

JAPANESE AND BRAZILIAN FEMALE TEACHERS' DIRECTIVE/COMPLIANCE-
GAINING STRATEGIES: A LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION PERSPECTIVE

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2014

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Dr. Boxer for being a great mentor, supporting me during the process of writing this academic work. I also thank Dr. Coady, Dr. Golombek, Dr. Lord, and Dr. McLaughlin for being on my committee. I thank Dr. LoCastro for the support she gave me in many ways.

I would like to thank my UF friends who have supported me in the process: Alejandro P., Amanda H., Ana María D., Antonio D., Antonio T., Asmeret M., Belle L., Carolina G., David V., Dawn F., Elli S., Eugenio, P., Fabiola D., Jimmy H., Juan C., Juan V., Machel M., Maria M., Martin M., Mónica A., Priyankoo S., Rosana R., Rui C., Yuko F., and many more friends I met in the Gatorland.

I thank my friends in Japan and in Mexico for their support: Cecilia A., Cristina Y., Edna T., Esteban G., Fukuhara-*san*, Irma-*san*, Izumi-*san*, Rosario P., and other friends. I also thank my deceased Mexican and Japanese mentors: François L., Víctor F., and Tobita-*sensei*.

I thank Hong Ling for accompanying me in the process of writing this academic work. Finally, I thank my parents for their support and understanding.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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May 2014

Chair: Diana Boxer
Major: Linguistics

This is an ethnographic study of Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive and compliance-gaining strategies. With a language socialization approach, this study aims at illustrating female teachers' socializing practices performed in classrooms of one Japanese and one Brazilian elementary school, both located in Japan. First, it analyzes crosscultural differences in the use of directive speech acts performed by Japanese- and Brazilian Portuguese-speaking female teachers. Second, it sheds light on Japanese female teachers' directive and compliance-gaining strategies practiced in first grade mainstream classrooms with special focus on the interactional routines of *aisatsu* ("formal greeting") and *happyoo* ("formal presentation"). Third, it illustrates Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies performed in interaction with one non-conforming Brazilian pupil in the *kokusai kyoshitsu* ("international classroom") of the elementary school under scrutiny.

The results of the present study demonstrate cultural differences between Japan and South America in regards to their attitudes towards authority and norms of group behavior. Specifically, the study illustrates one quantitative difference between the

Japanese and the Brazilian female teachers' use of directive speech acts: Japanese teachers' requests versus Brazilian teachers' direct imperatives. Second, the study has discovered Japanese mainstream classroom teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies of *kogoto* ("small scoldings"), nagging, praising, and complimenting. Third, this research shed light on one Brazilian female teacher's use of direct imperatives and persuasive discourses in interaction with a non-conforming Brazilian pupil.

In the end, the study provides recommendations for Japanese teachers who teach South American students in Japan and for researchers interested in elucidating issues of culture, power, socialization, and resistance by means of studying teacher-student interactions.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a report of an ethnographic study of directive and compliance-gaining practices in Japanese and Brazilian elementary schools in Japan.¹ My research interest originated from a straightforward question: What cultural values and norms of behavior do teachers from distinct ethnolinguistic groups communicate in classrooms? Based on this investigative interest, the study examines directive and compliance-gaining strategies employed by Japanese and Brazilian female teachers.

The study was primarily based upon the direct observation of Japanese and Brazilian female teachers interacting with their pupils. For this study, three types of classroom interactional data were analyzed: (1) Brazilian teachers interacting with Brazilian children, (2) Japanese teachers in interaction with Brazilian and/or Peruvian children, and (3) Japanese teachers interacting with Japanese children. This first chapter of the dissertation presents the background and the theoretical framework of the study, the research problem, the definition of terms, significance of the study, and personal motivation for this research.

The Background of the Study

The *Nikkei* South Americans in Japan

Approximately 126,000,000 Japanese native speakers reside in the world today (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2013). It is characteristic that the great majority of the population is concentrated on the Japanese main islands in the Far East.

¹ The 1990 revision of immigration law and the successive flux of *Nikkei* Brazilians led to the establishment of Brazilian schools in Japan.

Japanese society has been considered linguistically homogenous in comparison with other multilingual and multicultural societies in the world.

From a historical viewpoint, however, Japan was one of the countries that promoted emigration overseas. In the late 19th century, it launched an internal policy aimed at building a modern nation-state within the context of world imperialism. Due to this historical background, 2.6 million Japanese descendants called *Nikkei* or *Nikkei-jin* reside abroad, with major concentrations in North and South America (The Association of Nikkei & Japanese Abroad, 2013).

The South American *Nikkeis'* immigration to Japan was triggered by the 1990 revised immigration control law that allowed these descendants to work legally as temporal guest workers. This policy change was motivated by domestic economic growth that experienced its peak in the 1980s and the early 1990s. The domestic industries of various sorts required large numbers of cheap and non-skilled laborers for the so-called “3K” employment sector (“3D” in English). The 3K stands for *kiken* (dangerous), *kitanai* (dirty), and *kitsui* (difficult) (Linger, 2001; Tsuda, 2003).

Japanese society currently has a sizable number of immigrant and ethnolinguistically distinct groups. In 2011, for instance, approximately 2,000,000 foreigners resided in Japan; that is, 1.5% of the total population is non-native Japanese. The official statistics show in 2011 that 674,879 Chinese, 545,401 Koreans, 210,032 Brazilians, 209,376 Filipinos, and 52,843 Peruvians were the five largest foreign populations (The Ministry of Justice, 2013). As noted above, the presence of the Brazilian and Peruvian immigrants is outstanding (third and fifth places, respectively). In

2009 Japan had approximately 337,000 *Nikkeis* and their families from South America (Higuchi, 2011).

At the moment, ethnographic data are limited, and that renders it difficult to discern the detailed sociocultural and linguistic conditions of the South American *Nikkei* diaspora in Japanese society. However, the overall trend is that since the mid 1990s they have become long-term and/or permanent residents, bringing their families or establishing families in the host society. Therefore, it is realistic to state that the *Nikkei* population in Japan will remain or increase its size in the future.

Despite the economic growth experienced in the 80s and the early 90s, in the late 1990s Japan began to experience a constant economic recession. The global financial crisis in 2007 caused the further downsizing of its economy. This global incident caused South Americans in Japan to go back to South America due to lack of employment opportunities. Before the crisis, in 2006 there existed approximately 313,000 Brazilians and 59,000 Peruvians (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2008). Despite the global incident, as of 2010, approximately 230,000 Brazilians and 54,000 Peruvians still remained in the country (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2011).

School Education of Brazilian and Spanish-Speaking South American Children in Japan

In 2012 there were in Japan 24,700 Brazilian, 7236 Peruvian, and 1390 other Spanish-speaking South American children and adolescents,² ranging in age from five to 15 (The Ministry of Justice, 2013). This means that approximately 33,000 South American children and youngsters were to receive primary and lower secondary

² These Spanish-speaking South Americans consist of 759 Bolivians, 295 Argentineans, 184 Colombians, and 152 Paraguayans.

education in Japan. Even though the actual number of South American students enrolled in Japanese public schools is unavailable, in the same year, 2012, 11,742 of the South Americans, out of 24,712 foreign students, enrolled in primary and lower secondary public schools of Japan needed support with learning Japanese for basic conversation and/or academic purposes (Ministry of Education, 2013). Of this number, Brazilians were the majority with 8,484 (6,207 primary and 2,277 lower secondary students) and the rest, 3,258 (2,476 primary and 782 lower secondary students), were Spanish-speaking South Americans. Therefore, almost half of the foreign students who need support with learning Japanese and/or class subjects, are South American students.

Aside from Japanese public schooling, Brazilians in Japan can choose Brazilian schooling via Brazilian private schools called *Burajiru-jin gakkou* (literally, school(s) of Brazilian people). A number of Brazilian private schools have been created so that Brazilian children/adolescents can prepare for the time they will return to Brazil and continue their schooling in Brazil (Kouchi, 2006, p. 60).

In early 2000 there were already 60 Brazilian private schools. Some of these were recognized by the Japanese government and/or accredited by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC) and others had no official status as schools (Imazu & Matsumoto, 2002; Ishikawa-Eunice, 2004; Nomoto, 2005). In 2008, the number increased up to over 100 with 10,000 students (Mori, 2011).³ Due to the downsizing of the domestic economy caused by the 2007 global financial crisis, in 2011 the number of Brazilian schools

³ Sekiguchi (as cited in Kouchi 2006, p. 56) points out that in 2005 there were 8,000 students enrolled in Brazilian schools. Miyajima and Tsukidoi (2007) estimate that approximately 7,000, i.e., one fourth of over 30,000 South Americans between 7 to 12, were enrolled in Brazilian schools.

decreased to 72 (Ministry of Education, 2011). In 2011, 26 Brazilian private schools were recognized by the Japanese Ministry of Education as equivalent to Japanese secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2011). In 2013, 44 Brazilian private schools were recognized by the MEC (Embassy of Brazil in Tokyo, 2013). It is important to state that 23 of these schools were recognized by the ministry of education of both countries.

Despite the practical needs of bilingual education for South American students in Japan, neither Japan's public nor Brazilian private schools have systems or conditions that can provide bilingual programs (Imazu & Matsumoto, 2002; Ishikawa-Eunice, 2004; Nomoto, 2005). In Japanese public schools, on the one hand, no systematic support is being offered to help students cope with class subjects in their mother tongue (Ogawa, 2002). Instead, "international classrooms" are usually set up in those primary and secondary schools with South American and other immigrant students in need of assistance with learning Japanese and class subjects. Research studies point out that the pull-out system⁴ practiced in these classrooms does not foster their learning of Japanese to meet academic demands (Imazu & Matsumoto, 2002; Ishikawa-Eunice, 2004; Nomoto, 2005; Ogawa, 2002). Brazilian (especially, secondary) students tend to experience difficulties keeping pace with the academic demands and sometimes abandon school (Yamanouchi, 1999). It is important to mention here that the Japanese law requires its citizens to attend until ninth grade (lower secondary school); however, this law does not apply to foreign residents in the country.

Foreign parents are not required by Japanese domestic law to send their children to Japanese schools. Due in part to this lack of the legal requirement, many Brazilian

⁴ Its common practice is that these students are "pulled out" from their regular classes of language arts, social studies, and mathematics (Ogawa, 2002, p. 4).

children and adolescents do not attend school. Sekiguchi (2005) calculates that in 2005 there were approximately 17,000 school-age Brazilians who did not attend school. Under such circumstances, in 2010 the Ministry of Education of Japan launched a program to foster the integration of these children and adolescents into the school education system. In 2011, 39 organizations provided classes in Japanese and in academic subjects for South American children and adolescents who were not attending school (International Organization for Migration, n.d.).

The existence of the Brazilian private and the Japanese public schooling systems is unique to the Brazilian migrants in the Japanese context given the fact that no other Brazilian schools exist overseas (Ministry of Education of Brazil, n.d.). For instance, in Hamamatsu city, the site of this study, there were six Brazilian private schools in 2010. The specific number of student enrollment was unknown, but a sizable number of Brazilian children and adolescents were enrolled at these Brazilian schools. The observations made by this research in Japanese and Brazilian schools indicate that many Brazilian children transfer from one educational system to the other. Due to the fluctuation in the global and domestic economies, the decisions Brazilian families have to make for their children's school education turns out to be a difficult matter. Given the historical context of Brazil's economic instability and the current trends of transnationalism, it is difficult for Brazilian *Nikkei* parents in Japan to choose one country, either Brazil or Japan, where they can settle down.

The choice for studying in one educational system implies differential experiences with language and culture, including the building of social and ethnic identities of their children. The school, in the Japanese context, is the key institution through which

children learn one language and one mainstream culture, gaining membership of one ethnolinguistic group. Teachers in each educational system, Japanese or Brazilian, play a relevant role as gatekeepers of cultural norms and commonsensical knowledge with respect to educating the children. The focus of the present study is teachers' communicative practices in the process of enculturation of Brazilian and Spanish-speaking South American children in Japan.

Outline of the Theoretical Framework

Language Socialization (LS)

The theoretical framework of LS plays a relevant role in this research study because it is based on a detailed understanding of communicative practices and their sociocultural contexts. Within this LS research framework, the present study aims at a detailed understanding of teachers' communicative practices as well as the sociocultural contexts of school education of immigrant children from South America in Japan.

LS is defined as “the process whereby children and other novices are socialized through language . . . to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively” (Ochs, 1996, p. 408). LS is a field of cross-cultural research that endeavors to understand sociocultural influences on communicative events and acts of humans who socialize, and become socialized by, their group members through the use of language in a specific context. In other words, people's moment-by-moment and face-to-face interactions constitute an essential part of LS research. The fundamental goal of LS is to understand, through analyzing day-to-day mundane communicative practices, cultural continuity and change in an ethnolinguistic and/or sociocultural group. The language involved in the socialization process is usually the first language of the group

members. However, in this study, socialization through the second language is also involved.

