, but then you get that level of, can he speak our Japanese, you know, and

so I found like, when, like when I hang out with Liam, like he gets, like, respect, um, from the Japanese people that we're with for using the dialect, you know, and it come-like, um, not respect like *me-ue* ((senior status)) kind of respect, but he gets that acknowledgement, I think, an extra bit of acknowledgement from using the Asahi-ben. and there's also like the, I mean I don't know how much of it is just Liam being Liam, but the way he speaks, I know it breaks down those sort of barriers, that, um for our, like for our supervisors and the rest of the people in the BOE, um, it breaks down the barriers that I sort of like, will be constructing in my own speech, I find myself yearning for the types of interactions that Liam has, yeah, and, yeah, I mean I've wondered too how much of that is just a reflection of his situation [in his neighborhood], But yeah, I do find that he's got a lot of, from what I see, he has deeper connections with these same people than I do, and you know, it's, I know a lot of it is his own cheerfulness, and talking, like, um I mean, you know how he talks and I think you've seen how he interacts with people, I think there's that, and then, you know I do wonder like oh, how much, you know if I changed my speech would that have an effect on these relationships with people as well

This excerpt began with Branden saying that dialect was important for ALTs in Ehime, but he quickly followed up by remarking that he was contradicting his earlier comments about wanting to not use dialect and his actions of avoiding dialect use. His concern with contradicting himself (here and above) speaks to the attention he paid to his views about Japanese language use, and suggests his desire to appear consist both in the opinions he expressed and in the linguistic choices he described making. Despite these contradictions, Branden described dialect as important and as playing a role in one's acceptance as a local inhabitant. He next described a continuum of Japanese ability in which L2 speakers were judged by L1 speakers according to whether or not they could speak Japanese, but dialect ability was described as another level which L1 speakers viewed as "our Japanese." It is notable here that although this is similar to Scott's comments that suggested viewing dialect as an insider's code, where Scott saw his foreigner status as a barrier to benefitting from dialect use, Branden did not see such a barrier. In fact, he suggested that Liam was benefitting from using dialect. However, for Branden, the only barrier was himself and his linguistic choices. Branden described Liam as getting "respect and acknowledgement" from L1 speakers for using dialect. Branden saw Liam's way of speaking, and in particular Liam's dialect use, as "breaking down barriers" with L1 speakers, while

Branden was concerned that his own speech style might have been responsible for constructing barriers. Finally, Branden used a strongly affective word, “yearning,” to describe his feelings about the kinds of interactions Liam had, and Branden wondered if he changed his speech whether it would have a positive effect on his own relationships with L1 speakers. What we see in Branden’s comments is the tension between his desire to avoid dialect use and the difficulty he had in confidently carrying out that decision. Branden’s comments about the benefits dialect use conferred upon Liam, along with Branden’s own reports of wanting to make a conscious effort to avoid dialect use, show the struggle he experienced in trying to reconcile these conflicting views of dialect. He did not want to use dialect and yet he feared that by taking that stance, he was missing out on richer interactions with L1 speakers such as those that Liam enjoyed. We may well imagine how Branden’s experience might have been different had he not known Liam. Comparing Branden and Liam with Scott and Daniel, we can see that in addition to input from L1 speakers, L2 speakers also developed their beliefs and perceptions about Japanese speech styles based partly on input from and interactions with a network of L2 counterparts.

In addition to the positive view Branden had of how dialect benefited Liam, he also saw dialect playing positive roles in other ways. In the excerpt below, I asked Branden to describe the facility he sometimes visited as part of his teaching duties, and I asked him if it was an alternative to schools and if he heard dialect there:

Branden: yes, yeah, [it’s] kind of like [an alternative school], they’re, they also try and encourage them to like it’s sort of getting them comfortable to the point where they can go to school for a day, and if it’s ok then they’ll keep going if it’s not then they’ll come back [to the facility], yeah

JT: right, so when you go to that place, do you hear more dialect or less or is it about the same?

Branden: um, the ... I hear more dialect. um there's some *shoogakkoo* ((elementary school)) kids, is one, um, and then, yeah and just the teachers, they try and make a more comfortable environment for the kids, and so I think dialect plays a part in that.

Branden described the goal of the facility as trying to make the students feel comfortable and he responded that he heard more dialect there. He explained the greater use of dialect as being partly due to the presence of elementary school-aged children, implying that younger children either use more dialect or prefer dialect. Further, Branden explained that he thought dialect played a role in making the environment at the facility more comfortable for the children. Next, I asked Branden why he thought dialect played a part in making the atmosphere more comfortable:

Branden: I mean, I've always thought that, um, just hearing the way people actually speak, like when they're, when they're in their element, I guess, that just has that more natural feeling. And I've always felt like, um, especially like out here, if you speak like the standard Japanese, then that's almost a second language or a second dialect for a lot of people

Here, Branden characterized dialect use as the way people speak when they are “in their element,” and he made reference again to the notion of “naturalness.” These two descriptions are used to explain how dialect helped to make the atmosphere more comfortable for troubled children at the facility. This comment is especially interesting considering Branden's earlier comments depicting dialect in a negative light by characterizing users of the local dialect as mainly bad kids and old people. Here, however, he depicted a positive role of dialect – the contradiction is suggestive of the difficulty Branden experienced in trying to reconcile the role of dialect.

Branden's view of dialect and its role in his own Japanese linguistic repertoire is summarized in the next excerpt, which came after I asked Branden if he thought there were any drawbacks or benefits to living in a dialect-using region:

Branden: so, benefit, I think if you, if you pay attention, I think your sort of, language, ah, what do you call it, language tapestry maybe has more colors to it, there's a lot more nuance, um, that you'll hear, one, and then I think that that same sort of, I think standard

Japanese you can take that like vagueness or that wishy-washy kind of feeling to like an extreme, and dia, at least the ones that I've come into contact with, there's a lot less of that, um, and then maybe drawback? I think, like, I think I'm pulled towards grabbing it but at the same time I want to distance myself away from getting that, getting the dialect, so I think if you, if you're worried about sort of, you know, your Japanese, like absorbing it too much to the point to where you, maybe you can't separate it anymore or something, like if you're worried about then I think that would be a drawback, I don't know

In this excerpt Branden used the expression “language tapestry” and described one benefit of dialect as adding colors to that tapestry. This imagery might suggest a somewhat romanticized view of language that draws on stereotypes of dialects as colorful. However, in the context of other comments Branden made about the importance of being polite and the correctness of Standard Japanese, this comment can also be seen as an acknowledgement that correctness or appropriateness are not the only qualities speakers seek from languages or speech styles. Another benefit of dialect that Branden described was that it is less “vague or wishy-washy” than Standard Japanese; this description suggests that Branden considered the possibility that dialect might be a better resource than Standard Japanese for straight-forward communication. Finally, Branden described being pulled toward dialect while simultaneously wanting to distance himself from it. His comment about a drawback of dialect being that its use might lead to decreased ability to “separate” dialect from standard also suggests that Branden, like Daniel, saw the ability to separate out and consciously control one's use of various speech styles as a valuable skill. These comments perhaps best sum up Branden's dilemma regarding dialect, in that he recognized dialect's benefits both as a membership resource and as a resource for adding nuance or richness to communication, but at the same time he had strong feelings that dialect did not fit his voice and that its use could lead one to become unable to control one's speech styles.

To summarize Branden's stance and how his ambivalence toward dialect took shape, I return to a consideration of the factors which emerged as salient in his interview. First, notions of

identity and voice, linguistic ideologies, and trajectories were salient and oriented toward dialect non-use. In particular, Branden's ideological valuation of Standard Japanese and polite language was closely entwined with how he envisioned his identity and voice. He described the ideas behind polite Japanese as being similar to those with which he was raised in the U.S., especially with regard to being polite to older people. He also described dialect tokens as not fitting his voice, whereas standard and polite Japanese was described as the first Japanese he could call his own. In contrast, membership concerns were also salient, as was the notion that dialect could be a resource for making and strengthening connections with others. These ideas oriented Branden toward dialect use because of the role he saw dialect as playing in strengthening membership relations. Branden described dialect as a resource for making people feel comfortable and also as a way to add color to one's speech and be more expressive. In these ways, there was disalignment in the various factors that Branden took in to account when negotiating dialect-related choices. Because Branden was unable to reconcile this disalignment, it resulted in the deep ambivalence he felt about dialect and whether to include it in his Japanese linguistic repertoire. In the next section, I consider Melissa, who shared Branden's ambivalence about dialect.

5.3.3.2. Melissa

As mentioned earlier, Melissa is the only female participant I focus on in this section. Although there were not enough female participants to come to any concrete conclusions, it seems likely that gender and gendered norms of Japanese use played a role in Melissa's experiences, and in that regard her interview makes an important contribution to this study. Melissa, like Branden, was ambivalent about whether to use dialect, however, unlike Branden, Melissa held predominantly positive views about dialect. Membership and identity and voice emerged as

salient in her interview; examination of these concerns shows that Melissa oriented toward dialect as a resource for self-expression and friendliness. On the other hand, her ambivalence toward dialect use was primarily related to her experiences of having her dialect use become the focus of conversations, an experience that she found troublesome both because it distracted from the topic at hand and because it highlighted her status as a foreigner. As explained above, Melissa is the only female participant introduced in this chapter. As some of the excerpts below show, in addition to issues of self-expression and her status as a foreigner, another issue that Melissa had to contend with was how gendered linguistic norms had implications for various Japanese linguistic choices.

Melissa's past trajectories included some Japanese language study, though only in high school (in New Zealand). She also had the experience of hosting Japanese exchange students in her home during her childhood. Those experiences sparked her interest in Japan and were a key motivator in her decision to join the JET Program. At the time of the interview, Melissa was completing her third year in Koyama. However, Melissa did not have plans to stay in Japan after her JET term ended, and she did not envision being involved in a Japan- or Japanese-related career in the future. As such, she contrasted her motivation for studying Japanese with Daniel (who was a friend) and Scott (who was both a friend and coworker), explaining that she was only learning Japanese as a hobby and thus, again in contrast to Daniel and Scott, she described dialect use as "perfectly acceptable" for her. I asked Melissa what she thought of the local dialect of Koyama:

Melissa: well it's interesting that, like, I actually, I do want to learn it, I do want to learn it because I feel it's a special thing it's something I could only learn here and if I go to other parts of Japan it's, I dunno it's unique, it's kind of like, it's like you're from that place I think, it's kind of like if somebody goes and learns English say in New Zealand or

I dunno Ireland and these places like other people will always think oh that's so interesting, like your English accent is quite unique

Here Melissa described her impression of dialect as unique and special because it could only be learned in the local area. She also compared learning dialect (implicitly an L2 speaker learning dialect) to someone learning English as an L2 speaker and said that having the accent of the place where they learned English would make them unique. In her comments, we can see that dialect offered Melissa a way to display her connection to the place where she lived in Japan, and we can see her implicit view of dialect as a resource for membership in a local community. I also asked if she heard a lot of Koyama Dialect:

Melissa: I'm definitely conscious of it. And I love it, I think it's really fun. And I love to learn new little bits, I don't know why, there's something about learning a dialect which is... it holds a lot more interest for me rather than just learning the textbook Japanese because it's something I can only learn, when you're in a certain place, you can only learn it when you're in that place, and so it's unique and I suppose, then, more special.

These comments echo her comments in the excerpt above, showing how important these ideas were to Melissa. She described being “definitely conscious” of hearing dialect, and added that she “loved it” and it was “really fun.” As above, she described dialect as special because it could only be learned in a specific place. Melissa also said that dialect held more interest for her than “textbook Japanese.” Her comments show both her awareness of the dialect used around her and also her enthusiasm for that dialect. In particular, Melissa’s enthusiasm can be seen in her use of affective language to describe dialect, using words like “love” and “really fun.” These descriptors contrast with her depiction of presumably Standard Japanese as “textbook Japanese,” implying something dry and impersonal. As with the previous excerpt, we see the great importance that Melissa ascribed to the notion of place and to being able display connection to place. Thus, it appears that dialect was appealing to Melissa because it connected her to the local

area and dialect's uniqueness may have been a resource both for self-expression as well as a resource for displaying her connection to, and by extension, membership in, that place.

In addition to describing dialect as unique, Melissa also described positive things L1 speakers told her about the benefits of using dialect:

Melissa: I think [dialect] is of interest to know, and it's fun to know, and sometimes it can help you feel a little bit closer to the people, in fact that's what my teacher⁷⁰ told me one time, when I asked about Koyama-ben, and they said to me, if you speak some Koyama-ben ((dialect)) they will be happy that you are wanting to know about their culture and it will help you feel more like a friend to them, if you use it

In terms similar to those made by other participants, Melissa explained that dialect “can help you feel closer to the people” and she shared advice from an L1 speaker about using dialect as a resource for displaying friendliness and interest in the local culture. This was not the only time she received advice or recommendations from L1 speakers about the benefits of using dialect:

Melissa: one of my teachers had said at one point um when I was talking about dialect I think I came to him with a word which I wasn't sure of and it turned out to be um, a word from, maybe it was *hiyai* ((cold, JD)), I wanted to know what *hiyai* meant, and they said, oh, and I said, should I use it, because I've been, I'll just double-check with these words, and they're like definitely, she said, definitely use it, because it'll make it easier to communicate with the kids because it will feel more friendly, and she said those exact words to me

In this excerpt, Melissa described asking a coworker whether or not she should use a dialect word and being told that she should use it because it would “make it easier to communicate” and “feel more friendly” with the schoolchildren. In addition to being an account of L1 beliefs about dialect, her comment also presents an example of Melissa being aware of a dialect token, and seeking out the opinion of L1 speakers to decide whether or not to use it herself. This suggests her desire to make informed choices about her language use, as well as the importance she

⁷⁰ It is likely that here, Melissa was referring to a coworker who was a Japanese teacher of English, because ALTs often referred to the teachers they work with as “my teacher” and the students that they teach as “my kids.” This is significant because it means that Melissa was receiving this advice from an L1 speaker who was not a teacher of Japanese language.

placed on receiving advice from L1 speakers. Together, the two excerpts above show both how dialect's benefits were perceived by some L1 speakers and they also show that some L1 speakers felt that Melissa could take advantage of those benefits by using dialect herself.

Melissa's purpose in consulting L1 speakers was to be intentional as a speaker of Japanese. She showed a similar commitment to making intentional linguistic choices when I asked her how she wanted to sound in Japanese:

JT: have you ever given any thought to how you want to sound in Japanese?

Melissa: oh yeah, that's interesting, because there's the really girly talk over here, like all that *atashi* ((feminine: I, SJ)) and all the *wa*'s ((sentence-final particle, feminine, SH)) on the end of things and, it's, that's probably one thing where I thought I don't want to sound like that, you know, cuz, I don't, I don't want to sound aggressive or something, but I don't want to sound like I'm being all, kind of cutesy all the time, I don't know why that sounds like a slightly weaker position, but you want to be taken seriously, and I don't, and for some reason that doesn't sound serious to me

In answering my question, Melissa discussed not wanting to use feminine-sounding Japanese because she did not want to sound "kind of cutesy all the time," and she thought that overly feminine speech could prevent people from taking her seriously. She described such speech as "girly talk," and gave examples such as the use of "*atashi*" instead of "*watashi*" (for the first-person pronoun I) as well as the use of feminine sentence final particles such as "*wa*." Although Melissa reported that she did not want to use "girly-girl talk," she did mention that using dialect would be fine:

Melissa: that's the one thing I've heard and thought, uh, I don't want to sound like that, and I think I would feel weird saying it. So, you know, like, whereas I wouldn't feel so weird speaking *Koyama-ben*, but I would feel really weird speaking the girly girl talk. And, I mean, I want to sound approachable, um, and like I'm being respectful, but still relatable, and so I feel like the middle ground there is, not polite Japanese, but just, you know, uh, I don't know, just the usual Japanese, do you know what I mean?

Melissa reported that she would “feel weird” using “girly-girl talk,” but would not feel weird using dialect. She explained that she wanted to sound “approachable and respectful” but still “relatable.” These comments suggest that she did not view overly feminine speak as relatable. Melissa also described wanting to find a “middle ground” in which she could speak what she described as “the usual Japanese,” suggesting that she saw feminine speech as being not “the usual Japanese.” These comments demonstrate Melissa’s awareness of how she wanted to sound and how she wanted to speak. She was clear that she did not want use overly feminine speech, and we might conclude that, for Melissa, such speech was marked, whereas dialect was not. Melissa’s comments about feminine-sounding speech are consonant with Ohara’s (2001) findings that female L2 speakers of Japanese reflect critically on the image they project when speaking Japanese, and they “make informed decisions about identities they want to construct for themselves” (p. 249). Melissa’s rejection of what she called “girly-girl talk” suggests her rejection of the identity she associated with feminine speech, namely, one that was “weaker” and “cutesy.” At the same time, her comfort with using dialect suggests dialect was not at odds with other qualities she favored, in other words, being relatable, approachable, and respectful.

As Melissa’s comments above show, being approachable, relatable, and respectful was important to her; she was concerned with the image she conveyed when speaking Japanese and dialect was not at odds with those concerns. The excerpts introduced thus far describe Melissa’s positive views of dialect, and show reasons why she enjoyed using dialect: she had a strongly positive affective response to dialect, and she valued its uniqueness and saw it as a way to express her connection to the local community. As such, dialect had the potential to offer Melissa a resource for both membership and identity. However, Melissa also shared her concerns about dialect and wondered whether it might be better to avoid using dialect. These concerns

resulted primarily from two types of experiences: 1) receiving conflicting advice from L1 speakers who advised her not to use dialect, and 2) being on the receiving end of undesirable reactions from L1 interlocutors when she used dialect. The following excerpt is an example of conflicting advice she received from an L1 speaker:

Melissa: so in a way it's kind of that's kind of like a fun thing I think and also, I dunno it [dialect] helps you connect to the people here, but then sometimes my teacher will be like Melissa-sensei that's not so cute you should say it like, like this and so yeah it's balancing it, I think it might have been like I was talking about something and I said *shittoru* ((I know, JD)), it was like a one-on-one class with um one of the um he's not special needs but he's in a class by himself and she [the teacher] said oh you should say *shitteiru shitteiru* ((I know, SJ)) it's more cute for you Melissa

In this excerpt, Melissa described a coworker who told her that dialect was “not so cute” for her and suggested that she use Standard Japanese because it was cuter. It should be noted here that the dialect form *toru* which is used for the present progressive tense (SJ: *te-iru*) is not considered masculine per se and is regularly used by both male and female speakers. It may be the case that this L1 speaker was influenced by stereotypes about how western women should sound when they speak Japanese, a phenomenon ascribed by Inoue (2006) to Japanese media representations of western women (such as through movie dubbing) in which their speech is a highly feminized version of Standard Japanese (also see Nakamura, 2013). It is somewhat paradoxical that although Melissa described not wanting to sound “cutesy,” she received advice from an L1 speaker that she should use Standard Japanese *because* it was cuter than dialect. Melissa valued the input of L1 speakers and clearly found such conflicting advice to be confusing.

In addition to receiving conflicting advice about whether to use dialect, Melissa also shared some experiences in which her dialect use received undesirable reactions from L1 speakers. The following excerpt came in response to my question about whether she thought dialect was easy or difficult:

Melissa: it is what it is ... but I can talk to somebody and ask them, and usually, and it's, and there's plenty people to ask, and it's a fun thing to talk about with the kids, the kids love it when you speak a bit of Koyama-ben. You can't really continue too much of a conversation if you've just spoken Koyama-ben because the entire time they'd be like wahhhhhh ((exclamation of surprise))

Here Melissa began with a matter-of-fact comment that dialect “is what it is,” without directly addressing the question of its difficulty. She mentioned being able to ask people, again showing how she actively sought out input from L1 speakers. Melissa also suggested that, if dialect was difficult or there was something she did not understand, asking for explanation was an easy solution. Melissa also described dialect as fun to use with schoolchildren, saying that they “love it when you speak a bit of Koyama-ben.” This comment hints at a view of dialect use by an L2 speaker as unusual or unexpected, something Melissa discussed further in excerpts below. And perhaps because of the unexpected aspect, Melissa added that after using dialect “you can't really continue too much of a conversation” because of the surprised reaction of L1 speakers to dialect use by an L2 speaker. She explained further in the excerpt below:

Melissa: sometimes just for fun, or if I know a word or something like that, I'll use it [dialect], but often if I use it, because I'm not using it all the time, it's then seen as a novelty, which then diverts from the conversation we're having into, oh wow you're speaking Koyama-ben, and so if I want to just be having neu- a conversation about something, I can't really use it because it just, you know, branches off.

In describing what happened when she used dialect, Melissa explained that because she did not use dialect all the time, when she did use it, it was seen by L1 speakers as a novelty. Although earlier excerpts suggest that Melissa saw dialect as a resource for membership, when her dialect use was attended to explicitly as unusual, it had the effect of highlighting that she was *not* a member of that community. Because of its novelty, Melissa's dialect use caused the conversation to go off topic and shift focus away from the topic at hand and onto her use of the dialect. She saw this as a reason to avoid using dialect, implying that having the conversation go

off topic in this way was undesirable. In the next excerpt, Melissa explained more about her understanding of why her dialect use was treated a novelty:

Melissa: I feel like, if you're a Japanese person and you've got a kind of a, ah, and you've got like, I don't know, your speech has a certain type of character, um, because you're Japanese, the emphasis is still on the words, but when you're foreign, people are quite interested in how you speak Japanese, and so as soon as you kind of deviate from what's considered standard or normal Japanese, all of a sudden, the focus isn't on your words anymore but on how you're speaking it. And that's fun with kids or people sometimes, but if you're just in everyday communication, if I just want to communicate a point, it's easier to stick with the standard

Melissa explained that if a Japanese person used speech that had “a certain type of character,” it did not detract from the conversation at hand *because* the speaker was Japanese. However, she explained, Japanese people were “quite interested” in *how* foreigners speak. For this reason, Melissa felt she could not “deviate from what’s considered standard or normal Japanese.” These comments point to notions of linguistic ideology, in particular Melissa’s recognition of Standard Japanese as “normal” and the depiction of not using Standard Japanese as a deviation. Thus, Melissa feared that if she did use dialect, it would shift the focus away from her words and onto how she was speaking. She acknowledged that that could be fun “sometimes,” but said that if she “just wanted to communicate a point, it’s easier to stick with the standard.” One implication here is that Melissa perceived the speech of L2 speakers as being judged by different criteria from L1 speakers and she seemed to feel that she had fewer options than L1 speakers in terms of how she spoke Japanese.

I also asked Melissa if there was anybody she wanted to sound like when speaking Japanese. Her answer shows how she prioritized avoiding the negative consequences of dialect use described above:

Melissa: ahhh, oh yeah, yeah, I guess, I guess I have, um, I guess a lot of those times though, people who I would look at and think that are those people who I’m, who I’m

around and who I respect, and I guess, that would be more like the teachers I work with, because I feel like that's a more, like if I spoke Japanese like them, I would be safe in any situation, or you know what I mean, I'd be relatable, I wouldn't be too impolite, and it would sound natural

In answering my question, Melissa explained that she wanted to sound like her Japanese coworkers, who were teachers that she was both familiar with and that she respected. She described their way of speaking as “safe in any situation,” suggesting that she saw their Japanese as a model that could prevent undesirable experiences such as those she described above.

In sum, Melissa had positive feelings about dialect, in that she saw dialect as unique and special and she described it as more appealing than “textbook Japanese.” In Melissa’s comments we can see the potential she perceived for dialect as a resource for self-expression, and by extension, for identity. In addition, dialect did not have the kind of negative connotations she perceived in overly feminine speech. Further, Melissa valued dialect because it gave her a way to connect to the area where she lived, and thereby acted as a resource for membership. Melissa received advice from L1 speakers that ratified her use of dialect and some L1 speakers said she should use dialect in order to be seen as more friendly. At the same time, she was concerned with the potential for dialect to highlight her status as a foreigner, and she received conflicting advice from other L1 speakers who suggested she should not use dialect because standard Japanese was “more cute” for her. Melissa also described experiences in which her dialect use distracted L1 interlocutors from the conversation at hand. These experiences served to highlight her status as a foreigner, and her comments suggest that she recognized that there were different criteria used to judge and react to the speech of L2 speakers.

5.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described the three main stances that L2 participants took toward dialect use: use, non-use, and ambivalence. Participants' descriptions of their stances show that they took into account a constellation of factors. These factors varied across participants in terms of which factors emerged as salient in interviews and whether those factors were oriented toward dialect use or non-use. Participants' trajectories informed their expectations for their Japanese communities and whether they envisioned a continuation of their involvement in those communities, in other communities in Japan, or whether they planned to leave Japan after finishing their JET contracts. Participants' linguistic ideologies played a role in how they viewed issues of Japanese correctness and in their understandings of the linguistic norms of their local communities. Also notable were competing ideologies, in which Standard Japanese was valued for its status as the most correct speech style while dialect was valued for its role in memberships and interpersonal relationships. Membership concerns emerged in participants' depictions of their roles in local communities, in whether or how they saw dialect as a resource in those communities, and in which communities participants envisioned as relevant and valuable. Another key factor in participants' dialect use stances was identity and whether or how they viewed dialect as compatible with their sense of self and whether they felt that dialect fit their "voice." This combination of factors helps explain why and how dialect use stances varied across participants. Examining these issues facilitates a consideration of how participants who shared the same stance sometimes differed in important ways, while other participants with different stances nevertheless shared other similarities. In this final section, I will consider the similarities and differences of the six participants introduced in this chapter and the factors which they treated as relevant.

A few issues were highlighted across participants with regard to membership and identity concerns. In particular, the question of foreigner status emerged as salient in some interviews. This was especially evident with regard to how participants depicted their foreigner status, how they understood its potential impact on their linguistic choices, and how any given speech style choice might be received by L1 interlocutors. For example, William described using linguistic knowledge, of Japanese in general and of dialect in particular, as a way to avoid calling attention to his foreigner status. He also saw dialect use as a way to distinguish himself from an imagined community of foreigners in Japan who have only a superficial interest in the country and its people. Liam seemed to be unperturbed by his status as a foreigner and L1 reactions that his dialect use was “funny” because of that foreigner status were not treated as a reason to change his dialect use. Liam may even have enjoyed the apparent incongruity that his use of dialect had for L1 speakers. In contrast, Melissa found L1 attention to her dialect use troubling, and she attended to how L2 speakers’ Japanese language use was evaluated using criteria that differed from that used for L1 speakers. Melissa understood her foreigner status as resulting in some restrictions on her Japanese linguistic choices. The concern about restrictions due to being a foreigner was even more salient for Scott. Scott viewed his status as a white foreigner as a barrier to assimilating fully into Japanese society. He also felt that his foreigner status prevented him from accessing any benefits that dialect use might otherwise offer. These divergent understandings of what it meant to be foreign in Japan then played a role in the approaches that each participant took in making Japanese linguistic choices.

The role of linguistic choices in communities and memberships in those communities was also an issue that participants needed to reconcile. For example, William used dialect as a way to assimilate into a local Japanese community in which dialect use was common. Similarly, Liam’s

description of local linguistic norms as an explanation or justification for his dialect use can also be seen as a way that he framed himself as a member of that dialect-using community. Melissa struggled to come to a decision about dialect use, while Scott elected to reject dialect use completely. It should also be noted that neither Daniel nor Branden addressed their foreigner status in the context of discussing their dialect use stances. Although Branden did not describe his status as a foreigner as playing a role in his relationships with L1 speakers, he did express concerns that his Japanese speech style choices, namely avoiding dialect, might be having a negative impact, while conversely he speculated that dialect use might have a positive impact on his relationships with L1 speakers. Daniel, on the other hand, used Standard Japanese and intentionally acquired honorific language ability as a way to assimilate into an urban professional community in which knowing how to speak to whom was seen as an essential skill. Thus, while William, Liam, and Melissa sought membership in the local community, Scott seemed to have already concluded that any such membership for him was limited. Branden expressed his ambivalence with what he saw as a choice between sounding like himself and having limited membership or taking on an unwanted speech style to foster a more connected membership. For Daniel, the community in which he desired membership was one in which dialect use was not needed or expected.

Participants also paid close attention to whether or how their Japanese linguistic choices allowed them express an identity and voice that was consonant with their own identity conceptions or desired voice. Liam described his way of speaking in English as being rough and vulgar, and he saw dialect as the speech style that best allowed him to express that in Japanese. Both Daniel and Branden were more concerned with politeness and speaking appropriately to elders or superiors, and Standard Japanese as well as Japanese honorifics were key resources for

enacting a polite, appropriate Japanese language persona. Melissa commented on overly feminine Japanese speech styles and described her strong feelings of wanting to avoid such language, comparing that with dialect, which was attractive to her because of its uniqueness. Scott attended to age-related issues and hoped to have Japanese language skills that were appropriate but also “cool,” similar to how he saw the speech of his friend Naoki.

Participants’ trajectories also intersected with their goals for memberships and for their Japanese language personas. Participants who had a stronger connection to Japan in their past experiences also tended to want to maintain that connection into the future. Daniel might be said to have had the strongest Japan-connection, given his extensive experience living and working in a variety of locations in Japan prior to joining JET and his envisioned future trajectory in which he planned to remain in Ehime long-term. His high level of Japanese ability, and the importance that his Japanese competence held for him, was clearly a product of his trajectories thus far. In addition, his envisioned future trajectories, in which he planned to stay in Japan long-term, meant that he viewed his Japanese competence, and in particular, competence in Standard Japanese, as both desirable and essential. Branden also had experience in Japan before coming to Ehime, and like Daniel, Branden’s Japanese skills were developed to a high level before he came to Ehime. Unlike Daniel or William, Branden was unsure of where he would go after ending his JET tenure, but he did not intend to stay in the JET Program after his second year, and he did not intend to stay in Ehime after the JET Program. Although Branden is similar to Daniel in terms of the high value he placed on politeness skills, he differed from Daniel in that Branden was very concerned that his choice to avoid dialect use was having negative influences on his relationships with L1 speakers. William did not have as much experience in Japan as Daniel or Branden, but he had studied Japanese prior to joining the JET program and planned on remaining in Ehime for

at least five years and staying in Japan indefinitely after that. William's Japanese language persona did not emerge in the interviews as clearly as did Daniel's or Branden's, but William did stress that continuing to develop his Japanese language skills was important to him. Further, William incorporated dialect into his Japanese repertoire because he saw dialect as a resource for membership.

Participants also revealed their understandings of whether dialect was viewed as important by L1 speakers. For example, Liam, Daniel, and Scott all described dialect as important to L1 speakers. Liam described L1 speakers as enjoying boasting about dialect, while Daniel and Scott mentioned dialect's cultural importance to L1 speakers. William also mentioned dialect's importance for L2 speakers who wanted to fit in and show their commitment to a specific community and avoid being seen as having only a casual interest in Japan. On the other hand, Branden described local L1 speakers as not recognizing the importance of their local dialect.