Socialization through the use of language and *socialization to use language* are the central theoretical concepts in the LS paradigm. The daily communicative practice plays an essential role in guiding novices to become members of their ethnolinguistic and/or sociocultural group. Becoming an insider implies obtaining membership within the community by sharing sets of knowledge and norms of behavior of the group. This process, according to the LS assumption, leads novices to develop communicative competence to speak and act in socially and culturally appropriate and legitimate ways.

The Role of Language in Socializing Novices

Within the LS paradigm, language, both grammatical and discursive, plays a crucial role because sociocultural knowledge is communicated, negotiated, reproduced, or transformed through language in face-to-face interaction (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Here, indexicality allows children and other novices to understand subtle meanings conveyed in grammatical and/or discursive forms (Ochs, 1996). Indexicality refers to “the pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances” (Hanks, 2001, p. 119). An indexical may infer sociocultural contexts such as time, space, social identity, social act/activity, and/or affective or epistemic stance (Ochs, 1988). Indexical knowledge forms part of a group member’s linguistic and cultural competence and is an interface between language acquisition and socialization (Ochs, 1996).

Interactional routines (Ochs, 1986; Peters & Boggs, 1986) are relevant speech events or activities through which indexicals are expressed, interpreted, and negotiated. LS research has studied interactional routines such as greetings, jokes, teasing, begging, and clarification sequences (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The major motive for

studying such routines is to understand how and to what extent their repetitiveness and predictability guide novices to acquire culturally patterned interactions in which participant roles and obligations are created, reproduced, and negotiated (Rymes, 1997). Children become competent members of their social groups through participation in these and other routines in distinct social institutions (e.g., schools).

The LS perspective elucidates the socializing influence that adults exercise upon children while conveying sociocultural messages. For this process, language forms used in a specific speech context guide children to acquire a particular language and culture by internalizing and appropriating sets of feelings, emotions, thoughts, identities, and social roles/relationships that are legitimate to their group. This study views teachers' use of directive language as an indexical resource that provides sociocultural values and knowledge to the children so that they become schooled while also becoming members of an ethnolinguistic group, be it Brazilian or be it Japanese.

Statement of the Research Problem

The present research focuses on two central questions:

1. What cultural values and norms of behavior do Japanese and Brazilian female teachers communicate in classrooms?
2. How do Japanese and Brazilian female teachers perform directives and other communicative resources to gain students' compliance in classrooms?

Three sub-questions are derived from the central questions:

1. What directive speech acts do these teachers perform in classrooms? Is there any difference between the Japanese and the Brazilian female teachers' use of directive speech acts?
2. What cultural values and norms of behavior do these teachers communicate by means of their directives and other communicative resources?
3. What directive/compliance-gaining strategies do these teachers perform to grapple with highly non-conforming students?

Definition of Terms

The terms used in the present dissertation are defined in the following ways:

Cultural norms: Customary rules and assumptions that govern behavior in groups or societies. Cultural norms elicit conformity from the members of the group.

Compliance-gaining: Communicative behavior in which teachers attempt to get students to do things or to comply.

Directive acts: Speech acts through which teachers attempt to get students to perform some action. In this study, five directive act types were adopted from Koike (1992): “order/command,” “assertion,” “suggestion,” “request,” and “hint.”

Directive strategy types: Two directive types, “direct” and “indirect,” compose the directive acts. The direct types are speech acts of either “order/command” or of “assertion.” Indirect types are speech acts of either “suggestion,” “request,” or “hint.”

Directive routines: Directive language that teachers perform for certain social purposes in classrooms. Directive routines tend to function to maintain cultural norms, social relationships, and commonsensical knowledge.

Instructing routines: Directive speech acts/events that teachers employ for the purpose of teaching lesson content.

Disciplining routines: Directive speech acts/events that teachers employ in reaction to their students’ behavior.

Significance of the Study

The present research contributes to two subfields of Linguistics: Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics. *Language socialization* and *Teacher language* are the areas of specific concentration corresponding to the respective subfields. This research is the first work that studies South American children’s enculturation and schooling within the Japanese context. This research contributes to the knowledge base of LS by documenting Brazilian and Japanese teachers’ directive and compliance-gaining practices and South American students’ enculturation of values and norms of behavior in Japan. By aggregating ethnographic findings with the body of the LS theory, this case study contributes to the knowledge base of the linguistic sciences.

In addition to its theoretical contributions, the study makes practical contributions to the field of education in Japan. South American students need to acquire communicative competence in Japanese to order to meet the academic demands of Japanese schools. Japanese teachers, in order to support South American children in classroom learning, need to be aware of effective instructional language sensitive to crosscultural communication. The results of this research study allow the Brazilian families and other South Americans to understand the socializing tendencies in Japanese schools. With this information, South American parents can choose the appropriate educational institution to educate their children to become members of, at least, their preferred ethnolinguistic group in the era of transnationalism.

Personal Motivation for the Study

My motivation for this research derived from a personal interest in bridging the cultural worlds of Japan and Latin America. Bridging the cultural worlds is neither a mechanical nor a technical task. Language and culture-based differences are conflict-laden. An example of this is power relationships between the minority group and the host society's mainstream and the successive dilemma between fidelity to the minority group versus assimilation into mainstream culture. Crossing boundaries is a highly intricate matter that involves sociocultural dimensions such as nation, ethnicity, language, and ideology that go beyond the scope commonly adopted by pragmatics and second language acquisition (SLA) research.⁵

⁵ Rampton's (1995, 2005) work is an exception that goes beyond the scope commonly employed in SLA and pragmatics research. He studies codeswitching to Creole, Indian English, and Panjabi as practiced by young people in the U.K.: Anglo, Afro-Caribbean, and Panjabi. His study discusses the sociolinguistics (including SLA), the political ideology, and the educational implications of the codeswitching phenomena.

My first encounter with *Nikkei* (i.e., foreign nationals with Japanese ancestry) South Americans took place in the early 1990s. I started college in the Tokai region, as sizable numbers of Brazilian immigrants arrived in search of temporary work. During my four-year undergraduate program, I had cultural exchanges with *Nikkei* Brazilians and Peruvians through a Latin American student club I belonged to. Moreover, I studied and learned Spanish and Portuguese motivated by my passion for world soccer. Upon concluding college, I had the opportunity to do a masters in cultural anthropology in Mexico. My study was about indigenous language revitalization and the role of anthropology in this project. In 2004, I started a PhD program in linguistics in Florida. In 2008, I went back to the Tokai region to carry out my doctoral research. During my stay, I involved myself with local Brazilian communities through researching and working in Japanese and Brazilian schools, volunteering at a local NGO providing educational support for Brazilian children/adolescents and their families. In 2009 I started a four-year undergraduate program offered by the Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso (UFMT) in the Tokai region. I graduated from it in 2013 with a teacher certificate. This program aimed at improving pedagogical practices of Brazilian teachers who were teaching in Brazilian schools in Japan. All of this involvement prepared me to look critically at the current school practices in Japan.

My academic interest led to the present research that investigates socializing practices in classrooms in Japanese and Brazilian schools in Japan. In response to the current tendencies of globalization and transnationalism, *Nikkei* South American children and adolescents struggle to live in the cultural worlds that are ruled by multiple linguistic, institutional, and political realities. The school system as a modern institution

enhances and limits the children/adolescents' possibilities to become legitimate members of the society they aspire to belong to. Thus, I studied socializing practices that are taking place in teacher-student interactions. My study focused on cultural knowledge, skills, and disposition that mainstream school practices intend to instill in children and their reactions to the societal force observed in classroom interactions.

Finally, it is important to point out that *Nikkei* South Americans are ambivalent "cultural others" for Japanese people; they are "linguistically different," yet "ethnically related" as many of them are descendants of the Japanese who emigrated to South America in the late 19th and the early 20th century. Currently, Japanese society and its school system are assimilating the *Nikkei* South Americans without consideration of their linguistic and cultural particularities. Japanese school education as a modern institution has based its assimilation policies on the ideology of "monoculturalism" and "ethnic homogeneity" without taking into account the diverse cultural backgrounds of children with foreign origins. This study documents the ongoing enculturation/acculturation processes of *Nikkei* South American children in the Japanese educational system.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The present study focuses on Brazilian and Japanese female teachers' use of directive language that socializes their students into cultural norms of behavior in classrooms. This chapter reviews literature on cultural norms, LS theory and research in general, and on classroom LS in particular. *Indexicality* and *interactional routines* are the central concepts that are discussed in connection with cultural norms of behavior. Specific attention is given to LS research, pragmatic research, and cultural studies on these languages and cultures, because this study specifically deals with classroom LS practices in Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese.

Cultural Norms of Behavior

Japanese Norms of Behavior

Japanese culture is highly group-oriented. Japanese people do outstanding group work when they make collective efforts for the benefit of the group. Group harmony, *wa*, has been a fundamental cultural credo of Japan (Benedict, 1946; Brown, 2007; Kramer & Ikeda, 1997). The sense of belonging to a group is strong in contrast with the West and the former colonies of the West, including Brazil and Spanish-speaking America.

Japanese group culture is maintained by its hierarchy, *tate-shakai*, literally “vertical society” (Nakane, 1970). Hierarchy is a notable aspect of social life in Japan where age and social status are major sociolinguistic variables. Politeness is prevalent in Japanese communication; this contributes to maintaining and reproducing the hierarchical social structure. The Japanese language has a highly developed honorific system within its grammar. Verb form must be chosen from one of two speech styles based on the polite/casual distinction. Japanese people display their polite face or casual face based

upon specific contextual exigencies. Moreover, in correspondence with social hierarchy, Japanese verbs need to be conjugated in one of two ways that display either one's humbleness (*kenjyo-go*/humble form) or one's respect (*sonkei-go*/honorific form) in relation with the interlocutor(s) or others in the conversation. Learning the Japanese language implies acquiring knowledge of social relationships and hierarchy. Japanese speakers display their relative role and stance within their specific social interactions. Therefore, Japanese speakers, when employing the language in proper context, inevitably end up supporting the maintenance of the hierarchical social system.

Researchers of Japanese culture and language have highlighted this conservative nature of Japanese culture (Benedict, 1946; Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, & Ogino 1986; Ide, 1992; Bachnik, 1992; Tobin, 1992). Benedict (1946) has pointed out that the essential cultural trait of Japanese people resides in their tendency to assume one's role and position assigned by society. Along the same line, Hill, et al. (1986) and Ide (1992) highlight the Japanese concept of social discernment, *wakimae*, as cultural norms of linguistic politeness. The notion of *wakimae* refers to one's appropriate behavior in accordance with one's social role and position in the hierarchy system. Bachnik (1992) highlights the cultural importance of *kejime* in Japanese social domains. *Kejime* is a sociocultural norm of discipline that tells one when and how to switch between the public and private modes of self-display according to specific social contexts. Tobin (1992) refers to this norm as cultural knowledge that Japanese pupils have to acquire to become members of the class. In other words, children in Japan need to achieve mastery of this cultural norm in order to behave with the proper mode, either public or private, that is signaled by a specific social context. *Kejime* is an

attitudinal display of individual commitment to the formal activity/speech context, including classroom learning in Japanese public schools (see Chapter 5 for ethnographic documentation of these norms).

As a first step for socializing hierarchy, Japanese mothers inculcate children into the cultural value of empathy, *omoiyari*, which has been researched from a LS perspective (Clancy, 1986). Clancy (1986) has pointed out that Japanese mothers employed a set of strategies to elicit infants' group-oriented behavior. She found that by telling the children what other people were thinking and feeling, the mothers encouraged them to empathize with others. These caregivers, for instance, insisted upon responding attentively to non-kin adults who made requests and asked questions. Here, the mothers used directive strategies that warned the children that certain behaviors were strange, frightening, or shameful in the eyes of others. These strategies communicated to the children the cultural importance of individual conformity to the group. Moreover, the mothers used indirect strategies by citing wishes, needs, and feelings of others as reasons to conform to the group. In so doing, they used certain adjectives and expressions such as *kowai/scary*, *kawaisoo/pathetic*, *okashii/strange*, *osoroshii/fearful*, *hazukashii/shameful*, and *x suru hito inai/no one does x*.

In sum, previous research on Japanese norms of behavior suggests a firm relationship between the Japanese language and its culture that together function to maintain the group-oriented cultural values and a social system based on hierarchy. The aforementioned knowledge base is necessary in order to understand and interpret Japanese teachers' directive/compliance-gaining practices in Japanese public schools. Brazilian and Spanish-speaking South American children in these schools go through

enculturation processes in order to achieve mastery of mainstream cultural values of Japan. At the same time they are expected to learn to display appropriate cultural and politeness behavior in teacher-student interactions and relationships.