Examining the interviews with Branden and Melissa also suggests some of the roles played by other speakers in shaping beliefs and perceptions about dialect. For example, Branden reported hearing negative comments from L1 speakers about dialect use, something other participants did not describe. Branden also made numerous comments about his observations of Liam's dialect use and the positive role that Branden perceived dialect played for Liam. Branden's observations of Liam, and in particular of Liam's dialect use and what Branden perceived to be close relationships that Liam shared with L1 speakers, had a significant impact on how Branden perceived the role of dialect in membership concerns. We might even imagine that if Branden had not known Liam, the ambivalence Branden felt about dialect might have been largely avoided. Melissa reported receiving conflicting advice from L1 speakers about

dialect use, some of whom told her she should use dialect and others who told her she should not. This was a source both of confusion and frustration for her. Finally, in Melissa's report of being told that Standard Japanese was "more cute" for her, we also saw how gender may play a role in expectations for and opinions about dialect use.

In conclusion, the benefits or possibilities of dialect as perceived by these L2 participants included the ability to demonstrate one's commitment to the community, a way to fit in, a way to express oneself, a way to sound natural, and a way to add something unique to one's Japanese linguistic repertoire. The drawbacks or pitfalls of dialect included risking having one's status as a foreigner highlighted, receiving unwanted attention on one's language use, becoming unable to use Standard Japanese, and experiencing being judged by criteria different from that applied to L1 speakers. Dialect was full of possibilities and pitfalls for L2 participants: for some, dialect-related negotiations were unproblematic and proceeded with little difficulty. For others, dialect highlighted membership concerns, raising questions about their roles in local communities and forcing them to reconsider who they wanted to be in Japanese and how they wanted to sound. In short, dialect presented a paradox in that it offered its users a chance to fit in that was accompanied by the risk of sticking out as a foreigner.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This study has focused on the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 participants and their L1 counterparts in Ehime, Japan. In Chapter 4, I examined the linguistic context of Ehime through dialect products and L1 interview data. In Chapter 5, I explored the dialect use stances of L2 participants and the factors that they took into account as they negotiated Japanese speech styles. I would now like to return to the research questions introduced in Chapter 1 to consider some of the ways those questions can be answered in light of the findings from Chapters 4 and 5. After a discussion of findings, I present conclusions and implications and consider the study's limitations and directions for future research.

6.2. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS

6.2.1. Research Question 1

What beliefs and perceptions do L2 speakers report about Japanese Dialect and Standard Japanese? How do their beliefs compare to those held by their Japanese counterparts?

Both L2 and L1 participants reported a range of beliefs about dialect. Although participants' comments included positive and negative views about dialect, positive comments were more common among both groups. For example, L2 participants described dialect as friendly, unique, and culturally important, and some described dialect as adding richness to the Japanese language. L2 participants also saw dialect use as a way to display their interest in the local community, as a way to fit in and align with local norms, and as a method for self-expression. L1 speakers made similar comments, describing dialect as warm, friendly, and culturally important. L1 participants also described dialect use as revealing a speaker's identity and as helping to make others feel

comfortable. With regard to dialect and L2 speakers, many L1 participants felt that dialect understanding was important while dialect use was not necessary. However, many of these same L1 participants added that there were various benefits for L2 speakers who did use dialect, in particular in terms of becoming more integrated into the local community.

Some participants also described dialect using less positive terms and one interesting finding was that there were more negative comments and a greater variety of negative comments made by L2 participants, while L1 participants made very few negative comments overall and those comments were limited in variety. L2 participants described dialect as uncool, accented, and country Japanese. Some L2 participants also described dialect users (i.e., L1 speakers who used dialect) in negative ways as well. For example, dialect users were described as hicks, bad kids, and old people. Liam's comments warrant special attention here since he described dialect as vulgar, rude, and rough. However, it seemed that he enjoyed these aspects of dialect and he enjoyed using dialect for these reasons. While negative comments made by other L2 participants were part of their justification for avoiding dialect, in Liam's case, these "negative" qualities were part of dialect's appeal.

L1 participants described the importance of avoiding dialect in certain situations and expressed their concerns that dialect would be challenging for L2 speakers. However, while L2 participants discussed the difficulty of switching back and forth between Standard Japanese and Japanese Dialect, leading many L2 participants to express the concern that dialect use would become a bad habit, L1 participants did not mention this as a concern for L2 speakers. One exception to this was Nakamura, who described exclusive use of dialect by L2 speakers as being problematic.

As mentioned above, most L1 participants tended not to mention negative views about dialect. I have already discussed (in Chapter 3) how my status as an L2 speaker and as a Caucasian foreigner may have been partially responsible for the lack of negative comments from L1 speakers. It may be that some L1 participants did not want to share negative views about their “native dialect” with me if they saw me as an outsider or a guest. In addition, most of the L1 participants were public school teachers and civil servants; passing on local culture through dialect may have been seen as part of their official role. Nakamura’s description of dialect as the country’s treasure is perhaps the best example of this. Thus, if we accept that participants’ responses to interview questions were partly influenced by a sense of responsibility to only share positive views, then L1 participant interview findings can be seen as indicative of recent sociolinguistic norms in which dialect is characterized as an important part of local culture or local heritage (cf. Ohuchi, 2014; Satoh & Yoneda, 1999; Tanaka, 2014). Regardless of individual L1 participant’s opinions about dialect, the overwhelming similarity of comments made in L1 interviews about dialect’s redeeming qualities offers further support for understanding the role of dialect in Ehime as performing a symbolic representation of local heritage. Such an interpretation also supports the understanding of linguistic ideologies as taken-for-granted views of dialect and justifications for the details of dialect use, in particular with regard to when, how, and with whom dialect was used (cf. Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1992).

At the same time, interview findings also point to the existence of competing ideologies: namely, although dialect was generally depicted in positive ways, participants were nevertheless careful to stress that dialect was not a universally acceptable choice. Both L1 and L2 participants described situations in which dialect use was not appropriate (e.g., professional and formal interactions, interactions with higher status interlocutors etc.). In addition, L2 and L1 participants

tended to refer to Standard Japanese with words like proper or *chanto shita* (both L2 and L1 participants), normal (L2 participants), and *kirei* (pretty, L1 participants); by extension, such comments also implied that dialect was not proper, normal, or pretty. These findings suggest that while dialect may occupy a symbolically important place in Ehime, Standard Japanese was nevertheless treated as the default for formal and professional situations. Further, some comments were suggestive of a view that Standard Japanese was the default for L2 speakers as well. As discussed in Iino (2006), there may be some resistance to the idea of an L2 speaker speaking more like a native speaker, which in the context of this study would include using dialect. Ultimately, recalling Kubota's (2014) comment that there is still "strong contempt for non-standard forms of [Japanese] language" (p. 21), these findings emphasize the complexity of dialect-related issues in general and with regard to dialect use by L2 speakers.

In sum, examining the interview data shows that L2 participants reported a range of beliefs and perceptions about dialect and there was a great deal of similarity in the beliefs and perceptions of L2 and L1 participants. However, L2 participants shared a wider range of beliefs and perceptions, including more comments depicting negative aspects, than L1 participants. It seems likely that L2 participant views of dialect as friendly and useful for community membership were informed by both the local linguistic context and by dialect stereotypes (e.g., both positive ones of dialect as friendly and negative ones of dialect as rude or rough) which they encountered in dialect products, observations of dialect in use, and discussions about dialect with other speakers (both L1 and L2).

6.2.2. Research Question 2

What dialect use stances do L2 speakers describe in interviews? What factors do they take into account in arriving at those stances? How do L2 participant dialect use stances compare to those of L1 participants?

Based on findings from L2 participants' interviews, I categorized their accounts of dialect use or non-use into three dialect use stances: dialect use, non-use, and ambivalence. Although I focused on two L2 participants from each stance group in Chapter 5, it is notable that, considering the L2 participant group as a whole, there were more participants in the dialect use stance group than in the other two groups. (See Table 5.1 in Chapter 5 for a complete list of L2 participant dialect use stances.) This was consistent with the finding that most participants reported positive views of dialect. Some L2 participants who described a stance of dialect use reported that dialect helped them fit in to the local community, as we saw with William. Others saw dialect as a way to express identity or to align with local norms, as we saw with Liam.

L2 participants who described a stance of dialect non-use gave various kinds of justification for their stances. Scott saw his identity as a white foreigner as a barrier to becoming fully integrated into the local community. He associated dialect with "being one of" the local community, and because he saw that as something he could not do, he saw no personal benefit to dialect use. His plans to use Japanese in a future career also led him to prioritize the use of Standard Japanese. On the other hand, Daniel's dialect non-use was connected to his strong belief in the importance of being polite and appropriate, which led him to value Standard Japanese and honorific language as a way to show politeness to elders or superiors. Daniel envisioned a future for himself in a business-professional context in Japan, and he saw Standard Japanese and especially honorific language as important business skills. He depicted dialect as largely irrelevant and he expressed disinterest in using it himself. Further, both Scott and Daniel saw the use of dialect as something that could become a bad habit.

Finally, some L2 participants reported ambivalence toward dialect and struggled to make a decision about whether to use dialect. Branden expressed his desire to avoid dialect use and he described Standard Japanese as the speech style that best fit his voice and his sense of self. In this regard, we can see some similarities between Branden and Daniel, in that both reported a preference for Standard Japanese and viewed it as a central component of their Japanese language personae. However, Branden suspected that his choice to not use dialect was creating barriers between him and his Japanese counterparts, a concern not expressed by Daniel. Conversely, Melissa *wanted* to use dialect but was uncomfortable with the unwanted attention that doing so incurred. She was dissatisfied with a double-standard that allowed L1 speakers to speak in non-standard ways but which also meant that a foreigner doing so became the object of unwanted attention. The ambivalent stance toward dialect use that Branden and Melissa described illustrates how the use of dialect can highlight one's status as a foreigner and how dialect can become a site of identity struggle.

Examining L2 participant interviews revealed that they took into account the following factors as they negotiated the Japanese linguistic choices available to them: linguistic ideologies, trajectories, membership, and identity and voice. These factors intersected in various ways. For example, trajectories refers to both past experiences and anticipated future activities, and included participants' experiences with and plans regarding Japanese language study and residence in Japan, where they saw themselves living and working in the future, and with whom they imagined interacting in their personal and professional lives. Trajectories intersected with notions of membership and identity in numerous ways. For example, there was a great deal of overlap in terms of what kinds of communities participants envisioned being involved in, what roles they envisioned playing in those communities, and how they envisioned those roles in

relationship to others in the communities. With regard to their own Japanese language use, participants attended to how they sounded, how they wanted to sound, or how they felt they should sound when speaking Japanese. Participants also expressed concern with how their linguistic choices influenced what they could do in current and future communities. In turn, how participants conceived of these communities, their memberships in them, and their future trajectories within or beyond these communities played a role in which ideological orientation emerged as more salient in their interviews. The interviews also revealed a great deal about participants' linguistic ideologies, demonstrating, for example, that when notions of correctness were highly salient in interviews, there was a corresponding emphasis on using Standard Japanese (as with Daniel). On the other hand, when local sociolinguistic norms emerged as more salient, there was a stance of dialect use (as with Liam).

Comparing the dialect use stances of L2 participants with those of L1 participants reveals two notable findings. First, there were use and non-use stances in both participant groups. However, there was only a small number of L1 participants in the non-use group. The overall number of participants was small, and this study's aim was not to arrive at any quantitative conclusions. In addition, the small number of L1 participants reporting dialect non-use may have been due to the age range represented in the L1 participant group, in particular because there was only one L1 participant who was in the 20-29 age range. (The question of the role of age in dialect use stances is discussed in detail below). An additional factor relates to the mobility, or lack thereof, of the L1 participants. Namely, almost all of the L1 participants were originally from Ehime and all were living in Ehime at the time of the study. If the L1 participant group included more participants who were living away from their hometowns, the result may have been different. It is nevertheless notable that dialect use was so common among the L1

participants in this study, while only a few L1 participants reported non-use. This finding is consistent with L2 participants' descriptions of dialect use in Ehime and is also consistent with findings from Japanese Dialectology that Western Japan, including Shikoku, where Ehime is located, is still very much "dialect-oriented" (Kobayashi, 2007; also see Aizawa, 2012; Tanaka & Maeda, 2012; Tanaka, 2014).

Second, although there were L2 participants who were strongly ambivalent about whether to use dialect, there were no L1 participants who expressed similar ambivalence toward their own dialect or its use. It should be noted that this finding may apply only to this specific group of L1 participants in this region, and, as mentioned above, L1 participants' lack of mobility may be a key factor for this study's L1 participant dialect use stances. Indeed, findings in other studies, such as those of Occhi (2008) and Inoue (2006), include examples of L1 speakers who struggled with or experienced ambivalence about dialect and whether or when to use it. However, this study's lack of L1 participants reporting ambivalence toward their own dialect use suggests the degree to which dialect use was normative and uncontested for these participants in this region. The L1 participants in this study had access to and were able to make choices between both standard and dialect. Further, their depictions of usage distinctions (*tsukai-wake*) as something undertaken as a matter-of-course demonstrates the integrated place that dialect occupied in their linguistic repertoires. This contrasts with the L1 speakers in Occhi's (2008) study, detailed in Chapter 2, for whom switching between standard and dialect was described as stressful. The difference may be because most of the L1 participants in this study were living in or close to their hometowns at the time of the study, unlike Occhi's participants who were not in their hometowns at the time of data collection. Nevertheless, the L1 participants in this study differed from those L2 participants who reported unwanted consequences as a result of dialect choices as

well as concerns about their ability to make usage distinctions and switch back and forth competently.

While L1 participants did not express ambivalence about their own dialect use, we may consider whether their comments regarding dialect use by L2 speakers reflect some ambivalence, either toward L2 speakers or toward the idea of having their dialect used by “outsiders” or perhaps non-native speakers. Most L1 participants responded to questions about dialect use by L2 speakers by saying that they thought it was not necessary for L2 speakers to use dialect; many L1 participants then added that although dialect use was unnecessary, L2 speakers who did use dialect would benefit in various ways, most especially with regard to their relationships with L1 speakers and their memberships in local communities. Given these perceived benefits, one explanation for the hesitance of L1 participants to explicitly recommend that L2 speakers use dialect may be due to some feelings of ambivalence, perhaps toward L2 speakers (i.e., foreigners) or toward the use of “their dialect” by “outsiders” (i.e., Japanese people not from Ehime).⁷¹ Alternatively, rather than viewing L2 speakers as outsiders, this hesitance might be due to a view of L2 speakers as guests, and perhaps short-term members; such an interpretation is consonant with comments made by Nakamura and Yoshio, for example, who discussed the likelihood that L2 speakers will eventually leave Ehime, and as such, adopting dialect specific to Ehime might be seen as a liability for the L2 speakers.

To summarize the findings with regard to Research Question 2, we saw that three dialect use stances were reported by L2 participants, as compared to L1 participants, who only reported two. The ambivalent stance, which was not seen in the L1 participants, offers us a look at the

⁷¹ The distinction between being a foreigner (i.e., not Japanese) and being an outsider (i.e., Japanese but not from Ehime) may be relevant but is beyond the scope of this study. Such a question would require an in-depth examination of L1 speakers living in new regions within Japan in order to consider whether or how their experiences differed from those of non-Japanese.

struggles some L2 participants experienced when negotiating Japanese linguistic choices. In particular, negotiating choices about dialect required L2 participants to face questions about their status as foreigners. For some participants, choosing between standard and dialect seemed difficult at best, with some struggling to reconcile their L2 identities with perceived sociolinguistic norms of Japanese. L2 participants also took into account various factors as they negotiated between standard and dialect, in particular past trajectories, envisioned future trajectories, memberships, and notions of identity and voice. Linguistic ideologies were woven in and through the beliefs and perceptions shared by participants, and their comments point to competing ideologies of standard and dialect in which Standard Japanese was valued as the correct and proper way to speak, while Japanese Dialect was depicted as being important for cultural and interpersonal reasons.

6.2.3. Research Question 3

Does dialect function as linguistic capital for L2 speakers, and if so, how and in what ways?
Does dialect-as-linguistic-capital differ for L2 speakers in comparison to L1 speakers?

As explained in Chapter 2, linguistic capital is Bourdieu's (1991) economic metaphor for describing how certain types of language have value in certain contexts. When a language or speech style functions as a resource, for example, by providing access to desired communities or activities, we can say that it is functioning as linguistic capital in that context and for that particular interactional goal. Using language that is valued, sometimes referred to as the "legitimate language" (Bourdieu, 1991; also cf. Woolard, 1992), can facilitate a speaker's access to desired or beneficial outcomes, such as educational and occupational opportunities. It is helpful to think of this kind of legitimate language as "institutional linguistic capital." Standard languages or standard varieties are generally viewed as functioning as linguistic capital; thus for

the Japanese language, Standard Japanese is the principal speech style which offers institutional linguistic capital. However, what counts as linguistic capital always depends on the social context of the interaction. Thus, non-standard varieties or regional dialects can also function as linguistic capital and, given certain situations and interlocutors, Japanese Dialect can function as linguistic capital. Based on the findings of this study, the linguistic capital of Japanese Dialect appears to facilitate access to, in particular, local communities, various types of memberships (i.e., in those communities) and identity constructions. As such, and in contrast to the institutional linguistic capital of Standard Japanese, dialect can be described as functioning as “affective linguistic capital” because it facilitates interpersonal and personal goals. Expanding on the research reviewed in Chapter 2, I argue that Japanese Dialect can be said to function as linguistic capital for L1 speakers when dialect’s affective resources facilitate the achievement of desirable interactional goals, for example, those connected to membership and identity.

Before considering whether dialect functioned as linguistic capital for the L2 participants in this study, I want to return to the findings from interviews with the L1 participants, which can be used as a baseline from which to understand dialect’s possibilities for L2 participants. One notable finding was that almost all of the L1 participants in this study described dialect as a resource for friendship and membership (e.g., as seen in interviews with Yoshio and Nakamura). Some also described dialect as resource for identity (e.g., Hamada) and even as a useful tool in business interactions (e.g., Yoshio). These L1 participants also shared their views about dialect’s potential to function similarly for L2 speakers, explaining that although dialect use was not necessary for L2 speakers, those who did use it would benefit in similar ways to L1 speakers. On the other hand, one L1 participant, Naoki, did not see any benefits from dialect use, either for himself or for L2 speakers. Taken as a whole, the L1 interview findings suggest that dialect did

indeed function as linguistic capital for many of the L1 participants. At the same time, the findings also demonstrate that not all L1 participants viewed dialect in the same way, which points to the contingent nature of dialect's ability to function as linguistic capital.

Examination of the findings from L2 interviews shows that many L2 participants described ways dialect functioned as a resource, in particular for membership and identity. For example, William and Liam described dialect as a resource for membership, and Liam described dialect as resource for identity. On the other hand, Daniel, like Naoki, saw dialect as having no personal relevance or benefit. The range of views reported by William, Liam, and Daniel were similar to those reported by the L1 participants described above, both in terms of the range of views (with depictions of dialect ranging from valuable to irrelevant) and also in that these three L2 participants depicted their dialect use stances as unproblematic. In other words, although their stances toward dialect use are not identical, each depicted his stance in a matter-of-fact way and, crucially, as the result of a completed decision-making process rather than one that was on-going.

Other L2 participants expressed more conflicted views of dialect and some focused on foreign-ness as a constraint in ways that the L1 participants did not. For example, Scott, who described dialect's potential to demonstrate in-group membership, felt that his status as a white foreigner negated any benefit that might otherwise be derived from dialect use. Melissa wanted to use dialect but feared negative consequences from dialect use and she described the unwelcomed reactions of L1 speakers to her dialect use, which she felt caused her conversations to become derailed. Finally, Branden described his dislike of dialect, explaining that it did not fit his voice. Branden's concern with dialect can be understood as a concern with an identity cost that could result from using dialect. However, Branden conveyed uncertainty about his linguistic

choices, which he expressed in his concern that choosing not to use dialect had negative repercussions on his relationships with L1 speakers.

It is in the experiences of participants such as Melissa and Branden that we can begin to see how dialect-as-linguistic-capital differs for L2 speakers in comparison to L1 speakers. For example, when we examine Melissa and Branden in juxtaposition to Yoshio and Naoki, what we see is a set of concerns which impact L2 speakers' dialect-related choices but which are largely irrelevant for L1 speakers. Melissa described use of dialect by an L2 speaker as having the potential to be contested by an L1 interlocutor on the grounds that the L2 speaker's status as a foreigner makes dialect use unexpected, unusual, funny, or "not cute." On the other hand, Yoshio enthusiastically used dialect, even, or perhaps especially, in situations that did not fit the canonical description of situations appropriate for dialect use – namely, he reported using dialect in workplace interactions and with people not from Ehime, and he did so without fear of unwanted consequences. Branden, who preferred not to use dialect, feared that adherence to a standard-only speech style would create a barrier to the development of closer connections with his L1 counterparts. Conversely, Naoki, who also described his Japanese use as being primarily standard, expressed no such concern regarding negative repercussions from the avoidance of dialect.

Thus, the question of whether dialect functions as linguistic capital for L2 speakers is revealed to be both complex and contingent. Moreover, dialect's potential to function as linguistic capital for L2 speakers was often constrained in ways which were not relevant for L1 speakers. Although dialect is available as one speech style choice among many for L1 speakers in Ehime, the same cannot be said for L2 speakers without adding several key qualifiers. Dialect use was viewed as unproblematic and as a beneficial resource by many L2 participants. However,

for other L2 participants, their less positive experiences with dialect, and some unwelcome reactions of L1 speakers to L2 dialect use, demonstrate that L2 speakers' use of dialect may be questioned or even contested by L1 speakers. Such reactions to L2 dialect use highlight questions of legitimate language user and the L2 speaker's status as a foreigner. The comments and experiences shared by these L2 participants suggests that foreign-ness can limit linguistic choices in ways that have ramifications for the acquisition and deployment of speech styles and for the diversification of L2 speakers' linguistic repertoires. Thus, dialect may function as linguistic capital for some L2 speakers in some situations, but its use also carries the risk that a speaker's status as a foreigner may be highlighted. Although in this study, the degree to which such highlighting was unwanted varied from one L2 participant to another, the possibility remained that an L2 speaker's choice to use dialect can be called into question because the L2 speaker is a foreigner.

6.3. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 participants and their L1 counterparts in Ehime, Japan. Findings from dialect products and from interviews with L1 participants suggest that, by drawing on positive stereotypes, dialect acted as a symbolic marker of friendliness, warmth, and nostalgia. Conceptions of dialect as a marker of local identity and group membership emerged in numerous interviews. Standard Japanese was generally depicted as the default, and the importance of making appropriate distinctions between when to use standard and when to dialect further suggest the lingering effects of dialect's past as a stigmatized speech style. Nevertheless, L1 participants reported overwhelmingly positive views of dialect, and most L1 participants reported that they used dialect as part of their linguistic repertoire. As such, it is not surprising that all L2 participants in this study encountered dialect in

their linguistic daily lives and had to negotiate issues related to its understanding and use. However, L2 participant stances toward dialect use, and the reasons given for those stances, differed across participants. For some L2 participants, dialect was a useful tool or an appealing form of self-expression, and their experiences navigating dialect-related issues were smooth and relatively unproblematic. For others, dialect represented a contested code in which their linguistic choices became sites of struggle with regard to their Japanese language identities and memberships in local communities. L2 participants' reflections on how they sounded or wanted to sound in Japanese suggest that even as they strove to exercise their agency and intentionality through making Japanese linguistic choices, competing concerns impacted their decisions. These concerns included notions of voice, status as a foreigner, and perceived double-standards of language use such that L2 speakers' linguistic choices were believed to be limited compared to those of L1 speakers. Many participants also raised questions about L2 competence and L2 participants' in particular questioned their own ability to control or switch between speech styles, which resulted in the fear that use of dialect would become a "bad habit."

When we consider this study's findings with regard to the question of linguistic capital, several issues emerge. First, the L2 participants were in Japan (as JET Programme participants) in large part by virtue of their status as native speakers of English. However, it was their Japanese language ability and the choices they made about their Japanese language repertoire that shaped the experiences they had in their local communities. Standard Japanese offered these participants important linguistic capital that they drew from both in their daily lives and in how they prepared for their envisioned future trajectories. However, in light of this study's findings, I argue that any consideration of what counts as linguistic capital for Japanese L2 speakers is incomplete without a consideration of the role and possibilities offered by Japanese Dialect. As

we have seen in this study, dialect mattered for these L2 participants and their experiences point to the need for a more nuanced understanding of linguistic capital for L2 speakers.

6.4. CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study contributes to the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and sociolinguistics and has implications for the teaching and learning of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL).

Through an examination of L2 participants' descriptions of their dialect-related negotiations, this study highlights the intentionality with which L2 participants approached L2 linguistic choices.

It contributes to our understanding of the role that L2 identity plays in how speakers perceive and navigate L2 speech styles as they strive to balance their own identity concerns against perceived linguistic norms of the L2. In addition, the findings extend the notion of linguistic capital in an L2 to include non-standard varieties and consider ways that examinations of linguistic capital can go beyond educational or occupational contexts.

Although this study has not considered L2 acquisition or proficiency development, it contributes to SLA research in a variety of ways. For example, this study examined L2 participants who were living and working in Japan and who were not involved in formal instruction. As a result, the findings complement SLA research that compares L2 learning contexts, including traditional classroom instruction, home country immersion, short-term study abroad, and long-term study abroad (e.g. Hernandez, 2010; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Magnan & Back, 2007; Marques-Pascual, 2011; Reynolds-Case, 2013). In addition, there is a growing body of research that considers how L2 learners and speakers acquire different speech styles in the L2, including informal speech and non-standard speech styles (e.g., Iwasaki 2011; Kitade, 2013; McMeekin 2014). Further, with regard to regional dialect features, numerous studies examine L2 Arabic, French, and Spanish (e.g., George, 2014; Gutierraz & Fairclough, 2006; Knouse, 2012;

Raish, 2015; Ringer-Hilfinger, 2012; van Compernelle, 2010); this study extends such work by adding Japanese to the list of second languages being investigated and by focusing on the beliefs and perceptions of participants. Finally, this study contributes to the growing body of research which answers the call put forth by Firth and Wagner (1997) to broaden the SLA database by looking beyond formal learning contexts and by conceptualizing participants not as learners or deficient communicators but as language users and L2 speakers.

This study also has several pedagogical implications with regard to the teaching and learning of JFL. First, the findings of this study should not be taken to mean that Japanese language learners should be taught a particular dialect in the JFL classroom. Although Japanese Dialect was an important speech style for the L2 participants in this study, it should be remembered that the details of dialect differ from one region to another. As such, it is neither practical nor feasible to teach individual Japanese dialects within the context of formal JFL instruction. This does not mean that the topic should be ignored completely. Instead, this study demonstrates the importance of raising L2 learners' awareness of the varieties of Japanese speech styles and addressing speech style differences that go beyond plain and honorific speech styles. As such, one goal of JFL instruction should be to prime learners to attend to speech style differences so that they develop a foundation upon which to build a more nuanced understanding of how different speech styles function in various types of interaction. This goal might be conceptualized as teaching Japanese learners how to become "informed consumers" of Japanese so that when they participate in local communities in Japan, they can attend to speech style differences and consider their social meanings in order to decide whether or how to incorporate these speech styles into their own Japanese linguistic repertoires. For example, learning resources which include authentic materials can be used to expose JFL students to a variety of

speech styles (cf. Tarone & Swain, 1995). Using media including television, film, and online resources, teachers can guide students to help them notice and understand different kinds of speech styles and consider their social meanings. Rather than emphasizing rules (as often happens when Japanese honorifics are taught) but instead encouraging students to engage with speech styles at the conceptual level (cf. van Compernelle, 2010), JFL teachers can better prepare L2 speakers for the various Japanese speech styles they encounter when they find themselves in a local community in Japan.

6.5. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The limitations and delimitations for this study were discussed in Chapter 3. Of particular importance are the limitations relating to participants' backgrounds, in particular with regard to gender and age, and those which arose from the data collection activities. These limitations resulted in some unanswered questions which can be addressed in future research. In this section, I consider those unanswered questions and suggest some directions for future research to address them.

6.5.1. The Role of L2 Speaker Gender

One unanswered question relates to the role of an L2 speaker's gender. I aimed to have a mix of male and female L2 participants in this study; however, due to scheduling constraints and participant availability, I was unable to recruit as many female participants as male participants: out of twenty L2 participants, there were only seven female L2 participants. If we consider only those L2 participants with advanced Japanese language ability, the imbalance is greater: while there were eight male L2 participants with advanced Japanese ability, there were only two female L2 participants with advanced Japanese ability. There was a slightly better balance

between males and females in the L1 participant group: out of twenty-four L1 participants, there were ten female L1 participants.

Because of the gender distribution across the participant groups, it is difficult to arrive at any clear conclusions on what role gender may play in L2 speakers' linguistic choices. However, based on the experiences described by Melissa, it seems likely that the gender of the L2 speaker has some influence on how an L1 speaker responds to an L2 speaker's dialect use. Melissa described using dialect and having an L1 speaker respond to by telling her that Standard Japanese was "more cute" for her. Because the recommendation to use Standard Japanese was based on "cuteness" rather than, for example, correctness, it is likely that gendered norms of language use may be behind such comments. At the same time, Yoshio's comments show that determining how gendered linguistic norms manifest in specific instances will be a complex undertaking. Yoshio shared his enthusiasm about the idea of this researcher (a female L2 speaker) using dialect, but later suggested that he would not recommend learning dialect to female L2 speakers who came to his town to work as ALTs. This suggests not that gendered norms are not a factor, but rather that gender intersects with other factors (e.g., Japanese language ability, an L2 speaker's role and connections in the local community) and a variety of factors are likely to feature in how L2 dialect use is received by L1 speakers. Taken together, these findings demonstrate the need for a more in-depth look at the experiences of female L2 speakers in order to capture a greater range of experiences and consider whether or how gender intersects with other factors and whether or how gender plays a role in how L2 speakers negotiate choices between standard and dialect.

6.5.2. The Role of Age

Another set of unanswered questions relates to gaps in participant age ranges, both the L1 and L2 participants. The biggest gap is in the 20-29 age group: comparing the L2 to the L1 participant group, most (11 out of 20) L2 participants were in the 20-29 age group, while in the L1 participant group, there was only one participant (out of 24) in that age group. The 30-39 age group was better matched, with six L2 participants and seven L1 participants. In the 40-49 age group, there were only three L2 participants, while there were ten L1 participants in that age group. Finally, there were no L2 participants in the 50-59 age group, but there were six L1 participants in that group. Thus, we can see that the L2 participant group consisted mostly of those in their 20s and 30s, while the L1 participant group had only one participant in his 20s, but larger numbers of participants in their 30s, 40s and 50s.