Brazilian/Spanish-Speaking South American Norms of Behavior

Ethnic and racial diversity is a fundamental aspect of South American countries, including Brazil. The national culture of these countries is based on a mixture of ethnic groups such as indigenous peoples, descendants from Portugal (in Brazil) or Spain (in Spanish-speaking South America), African descendants, and descendants of other parts of Europe and Asia, including Japan. The integration policies adopted by these countries have contributed to maintaining ethnic and cultural diversity within their populations. At the same time they have created a national unity and identity during two centuries since their independence from their former colonizing nations.

Brazilian and Spanish-speaking South Americans belong to different speech communities even though their languages originated from Colloquial Latin and their religious beliefs are based on Catholicism (Torres & Dessen, 2006). Since these languages and cultures evolved in the geographical proximities between Spain and Portugal, the peoples in South America tend to share cultural values and norms of behavior. Emphasis on close familial ties, for instance, is a fundamental cultural value that these peoples share (Bron, 2003; DaMatta, 1991; Dinez, 2003; Torres & Dessen, 2006). For instance, Romanelli (2000) reports that the Brazilian family has a hierarchical structure based on patriarchal authority and male dominance.

Aside from the strong family connection, these peoples are considered to be group-oriented in terms of their cultural orientations towards friendships (Green, 2011). It has been claimed that friendliness and open mindedness are cultural traits of Brazilian

and Spanish-speaking South Americans that are reinforced in the context of transnationalism (Green, 2011; Rezende, 2008). Due to the colonial heritage of exploitation, the rigid political systems, and the bureaucratic impasses, South Americans give importance to friendships as a cultural resource that provides practical solutions to problems deriving from the social and institutional hierarchies (Torres & Dessen, 2006). Such cultural practices are denominated as *jeitinho* “little way out” in Brazil (Barbosa, 1992), *gauchada* in Argentina (Garibaldi de Hilal, 2006), and *palanca* in Colombia (Fitch, 1998).

Sociolinguistic and interactional research on Brazilian Portuguese and Latin American Spanish has reported that members from these speech communities actively involve themselves in the conversation by performing mutual overlaps and interruptions (Pontes & Jung, 2011; Alfaraz, 2009; Burgos, 2007; Kilpatrick, 1986; Berry, 1994). Pontes and Jung (2011) points out that Brazilian female interlocutors in a casual conversation overlapped and interrupted each other as a way of showing mutual involvement and conversational collaboration.¹

Along the same line, there is a cultural assumption that overlaps are considered to be as interlocutors’ positive conversational involvement across Spanish-speaking speech communities in Latin America (Alfaraz about Cuba; Burgos about Colombia, and Berry & Kilpatrick about Puerto Rico). These research studies suggest that there is an ideology of friendship across Latin American cultures that allows their members to

¹ It is important to note that the distinction between overlaps and interruptions has been discussed elsewhere in the literature (e.g., Tannen, 1983, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1983; Zimmerman & West, 1975). This issue, despite the importance of understanding cultural influence, is beyond the scope of this study.

embody their cultural worldview through frequent “high-involvement” discourse (e.g., Tannen, 1984).

Portuguese and Spanish show social hierarchy and distance in their respective grammatical systems. The V/T pronoun distinction is a normative orientation among romance languages. In Brazilian Portuguese the V/T distinction is based on *senhor(a)*/Mr(s) (V-form) and *você* (T-form) (Azevedo, 2005; Gensen, 1981). Here, the V-form is used for those in higher status or distant others while the T-form is used for those in equal or lower status or intimates. It is important to point out that these Brazilian Portuguese pronouns must be verbally expressed if social status differences are going to be apparent, given the fact that both pronouns are conjugated in the same form (third person). The South American Spanish pronoun system is also based on the V-T (*usted-tú*) distinction except for some regional dialects (Hummel, Kluge & Vazquez, 2012; Stewart, 1999). In contrast to Brazilian Portuguese, these subject pronouns can be omitted since the first is conjugated as third person while the latter is conjugated as second person. The Portuguese and Spanish pronoun systems are relatively simple in comparison with the Japanese language due to the fact that social relationships are not reflected in verb forms.

In summary, previous literature on cultural norms of behavior in these cultures and languages suggests that sets of cultural values and hierarchical orientations are prevalent in Japanese and Portuguese-/Spanish-speaking South American speech communities. However, this literature does not provide detailed information as to how these values are communicated in peoples’ day-to-day verbal interactions. In order to

respond to this question, the next section reviews literature on LS research across languages and cultures.

The Theoretical Framework of LS

Children and other novices learn how to behave by following, and in conflict with, cultural norms. Socialization has to do with learning how to act and react in everyday life situations within sociopolitical, economic-ideational, and sociolinguistic constraints. As mentioned in Chapter 1, LS is defined as “the process whereby children and other novices are socialized through language . . . to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively” (Ochs, 1996, p. 408). *Socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language* are the central theoretical concepts in the LS paradigm. Through the use of language, members of a sociocultural group are molding each other into particular worldviews by negotiation of situated meaning (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Here, the notion of *community*, either real or “imagined” (Anderson, 1991) is essential for humans to become socioculturally competent members of their group. At the same time children and other novices recognize social roles and relationships in relation to other members (e.g., teachers). This process guides them to speak in socioculturally appropriate and legitimate ways.

The theory of LS originally derived from three theoretical currents or approaches to socialization: symbolic interactionism, phenomenology/ethnomethodology, and sociocultural theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a; Ochs, 1986). Symbolic interaction contributed to LS in terms of understanding *reality* as social construction, that is, concepts such as *self*, *social role*, and *status* are not fixed categories, but they are constructed through communicative interactions. The major contribution of phenomenology/ethnomethodology resides in its emphasis on people’s intersubjective

construction of shared *realities* and commonsensical knowledge displayed and negotiated in interaction (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Sociocultural theory contributed to LS by understanding the socio-cognitive processes of novices as they develop intellectual (both linguistic and sociocultural) skills via guided interaction (i.e., the Zone of Proximal Development). In Schieffelin and Ochs' vision (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), these approaches to socialization concur with one central view: language and culture jointly construct and constitute “[the] bodies of knowledge, structures of understanding, conceptions of the world, and collective representations . . . extrinsic to any individual” (p. 284). LS takes place in people’s ordinary conversational interactions; therefore, daily communicative practices constitute the primary focus of LS research (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

The LS paradigm looks at both micro and macro levels of language and culture, that is, linguistic forms and sociocultural contexts (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). Supported by longitudinal and ethnographic research methods, this theoretical emphasis renders the LS paradigm unique, identifying “the potential slippages between social reproduction and social transformation” (Ahearn, 2001, p. 126). LS, in collaboration with “poststructural sociological paradigms, portray[s] social structures as outcomes of social practices” (Ochs, 1996, p. 408). As Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) succinctly pointed out, the LS paradigm has the potential of enriching social theory (e.g., Bourdieu, Certeau) by documenting evidence as to how and why specific cultural practices could be differently acquired or not acquired in given concrete sociocultural contexts. This also challenges LS researchers to link social structures and human agency (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

The theoretical background of LS is useful because it allows the present study to understand the constructed nature of teacher-student interactions and relationships that involve sociocultural influence and interlocutors' subjectivities. Through the use of directive language teachers communicate particular values and norms of behavior as well as commonsensical knowledge of their speech communities. These elements of culture are shared and contested in particular teacher-student interactions that are developed over time in a given setting and scene (i.e., classrooms). In order to understand these socializing processes, the present study employs ethnographic and interactional approaches that allow us to understand the textual and contextual dimensions of teacher-student interactions. This understanding of the constructed nature of interactional *realities* ultimately enables the researcher to analyze sociocultural reproduction and change.

The Role of Indexicality in Socializing Novices

As mentioned in Chapter 1, indexicality refers to “the pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances” (Hanks, 2001, p. 119). Within the LS paradigm, language, both grammatical and discursive, plays a crucial role, given that through daily face-to-face interaction specific sociocultural knowledge is communicated, negotiated, reproduced, and/or transformed (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). In other words, children and other novices learn to understand subtle meanings conveyed in grammatical or discursive forms that index sociocultural contexts such as social roles and relationships (Ochs, 1996). The indexical knowledge forms part of a group member's linguistic and cultural competence and is an interface between language acquisition and socialization (Ochs, 1996).

An indexical may infer time, space, social identity, social act/activity, affect, and epistemic stances (Ochs, 1988). In the present dissertation, directives are considered as indexical resources that infer contextual dependent cultural meanings. The Japanese language is rich in indexicals. A directive verb form can be attached by sentence-final particles, such as *ne*, that express one's affective and epistemic stances (Cook, 2001). This means that in one Japanese directive utterance we can observe multiple pieces of information that subtly signals speakers' relationships, feelings, emotions, and social identities. In Brazilian Portuguese, a directive form can also be understood as an indexical because it can be combined with specific pronouns and moods to express multiple meanings in different contexts. A comparative example of Japanese and Brazilian teachers' directives is shown below:

Japanese: *Vitoru-kun, chan-to benkyoo shi-mashoo, ne?*
 Name-kun, hard study do-polite/inclusive, ok?

Portuguese: *Vítor, a gente vai estudar diret-inho, tá?*
 Name, we be going to study hard-diminutive, ok?

English translation: 'Vitor, we are going to study hard, ok?'

Both statements index the teachers' perspective taking: "we" instead of "you." Both teachers use the confirmation request form to soften the directive force. In the Japanese example, the suffix *-kun* is attached. This indexes status difference between teacher and student. The verb inflection *-shoo* indexes the teacher's politeness and inclusiveness: "we." Otherwise, the inflection *-suru* would be used because this form indexes casualness and non-inclusiveness: "you." In the Portuguese example, the

teacher is using the future indicative mood *vai estudar* “be going to study” instead of present indicative *estuda* or subjunctive imperative *estude*. The Brazilian teacher is using the diminutive *-inho*, as used in *estudar diretinho* “study hard,” to soften the directive force. Moreover, she uses the address term *Vítor*, student’s first name, that indexes close teacher-student relationship common in Brazilian classrooms.

In order to understand language-specific indexing of contextual meanings, we need to shed light on subtle differences between the statements. First of all, there is a difference in the use of forms of address. In Japanese, a variety of honorific titles index social relationships between/among interlocutors. In the example, the suffix *-kun* indexes hierarchy and intimacy. In contrast, the Portuguese example has no such indexical markings. Second, the Brazilian teacher uses the casual pronoun *a gente*, literally “the people,” instead of the formal pronoun form *nós* “we.” In Brazilian Portuguese, *a gente* indexes informality and popular speech in contrast to *nós* that indexes formality and elite speech (Zilles, 2005). Therefore, *a gente* communicates the value of friendly ties that unites teacher and students as a group of “we folks.” In contrast, the Japanese teacher uses the polite/inclusive form of verbs *-mashoo* instead of employing a pronoun. Third, the Brazilian teacher uses the diminutive *-ito* in *diretinho* “hard” that functions as a softener of the directive force whereas in Japanese it is impossible for adjectives to take diminutive forms. Finally, in the example we can observe the use of a confirmation request both in Japanese and Portuguese: *ne?* and *tá?*. It is important to note that despite the similarity *ne* indexes speaker’s affective stance that seeks common ground with interlocutors (Cook, 1990; 1992). In contrast, *tá* (the short form of *está* “is”) does not have such indexical functions.

As described above, teachers across languages indexically convey sociocultural knowledge (e.g., social roles and relationships) to their pupils. The pupils need to understand subtle meanings in order to become competent members of a sociocultural group. In order to understand such subtle knowledge, the present study intends to shed light on indexical functions of teachers' directive language in Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese.

The Role of Interactional Routines in Socializing Novices (in Classrooms)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, an interactional routine is defined as “a sequence of exchanges in which one speaker's utterance . . . calls forth one of a limited set of responses by one or more other participants” (Peters & Boggs, 1986, p. 81). Interactional routines (Ochs, 1986; Peters & Boggs, 1986) are relevant speech events or activities through which indexicals, including directives, can be expressed, interpreted, and negotiated. In addition, interactional routines are not only discursively predictable structures, but they also embed cultural values and knowledge. For example, greetings, jokes, teasing, begging, and clarification sequences are some of the many interactional routines (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). These routines fall along a continuum of formulaic expressions: from the most fixed/formulaic (e.g., greeting) to the most flexible/least formulaic (e.g., other speech acts in casual conversation). Children become competent speakers starting with how to participate in a routine and ending up an expert in the entire routine (Ohta, 1999). These routines provide situationally meaningful input or cultural messages so that children can develop linguistic systems while at the same time becoming socialized into appropriate ways of speaking and behaving (Peters & Boggs, 1986).