It is notable that there was only one L1 participant, Naoki, in the 20-29 age range, in particular because he reported a stance of dialect non-use and he did not describe dialect use as beneficial for himself or for L2 speakers. Given research findings regarding the standardization of Japanese language, one possible interpretation is that younger generations of Japanese L1 speakers may use less dialect and as such are less likely to view dialect use as important. Conversely, because the dialect revival is reported to be particularly evident among young people (e.g., Jinnouchi, 2007; Kobayashi, 2007; Tanaka, 2007), we might expect some other L1 speakers in this age group to report positive views about dialect and more dialect use. In addition, it is notable that all of the L1 participants in the 30-39 age group and all but one in the 40-49 and 50-59 age groups reported using dialect. This suggests that in these age groups, dialect use was common. Some questions that arise from considering the age ranges of L1 speakers include whether L2 participants had opportunities to interact in Japanese with many L1 speakers in their

20s and whether or how the age of L1 counterparts influenced the dialect beliefs of an L2 speaker. Ultimately, because there was only one L1 participant representing the 20-29 age range in this study, very little can be concluded about the role of age. Future research should include a consideration of the age ranges of L1 speakers that L2 speakers interact with the most. In addition, participant groups should include a larger number of L1 participants of various ages, especially in the 20-29 age group, to better consider whether the dialect use stances of younger L1 speakers play a role in the dialect-related beliefs and perceptions of L2 speakers. Such research would complement research focusing on study abroad contexts and help to examine how experiences of L2 speakers who work with L1 counterparts differ from the experiences of L2 speakers who are in Japan as students. One goal could be to consider what kinds of impacts, if any, these contextual differences have on L2 speakers' beliefs and perceptions about dialect. It would also be beneficial to collect more demographic information about L1 interlocutors in order to consider whether study abroad students' interlocutors differ significantly from those of L2 speakers who live and work in Japan.

Finally, questions remain regarding the age of the L2 participants. This study had a smaller number of older L2 participants and most of those participants were also long-term residents of Japan. Future studies might consider whether or how L2 speakers' age and/or length of residence influences their dialect-related beliefs and perceptions. It seems likely that age-related factors play a role in L2 speakers' perceptions of Japanese speech style. Future studies in which the age ranges of participants are more carefully balanced would advance our understanding of these issues.

6.5.3. The Role of Race

Similar to gender and age, this study has not addressed the question of what role race plays in how L2 speakers negotiate Japanese speech style choices. Included in the L2 participant group were participants who were Caucasian (from several countries), African-American, Japanese-American, and Hispanic-American. My criteria for including an L2 participant as a core participant in Chapter 5 was based on the characteristics of each participant (including their language abilities) and took into account the types of data sources I had for each participant (i.e., whether I had conducted an observation with a participant, whether I had an L1 counterpart for the L2 participant, and whether an L2 participant was a coworker or close friend of another L2 participant). Branden was the only participant included as a core participant who was African-American, and other non-Caucasian participant backgrounds were not represented in the analysis in Chapter 5. With regard to Branden, although race may have played a role in some of his experiences, he did not mention race during the interview and he also did not make any indirect references that suggested whether or how he might have perceived a role for race in the experiences he shared with me. Because I did not have questions about race in the original interview protocols and I did not ask other participants about race, I also did not ask Branden questions about race. However, it seems likely that race intersects with other factors and may play some role in interactions between L2 and L1 speakers. Future research should include an examination of race in studying L2 speakers in Japan in order to develop a fuller understanding of their experiences.

6.5.4. Defining Dialect

A final unanswered question relates not to participant backgrounds, but rather involves how speakers define “dialect” and what speakers envision when they say or hear the word “dialect.”

For example, when participants in this study reported using or avoiding dialect, it was not always clear to what kind of language they were referring. “Dialect” might be used to refer to lexical or morphological features, as well as to phonetic or prosodic features. In many interviews, both L1 and L2 participants shared various examples of dialect, which confirmed for me that there was a basic level of agreement between what was I treating as dialect and what participants were referring to when they talked about dialect. This was an implicit agreement because my interview protocols did not include questions asking participants to explain what they meant by dialect and I initially believed this to be sufficient since describing or classifying dialect was not a goal of this study. However, in analyzing interview data and considering my notes from observations, I found reasons to problematize participants’ definitions of “dialect.” For example, most L1 participants said that they did not use dialect in formal situations or workplace contexts, and yet I observed dialect use during workplace observations. One L1 participant reported in his interview that he did not use dialect, however, in a later portion of the interview, he used some morphological dialect tokens. On the other hand, L2 participants often described learning a new word or expression and only realizing it was dialect after they used it and were informed so by an L1 speaker. This led me to reflect more critically on what participants were referring to when they made statements about their own dialect use or non-use.

While it might be tempting to conclude that these examples demonstrate that speakers’ awareness of their own speech is not representative of how they actually speak, I would argue that another interpretation, and one more relevant for this study, is that the perceptual salience of various dialect forms as being dialect varies from one participant to another, and may vary between L2 and L1 groups. For example, it seems likely that frequently used dialect verb endings may have low perceptual salience for L1 participants. I suspect this is partly responsible

for the gap between L1 participants' descriptions of not using dialect in the workplace and the dialect forms I observed being used in workplaces. On the other hand, because many L2 participants had received formal instruction in Japanese or had used JFL textbooks which emphasize Standard Japanese, certain dialect tokens which may be less salient for L1 speakers (of that regional dialect) may be more salient to an L2 speaker. Which forms are salient for L2 speakers may also be connected to when and how they study particular Japanese forms or expressions, such that dialect variants of more recently learned forms may be (perhaps temporarily) more salient for them. Anecdotal evidence and descriptions in some L2 interviews support this possibility. Nevertheless, whether or not speakers actually *use* dialect in their speech is one question, and whether they *perceive* their own speech as including dialect is another. Crucially, it is the second question that gets at linguistic ideologies and how participants understand and justify their own language use patterns. Future research might ask speakers to report or explain what they imagine when they hear the word "dialect" and what kinds of speech they define as dialect speech. Such a study might also consider the differing perceptual salience of various dialect forms and for various L1 and L2 speakers, and consider whether or how perceptual salience changes with L2 learning trajectories.

References

- Agency for Cultural Affairs. (2010). 平成 22 年度国語に関する世論調査の結果について. [Results of the 2010 Survey Concerning Japanese Language]. Retrieved from http://www.bunka.go.jp/kokugo_nihongo/yoronchousa/h22/pdf/h22_chosa_kekka.pdf.
- Aizawa, M. (2012). 方言意識の現在をとらえる: 「2010 年全国方言意識調査」と統計分析. [Research on Present-day Dialect Consciousness: Nationwide Survey in 2010 and its Statistical Analyses] *国語研プロジェクトレビュー*, 3(1), 26-37.
- Anderson, B. R. (2006). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. [ebook version]. Verso. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/2027/heb.01609.0001.001>
- Ball, C. (2004). Repertoires of registers: dialect in Japanese discourse. *Language and Communication*, (24), 355–380.
- Beal, J. (2013). Tourism and the Commodification of. In *Of butterflies and birds, of dialects and genres: Essays in honour of Philip Shaw*. (pp. 171–187). Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- Ben-Rafael, E. (2009). A sociological approach to the study of linguistic landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, 40–54.
- Block, D. (2000). Problematizing Interview Data: Voices in the Mind's Machine? *TESOL Quarterly*, 34(4), 757–62.
- Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2011). Repertoires revisited: “knowing language” in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies*, (67), 2–26.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4-5), 585–614.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2008). Finding identity: Theory and data.
- Burgess, C. (2012). “It’s Better If They Speak Broken Japanese’ Language as a Pathway or an Obstacle to Citizenship in Japan? In N. Gottlieb (Ed.), *Language and citizenship in Japan* (pp. 37–57). New York: Routledge.
- Carroll, T. (2001a). Changing attitudes: Dialects versus the standard language in Japan. In T. E. McAuley (Ed.), *Language Change in East Asia* (pp. 7–26). New York: Routledge.
- Carroll, T. (2001b). *Language Planning and Language Change in Japan*. New York: Routledge.
- Carroll, T. (2005). Beyond keigo: Smooth communication and the expression of respect in Japanese as a foreign language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2005(175-176), 233–247.

- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design : choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research : meaning and perspective in the research process*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Doinaka, A. (2005). *Ehime kotoba zukan : manga de yomitoku ehime no hogen*. Atorasu Shuppan.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner : individual differences in second language acquisition*. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum.
- Duff, P. A. (2008). *Case study research in applied linguistics*. New York; London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- EPIC. (2013). 平成 25 年度第 1 回外国人生活支援ネットワーク会議、資料 1. [Materials for 1st meeting of H. 25 (2013), network to support foreign residents' daily life] 公益財団法人愛媛県国際交流協会.
- Erickson, F. (1992). Ethnographic microanalysis of interaction. In M. D. LeCompte, W. L. Millroy, & J. Preissle (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research in education* (pp. 201–225). San Diego: Academic Press Inc.
- George, A. (2014). Study Abroad in Central Spain: The Development of Regional Phonological Features. *Foreign Language Annals*, 47(1), 97-114.
- Gottlieb, N. (2005). *Language and society in Japan*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Gottlieb, N. (2010). Language in Public Space in Japan. *Japanese Studies*, 30(3), 323–324.
- Grenfell, M. (2011). *Bourdieu, language and linguistics*. London; New York, N.Y.: Continuum.
- Gutierrez, M., & Fairclough, M. (2006). Incorporating linguistic variation into the classroom. *The art of teaching Spanish*, 173-191.
- Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *Modern language journal*, 285-300.
- Harrison, G. (2009). Language Politics, Linguistic Capital and Bilingual Practitioners in Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 39(6), 1082–1100.
- Hasegawa, T., Miyamoto, Y., & Ehimeken Hogen Kenkyu Dokokai. (1999). *Iyo no omoshiro hogenshu*. Takamatsu: Shorinsha.
- Heinrich, P. (2005). Language ideology in JFL textbooks. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2005(175-176), 213–232.

- Heinrich, P. (2010). Language Choices at Naha Airport. *Japanese Studies*, 30(3), 343–358.
- Heinrich, P. (2012). *The making of Monolingual Japan : language ideology and Japanese modernity*. Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Hendry, J. (1992). Honorifics as dialect: The expression and manipulation of boundaries in Japanese. *Multilingua*, 11(4), 341–354.
- Hernández, T. A. (2010). Promoting speaking proficiency through motivation and interaction: The study abroad and classroom learning contexts. *Foreign Language Annals*, 43(4), 650–670.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The active interview*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Hymes, D. H. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality : toward an understanding of voice*. London; Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis.
- Iino, M. (2006). Norms of Interaction in a Japanese Homestay Setting: Toward a Two-Way Flow of Linguistic and Cultural Resources. In M. A. DuFon & E. Churchill (Eds.), *Language Learners in Study Abroad Contexts* (pp. 151– 173). Clevedon [etc.]: Multilingual Matters.
- Inoue, M. (2006). *Vicarious language : gender and linguistic modernity in Japan*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Itakura, H. (2008). Attitudes towards Masculine Japanese Speech in Multilingual Professional Contexts of Hong Kong: Gender, Identity, and Native-Speaker Status. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29(6), 467–482.
- Iwasaki, N. (2011). Learning L2 Japanese " Politeness" and " Impoliteness": Young American Men's Dilemmas during Study Abroad. *Japanese Language and Literature*, 67-106.
- JET Programme. (2012). JET Programme official website. Retrieved from <http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/index.html>
- JET Programme. (2014). JET Programme Participant Numbers. Retrieved from <http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/statistics.html#detail>
- Jinnouchi, M. (2007). Dialect Boom in Japan. *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica*, 2007(15), 44–51.
- Jones, M. (2003). An argument for the teaching and learning of non-standard Japanese. *JALT Conference Proceedings*. Retrieved from <http://jalt-publications.org/archive/proceedings/2003/E054.pdf>
- Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined Communities and Educational Possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity, & Education*, 2(4), 241–249.

- Kinsui, S. (2003). *ヴァーチャル日本語 役割語の謎*. [Virtual Japanese: the Riddle of role language] Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kitade, K. (2013). Analyzing the Reframing Process from a Language Socialization Perspective. *Selected proceedings of the 2012 Second Language Research Forum Innovation in Second Language Acquisition Research: Converging Theory and Practice*. MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Knouse, S. M. (2012). The acquisition of dialectal phonemes in a study abroad context: The case of the Castilian theta. *Foreign Language Annals*, 45(4), 512-542.
- Kobayashi, T. (2004). アクセサリーとしての現代方言.[Contemporary Dialect as Accessory] *社会言語科学*, 7(1), 105-107.
- Kobayashi, T. (2007). 方言機能論への誘い [An invitation to the study of functional dialectology]. In *方言の機能 [The Function of Dialect]* (pp. v-xiii). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kramsch, C. (2009). *The multilingual subject : what foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kramsch, C., & Whiteside, A. (2008). Language Ecology in Multilingual Settings. Towards a Theory of Symbolic Competence. *Applied Linguistics Applied Linguistics*, 29(4), 645-671.
- Kubota, R. (1999). Japanese Culture Constructed by Discourses: Implications for Applied Linguistics Research and ELT. *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(1), 9-35.
- Kubota, R. (2014). Standardization of Language and Culture. In S. Sato & N. M. Doerr (Eds.), *Rethinking language and culture in Japanese education : beyond the standard* (pp. 19-34). Bristol ; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Kumagai, Y., & Sato, S. (2009). 'Ignorance' as a rhetorical strategy: how Japanese language learners living in Japan maneuver their subject positions to shift power dynamics. *Critical Studies in Education*, 50(3), 309-321.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews : an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews : learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: an empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 23-49.
- Llanes, A., & Muñoz, C. (2009). A short stay abroad: Does it make a difference?. *System*, 37(3), 353-365.

- Long, D. (1996). Quasi-Standard as a Linguistic Concept. *Americanspeech American Speech*, 71(2), 118–135.
- Magnan, S. S., & Back, M. (2007). Social interaction and linguistic gain during study abroad. *Foreign Language Annals*, 40(1), 43–61.
- Marqués-Pascual, L. (2011). Study abroad, previous language experience, and Spanish L2 development. *Foreign Language Annals*, 44(3), 565–582.
- McMeekin, A. (2014). Japanese Learners' Indexical Uses of the da Style in a Study Abroad Setting. *Japanese Language & Literature*, 48(1).
- Metzgar, E. T. (2012). Promoting Japan: One JET at a time. The CPD Blog. University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy. Retrieved from: <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/promoting-%E2%80%9Cjournalism-purpose%E2%80%9D>
- MEXT. (2008). 小学校学習指導要領解説:国語編 [Elementary school education curricular guideline explanation: Japanese]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/micro_detail/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2010/12/28/1231931_02.pdf
- Mishler, E. G. (1991). *Research interviewing : context and narrative*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Miyake, Y. (1995). A Dialect in the Face of the Standard: a Japanese Case Study. *Proceedings of the ... annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 21-1, 217.
- Mori, J. (2012). *Social and interactive perspectives on Japanese language proficiency: Learning through listening towards advanced Japanese*. University Park, PA: CALPER Publications.
- Mukai, R. (2000). 松山における外国人留学生の方言認識と方言教育のあり方--アンケート及び聞き取りテストの結果に基づいて.[An Analysis of Foreign Student's Listening Comprehension of Japanese Regional Dialects (Research Notes)] 松山東雲女子大学人文学部紀要, 107–119.
- NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai Hoso Bunka Kenkyujo). (2005). *NHK21 世紀に残したいふるさと日本のことば*. 5(中国・四国地方).[Hometown Japan language to leave behind for the 21st century: 5 (Chuugoku, Shikoku Region)] Tokyo: Gakushu Kenkyusha.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. Essex, England: Pearson Education ESL.
- Norton, B. (2001). Non-Participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In X. Bonch-Bruевич (Ed.), *The past, present, and future of second language research : selected*

- proceedings of the 2000 Second Language Research Forum* (pp. 167–180). Cascadilla Press.
- Norton, B. (2006). Identity: Second Language. In E. K. Brown & A. Anderson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 502–508). Boston: Elsevier.
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning : extending the conversation*. Bristol [etc.]: Multilingual matters.
- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning. *TESOL QUARTERLY*, 29(1), 9.
- Occhi, D. (2008). Dialect speakers on dialect speech. In M. Amano, M. O’Toole, & Z. Goebel (Eds.), *Identity in text interpretation and everyday life : proceedings of the Third International Conference Hermeneutic Study and Education of Textual Configuration* (pp. 99–111). Nagoya: Graduate School of Letters, Nagoya University.
- Ohara, Y. (2001). Finding one’s voice in Japanese: a study of the pitch levels of L2 users. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender*. Berlin [etc.]: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ohta, A. S. (1993). The Foreign Language Learner in Japanese Society: Successful Learners of Japanese Respond to Miller’s “Law of Inverse Returns.” *Jassoteacjapa The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, 27(2), 205–228.
- Ohuchi, N. (2014). 臨時災害放送局における方言利用の意義に関する考察: 福島県富岡町「おだがいさま FM」を事例として A Study of the Meaning Dialect Use in an Extraordinary Disaster FM Station : The Example of Odagaisama Radio. *現代社会文化研究*, (59), 1–18.
- Okamoto, S. (2008a). Speech style and the use of regional (Yamaguchi) and Standard Japanese in conversations. In K. Jones & T. Ono (Eds.), *Style shifting in Japanese* (pp. 229–250). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub.
- Okamoto, S. (2008b). The use of “regional” and “standard” Japanese in conversations: A case study from Osaka. In J. Mori & A. S. Ohta (Eds.), *Japanese applied linguistics : discourse and social perspectives* (pp. 132–159). London; New York: Continuum.
- Ortega, L. (2009). *Understanding second language acquisition*. London: Hodder Education.
- Palfreyman, D. (2005). Othering in an English Language Program. *TESOL Quarterly: A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English as a Second Dialect*, 39(2), 211–233.
- Raish, M. (2015). The Acquisition of an Egyptian Phonological Variant by US Students in Cairo. *Foreign Language Annals*.

- Ramsey, S. R. (2004). The Japanese Language and the Making of Tradition. *Japalanglite Japanese Language and Literature*, 38(1), 81–110.
- Reynolds-Case, A. (2013). The Value of Short-Term Study Abroad: An Increase in Students' Cultural and Pragmatic Competency. *Foreign Language Annals*, 46(2), 311-322.
- Ringer-Hilfinger, K. (2012). Learner acquisition of dialect variation in a study abroad context: The case of the Spanish [θ]. *Foreign Language Annals*, 45(3), 430-446.
- Roulston, K. (2011). Interview “Problems” as Topics for Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 77–94.
- Rumsey, A. (1990). Wording, meaning, and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist*, 92(2), 346–361.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Los Angeles; London; [etc.]: Sage Publications.
- Satoh, K., & Yoneda, M. (1999). どうなる日本のことば: 方言と方言と共通語の行方. [What's happening to Japan's language? The fate of dialect and common language] Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research : a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Shibamoto Smith, J. S., & Occhi, D. J. (2009). The green leaves of love: Japanese romantic heroines, authentic femininity, and dialect. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(4), 524–546.
- Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Siegal, M. S. (1994). *Looking East : learning Japanese as a second language in Japan and the interaction of race, gender and social context*. Retrieved from /z-wcorg/.
- Silver, R. E. (2005). The discourse of linguistic capital: Language and economic policy planning in Singapore. *Language Policy*, 4(1), 47–66.
- Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, 193–247.
- SturtzSreetharan, C. L. (2006). “I Read the Nikkei, Too”: Crafting Positions of Authority and Masculinity in a Japanese Conversation. *JOLA Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 16(2), 173–193.

- Sunaoshi, Y. (2004). Farm women's professional discourse in Ibaraki. In S. Okamoto & J. S. Shibamoto Smith (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*. pp. 187-204. In S. Okamoto & J. S. S. Smith (Eds.), *Japanese language, gender, and ideology cultural models and real people* (pp. 187–204). New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10103592>
- Talmy, S. (2010). Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics: From Research Instrument to Social Practice. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30(01), 128–148.
- Tanaka, Y. (2007). 「方言コスプレ」にみる「方言おもちゃ化」の時代. [The era of dialect as dialect as plaything, as seen through dialect cosplay] *文学*, 8(6), 123–133.
- Tanaka, Y. (2011). 「方言コスプレ」の時代: ニセ関西弁から龍馬語まで. [The era of dialect cosplay: from fake Kansai Dialect to Ryoma-speech] Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Tanaka, Y. (2014). 「方言」が価値をもつ時代: Stigma から Prestige、そして… . [When Dialect Has Value: From Stigma to Prestige, then...] *都市問題*, 105-8, p. 9-17.
- Tanaka, Y. & Maeda, T. (2012). 話者分類に基づく地域類型化の試み: 全国方言意識調査データを用いた潜在クラス分析による検討. [Regional Typology Based on Individual-level Clustering of Dialect Usage: A Latent Class Analysis of Nationwide Language Consciousness Survey Data] *国立国語研究所論集* (NINJAL Research Papers) 3: 117–142.
- Tarone, E., & Swain, M. (1995). A sociolinguistic perspective on second language use in immersion classrooms. *The Modern Language Journal*, 79(2), 166-178.
- Teshigawara M., & Kinsui S. (2011). Modern Japanese “Role language” (yakuwarigo): Fictionalised orality in Japanese literature and popular culture. *Soc. Ling. Sociolinguistic Studies*, 5(1), 37–58.
- Vaish, V., & Tan, T. K. (2008). Language and social class: Linguistic capital in Singapore. *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10497/3339>
- van Compernelle, R. A. (2010). Towards a sociolinguistically responsive pedagogy: Teaching second-person address forms in French. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 66(3), 445-463.
- Wee, L. (2002). When English is not a mother tongue: Linguistic ownership and the Eurasian community in Singapore. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(4), 282–295.
- Watanabe, T. & Karasawa, K. (2013). 共通語と大阪方言に対する顕在的・潜在的態度の検討. [Explicit and implicit attitudes toward standard-Japanese and Osaka-dialect language use] *心理学研究*, 84(1), 20–27.

- Wolcott, H. F. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data : description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Woolard, K. A. (1992). Language ideology: Issues and approaches. *Pragmatics*, 2(3), 235–249.
- Yamaguchi, M. (2004a). *A critical study of discursive practices of “othering” in construction of national identities the case of learners of Japanese as a foreign language* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). the University of Georgia.

Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Email and Social Networking Site Posting (English)

1. Sample Recruitment Email (first-time participant)

Dear (name),

I am a former JET participant (ALT, Ehime 1996-99) and I'm trying to recruit participants for my research study. Currently, I'm a graduate student in Japanese Linguistics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, as part of my Ph.D program, I will be conducting research with non-native speakers of Japanese to examine beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language. The main part of my research will be to interview people who are current or former JET Programme participants in Shikoku (Ehime, Kagawa, Kochi, Tokushima). For people currently in Shikoku, I will ask to interview you in person; for those no longer in Shikoku, I will ask to contact you through online video conferencing (such a Skype or Google Chat). I will be conducting interviews this May and June.

I will also ask some participants to let me observe them during daily activities or leisure activities. I am contacting you because you are a non-native speaker of Japanese and a current or former JET participant. [If the person was recommended to me by someone else, I will write who recommended him/her to me.] You are under no obligation to participate; all participation is voluntary, and people who begin participation and change their minds may end participation at any time without penalty. Participants' real names will not be used and privacy will be protected.

I'm really interested in learning about your opinions and experiences with Japanese language, whether you are a beginner or an advanced speaker of the language.

If you think you might be willing to participate, please email me and I will give you more details.

Thank you for your consideration,
Jae Takeuchi

2. Sample Recruitment Email (current participant, snowball sampling)

Dear (name),

Thank you for your cooperation in my research study. I'm contacting you today because I'm trying to find some more people to assist me with my current research project (which involves interviewing people). I am recruiting people who are: native speakers of English, non-native speakers of Japanese (of any level, from beginner to advanced), and also current or former JET Programme participants who were placed in Shikoku (Ehime, Kagawa, Kochi, Tokushima). If you know of anyone who fits these criteria, could you forward this email to them? And if they wouldn't mind, perhaps give me their email address so I can contact them? Participation in my research study is completely voluntary and there is no obligation to participate.

(Include “first-time participant” email here)

3. Sample Recruitment Posting (to post on public websites and discussion forums)

Hi!

I am a former JET participant (ALT, Ehime 1996-99) and I’m trying to recruit participants for my research study. Currently, I’m a graduate student in Japanese Linguistics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. As part of my Ph.D program, I will be conducting research with non-native speakers of Japanese to examine beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language. The main part of my research will be to interview people who are current or former JET Programme participants in Shikoku (Ehime, Kagawa, Kochi, Tokushima). Interviews can be conducted in-person or through internet conference (e.g., Skype).

There is no obligation to participate; all participation is voluntary, and people who begin participation and change their minds may end participation at any time without penalty. Participants’ real names will not be used and privacy will be protected.

I hope you’ll consider contacting me, I’m really interested in learning about your opinions and experiences with Japanese language, whether you are a beginner or an advanced speaker of the language.

If you think you might be willing to participate, please email me and I will give you more details.

Thank you for your consideration,
Jae Takeuchi

Appendix B: Japanese Language Recruitment Email

(Japanese followed by English translation)

参加募集のサンプルメール (はじめての参加者)

(Name)様へ

私は愛媛県で以前 JET の ALT をしていた者で、研究プロジェクトの参加者を募集しております武内ジェイと申します。現在、私は米国のウィスコンシン大学マディソン校で日本語言語学の博士課程をしており、日本語非母語話者(外国人)の日本語に対する意識や考えを調べております。研究活動は四国にいらっしゃる方々、そして非母語話者と交流のある方々をインタビューをさせていただくことです。参加者のご都合が会う場合は、日常的な場面で観察をさせていただくこともあります。

(Name)様に連絡をさせていただいたのは、外国人の同僚か知り合いがいらっしゃるということをお聞きしたからです。((もしくは、～様から～様のメールアドレスを教えてください、連絡をさせていただきました))。そこで私の研究プロジェクトに参加していただけないでしょうか。参加はご自由で、またいつでも協力辞退することもできます。参加してくださる方の本名を使わず、できる限り皆様のプライバシーを守っております。

(Name)様の非母語話者の日本語に対するご意見やお考えをぜひ聞かせていただきたいと思えます。ご協力をご検討の上、メールをいただけないでしょうか。(その際に詳細をお伝えいたします)。

よろしく願いいたします。

武内

Sample Recruitment Email (First-time participant, Non-native speaker of English)

Dear (name),

I am a former JET participant (ALT, Ehime 1996-99) and I'm trying to recruit participants for my research study. Currently, I'm a graduate student in Japanese Linguistics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, as part of my Ph.D program, I will be conducting research about non-native speakers of Japanese to examine beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language. Part of my research involves interviewing people who live in Shikoku (Ehime, Kagawa, Kochi, Tokushima) and who interact with non-native speakers of Japanese in the workplace or during social activities. I will be conducting interviews this May and June. I will also ask some participants to let me observe them during daily activities or leisure activities.

I am contacting you because you work in an office with non-native speakers of Japanese or because I think you may have social connections with non-native speakers of Japanese. [If the person was recommended to me by someone else, I will write who recommended him/her to me.] You are under no obligation to participate; all participation is voluntary, and people who begin participation and change their minds may end participation at any time without penalty. Participants' real names will not be used and privacy will be protected.

I'm really interested in learning about your opinions and experiences with non-native speakers of Japanese.

If you think you might be willing to participate, please email me and I will give you more details.

Thank you for your consideration,
Jae Takeuchi

Appendix C: Samples of Consent Forms

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Research Participant Information and Consent Form
(In-person participation, English Native Speaker)

Title of the Study: Non-native Speakers' Beliefs and Perceptions of Japanese Language

Principal Investigator: Junko Mori (phone: +1-608-262-3871) (email: jmori@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Jae Takeuchi (phone: +1-608-262-2291) (email: jtakeuchi@wisc.edu)

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a research study about non-native speakers' beliefs and perceptions of Japanese language and Japanese language use. You have been asked to participate because you are a non-native speaker of Japanese who is a current or former JET Programme participant. The purpose of the research is to examine beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language and Japanese language use. You will be interviewed by the student researcher, and an audio-recording will be made of the interview. The date and location of the interviews can be chosen by you. The recordings of the interviews will be heard by the principle investigator and the student researcher. The recordings will be kept indefinitely (for possible future related and unrelated studies), unless you request they be destroyed.

WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you agree to participate in this research you will be asked to complete a background information sheet. You will also be asked to participate in any or all of the following:

****Please initial each activity below that you agree to participate in****

(1)	Allow the researcher to interview you (and make an audio recording of the interview). Questions will relate to your beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language.
(2)	Allow the researcher to contact you for optional follow-up interviews; these interviews can be conducted in person, through email, or through online video chat.
(3)	Allow the researcher to observe you during leisure activities (such as shopping or community activities). The researcher may take notes during the observation.
(4)	Allow the researcher to observe you in your workplace (pending approval). The researcher will make written notes during the observation.

Your participation will last from 30 minutes up to 120 minutes per interview and you will be asked to participate in a minimum of 1 or 2 interviews. Depending on your availability you may be asked allow the researcher to observe an activity for a maximum of 4-6 observations in total. The duration and location of observations can be determined by you at your convenience.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME?

There is a small risk to your confidentiality. Only I (Jae Takeuchi) and my adviser (Junko Mori) will have access to the recordings, but transcripts of interviews and/or notes from observations

may be used for the purpose of research publications and presentation of research results in academic and educational settings. In addition, there is a risk that you might reveal personal or sensitive information during the interview. When using email, Skype, and other online services, because these services are not secure, there is a risk of breach of confidentiality online as well.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?

I will make every effort possible to ensure your confidentiality by using pseudonyms in place of your name, and by modifying identifying information. Also, all the electronic data files will be securely locked on my computer, and any hard data will be stored in locked cabinets.

If you participate in this study, I will make transcripts from the recordings, which may be used in academic publications and academic presentations.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME?

There are no specific benefits to you. This research will contribute to our understanding of language use and have pedagogical implications for Japanese as a foreign language. If you participate in any interviews, you will have the chance to reflect on your own language use.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after you leave today you should contact the Principal Investigator Junko Mori at +1-608-262-3871. You may also call or email the student researcher, Jae Takeuchi at +1-608-262-2291 or jtakeuchi@wisc.edu. A local contact is also available in Japan: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] If you are not satisfied with response of the research team, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at 608-263-2320.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you begin participation and change your mind you may end your participation at any time without penalty.

Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Name of Participant (please print): _____

Signature Date

<input type="checkbox"/>	I give my permission to be quoted directly (from interview and/or observations) in academic publications and presentations without using my name.
<input type="checkbox"/>	I give my permission to be contacted for participation in future studies.