LS research has demonstrated the effectiveness of interactional routines across languages and cultures (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). The major motive for studying such routines is that their repetitiveness and predictability foster novices to become accustomed to, and achieve mastery of, culturally patterned interactions in which participant roles and obligations are created, reproduced, and negotiated (Rymes, 1997). Children and other novices, through participation in many routines, become competent members of their social groups across social institutions (e.g., homes, schools, peer groups, and workplaces).

Interactional Routines in First (L1) and Second Language (L2) Classroom Settings

With respect to interactional routines in classroom settings, LS research has documented the roles teachers play in socializing pupils and students into communicative norms, cultural values, ideologies, and identities (Anderson, 1995; Baquedano-López, 1998; Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 2000; Cazden, Carrasco, Maldonado-Guzman, & Erickson, 1980; Cook, 1999; Kanagy, 1999; Ohta, 1999, 2001; Poole, 1992; Willet, 1995). These studies suggest the role of teacher language in socializing children and novices into cultural patterns of behavior appropriate in the classroom settings.

Classroom interactional routines promote students' linguistic and sociocultural competences. In a study of L1 classroom interactional routines, Anderson (1995) found that the relaxing of the teacher-centered classroom discourse, i.e., IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation), yielded positive effects on the developments of Japanese elementary students' communicative competence in their mother tongue. He observed that a Japanese female teacher used the multiparty framework that he called *umbrella interaction* during presentation/discussion sessions (*happyoo* in Japanese) at an elementary school. In this interactional routine, peers' multiple evaluations were

expected and retrieved in the reaction turns within the four-part sequence of the Initiation-Presentation-Reaction-Evaluation (I-P-Rx-E). Anderson (1995) reports that this dialogical style of interaction led students to assume different participant roles while at the same time enabling their linguistic and cultural scaffolds among members of the classroom.

Similar communicative practices in Japanese with emphasis on attentive listener attitudes and peer scaffolds for proper group behavior were reported by Cook (L1, 1999), Kanagy (L2, 1999), and Lewis (L1, 1984, 1988, 1989). For instance, Lewis (1984, 1988, 1989) found that Japanese preschoolers and first graders socialized each other to follow appropriate classroom behaviors of “good-child (*iiko* in Japanese) identity” that led them to what Lewis called “self-group control.”

Moreover, L2 socialization is a bidirectional process in which teachers and L2 students jointly construct roles and negotiate identities through interactional routines (Rymes, 1997). Kanagy (1999) and Ohta (1999, 2001) demonstrated that formulaic expressions used in classroom interactional routines were useful linguistic devices that socialized novice learners into L2 Japanese pragmatic and discursive norms. Kanagy’s (1999) study on U.S. immersion kindergartens highlighted the Japanese formulaic expressions practiced in the routines of formal greeting (*aisatsu*), attendance taking (*shusseki*), and personal introduction (*jikoshookai*). These interactional routines provided the learners with opportunities for practicing culturally relevant fixed expressions. American preschoolers gradually developed communicative and cultural competencies through the Japanese teachers’ scaffolded assistance (i.e., modeling for repetition, verbal prompts, nonverbal demonstrations, corrective feedback, and praise).

Importantly, this assistance led the children to model each other for appropriate L2 forms and group behaviors (Kanagy, 1999). In a similar vein, Ohta (1999, 2001) found that Japanese teachers in foreign language classrooms in an American university facilitated beginner learners to express formulaic expressions of alignment that included the appropriate use of the sentence-final particle *ne*. The American learners gradually became socialized into the Japanese communicative style while receiving culturally appropriate guidance from their native Japanese teachers.

Poole's (1992) study found the relevance of teachers' cultural ideologies and values transmitted through face-to-face classroom interactions. In her study, the Anglo American teachers promoted the mainstream cultural value of egalitarianism in U.S. ESL programs by accommodating their speech styles to adult L2 beginner students. Their primary communicative strategy was based on the white, middle class cultural value of avoiding the obvious display of status asymmetries that is shared by the white middle class (mostly, female) members. These findings are relevant to the present research that focuses on Japanese teachers' directive practices with relation to South American children's second language and culture socialization in classrooms.

Willet (1995) and Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) found the importance of L2 students' agency in promoting L2 development. Willet's research demonstrated that, during peer task activities, a group of three L2 beginner learners appropriated chunk expressions to label, ask questions, give instructions, and check on each other's progress. She also found that these children playfully took on the teacher's instructive and student's learner roles. This small group collaboratively attained scaffolds through the use of more complex syntactic structures. In so doing, they also co-constructed a

good learner identity. Along the same line, Boxer and Cortés-Conde (2000) found that ESL adult learners, without receiving teacher support, co-constructed emerging *relational identities* during peer activities that fostered the dialogic nature of peer interactions towards L2 linguistic and pragmatic development. Both studies are relevant to the present dissertation in terms of investigating how and to what degree South American students in Japanese classrooms are allowed to achieve mastery of language and culture via peer interactions.

In sum, the previous research studies on classroom interactional routines have shown that a variety of routines are practiced as socializing resources. Teachers use these in order to communicate culture-specific norms, values, and ideologies of their cultural groups. One area that has not yet been fully studied in LS research, which the present research intends to do is to understand the function of directives performed in interactional routines for enculturation of values and norms of behavior.

Directives in LS Research

Directives in the Home Domain

LS research has found that directive routines practiced in the home domain play a crucial role as a socializing device across languages and cultures (Bhimji, 2002; Burdelski, 2006; Clancy, 1986; Eisenberg, 1986; Field 1998, 2001). These research studies have focused on caregivers' multiple uses of directives as both explicit and implicit socialization resources that communicate/elicit culturally appropriate ways of speaking and behaving.

Bhimji (2002) studied directive socialization in low-income Mexican families. In her study, explicit and implicit types of directives were documented with special focus on parental use of imperatives, interrogatives, and declaratives. These directive forms have

the function of retrieving children's compliance to the family and of teaching verbal and cultural skills as relevant communicative knowledge. For instance, Mexican children's verbal skills were facilitated through the dialogical processes that included various responses to the caregivers' directives. The common strategies employed by the children in response to the parental directives were: (1) repeating (part of) the directive utterances, (2) asking confirmation questions, and (3) conforming to or refuting against the directives from the adult members. The finding of Bhimji's research is important to the present research in terms of to what extent students' verbal reactions to teachers' directives are possible in classroom settings so that subsequent interactions can take place towards effective socialization of cultural values and norms of behavior.

Along the same line, Eisenberg (1986) found that in Spanish-speaking Mexican homes caregivers employed the explicit forms of directives *dí*, *díle*, and *díle que* ("say to him/her that") in both dyadic and triadic interactional formats. These directive practices socialized their children into the verbal skills of a variety of speech acts such as thanking, apologizing, and defending oneself against teasers.

Moreover, Field (1998, 2001) analyzed directive-giving routines that involved a triadic participation structure between caregivers and children in a Navajo community. Field (2001) found that, in the triadic directive pattern, an adult initiates a directive to an intermediary child who carries out the directive intention to another child who is the socializing target (e.g., *help X to put back those toys; tell X "be tough"*). Through triadic patterned interactions, Navajo children are socialized into the cultural values of autonomy, self-determinacy, responsibility, respect that are captured in the Navajo cultural theme of *k'é* (group unity and solidarity).

With respect to directive socialization in Japanese families, Burdelski (2006) documented directive strategies of Japanese caregivers with the use of prompts. In his study, the caregivers of two year-olds from the middle class frequently employed the explicit directive form ...-*tte* (say "...") and the empty slot format (e.g., *ari[gatoo]* "than[k-you]"). These strategies elicited and prompted culturally appropriate expressions and behavior, together with the speech acts of greetings, gratitude, apology, and request.

In the same vein, Clancy (1986) studied directive strategies of middle class Japanese mothers to control their children's egocentric behavior and to promote a more socio-centric behavior. In her study, the Japanese mothers employed a combination of explicit forms (e.g., *-cha dame* prohibition) and implicit forms (e.g., hints and rationales) of directives. These strategies facilitated infants' understanding of the "socio-centric" modes of behavior while guiding them to group conformity. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese mothers encouraged their infants to empathize with others by warning them against certain behaviors, including abrupt refutations and failing to answer to adult members. Clancy's study demonstrates that cultural sensitivity to other people's needs and feelings is a highly valued group norm in Japanese mainstream culture.

In summary, these research studies have demonstrated that caregivers across languages employ both explicit and implicit forms of directives. Across cultures, dyadic and multiparty participant structures are utilized in order to prompt appropriate linguistic and cultural expressions while at the same time communicating relevant cultural values. The knowledge base these research studies provide is important to the present dissertation because both parents and teachers are gatekeepers of cultural norms of

behavior that guide children and other novices to become members of their groups. The school domain, however, is different from the home domain due to its institutional constraints that affect, in some way or another, social roles and relationships as well as interactional qualities.

Directives in the School Domain

With respect to teachers' directives, a few research studies have been done from a LS perspective (He, 2000; Lowi, 2008, Field, 1998; Falsgraf & Majors, 1995; Furo 1996). He (2000), in her study on a Chinese heritage school, found that Chinese female teachers used grammatical and sequential patterns of directives for instructional and disciplinary purposes. These teachers used specific directives such as "well/ok + directives" and the modalized directives (*keyi* "may" and *yao* "should"). These directives form part of their instructional and disciplinary discourses that included rationales and moral appeals in favor of Chinese group culture and obedience to parental expectations.

In the same vein, Lowi (2008) conducted a multi-modal discourse study of teacher directives in a U.S. preschool. In her study, preschool teachers employed certain patterns of interactional moves using social modals such as *need to*, *have to*, *must*, and *can*. These modals were used to socialize their pupils into North American cultural norms of individual responsibility that the teachers promoted as appropriate student behavior.

As mentioned earlier, Field (1998) discovered that in Navajo preschool teachers used triadic directive structures that socialized their children into the cultural importance of *k'é*, group unity and solidarity. Here, the teachers assigned an intermediary student who took responsibility for other classmates who were from the same kin group. Instead

of using a dyadic structure that directly would involve the socializing target, their triadic interactional structures created a collective atmosphere among students who took care of each other for the sake of group unity and solidarity.

With respect to a Japanese LS case study, Furo (1996) studied Japanese male and female teachers' use of directive language. In line with Smith's (1992) research on Japanese women's directive language in authoritative positions, Furo categorized teachers' directives into either discipline or instruction types that together function to control students' behavior in classrooms. Furo's study examined eight 50 minute-long classes in a Japanese school in U.S. with special focus on directive forms (imperatives or requests) and directive functions (instruction or discipline). She found that in instructional directives the female teachers avoided imperative forms by using request forms. According to Furo, this is due to the female teachers' use of negative face politeness that mitigated the imposition of directives to their students. Moreover, she discovered that these female teachers frequently used the affect particle *ne* as a positive politeness strategy that enhanced the solidarity between the teacher and students. With respect to disciplinary directives, these teachers "empowered" their speech by using imperative forms instead of request forms. In so doing, they "adopted strategies from the domain of Japanese women's language, instead of borrowing male language" (Furo, 1996, p. 256). Furo's study is relevant to the present research as to how Japanese female teachers use their directives to South American pupils in order to communicate Japanese cultural norms of behavior in classrooms.

In another Japanese LS case study, Falsgraf and Majors (1995) demonstrated the challenge to compare teachers' directives across languages and cultures. They studied

Japanese and American teachers' use of directives in first to fourth grade classrooms in Japan and U.S. In their study, Falsgraf and Majors compared three sets of classes: (1) Japanese-mediated subject classes at a primary school in Japan, (2) Japanese-mediated subject classes at an immersion school in U.S., and (3) English-mediated subject classes at the same immersion school. The results of their statistical analysis show that Japanese teachers were more direct in their directive use than the American counterparts. They contend that this is due to the frequent use of "declarative commands" by the Japanese teachers and its non-occurrence by the American counterparts. More specifically, in the Falsgraf and Majors' scheme these declarative commands are "you're going to V"/"you are V-ing" in English and the V-root form in Japanese. I contend that it seems too simple to assume that these forms are equivalents in directness because of the rather simple scale Falsgraf and Majors created for their study. It is difficult to compare directive forms across languages and cultures without performing contextual/qualitative analysis of native speakers' use of directives. In Japanese, for example, there is a polite/casual distinction with which speakers display their formal/casual disposition through the use of verb endings. The use of Japanese sentence-final particles also plays a role as a compliance-gaining strategy. A LS research study on Japanese directives needs to perform such detailed qualitative analysis.