ウィスコンシン大学マディソン校 研究協力への同意書

研究のタイトル：日本語の非母語話者の日本語に対する意識や考え

研究者：

たけうち

武内 ジュエィ ウィスコンシン大学マディソン校、日本語言語学プログラム、博士課程

メール: jtakeuchi@wisc.edu 電話: +1-608-262-2291

もり

森 純子 ウィスコンシン大学マディソン校、東アジア研究課、教授・指導教官

メール: jmori@wisc.edu 電話: +1-608-262-3871

日本語非母語話者の日本語や日本語使用に対する意識や考えについての研究に参加して下さる方を探しております。貴方は職場及びプライベートで非母語話者の知り合いや関係者がいるため、研究のご協力をお願いしたいと思います。本研究の目的は日本語や日本語使用に対する意識や考えを調べることです。ご協力していただける場合、インタビューをさせていただき、その際、録音をさせていただきます。インタビューの日程と場所は選んでいただいて構いません。収録したデータを研究目的に研究者たちのみが扱います。収録済みのデータは破損等が生じない限り永久的に研究者のもとに保管する予定です。しかし、ご希望があれば、録音済みのデータを削除させていただきます。

研究にご協力いただける場合、ご協力者のバックグラウンドについての情報を記入していただくことになります。そして、以下の内容へのご参加をお願いいたします。

**** ご参加していただける内容の欄にイニシャルをご記入ください ****

(1)	研究者のインタビューとインタビューの録音を許可します。 (質問は日本語に対する意識や考えに関するものです。)
(2)	インタビュー後、補足質問やインタビューのために研究者からの連絡を許可します。 (追加の連絡はメールやスカイプなど、もしくは会って行います。)
(3)	レジャーやショッピングなどの時に研究者が観察することを許可します。 (観察の際、研究者がメモを書くこともあります。)
(4)	(承認を得てから) 研究者が職場で観察することを許可します。 (観察の際、研究者がメモを書くこともあります)

インタビューは30分～120分のもので、少なくとも1回もしくは2回お願いしたいと思います。ご都合がよろしければ、レジャーやショッピングなどの時に、観察をお願いすることもあります。観察は4～6回で、場所や時間を指定していただけます。

本研究への参加にあたっては、ご協力者の皆様には僅かながら、プライバシーの侵害の可能性があります。録音データは研究者たちのみが聞きますが、書き起こしたものと観察の記録は学会発表や研究目的の出版物で使用されることがあります。その際は仮名を使い、身元が特定できないようにさせていただきます。また、インタビュー中、プライベートな情報が出てくる可能性もあり、その際不快に感じられることがあるかもしれません。そして、メールやスカイプなどのオンラインサービスは完全に守られていないため、これらのサービスを利用の際、プライバシーの侵害の可能性があります。電子ファイルをパスワードで保護されたパソコンで保管し、書類を鍵付きのもので保管します。

本研究への参加にあたっては、ご協力者の皆様には特定の利益はありません。しかし、本研究は言語の理解を深め、外国語としての日本語教育へ示唆も期待できます。また、インタビューのご参加により、言語に対する考えを熟考するきっかけになります。

何かご質問等がございましたら、研究の期間中でも、研究終了後でも、私か指導教官の森純子にご連絡いただければと思います。武内ジェイ:電話 +1-608-262-2291, jtakeuchi@wisc.edu, 森純子:+1-608-262-3871, jmori@wisc.edu, 日本国内の連絡先も用意しております。 [REDACTED]

また、研究協力者としての権利などに関する質問は、ウィスコンシン大学マディソン校に設置されております、Education Research and Social and Behavioral Science IRB Office (教育、社会科学および行動科学に関する研究倫理委員会) までご連絡ください。
電話：+1-608-263-2320

この同意書を読み、研究協力に関する質問や協力辞退がいかなる場合でも受け入れられるという権利を理解し、この研究に関することをここに同意します。

フリガナ：

ご署名： _____

日付： 年 月 日

	インタビューや観察から記録されたコメントは学会や研究出版物で、仮名であれば、直接引用を許可します。
	今後も他の研究のための依頼連絡を許可します。

Research Participant Information and Oral Consent Script
(Online Interview Participation Only)

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. I emailed you a description of the study and contact information. Did you have a chance to look at it? Before we start, I want to explain the study and your rights as a participant. My research studies non-native speakers' beliefs and perceptions about Japanese language. I asked you to participate because you are a non-native speaker of Japanese who is/was in the JET Programme. I will make an audio recording of our interview today. The recording will only be heard by the principle investigator, Junko Mori (my advisor), and me, the student researcher. The recording will be kept indefinitely unless you request that it be destroyed.

As part of this research, I will ask you to complete a background information sheet. I will also ask if I may contact you in the future for a follow-up interview (either through email or Skype), for up to 3 interviews. Today's interview will last about an hour or less, and I will ask you to participate in at least 1 interview.

The only risk by participating is a small risk to your confidentiality. Only I and my adviser will have access to the recordings, but transcripts from the interview may be used in research publications and presentations in academic and educational settings. There is also a possibility that you will reveal personal or sensitive information during the interview. In addition, email and internet services such as Skype/ Google Chat/Facetime (whichever the participant chooses) are not secure methods of data collection, so there is a small risk of breach of confidentiality by using these services.

I will make every effort possible to ensure your confidentiality by using a pseudonym in place of your name, and by modifying identifying information. Also, all electronic data files will be securely locked on my computer, and any hard data will be stored in locked cabinets.

There are no specific benefits to you. This research will contribute to our understanding of Japanese language use and may have implications for teaching Japanese as a foreign language. Also, I hope that this interview gives you the chance to reflect on your own language use.

You may ask questions about the research at any time. If you have questions after we finish, you can contact me, or the principle investigator, Junko Mori, by email or phone. If you are not satisfied with our response, if you have more questions, or if you want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office. All of the contact information is included in the email.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may end your participation at any time without penalty. You may also choose not to participate in a follow-up interview; you may change your mind at any time about doing any follow-up interview.

Do you have any questions about your participation? Do you voluntarily consent to participate? And may I quote you directly in academic publications and presentations, as long as I don't use your name? Thank you. Let's get started.

Appendix D: Sample Questionnaires

Background Information Questionnaire (Current ALT)

1. Age (please circle one)
(a) 20-29 (b) 30-39 (c) 40-49 (d) 50-59 (e) 60 and over
2. What year did you start your ALT position?
3. How long do you plan to stay in the JET Programme in total?
 - a. 1 year
 - b. 2 years
 - c. 3 years
 - d. 4 years
 - e. 5 years
 - f. I'm not sure but a few more years
 - g. I'm not sure but I'll probably end my contract soon
4. How long do you plan to stay in Japan after JET?
 - a. I'll leave Japan within three months after my JET contract ends
 - b. Less than 1 year
 - c. 1-2 years
 - d. 3-4
 - e. 5-7
 - f. 8-10 years
 - g. indefinitely
5. Had you been to Japan before starting the JET Programme? (if yes, circle all that apply)
 - a. no
 - b. study abroad (if yes, please circle elementary, junior high, high school, college)
 - c. vacation
 - d. work purposes
 - e. lived here with family as a child
 - f. Other (please explain)
6. Where is your JET placement?
 - a. Elementary School only
 - b. Junior High School only
 - c. High School only
 - d. Combination Elementary School and Junior High School

- e. Combination Junior High School and High School
 - f. Combination Elementary, Junior High and High School
 - g. BOE
 - h. Other (please explain)
7. How many schools do you visit?
8. How well do you speak Japanese? (circle all that apply)
- a. I can't really speak Japanese very much.
 - b. I can do simple greetings and introduce myself in Japanese.
 - c. I can use Japanese for grocery shopping and buying bus and train tickets.
 - d. I can have simple conversations in Japanese about every day topics with people I know well.
 - e. I can have extended conversations in Japanese about every day topics with people I know well.
 - f. I can have simple conversations in Japanese about a variety of topics with people I don't know well.
 - g. I can have extended conversations in Japanese about a variety of topics with people I don't know well.
 - h. I can speak with my co-workers about simple topics in Japanese.
 - i. I can speak with my co-workers about complicated topics in Japanese.
 - j. I can understand half or less of the discussion in office meetings in Japanese.
 - k. I can understand almost all of the discussion in office meetings in Japanese.
 - l. I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand some of it.
 - m. I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand almost all of it.
 - n. I can watch Japanese TV news and understand some of it.
 - o. I can watch Japanese TV news and understand almost all of it.
 - p. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N5.
 - q. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N4.
 - r. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N3.
 - s. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N2.
 - t. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N1.
9. When did you start studying Japanese?
- a. I've never studied Japanese
 - b. In elementary school
 - c. In junior high or middle school
 - d. In high school
 - e. In college
 - f. When I joined JET

- g. Other (please explain)
10. Did you study Japanese before coming to Japan? (If yes, circle all that apply)
- a. No
 - b. Self-study
 - c. High school classes
 - d. College courses (if yes, how many years of college study?)
 - e. Other (please explain)
11. How often do you use Japanese in your daily life? (check one)
- a. Every day, only at work (5 days a week)
 - b. Every day, at work and outside of work (7 days a week)
 - c. Every day, outside of work
 - d. Several times a week
 - e. Several times a month
 - f. Only a few times a month
 - g. Almost never
12. Are you actively studying Japanese now? (if yes, circle all that apply)
- a. I'm taking a course in town
 - b. I'm studying with a tutor
 - c. I'm using the JET correspondence course (which course?)
 - d. I study on my own using textbooks
 - e. I study on my own without textbooks
 - f. I'm studying for the JLPT (which level)
 - g. No, I'm not actively studying Japanese right now.
13. Who do you speak Japanese with (in Japan)? (circle all that apply)
- a. Japanese co-workers
 - b. Non-Japanese co-workers
 - c. Children/students at school
 - d. People in my neighborhood
 - e. Strangers (for example clerks at stores, post office etc)
 - f. Japanese friends
 - g. Non-Japanese friends
 - h. Japanese spouse or significant other
 - i. Non-Japanese spouse or significant other
 - j. Japanese in-laws or parents/relatives of Japanese significant other
 - k. My parents (one or both)
 - l. My grandparents and/or other relatives

m. Other (please explain)

14. Where do you use Japanese? (circle all that apply)

- a. At work
- b. In social settings (with friends)
- c. In daily activities such as shopping
- d. In hobby-type activities (e.g. team sports, martial arts, craft lessons etc.)
- e. Other (please explain)

Background Information Questionnaire (Japanese followed by English translation)

1. 年齢 (○を付けてください)
(a) 20-29 才 (b) 30-39 才 (c) 40-49 才 (d) 50-59 才 (e) 60 才以上
2. 出身はどこですか。(今の居住地と違う場合、いつここに来ましたか)
3. 職場はどこですか。
 - a. 公立の学校
 - b. 市役所・町役場
 - c. その他 (記入してください) _____
4. 外国人と一緒に働いたことがありますか。
 - a. はい、職場に外国人が一人います (いました)
 - b. はい、職場に外国人が何人かいます (いました)
 - c. 今まで職場に外国人がいたことはありません
5. (3番に「はい」と答えた人) その外国人と何語で話しますか・話しましたか。
 - a. (職場の外国人と) 日本語だけで話します
 - b. (職場の外国人と) 日本語と英語を交ぜながら話します
 - c. (職場の外国人と) 英語だけで話します
6. 職場以外に、外国人の知り合いがいます・いましたか。(該当するものすべてに○を付けてください)
 - d. はい、外国人の配偶者がいます
 - e. はい、外国人の恋人がいます
 - f. はい、外国人の友達がいます
 - g. はい、外国人の知り合いがいます

- h. いいえ、職場以外に、外国人の知り合いがいません
7. (5番に「はい」と答えた人) その外国人と何語で話しますか。(アルファベットとそこにある関係者に該当するすべての項目に○を付けてください)
- (配偶者・恋人・友達・知り合い)と日本語だけで話します
 - (配偶者・恋人・友達・知り合い)と日本語と英語を交ぜて話します
 - (配偶者・恋人・友達・知り合い)と英語だけで話します

どうもありがとうございました

English Translation

- Age (please circle one)
 - 20-29
 - 30-39
 - 40-49
 - 50-59
 - 60 and over
- Where are you from? (If different from current place of residence, ask when the interviewee came here)
- Where do you work? (circle one)
 - public school
 - city/town office
 - other (please specify)
- Do/did you work with any non-native speakers of Japanese?
 - Yes, there is/was one person in my workplace who is a non-native speaker of Japanese
 - Yes, there are/were some people in my workplace who are non-native speakers of Japanese
 - No, there are/were no non-native speakers of Japanese in my workplace
- If you answered “yes” to number 3, what languages do/did you speak with the co-worker(s) who are non-native speakers of Japanese?
 - Only Japanese with my co-workers who are non-native speaker(s).
 - A mixture of Japanese and English with co-workers who are non-native speaker(s)
 - Only English with my co-workers who are non-native speaker(s)
- Do/did you have any non-work relationships with people who are non-native speakers of Japanese? (circle all that apply)
 - Yes, I have a spouse who is a non-native speaker of Japanese
 - Yes, I have a partner (boyfriend/girlfriend) who is a non-native speaker of Japanese

- n. Yes, I have some close friends who are non-native speakers of Japanese
 - o. Yes, I have some acquaintances who are non-native speakers of Japanese
 - p. No, I don't know anyone (outside of my workplace) who is a non-native speaker of Japanese
7. If you answered "yes" to number 5, what languages do/did you speak with the non-native speakers of Japanese?
- a. Only Japanese with my (circle: spouse partner friends) who are non-native speaker(s).
 - b. A mixture of Japanese and English with my (circle: spouse partner friends) who are non-native speaker(s)
 - c. Only English with my (circle: spouse partner friends) who are non-native speaker(s)

Appendix E: Japanese Language Ability

Japanese language ability was based on how L2 participants responded to the Japanese self-assessment item in the background questions. In addition to responding to statements about what a participant could do in Japanese, participants were also asked about the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) and what level they thought they could pass, or had passed. The JLPT has five levels, which N5 being the lowest and N1 being the highest.

Beginner: (a) I can't really speak Japanese very much, (b) (c) I can do simple greetings, grocery shopping, (d) I can have simple conversations with people I know well
(h) I can speak with my coworkers about simple topics
(p) JLPT N5

Intermediate: (f) I can have simple conversations about a variety of topics with people I don't know well

(j) I can understand half or less of the discussion in office meetings in Japanese

(e) I can have extended conversations about every day topics with people I know well

(l) I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand some of it

(n) I can watch Japanese TV news and understand some of it

(q) JLPT N4, N3

Advanced: (g) I can have extended conversations about a variety of topics with people I don't know well

(k) I can understand almost all of the discussion in office meetings

(m) I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand almost all of it

(i) I can speak with my coworkers about complicated topics in Japanese

(o) I can watch Japanese TV news and understand almost all of it

(s) JLPT N2, N1

Self-assessment item from the background questionnaire:

8. How well do you speak Japanese? (circle all that apply)

- a. I can't really speak Japanese very much.
- b. I can do simple greetings and introduce myself in Japanese.
- c. I can use Japanese for grocery shopping and buying bus and train tickets.
- d. I can have simple conversations in Japanese about every day topics with people I know well.
- e. I can have extended conversations in Japanese about every day topics with people I know well.
- f. I can have simple conversations in Japanese about a variety of topics with people I don't know well.

- g. I can have extended conversations in Japanese about a variety of topics with people I don't know well.
- h. I can speak with my co-workers about simple topics in Japanese.
- i. I can speak with my co-workers about complicated topics in Japanese.
- j. I can understand half or less of the discussion in office meetings in Japanese.
- k. I can understand almost all of the discussion in office meetings in Japanese.
- l. I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand some of it.
- m. I can watch Japanese TV dramas and movies and understand almost all of it.
- n. I can watch Japanese TV news and understand some of it.
- o. I can watch Japanese TV news and understand almost all of it.
- p. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N5.
- q. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N4.
- r. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N3.
- s. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N2.
- t. I can complete (pass) the Japanese Language Proficiency Test level N1

Appendix F: Interview Protocols

Interview Protocol for L2 Participants (Current ALT)

Background, Introductory

1. (Making reference to the background questionnaire, I will do short “small talk” confirming when the participant came to Japan, some details about their job placement and residence etc)
2. Do you enjoy your job in Japan?
3. Tell me more about your job, your students, your coworkers.
4. What do you do in your free time?

Language-specific Questions

5. (I will refer to info from the questionnaire to confirm past experience studying Japanese, current Japanese study activities etc)
6. How would you describe your Japanese level/ability now? How has your Japanese ability changed since you first came to Japan?
7. (If the person has a Japanese tutor or goes to a class) Tell me about your Japanese teacher, your classmates, the class, the textbook etc.
8. Who do you speak Japanese with? (coworkers/neighbors/friends/shopkeepers etc) Tell me a little bit about that.
9. (for people with Japanese girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse/children) What language(s) do you speak with your (boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse)? Children? In-laws?
10. Do you like speaking Japanese? Do you like studying Japanese?
11. What’s easy/difficult about Japanese? Or – what are the best and worst things about Japanese? (about studying it, speaking it...try to be as specific as possible)
12. Have you ever had any problems understanding (or being understood by) your Japanese coworkers/neighbors/friends? (boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse, in-laws if relevant) (can you describe a specific event or memorable episode?)

13. Are there any language-related “episodes,” memorable stories, eye-opening moments that you’d like to share with me?

Dialect-specific Questions (note that identity-specific questions are included here)

14. Did you know that Japanese language has dialects before you came to Japan? How/When did you first learn about dialects? (If the person has lived/visited other areas of Japan, ask about their familiarity with other dialects.)

15. Do you hear a lot of the dialect of your town? Where? When? Who uses it?

16. Do you understand (the dialect of your town)? Examples? Is the dialect easy/hard?

17. Do you use (the dialect of your town)? Why or why not? How much/often?

18. (If yes to 17) In what situations do you use dialect? With whom do you use dialect?

19. Do you think dialect is important here? Why or why not? (try to encourage the participant to share a specific episode or event)

20. Do you think it’s important for you to understand dialect? Do you think it’s important for non-native speakers (other JETs etc) in general? Why or why not?

21. Do you think it’s important for you to use dialect? For other non-native speakers (other JETs etc) to use dialect? Why or why not? (have you ever given any thought to how you want to sound when you speak Japanese?)

22. (If this has not come out yet, ask) What do you think about this dialect? (or: Do you like the dialect? Why or why not?)

(If these topics have not come up previously, ask these questions)

23. Is there anything that you are careful about when you speak Japanese? (any specific episode)

24. Have you ever given any thought to how you want to sound in Japanese? Can you tell me about that? (How do you want to sound when you speak Japanese?)

25. Is there anything (or anyone) who you think has influenced how you think about Japanese? Is there someone who you want to sound like? Tell me about that.

26. Do you like how you sound when you speak Japanese? Can you tell me about that?

27. How do you present yourself (at work; with Japanese friends; with non-Japanese friends)?

Wrap-up

28. How long do you think you'll stay in Japan? (On JET? In some other capacity?)
What do you think you'll do when you finish JET?

29. Do you think you'll continue to use/study Japanese after JET? Why? How? (etc.)
Do you have any language-related goals? What are they?

30. Do you have any language-related advice for someone coming to this area as a JET participant?

31. Do you have any questions for me?

Interview Protocol for L1 Participant (Japanese followed by English translation)

バックグラウンド、職場について

1. (インフォシートを参考にしながら、インタビューを受ける人の外国人交流について確認する)
2. 職場では、外国人は何人います・いましたか。(本研究の関係者以外に外国人の職員がいる場合は、女性か男性かを聞きます)
3. (外国人の同僚がいる人に) (その外国人)はいつから～さんの職場に来ましたか。いつから(外国人)と仕事するようになりましたか。
4. ～さんの仕事は、(外国人)と関係がありますか。一緒に仕事をしますか。それとも仕事内容が(外国人)と関係がない仕事ですか。
5. 職場にいる(外国人)とどれぐらい交流しますか。仕事以外に会うことがありますか。

言語についての質問 (職場)

6. (その外国人)は職場で日本語を話しますか。コミュニケーションのトラブルを見たことや経験したことがありますか。それはその人の日本能力が原因だったと思いますか。
7. ~さんの職場では、外国人はどんな日本語のスキルが必要だと思いますか。それはどうしてですか。(今話していただいた意見は、~さんの職場に限っているのでしょうか。それとも、どんな職場にでも当てはまるものですか。)

言語についての質問 (職場以外)

8. (インフォシートを参考にしながら) (外国人の友達、恋人、配偶者がいる人) (その外国人と話す時) 何語で話しますか。(配偶者・恋人)のご両親と話す時はどうですか。
9. (その外国人と話す時) コミュニケーションのトラブルを経験したことがあります。(その人の)日本語能力が原因だったと思いますか。
10. ~さんの町に住んでいる外国人は、生活していく上で、どんな日本語のスキルが必要だと思いますか。(どうしてですか。)
11. 今まで、面白いことや印象に残った言語に係るハプニングなどがありますか。それについて教えていただけないでしょうか。

方言についての質問

12. 方言についてどう思いますか。(方言が好きですか。どうしてですか)
13. ~さんは、方言を使いますか。どうしてですか。
14. (13番に「はい」と答えた人に)いつ、どこで方言を使いますか。誰と話す時に使いますか。
15. 意図的に方言を使わないように気を付けることはありますか。(いつ・どこで・だれと) どうしてこのような(場合・時・相手)に方言を使わないようにしますか。

16. (一般的な外国人、特定の外国人) が方言を理解することは大切だと思いますか。
(職場で? 町で? レジャー? 友達とのお付き合いなどで)
17. (一般的な外国人、特定の外国人) が方言を使うことは大切だと思いますか。
(職場で? 町で? レジャー? 友達とのお付き合いなどで)
18. (知り合いや関係者の外国人・同僚・友達・恋人・配偶者) が方言を使っているのを聞いたことがありますか。それについて教えていただけないでしょうか。(どう思いましたか。など)
19. (まだ男女について話していないなら) 外国人が男性か女性によって、言葉遣いや方言使用に対しての意見・考え方が変わりますか。～さんは「外国人女性の日本語の話し方、外国人男性の日本語の話し方」に対して、どういうイメージを持っていますか。

最後に

20. (この町) に生活しに来る外国人にどんなアドバイスをしますか。
21. 私に聞きたいことはありますか。

English Translation

Background, Introductory – workplace specific

1. (Making reference to the background questionnaire, I will do short “small talk” confirming details about their interactions with non-native speakers of Japanese)
2. (for people with non-native speaking co-workers) How long have you worked with your non-native speaking coworker(s)? How many non-native speakers are there now in your workplace? (If there are more than the person who introduced the interviewee to me, ask if they are male or female)
3. How long has (the non-native speakers) been in your workplace?
4. Does your job require you to work with them, or is your job not related to their work?
5. How often do you interact with the non-native speakers in your workplace? Do you interact with them outside of the workplace?

Language-specific Questions – workplace specific

6. Does (the non-native speaker) use Japanese in your workplace? Have you ever experienced or witnessed any communication troubles related to their Japanese language ability?
7. What kind of Japanese language skills do you think are necessary for non-native speakers in your workplace? Why? (try to ascertain if the interviewee's comments are specific to his/her workplace, or views held generally)

Language-specific Questions – non-workplace specific

8. (for people with non-native speaking friends/partner/girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse) What language(s) do you speak with your (friend/partner/boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse)? In-laws?
9. Have you ever experienced or witnessed any communication troubles related to their Japanese language ability?
10. What kind of Japanese language skills do you think are necessary for the non-native speakers in your area (in your town etc)?
11. Are there any language-related “episodes,” memorable stories, eye-opening moments that you'd like to share with me?

Dialect-specific Questions

12. What do you think about Japanese Dialect? (or: Do you like dialect? Why or why not?)
13. Do you use Japanese Dialect? (if no, ask why not)
14. (If they answered yes to question 11) When/where do you use dialect? With whom do you use dialect?
15. Do you ever make an effort to avoid using dialect? When/where/with whom? Why do you avoid using dialect in these situations?
16. Do you think it's important for (non-native speakers) to be able to understand Japanese dialect? (ask specifically about: In workplace? Around town? In social activities?)

17. Do you think it's important for (non-native speakers) to be able to use Japanese dialect? (ask specifically about: In workplace? Around town? In social activities?)
18. Have you ever heard (your co-worker/friend/partner/spouse) use dialect? Please tell me about it.
19. (If the topic of gender has not come up, ask) Does it make a difference if the non-native speaker is male? Female? Is there a difference in your expectations/opinions about dialect use based on whether the speaker is male or female?

Wrap-up

20. Do you have any language-related advice for a non-native speaker of Japanese coming to this area to live and work?
21. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix G: Transcription Conventions

... Represents talk omitted from the excerpt. This includes continuers such as “yeah, uh huh” uttered by the listener as well as side sequence or off-topic talk omitted to keep excerpts short

[] Represents a word or phrase added to the excerpt for clarity, including something that was specified in an earlier part of the interview which is not included in the excerpt presented here. Also represents a word that has been changed in order to protect participants’ anonymity (especially when using a pseudonym was not an option).

In the English translations of Japanese-language interviews, brackets may also be used to indicate a word that is left out of the Japanese original, but understood by context. For example, in Japanese, subjects are often left unsaid, in the English translations I inserted those for ease of understanding.

(()) Represents additional information added to explain something in the excerpt or in the interview. Because interviews were not video recorded, information about gaze was not available. However, if a speaker changed his/her voice noticeably, clapped or engaged in other paralinguistic behavior that was audible, that information is included in the transcript in double parentheses.

When a Japanese word is used in an English language interview, the translation for that word is included in the excerpt, indicated by double parentheses. When dialect and standard words are being discussed, the translation includes JD (Japanese Dialect) or SJ (Standard Japanese) inside the double parentheses. If neither JD nor SJ is indicated, the Japanese word being used is Standard Japanese.

If a Japanese word is used and the speaker provides the equivalent, a translation is not provided.

voice In English excerpts, underlined text indicates an important comment which is discussed in the analysis of that excerpt.

けん In Japanese excerpts, underlined text indicates a lexical, phonological, or morphological dialect feature. This includes individual words, sentence final particles, vowel changes, and verb endings. Accentual and prosodic features of dialect are not indicated. Because sentence final particles are often difficult to include in English translations, not all dialect features in Japanese excerpts are included in the English translations.

Appendix H: Sample Site Permission Forms

Site Permission for Individual School

Permission to conduct on-site observations

I am writing to indicate my permission for Jae Takeuchi to conduct research in the staff rooms of [REDACTED] as part of her UW-Madison research project, "Non-native Speakers' Beliefs and Perceptions of Japanese Language." I understand that she will conduct observations of teaching staff in the staff rooms when children are not present. There will be no audio or video recordings made and identifying details of teaching staff will not be retained.

As principal of the [REDACTED] I grant permission for observation activities to take place in the staff room of [REDACTED].

私は、武内ジェイが「日本語の非母語話者の日本語に対する意識や考え」の研究のために、[REDACTED]の職員室にて研究活動を行うことをここに許可します。研究活動は、職員室での教職員の観察であり、個人が特定できる情報を記録しない、児童生徒の観察を行わないこと、そして録音録画を行わないことを理解しています。

[REDACTED]の学校長として、[REDACTED]での観察活動を許可します。

名前 Name

[REDACTED]

サイン Signature

[REDACTED]

日付 Date

[REDACTED]

Sample Site Permission for city or town board of education

Permission to conduct on-site observations

I am writing to indicate my permission for Jae Takeuchi to conduct research in the staff rooms of the junior high schools in [REDACTED] City, as part of her UW-Madison research project, "Non-native Speakers' Beliefs and Perceptions of Japanese Language." I understand that she will conduct observations of teaching staff in the staff rooms when children are not present. There will be no audio or video recordings made and identifying details of teaching staff will not be retained.

As Superintendent of Schools for the [REDACTED] City Board of Education, I grant permission for observation activities to take place in the staff rooms of [REDACTED] Junior High Schools.

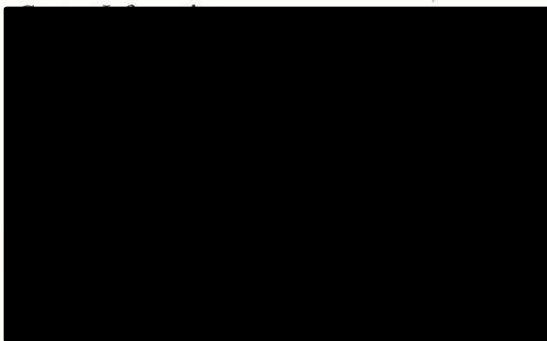
私は、武内ジェイが「日本語の非母語話者の日本語に対する意識や考え」の研究のために、[REDACTED]の中学校の職員室にて研究活動を行うことをここに許可します。研究活動は、職員室での教職員の観察であり、個人が特定できる情報を記録しない、児童生徒の観察を行わないこと、そして録音録画を行わないことを理解しています。

[REDACTED]市教育委員会の教育長として、[REDACTED]の中学校での観察活動を許可します。

Name [REDACTED]

Signature [REDACTED]

Date: June [REDACTED]



Altered consent for observation of leisure activity (Japanese followed by English)

ウィスコンシン大学で日本語言語学の博士課程におります。武内ジェイと申します。今、日本語に対する意識や考えについての研究をしています。((参加者の名前))は参加してくれています。皆様のお許しをいただけたら、今日((場所の名前で、アクティビティの名前で))を観察させていただけないでしょうか。

皆様のお名前や身元の特定ができる情報を一切記入しませんので、皆様のプライバシーへのリスクがないと思います。

もし私がここで観察をさせていただくことがご都合が悪いようでしたら、退席いたしますので、ご遠慮なさらずにお申し出ください。そして、今後、質問などがございましたら、私の連絡先をお教えしますので、いつでもご連絡ください。よろしく願いいたします。

(Distribute small cards with my email and phone number).

では、皆様の（稽古・レッスン・練習など）を観察させていただいてもよろしいでしょうか。

English translation

My name is Jae Takeuchi and I am conducting a research study about beliefs and perceptions of Japanese language use. [Name of participant] has been participating in my study, and with the permission of everyone here, I would like to observe [name of activity or location, e.g. today's practice, etc.]

I will not collect or record any information about anyone's identity or any details that might make it possible to identify the people who are here today. As such, I don't anticipate any risks to anyone from today's observation.

If anyone is uncomfortable with my presence here, I am happy to leave. Or, if you don't want to be included in my observation, please feel free to let me know. I can give you my contact details if you would like to contact me at a later date.

(Distribute small cards with my email and phone number).

May I observe (name of activity or location, e.g. today's practice, etc)?

(Thank you)