In summary, previous research studies suggest that, in the school domain, teachers across languages and cultures use both explicit and implicit directive strategies in order to communicate cultural values and norms of behavior prevalent in their societies. Contextual features need to be "homogenized" in order to attain

crosslinguistic comparisons of teachers' directives. Such features are: activity type, interactional format, purposes of directive use, and politeness.

Directives in Pragmatics

Crosscultural Pragmatics

Directives as requestive speech acts have been extensively studied in the field of pragmatics. Within this research field, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) launched an investigative subfield called *Crosscultural Pragmatics*. In this subfield, the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) has investigated cross-cultural variations in two speech act types: requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989).

Here, I summarize the CCSARP framework because Chapter 4 of the present dissertation employs the framework in order to compare Japanese and Portuguese directives. The CCSARP proposes a crosslinguistic coding scheme that treats directive acts as *head acts*. A head act is the directive verb form identified as the nucleus of an action. The speaker uses each head act to elicit the hearer's action. Each head is classified in accordance with the following scale of directness: (1) *mood derivable*, (2) *performatives*, (3) *obligation statements*, (4) *hedged performatives*, (5) *want statements*, (6) *suggestory formulae*, (7) *query preparatory*, (8) *strong hints*, and (9) *mild hints*. The directive force is strongest in (1) and decreases accordingly. Moreover, this analytical framework uses a dual distinction of directness; that is, direct and indirect strategies whose division line is established between (5) and (6). That is, direct strategies are those corresponding to (1) *mood derivable* to (5) *want statements* while indirect strategies are those corresponding to (6) *suggestions* to (9) *implicit hints*.

The present study attempts to make use of the crosslinguistic coding scheme in order to make comparisons of request phenomena across languages and cultures. It is important to bear in mind that the present study intends to use the scheme in order to analyze natural speech data collected in Japanese and Brazilian elementary classrooms.

Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese Directives in Pragmatics

This final section reviews both Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese pragmatic studies. The section makes explicit two aspects of the reviewed literature: (1) sociolinguistic aspects of directive use and (2) directive forms, styles, and strategies.

Japanese Directives in Pragmatics

Smith (1992), in her study of women's directives in Japanese TV programs, found that female detectives and police officers used what she called "Motherese Strategy (MS)" and "Passive Power Strategy (PPS)" (pp. 77-78). These women, in contrast to their male counterparts, employed specific directive forms that invoked solidarity common in Japanese mother-child interactions (Smith, 1992). Moreover, she points out that these women used the PPS that consists of polite and indirect ways of directive communication: (1) use of a noun instead of a verb, (2) obfuscation of overt directive morphologies, and (3) use of auxiliary verbs that indicate that the speaker receives favors from the interlocutor.

Following the Smith's (1992) research line, Sunaoshi (1994b) studied women's directive strategies in a workplace. Her study, based on naturalistic interactional data, dealt with two female managers' directive use in a local photo shop. Her study confirms that these women frequently used both the MS (47% of total) and the PPS (16% of total). Sunaoshi's related study (1994a) reports that the same women frequently used

the sentence-final particle *ne* in and between their utterances, that indexes their affective feelings and stance of sharing information with their subordinates. Sunaoshi contends that, through the use of these strategies, women in authoritative positions create a mother-like position with the image of a caring mother figure. Their strategies appear to be effective because they enable women to exercise power over younger subordinates. Smith's (1992) and Sunaoshi's (1994a, 1994b) studies are relevant to the present dissertation that investigates Japanese female teachers' directive and conformity-gaining strategies.

Hill et al. (1986) studied crosslinguistic variations on the relationship between request directive forms and social relations. In their study, they asked Japanese and American English-speaking subjects to select the most appropriate directive form according to the social variables: occupation/status, relative age, and degree of acquaintance of the interlocutor. This research study established the situation that the subject would borrow a pen from an imaginary interlocutor of the same gender. The results show that the Japanese subjects, in contrast to the American counterparts, showed high agreement of directive forms with the social variables: occupation/status, relative age, and degree of acquaintance. Hill et al. (1986) contend that Japanese speakers tend to adhere to the cultural norm of discernment, *wakimae*; therefore, they tend to have clear patterns of use of directive forms based on these social variables. In relation to Smith (1992) and Sunaoshi (1994a; 1994b), the results of their study (p. 357, figure 5) show that the V-te (*ne/yo*) directive form, identified as the MS, is an indexical that strongly appeals to the Japanese in-group membership, that distinguishes insider members (close/intimate) from outsiders (distant).

In summary, the previous pragmatic research on Japanese directives suggests that Japanese women have gender-based directive and compliance-gaining strategies when talking to interlocutors of a younger age. The reviewed literature also suggests the importance of taking into consideration social/contextual factors that affect Japanese women's directive use, such as group membership, status, age, and degree of acquaintance.

Brazilian Portuguese Directives in Pragmatics

A few research studies have been done concerning Brazilian Portuguese directives (Koike, 1986; 1992; Wherritt, 1983). From a gendered language perspective, Koike (1986; 1992) studied Brazilian women's and men's directive use. Using an interview method, she asked 45 informants from Rio de Janeiro, each with a minimum of high school degree, how to tell a child not to sit on the chair belonging to their very strict father. The results show that most of the informants used orders and assertions (females 60% and males 70%). When giving an order or an assertion, both females and males frequently used present indicative imperatives in combination with a vocative (child's name and/or *ô/olha* "look"). Furthermore, some female informants, in contrast to the male counterparts, employed present subjunctive imperatives in addition to indicative imperatives. The results of her study suggest that Brazilian women, when speaking to a child, tend to employ direct and non-polite language, asserting their power as adults and/or close relationship with the child.

Wherritt (1983) studied Brazilian mothers' directive use in naturalistic mother-infant daily interactions. She found that the mothers used a variety of both explicit and implicit directive strategies. Their explicit strategies include the alternate use of subjunctive (e.g., *faça* "do" third person subjunctive) and indicative imperatives (e.g., *faz* "do" second

person indicative) as in Koike's finding (1986, 1992). Wherritt points out that most of the mothers used both forms even though they preferred the subjunctive form when making a forceful argument with the child. More concretely, Brazilian mothers, when emphasizing their power over their children, used the subjunctive imperative from the beginning or repeated their previous directive message with subjunctive imperatives. Wherritt documented these mothers' employment of a variety of implicit directive strategies that she called "embellishment of commands." Examples are: (1) modals (*ter que* "have to" and *poder* "can"), (2) tags (e.g., *tá?* "ok?," *né?* "right?," *não?* "no?"), (3) questions and other embellishments. Within the variety of other embellishments, there are: (1) explanations, (2) use of *a gente* "we," *vamos* (third person plural volitional form), (3) infinitive/gerund verb forms, (4) syntactic elongators, (5) diminutives, (6) vocatives, and (7) expressions of courtesy.

In summary, the limited number of pragmatic research conducted on Brazilian Portuguese directives suggest that Brazilian women seem to use frequently explicit directive strategies when interacting with their children. There are a gamut of politeness strategies that soften the force of the directive. The present research intends to examine what of these directive strategies Brazilian female teachers perform in primary classrooms.

Table 2-1. Japanese directives in pragmatics.

Sociolinguistic variables	Directive styles/forms	Data types	References
Gender	Motherese Strategy (MS) (1)V- <i>no</i> (<i>yo</i>) (2)V- <i>nasai</i> (3)V- <i>te</i> (4)V- <i>choodai</i> (5)V- <i>te</i> (<i>i</i>) <i>rasshai</i>	TV programs	Smith (1992)
	Passive Power Strategy (PPS) (1)N[activity]+ \emptyset (2)V- <i>koto/yoo ni</i> (3)V- <i>te moraimasu</i> (4)V- <i>te itadakimasu</i>		
	MS from Smith (1992) Modified PPS (1)N[activity]+ \emptyset (2)V- <i>koto/yoo ni</i> (3)V- <i>te morau</i> (its variations) (4)V- <i>te ikureru</i> (its variations) (5)Other forms	Naturalistic conversation	Sunaoshi (1994a, 1994b)
Occupation Status Age Degree of acquaintance	Five levels of politeness on a sliding scale from 1 (least polite) to 5 (most polite)	DCT(question -naire)	Hill et al. (1986)

Table 2-2. Brazilian Portuguese directives in pragmatics.

Sociolinguistic variables	Directive styles/forms	Data types	References
Gender Education (minimum high school graduate)	(1) Orders and assertions (2) Requests (3) Suggestions (4) Hints (5) Avoidance of giving directives	DCT (recorded interview)	Koike (1986, 1992)
Gender (mothers)	<p>Direct strategies (1) indicative vs. subjunctive imperatives</p> <p>Indirect strategies (1) Clause <i>que</i> “because” (2) Extra <i>não</i> “no” that precedes a command verb (3) Repetition of commands (4) First person plural subjects <i>a gente</i> “we” and <i>vamos</i> “we are going to” (5) Modals <i>ter que</i> “have to” and <i>poder</i> “can” (6) Question forms as suggestions (7) Infinitive and gerund (8) Syntactic elongators (9) Diminutives (10) Tag questions (11) Vocatives (12) Indirect objects (13) Expressions of courtesy (14) Explanations and justifications</p>	Naturalistic conversation	Wherritt (1983)

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Chapter 2 reviewed literature on cultural norms as well as LS theory and research in general and on classroom LS in particular. The present chapter describes the methods employed in this LS study. Ethnography of Communication (EC) is the central methodological approach required for LS research. In addition to EC, the present dissertation in Chapter 4 makes use of the crosslinguistic coding scheme provided by Crosscultural Pragmatics in order to compare Japanese and Portuguese directives. Since this research is ethnographic by nature, contextual understandings of teacher-student interactions are critical. The chapter, therefore, includes detailed descriptions of the research sites, the participants, and the interactional data that together constitute the primary part of this investigation.

Ethnography of Communication (EC)

EC is a method of discourse analysis (Schiffrin, 1994) spearheaded by Dell Hymes (1967), a linguistic anthropologist and sociolinguist. Originally from the field of linguistic anthropology, EC has provided firm methodological foundations for LS theory and research (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Rymes & Wortham, 2003). EC has the primary goal of understanding patterns of communicative behavior and social functions of language in a given *speech community* (Gumperz, 1968). Speech community is a critical concept of EC because it refers to the collective—therefore, shared—dimensions of communicative behaviors; that is, members of a cultural group share norms of speaking as well as interpreting and understanding situated meanings of their speech (Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982, 1996).

In order to conduct EC research, Hymes (1974) provides us with six social units of analysis: (1) *speech community*, (2) *speech situation*, (3) *speech event*, (4) *communicative acts*, (5) *communicative style*, and (6) *ways of speaking*. According to Hymes (1974), the focus on one or some of these units depends on the area(s) of interest that each EC research(er) attempts to illuminate. The present study particularly takes into consideration the social units of (1), (3), (4), and (5); specifically: (1) Japanese and Brazilian/Spanish-speaking South American speech communities and their cultural values and norms of behavior; (3) classroom interactional routines, (4) directive speech acts, and (5) female teachers' directive/compliance-gaining styles.

The Setting

The Town

The 1990 revision of the Immigration Control Law triggered an influx of South American immigrants into Japan. The Tokai region, especially, was the heart of the massive South American destination since it was the most industrial region in Japan. Hamamatsu, located in the region, was one of the major destination cities due to the massive production of motor vehicles by Honda, Suzuki, and Yamaha. As of May 2011 (HICE News, 2011), Hamamatsu had approximately 820,000 inhabitants among which 26,000 were foreign nationals. Of this number, there were 13,000 Brazilians (a half of the foreign population in town), 3,150 Chinese, 2,900 Filipinos, and 2,100 Peruvians.

Hamamatsu was known as the city that had the largest number of Brazilians in Japan. Therefore, bilingual services, such as *tsuuyaku* (interpreters), sign boards, bulletin boards, and announcements, were all available in Portuguese in both public and private domains, including governmental offices, schools, apartment complexes, hospitals, factories, and shopping malls. This formed part of the city's strategy to help

the local industry profit from the cheap labor force composed of Brazilians and other foreign workers. Brazilian ethnic restaurants and stores were found in areas where many Brazilians were concentrated. In the city, six Brazilian schools adopted their curriculums in conformity with the Brazilian Ministry of Education: Portuguese was the medium of communication. Many Brazilian adults and children benefited from these services available in the city even though they stayed “marginalized” due to the limited opportunities to learn the local language and culture.

The Schools

The Japanese primary school

The Japanese public school under study was founded in 1977 in a residential area approximately two miles from downtown Hamamatsu. Single-family houses— *ikkodate* in Japanese—were clustered close together in the area. The area was located upon a small hill where fashionable boutiques and hair salons were along the main streets. The area where I lived during the field research was typically middle-class with nuclear families living in *ikkodate* houses with their own cars. A lake was proximal to the residential area, and local people enjoyed walking and jogging around the lake. The primary school under investigation was located in this relatively well-off residential area in town.

In this school, nearly 600 students were constantly enrolled during the time of the research: 2009-2010. The number of students with foreign nationality fluctuated between 75 and 90 because their parents’ employment conditions and opportunities resulted in school transfers. In April, 2009, for instance, there were a total of 90 foreign students. Of this number, 55 were Brazilians. Other students from foreign backgrounds were 30 Peruvians and five Filipinos. This school district was one of those with the

largest number of Brazilian students in town. The sizable Brazilian presence in this district was triggered by the presence of a prefecture-owned apartment complex located in proximity to the school. In Hamamatsu, there were several state-owned or city-owned apartment complexes with low rent prices. Brazilian and Spanish-speaking South American families were most likely to reside in these apartments. This was caused by their sociopolitical and economic status as temporary workers whose employment was unstable. Moreover, the Japanese middle class lifestyle with an *ikkodate*, single-family house, requires establishing a 20- to 30-year loan, which obviously means a long-term plan to stay in Japan with a stable family economy. The buying and selling of used houses is not commonly practiced in Japan. Consequently, the great majority of Brazilian families lived in public apartments.¹

The *kokusai kyoshitsu* (international classroom) of the Japanese school²

Given the presence of the Brazilian and other foreign students living in this district, the school under scrutiny, as in the other 30 primary schools in the city, was providing a tutoring program called *kokusai kyoshitsu* (international classroom). At the time of the research—in October, 2009—29 foreign students belonged to the international classroom: 18 Brazilians, 10 Peruvians, and one Filipino. These students were “pulled out” from their regular classes to attend the tutoring classes offered by the international classroom. The number of sessions the students attended depended on their individual need for help with the Japanese language: some needed support for learning basic

¹ T. Kouchi (2009) and Tsuzuki and J. Kouchi (2009), however, reported a regional phenomenon observed in the cities of Ota and Oizumi in Gunma prefecture that 130 Brazilian families owned their houses in 2009. In my field research in Hamamatsu city, approximately 150 miles from Gunma prefecture, I encountered one Brazilian family living in their own house. The great majority of Brazilian families in Hamamatsu rented apartments or small houses.

² The interactional data collected from the international classroom were analyzed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Japanese language literacy and others needed assistance with learning Japanese for academic purposes. In this school, there was a tendency for lower grade students and those who had just arrived in Japan to have higher numbers of tutoring classes: three to five classes a week.

The international classroom was located on the third floor between an all-purpose room and a third grade classroom. In the hallway, in front of the classroom, a colorful world map indicated the countries where the foreign-born students came from. There was no sense of exclusion perceived about the international class; however, Japanese students rarely entered the room. It appeared to be a symbolic space allocated to the foreign students who belonged to the international class.

Three Japanese female teachers in their 40s and 50s were in charge of the international class. Two of them, teacher Suzuki and teacher Sato, were native of Hamamatsu and teacher Honda was from another region of Shizuoka prefecture.³ Furthermore, three bilingual teacher assistants/interpreters—one Brazilian⁴ and two Japanese (including myself)—helped Brazilian and Peruvian students with attaining basic literacy in Japanese. These assistants, in a tutoring format, interacted with the students in their L1: Portuguese or Spanish. In the international classroom, students were allowed to use their L1 among themselves. Thus, the classroom was as an amicable and safe place for them to relax for a little while, away from the “Japanese only” mainstream class environment.

³ The names of the research participants who appeared in this dissertation are pseudonymous.

⁴ This Brazilian (female) teacher assistant’s directive/compliance-gaining strategies are analyzed in Chapter 6.

The international class taught basic Japanese literacy and content subjects, primarily language arts, and mathematics. As mentioned earlier, support with learning Japanese literacy was provided primarily by the bilingual teacher assistants via students' L1. The content subjects, on the other hand, were taught by the three female teachers. This was due to the employment conditions that the Board of Education set for their bilingual teacher assistants and interpreters.

The international classroom was divided into four spatial subareas. First of all, the front area was equipped with a large chalkboard and desks and chairs that enabled up to four students to study. The front area was accessed only by the female teachers that gave lessons in content subjects. The back area also had a capacity of up to four students with the difference that there was no chalkboard. The space between the front and back areas was divided into two spaces: one space to the right facing a wall and the other space to the left facing a row of windows. Each space had two small sets of three tables and three seats. These lateral spaces were mostly used by the bilingual assistants for teaching basic literacy. In total, six simultaneous tutoring sessions were possible; yet usually only two or three sessions took place simultaneously.

The mainstream classrooms of the Japanese school⁵

This study investigated six mainstream classrooms of the Japanese primary school: three first grade classrooms, two second grade classrooms, and one third grade classroom. As this research focuses on female teachers' use of language and South American students' classroom language socialization, the selected teachers were all female (except for one male teacher of one first grade classroom) and their

⁵ The interactional data collected from the mainstream classrooms were utilized for Chapter 5.

classrooms had South American students, who also belonged to the international classroom.⁶ Two female teachers of first grade classrooms—teacher Kawano and teacher Hoshi—were experienced; one in her 50s and one in her late 40s, respectively. Chapter 5 of the present study sheds light on these teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies.⁷ The number of students in each of these classrooms was approximately 35. The maximum number allowed in a public classroom in Japan is 40. This standardized number is considerably larger than that of Brazil which sets 25 as the maximum and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) average which is 21 (OECD, 2011). Moreover, in each of these teachers' classrooms, two to four South American students were present among approximately 30 Japanese children.⁸

The Brazilian primary school

The school under investigation was founded in 2003, as the first Peruvian school in Japan, with 13 preschool/primary age children and a few teaching and administrative staff. In 2006, the Brazilian program began due to the increasing demand for providing school education for Brazilian children in Hamamatsu. The Brazilian program—especially, three lower grade classes—were investigated for this study.⁹ The Brazilian

⁶ The original research project did not distinguish between male and female teachers; however, since the teachers of the schools researched for this study were predominantly female, female teachers were selected due to methodological and analytical concerns.

⁷ The data collected from the other teachers' classrooms were utilized in order to support the findings of the present research study.

⁸ Further data concerning these children are depicted later in this chapter.

⁹ The data collected from these classrooms are analyzed in Chapter 4.

classes in this school satisfied the curriculum requirements recognized by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC).

The schoolhouse was located two miles from downtown in a rather deserted area with a few wholesale stores. The school was housed in a two-story building that was formerly used as a local bank. At the time of this research, approximately 90 students were enrolled in the school; they commuted every day from inside and outside the city by means of a school bus. At the time of the research, 2008-2010, roughly 40% of the students were Peruvians and 60% Brazilians. Peruvian enrollment was steady while Brazilian enrollment was increasing. This situation was motivated by the fact that in this school tuition fees were lower than the other schools in town, which had no subsidies from the local government.

The Brazilian program had five Brazilian teachers. Each of the teachers was in charge of one multi-grade class. A classroom was usually comprised of two grades together, such as first and second grade students constituting a group. Their classes were based on “individual work.” This means that teachers commonly assigned exercises/tasks to the class so that students individually worked on their own. This practice was due in part to the difficulty that teachers had in carrying out lessons in multi-grade classes.

In addition to the multi-grade class system, insufficient physical space and low teacher quality constituted part of the precarious conditions that this and other Brazilian schools had as a provider of quality education. In response to the situation, as mentioned earlier, in 2009 the Federal University of Mato Grosso launched a four-year teacher training program to improve the conditions of Brazilian schools in Japan. I took

part in the program as a student/trainee. I went through its course work, group projects, seminars, thesis, and teaching practices and obtained a teacher certificate valid to teach at preschools and primary schools administrated by the MEC. All of this allowed me to know Brazilian teachers and better understand the conditions of Brazilian schools in the Tokai region.

The Brazilian students of this school were mainly fourth generation *Nikkei* (Japanese)-Brazilians. These students were racially mixed due to the tendency for interracial marriage among third generation *Nikkei* Brazilians. Most of them were predominantly Brazilian Portuguese speakers with limited fluency and literacy levels in Japanese. The rest—a few of them—had some experience with the Japanese public schooling system; therefore, they were fluent and literate in Japanese.

Participant Observation

Observation and participation are an essential component of ethnographic research. The combination of observation and participation techniques enables the researcher to understand behaviors performed by individual members of a speech community under scrutiny. These field-based techniques enhance researcher's *emic* perspectives. Emic refers to “culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behavior” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 580). Thus, emic perspectives allow the researcher to understand the culture-specific frameworks of thinking and behaving shared by members of a speech community. These perspectives are achieved through observing people's activities, ways of speaking, participating in their talks, and establishing conversations. Therefore, acquiring *emic* perspectives

implies the researcher's communicative abilities and his relative status in the research field, as he is required to participate in people's activities.

In the schools under scrutiny, I was an active participant—for one and a half year (the Brazilian school) and two and a half years (the Japanese school)—while playing multiple roles as a bilingual interpreter, teacher assistant, and language instructor. The prolonged insider status permitted me to gain trust from my research participants. This led to achieving natural interactional speech while overcoming, to a certain degree, the so-called *observer's paradox* (Labov, 1966).

The Researcher's Position in the Field

The Japanese School

My position at each school under investigation affected the way the research was conducted and the data were collected. Visits to the Japanese public school started in September 2008, three months after the start of visits to the Brazilian school. I spent two and a half years in the Japanese school, where I worked three days a week as a bilingual teaching assistant and bilingual interpreter. The video-recording research was started a year after I started working at the school. This is because I needed to find the appropriate time and manner to make a request in order to obtain a higher chance of acceptance. The request was made to the school principal with teacher Suzuki's mediation. After gaining permission, the data collection processes flowed smoothly, including the participation and collaboration of Japanese teachers and South American students/parents.

The Brazilian School

Research in the Brazilian school was conducted—two or three days a week—from June 2008 to October 2009. During this period, I observed classes in the Brazilian and

the Peruvian programs—especially their lower grade classes. At the school, I also worked as a bilingual interpreter and a Japanese instructor in addition to conducting research. The insider status, while working at this school, was both beneficial and disadvantageous. It offered me the advantage of talking with teachers and students easily and naturally. The negative side of the “coin” was that the school administration, with no advance notice, suddenly required me to attend meetings and to serve as interpreter, even when I was conducting class observations and recording classroom interactions. The rough schedule that resulted from playing multiple roles constrained the data collection process at the Brazilian school.

Data Collection

Participants of the Japanese School

The primary participants in the Japanese school were five female teachers: three (teachers Suzuki, Sato, and Honda) of the international classroom and two first grade teachers (teachers Kawano and Hoshi). The next section provides basic information about these teachers.

The three female teachers of the international classroom

Teacher Suzuki, a native of Hamamatsu, took charge of the international classroom. She was an experienced teacher who served in local primary schools over three decades. Teacher Suzuki was a studious learner of Portuguese because she was willing to understand Brazilian and Spanish-speaking South American students. She commented on one occasion: “I never imagined decades ago that I would study Portuguese.” As a result of her studious efforts, she had good listening competence that allowed her to understand spoken Portuguese of children and adults without the aid of an interpreter. She appeared to be fond of foreign students independent of gender,

nationality, and origin. Her pedagogical philosophies were that learning should be fun and students should distinguish between “good” and “bad” manners and behave accordingly. Consequently, she sometimes acted “tough” on disobeying and rule-breaking students. Teacher Suzuki, with her dedication to promoting students’ acquisition of basic Japanese, created a systematic way of learning it by way of the “achievement record sheet” in which students gain colorful stickers for accomplishments of exercises.

Teacher Sato, a native of Hamamatsu, was also an experienced teacher in her early 50s. At the time of the research—2009 and 2010—she was working in the international classroom for the first time in her teaching career. In the previous year, she was responsible of a fourth grade classroom at the same school; yet she experienced difficulties dealing with male students’ disruptive behavior. Consequently, she transferred to the international classroom and was no longer in charge of a homeroom. The classroom chaos, known as *gakkyuu hookai* in Japanese, is a relatively recent sociocultural phenomenon in Japan due in part to the lowering of school teachers’ status in society at large. Teacher Sato appeared to be comfortable dealing with docile and gentle students. In fact, she experienced difficulties grappling with a non-conforming Brazilian student in the international classroom (Chapter 6).

Teacher Honda was not a native of Hamamatsu, yet was from another region of the same prefecture. She was also an experienced teacher in her late 40s working for two decades in Hamamatsu. At the time of the research, she was in her first year in the international classroom as well as in the school under study. Previously, she had taught South American children at another primary school of Hamamatsu with a sizable

Brazilian student population. Teacher Honda was only partially involved in the international classroom for the teaching of South American students, because she had other responsibilities in the school. She tended to show her affection and open mindedness towards foreign students through her daily conversations with them. She had a somewhat outspoken and cheerful character; she was skillful at dealing with disobeying male students: foreign and Japanese.

The two female teachers of first grade mainstream classrooms

Teacher Kawano was an experienced teacher in her late 50s, teaching in local primary school for more than 30 years. Because of her expertise in teaching, the school administration assigned her as the supervisor for novice teachers of the school. She took charge of one first grade classroom. Even though she had a tranquil personality, she frequently disciplined her students during the classes and consequently there was a solemn order in the classroom. Her students appeared to acknowledge her authority; there were no students who were talking back to her in more than 10 classes observed over a period of three months.

Teacher Hoshi was in her late 40s; experienced as well; working for more than two decades in local primary schools. In more than 10 classes observed in her classroom over a three month period, her students appeared to be animated. She had a good sense of balancing the Japanese disciplinary techniques of *ame to muchi* (literally “candy and whip” and figuratively “carrot and stick”).¹⁰ *Ame* refers to teachers’ indulgent behavior towards students while *muchu* refers to teachers’ disciplinary (re)actions

¹⁰ Japanese female teachers who participated in this research occasionally referred to this local theory of “indulging” and “disciplining” students as a method of gaining compliance.

towards students' misbehavior/non-conformity. Consequently, her students appeared to show friendliness as well as politeness towards this teacher.

The South American students of the Japanese school

A total of seven South American first and second grade students participated in this study. All these students—four Brazilians (two boys and two girls) and three Peruvians (one boy and two girls)—were receiving tutoring support in the international classroom. These students were novice learners of Japanese because their substantial contact with Japanese started upon entering the primary school under scrutiny. Below, brief descriptions of four students—Adriano, Isabel, Miwa, and Niko—are offered, since these students' behavior are investigated in the subsequent chapters.

Adriano was a Brazilian first grade student. Born in the State of São Paulo, his parents brought him to Japan as a baby. His father was a third generation *Nikkei* Brazilian whereas his mother was a white Brazilian. At the time of the research, he was constantly displaying acts of non-conformity and of disobedience in his mainstream and international classrooms. Due to his attitude, his teachers considered him a *mondai-ji* (literally, “problem child”). Despite the teachers' negative perception of him, he had an excellent command of oral Japanese and Portuguese. He frequently spoke Japanese with a highly rough/masculine style (e.g., *ore* “first person pronoun that indexes masculinity,” vulgar words, and rough expressions). Female teachers of the international classroom frequently corrected his language and attitude during tutoring lessons.

Isabel, a fourth generation *Nikkei* Brazilian, belonged to teacher Hoshi's first grade classroom. Like Adriano, she rapidly learned spoken Japanese since entering this primary school. She was a *genki* (cheerful) and *otenba* (tomboy) girl with whom I had

some difficulty leading tutoring sessions. Like Adriano, she was strong-willed; she was expressive about her wants and preferences. Due to their strong personalities, Adriano and Isabel did not get along with each other. Once they were paired up to receive teacher Sato's tutoring, yet they were separated after the first session because they ended up disrupting each other. Consequently, they had one-on-one, individualized tutoring sessions.

Misa was a Brazilian female student who belonged to teacher Kawano's first grade classroom. Like Adriano and Isabel, she originated from an interracial family. Her mother was a third generation *Nikkei* and her father was a *negro* (black) or *pardo* (brown) Brazilian. Due to her paternal heritage, she was also brown and had naturally curly hair. Unlike Adriano and Isabel, she was a quiet and gentle child; she usually spoke in a thin voice both in her L1 (Portuguese) and in her L2 (Japanese). In the international classroom, she was receiving tutoring with two Peruvian boys—Niko and Koji—both from Misa's classroom. In tutoring lessons, Misa sometimes appeared to be annoyed by Niko due to his floor-taking and turn-stealing acts. Female teachers of the international classroom were sympathetic to Misa by correcting Niko's behavior and by offering floor/turn to her.

Niko was born in Lima, Peru under a *Nikkei* mother and a *mestizo*—mixed race between Amerindian and Spanish descent—father. His parents brought him to Japan as an infant. Niko went to a Japanese childcare for several months before returning to Peru. He went back to Japan soon before starting primary schooling. Like Adriano, Isabel, and Misa, he did not speak Japanese when he started Japanese schooling. Niko was a playful boy who liked to win over his study mates—Misa and Koji—during tutoring

classes. He was a *mimado* (spoiled) child who desired to attract adults' attention. Niko's command of spoken Japanese was good despite the short period of time he had spent in the school—less than one year. This was due to his involvement in the local community: he used to join afterschool basketball and Japanese classes.

Participants of the Brazilian School

The three Brazilian female teachers

Three female teachers (teachers Ana, Maria, and Cristina) of the Brazilian school participated in this study. All of them were native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. This section provides basic data on these teachers.

Teacher Ana was teaching a second and third multi-grade class. She was in her 50s at the time of the research. She was an experienced teacher, having worked in primary schools in the state of São Paulo for more than two decades. She was a white Brazilian, who went to Japan one year ago and was working at the present school. She went to Japan because she was interested in gaining new cultural experiences. Teacher Ana appeared to be a reliable person who was friendly, but respected by students.

Teacher Maria was teaching a first grade class. She was a third generation *Nikkei* from the State of São Paulo in her late 40s. She went to Japan two decades ago and worked as a *tsuuyaku* (interpreter) in local factories. She had a short-time teaching experience in São Paulo before she left Brazil. She was fast-talking and somewhat intolerant of noisy and disobeying boys of her class. Teacher Maria frequently complained to me about such non-conforming pupils. She preferred an imperative speech style (i.e., direct imperatives) when talking to her students as to what and how to carry out exercises and tasks.

Teacher Cristina was teaching a kindergarten class. She was a white Brazilian from the State of Rio de Janeiro. She went to Japan a decade ago with her *Nikkei* husband. She taught in kindergarten in Rio de Janeiro for several years. She had been working at this Brazilian school for eight years. As the present study focuses on lower grade classrooms, not preschool classrooms, her data was partially used: one lesson in which she conducted a literacy-learning activity for both her preschool class and teacher Cristina's first grade class.

The Brazilian students of the Brazilian school

This section provides general information about teachers Ana's and Maria's students. Teacher Ana's class had approximately 20 students: five of them were first grade students and the rest were second grade students. Due to the difficulty attending two groups in one classroom, teacher Ana usually assigned the students individual work. She commonly adopted a tutoring format instead of a teacher-fronted format. Thus, the recorded data were collected primarily when she was tutoring, or talking to, individual students.

Teacher Maria's first grade classroom had seven students—three girls and four boys. The female students were quiet and diligent in contrast to the boys who were noisy and mischievous. Thus, teacher Maria frequently used directives and reprimands to such non-conforming individual boys. It is relevant to note that teacher Maria, just as teacher Ana, used to adopt the tutoring format based on individual work. The data deriving from her interactions were collected basically when she was tutoring or talking to individual students.

The Audio and Audiovisual Recordings

The audio and audiovisual recordings form part of the EC methods that aim at identifying patterns of speaking in a given speech community. The audio-taping (i.e., the recording of audio information) is a practical means of registering natural speech because audio recorders are small and often finger-size. Audiovisual means (i.e., the videotaping) are advantageous to the audiotaping method as they visually record contextual details of interactions and non-verbal communication.

Despite the advantage of the audiovisual recording, this recording method was not authorized at the Brazilian school due to concerns of privacy. Therefore, the interactional data was collected by an audio-recorder at the Brazilian school. From July 2008 to June 2010, I carried out audio recordings with a small recorder in my shirt pocket or in my hands. In the Japanese school, on the other hand, I was allowed to use a video camera to collect interactional data. Consequently, audio-visual recording was carried out both in the international classroom and in lower grade classrooms over a four-month period from October 2009 to February 2010.

Transcription

The distinction between the audio and the audiovisual recorded data turned out to be clear at the time of doing the transcriptions. As stated earlier, since the audiovisual recording was not authorized at the Brazilian school, a detailed understanding of the contextual and interactional information was limited with the audio recording method. My knowledge of the Portuguese language was at an “advanced intermediate” level at the time of starting the research, according to the CELPE-Bras (Certificate of Proficiency in Portuguese for Foreigners). Furthermore, Brazilian pupils’ simultaneous speech rendered the transcription work even more difficult without having visual

information. On the other hand, I found the transcription work of the audiovisual data from the Japanese school less difficult for three reasons: (1) the availability of the visual information, (2) the infrequency of simultaneous talking, and (3) my familiarity with Japanese as a native speaker.

Of approximately 50 hours of the recorded data in the international classroom of the Japanese school, I fully transcribed a total of 14 hours (30%). I thoroughly reviewed the rest of the recorded data and extracted relevant examples and other information. In this way, I sought to understand patterns of teachers' directive use and of their compliance-gaining strategies. In regards to two first grade mainstream classrooms, I collected a total of 20 hours of audiovisual data from their lessons. Of this number, I fully transcribed six hours (30%). I thoroughly reviewed the rest of the recorded lessons and utilized relevant interactional and other data for purposes of identifying patterns of interactions.

In the Brazilian school, a total of 14 hours of audio recorded data were collected in the two lower grade classrooms described above. Six hours from these recordings were fully transcribed by two Brazilian teachers working at another Brazilian school. I transcribed the rest of the data, partially in terms of transcribing all directive speech acts performed by the teachers of these classrooms.

Data Analysis

Data Analysis for Chapter 4

Chapter 4 draws upon interactional data collected both from the international classroom of the Japanese school and from the two lower grade classrooms of the Brazilian school. To render crosslinguistic comparisons of teachers' directives, 322

Japanese directive speech acts and 293 Portuguese counterpart acts were extracted from the transcriptions (see Table 3-3 at the end of this chapter).

With a crosscultural pragmatics approach, I created a crosslinguistic coding scheme for directive speech acts in Japanese and in Brazilian Portuguese (see Table 3-4 at the end of this chapter). The identified directive speech acts were classified based on the context of their production: “instructing” or “disciplining” in line with previous research done by He (2000) and Liu & Hong (2009). Chi-square test was applied in an attempt to seek correlations between the directive speech acts and the aforementioned interactional contexts both in Japanese and in Brazilian Portuguese.

Data Analysis for Chapter 5

Chapter 5 utilizes the aforementioned 20-hour portion of the interactional data collected from the two first grade mainstream classrooms. In order to illustrate female teachers’ disciplinary practices, the chapter focuses on two formal speech events or interactional routines: *aisatsu* (formal greeting) and *happyoo* (formal presentation). These interactional routines were selected since they reveal *cultural themes* (Spradley, 1979) or “recurrent enculturation themes” that teachers as socializing agents communicated by means of directive and other communicative resources. Furthermore, this chapter, through detailed descriptions, sheds light on South American students’ difficulties participating in such formal events that contain cultural values and norms of behavior relevant as part of Japanese modes of enculturation.

Data Analysis for Chapter 6

Chapter 6 draws upon transcripts of eight class lessons—a total of six hours—performed by teachers Suzuki, Sato, Honda and by one Brazilian teacher in interaction with a non-conforming Adriano. The chapter make use of Spradley’s theme-searching

method (1979, p. 199) in an attempt to first identify and further analyze cultural themes or interactional scenes that involves conflict, social control, and status maintenance.

In sum, through participant observation of Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' communicative practices in classrooms, audio and audio-visual data collection, and quantitative and qualitative data analyses, the present study seeks to understand patterns of teachers' directive and compliance-gaining strategies. The results of the study are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Table 3-1. Abbreviations used in Chapter 4 for word-for-word translations.

COP	various forms of copula verb <i>be</i>
LK	linking particle
FP	final particle
IMP	Imperative verb ending
NEG	negative maker
O	object marker
TOP	topic marker
POL	Polite verb ending
PROG	progressive
QT	Quotative maker
S	subject marker

Table 3-2. Transcription symbols used in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

1, 2	speech act sequence or speaker turn sequence
T	teacher
S	South American student under analysis
S1, S2	unknown Japanese students
Ss	more than one student speaking
[]	word(s) inserted to facilitate understanding of the speech translated in English
(())	interpretive comment and/or activity associated with the speech
<polite>	polite register based on the use of the <i>-masu</i> verb-ending form
<casual>	casual register based on the use of the <i>-u</i> verb ending form
xxx	unintelligible speech
<i>italics</i>	original speech in Japanese and/or in Portuguese

Table 3-3. Interactional data transcribed and used for Chapter 4.

School	Teacher	No. of students	Transcribed lesson period (min)	Subject	No. of directives transcribed
	Suzuki	2	40	Language arts and math	122
JS ^a	Sato	2	47	Math	78
	Honda	3	42	Language arts	122
	Ana	17	72	Math	56
BS ^b	Cristina	18	20	Literacy	25
		8	85	Math	189
	Maria	8	27	Literacy	23

^aJapanese school, specifically its international classroom.

^bBrazilian school, specifically its first and second/third classrooms.

Table 3-4. Coding scheme for Chapter 4: Directive routines, strategy types, and act categories

Directive routines	Directive strategy types	Directive act categories	Speech act subcategories	Japanese illocutionary forms [nuance and meaning]	Portuguese illocutionary forms [nuance and meaning]		
Instructing disciplin ing	Direct	Order Command	Imperative forms	V- <i>e/(r)o</i> and V- <i>se</i> [rude/masculine]	V-(second person inflection) V-(third person inflections) Infinitives		
				V- <i>na</i> [rude/masculine]			
				V- <i>nasai</i> [neutral] V- <i>koto</i> ; V- <i>yooni</i> [bossy] V- <i>no</i> [affective] V- <i>te</i> [neutral]			
				Lexical	Noun phrase [e.g., Homework!] Adverbial phrase [e.g., Quick!]		
				Obligation	V- <i>nakucha dame</i> [It is no good if not V-ing]	<i>Deve</i> V [You must V] <i>Tem que</i> V [You have to V] <i>Precisa</i> V [You need to V]	
				Prohibition	V- <i>cha dame</i> [It is no good V-ing]	<i>Não pode</i> V [You can't V] <i>Ninguem</i> V [No one V]	
				Assertion	Instruction General Impersonal	V-(r)u [(You/one) will V]	<i>Faz-se</i> [(Something) is done]
					Permission	V- <i>te ii</i> [Doing is all right]	<i>Pode</i> V [You can V; V-ing is allowed] <i>Não precisa</i> V [You don't need to V]
				Want Needs		V- <i>nakute ii</i> [Not doing is all right]	<i>Quero que</i> V [I want you to V] <i>Preciso que</i> V [I need you to V]
						V- <i>te morau</i> [I will have you V] V- <i>te itadaku</i> [I will have you V/ humbling] V- <i>te hoshii</i> [I want you to V] V- <i>te moraitai</i> [I want you to V/ receiving a favor] V- <i>te itadakitai</i> [I want you to V/humbly receiving a favor]	

Table 3-4. Continued

Directive routines	Directive strategy types	Directive act categories	Speech act subcategories	Japanese illocutionary forms [nuance and meaning]	Portuguese illocutionary forms [nuance and meaning]
		Suggestion	Suggestion	<i>V-te-mi(te)</i> [Try to V] <i>V-oo</i> [Let's V] <i>V-tara/e-ba?</i> [How about V-ing] <i>V-ta hoo ga ii</i> [It is better V-ing] <i>V-te goran?</i> [Why don't you V?]	<i>Tente V</i> [Try to V] <i>Vamos V</i> [Let's V] <i>Por que você não V?</i> [Why do not you V?] <i>Que tal V?</i> [How about V-ing] <i>Sugiro que V</i> [I suggest you to V] <i>Acho melhor que V</i> [I think better you V]
Instructing disciplining	Indirect	Request	Request	<i>V-(te)-ne</i> [V, right?/seeking agreement] <i>V-te kure</i> [Please V/informal 'please'] <i>V-te kudasai</i> [Please V/polite 'please'] <i>V-te choodai</i> [Please V/affective 'please'] <i>V-te kureru?</i> [Will you please V? /asking for a favor] <i>V-te moraeru?</i> 'Can I have you do?' [asking respectfully for a favor] <i>V-te kudasaru?</i> [Could you please V?/highly respectful] <i>V-te itadakeru?</i> [Can I have you do/humble] <i>V-to omotte</i> [I am wondering if V] <i>V-to arigatai</i> [I would be grateful if V]	<i>V, tá?/okay?/né?/não?</i> [V, ok?/right?/seeking agreement] <i>Peço para você V</i> [I ask you to V] <i>Devo pedir que você V</i> [I must ask you to V] <i>Por favor V</i> [Please V] <i>Por gentileza V</i> [Please V/formal] <i>Pode V?</i> [Can you V?] <i>Dá para você V?</i> [Is it all right for you to V?] <i>Será que você V?</i> [Is it that you V?] <i>Você se importa se V?</i> [Do you mind if V?] <i>Tem a bondade de V</i> [Do you have the kindness to V?] <i>Não tem que V?</i> [You do not have to V?] <i>Gostaria que V</i> [I would like you to V]
		Hint	Hint	<i>V-tte</i> [reporting]	<i>Que V</i> (giving explanations)

CHAPTER 4 DIRECTIVE ROUTINES, STRATEGIES, AND SPEECH ACTS PERFORMED BY JAPANESE AND BRAZILIAN FEMALE TEACHERS

The objective of this chapter is to compare the directive language of two ethnolinguistic groups of teachers. The chapter analyzes three female native speakers of Japanese and three female native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese.¹ Hereafter, the Japanese and the Brazilian Portuguese groups are denoted by the abbreviations “JPN” and “POR,” respectively.

By comparing these two groups, the chapter intends to answer the following questions:

1. What directive routines do the Japanese and the Brazilian teachers employ in classrooms?
2. In each routine category, what directive strategies and directive speech acts do these teachers perform? What are the differences between the Japanese and the Brazilian teachers' use of directive strategies/acts?

The chapter provides three sets of analyses that start with the macro and proceed to the micro category of speech behavior: directive routines, directive strategies, and directive speech acts. In addition, contextual and ethnographic accounts of the presented examples are provided to capture the cultural meaning teachers communicate with directive usage that quantitative results alone cannot shed light on.

Directive Routines

Directive Routine Categories and their Occurrences

Routines are cultural practices that by their repetitiveness and regularities tend to reproduce the normative order (Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Nash, 1990, p. 439).

Directive routines are common classroom practices through which teachers reproduce

¹ See Table 3-3 in Chapter 3 concerning the data sets utilized in this chapter.

cultural and academic knowledge for the sake of group continuity. The analysis conducted here has identified five routine categories: “instructing,” “disciplining,” “getting attention,” “prompting politeness,” and “others.” In terms of the global data, out of the total of 615 directives recorded for analysis, a great majority were performed for instructional purposes (67%), followed by disciplinary purposes (26%). The remainder:² “getting attention,” “prompting politeness,” and “others” constitutes 7% of the total (Table 4-1). The relatively high percentage of the instructing and the disciplining routine categories supports the general assumption that schools, as modern institutions, play a role in providing academic knowledge and in producing well-mannered citizens.

Instructing routines

Instructing routines were employed for the purpose of teaching lesson content. Classroom learning takes place as an organized activity in which teachers use directives for instructional purposes. In the examples below, the directives (marked in bold) were used to request students to open their textbook (JPN) or to proceed to a task (POR).

1. JPN: A Japanese teacher is instructing her Brazilian and Peruvian students to open their textbook at the beginning of a tutoring lesson.

*Kokugo no hon to nooto-o **hiraki-mashoo.***
Language Art LK book and notebook-O open let's-POL
'**Let's open** the Language Art book and the notebook.'

The teacher used the polite suggestive form of the verb *hiraki-mashoo* (let's open).

Teachers' frequent instructions to open textbooks and notebooks are part of the instructional routine observed in the Japanese primary school under study. The cultural

² The categories: “getting attention,” “prompting politeness,” and “others” were established in order to deal with utterances that could not be judged as either “instructing” or “disciplining.”

meaning of this practice is that: (1) Japanese teacher-student relationship is based on the cultural assumption that students adapt to their teachers' instructions, but not vice versa, and (2) teachers stick to textbooks, while providing officially approved academic and subject knowledge.

2. POR: A Brazilian teacher is telling her Brazilian students to do a task, immediately.

*Vocês **vão fazer** agora esse aqui agora.*
you go make now that here now
'You **are going to do** that now, here now.'

The teacher referred to making drawings in a mathematics lesson. She used a compound construction with the auxiliary verb *ir infinitive* (be going to) referring to a future action. This directive use was frequently observed in Brazilian classrooms when teachers gave instructions.

In the examples above, the teachers employed different speech acts, yet both speech acts were performed for instructional purposes. These directive practices were categorized as "instructing routines."

Disciplining routines

Disciplining routines were performed when teachers reacted to their students' verbal or non-verbal behavior.

3. JPN: A Japanese teacher is telling her Brazilian and Peruvian students to stop their "unnecessary" chatting.

*Hai, **shizukani**.*
well, quietly
'Well, **quietly**.'

The teacher used a lexical *shizukani* (literally, quietly), considering the students' chatting as inappropriate. The verb *suru* (do or behave) was omitted here. The teacher's

directive weight was strong and the directive meaning was straightforward. Lexicals like this were categorized as “command/order” together with imperatives.

4. POR: A teacher is giving a moral hint about not leaving trash on the classroom floor. She insinuates a negative judgment or sanction as to leaving trash in the classroom.

Que coisa feita *deixar lixo no chão.*

What thing bad leave trash on the floor

‘What a bad thing leaving the trash on the floor.’

In both examples above, the directives were performed to stop students’ behavior: chatting and leaving trash, respectively. These directive speech acts were employed to achieve disciplinary effects on their students. These socializing practices were categorized as “disciplining routines.”

“Getting attention” routines

“Getting attention” routines were employed in order to call students to attention. This category was created as an independent type, separated from either the instructing or the disciplining routine categories because there were cases in which judging expressions of this sort either as instruction or discipline was practically impossible. This category was established for such ambiguous directive utterances. The present study registered 27 of such occurrences, which represent 5% of the total.

“Prompting politeness” routines

“Prompting politeness” routines were performed to teach students’ verbal and/or non-verbal manners and etiquettes.³ This study identified nine occurrences (1%); all of them took place in the JPN data.

³ Research on prompting routines was spearheaded by Demuth (1986) with her work on Basotho language socialization. Prompting routines in Japanese parent-infant interaction have been extensively researched by Burdelski (2006, 2010).

5. JPN: A Japanese teacher is correcting the language of a Peruvian female student who forgot to bring a sheet of plastic to class.

“*Nai*” *ja nai. “Kashite kudasai.”*
NEG TOP NEG “lend please”
“It is not ‘I do not have it.’ ‘Lend me, please.’”

The teacher corrected the expression rendered by this student who did not bring a sheet of plastic to the tutoring class. In the Japanese school under scrutiny, students were expected to bring this item every day. The Peruvian student in question responded with the casual form of the verb *nai* (there is no...), which sounded inappropriate to the teacher. Consequently, she prompted a polite expression from the student.

No directives corresponding to “prompting politeness” were identified in the POR data. In lower grade classrooms of the Brazilian school, I did not observe their teachers prompting politeness from students. This is because their interactional practices were based on close and intimate teacher-student relationships. In contrast, in Japanese classrooms teacher-student interactions were hierarchy-oriented (see Chapter 5). In Japan, the use of politeness is imperative in formal social domains including lower grade classrooms. Japanese lower grade students are encouraged to use the polite form of verbs in class activities such as *happyoo* (formal presentation) (Cook, 2008). South American pupils in the Japanese mainstream classrooms under study were also embedded in such enculturation practices (see Chapter 5).

Other routines

The category “other routines” was created to encompass those that I could not classify as any of the four categories mentioned above. The number of occurrences was merely five, which represents 1% of the total. Specifically, “giving permission” and

“announcing the end of the lesson” were created as such. Below, an example of “giving permission” is provided:

Giving permission

6. JPN: A Japanese teacher is allowing her Brazilian female student to go to the bathroom.

Ja i-tte ki-na.
well go-LK come-IMP
'well, **go** [to the bathroom] and **come back**.'

The teacher used the contracted form of the imperative *ki-na* (go and come back).

Going to the bathroom during the class time was highly discouraged in the Japanese primary school under study. However, this Brazilian student requested it, knowing that teachers of the international classroom could allow it even after the tutoring class began.

7. POR: A Brazilian teacher is telling her Brazilian male student to leave the classroom because he already completed an assigned individual work.

Sérgio, pode sair daí.
Sérgio, can leave from there
'Sérgio, you can leave.'

The teacher used the auxiliary verb of allowance/permission *poder* (can) in the third person inflection. The student was staying at the classroom door while some other classmates were still doing the assignment. The directive form employed by the teacher was one of “permission” (Table 3-4), yet the performed action was straightforward, clear enough for the student to understand and take the requested action.

Table 4-2 shows a notable similarity between the JPN and the POR groups with respect to their distribution of the five directive routine categories. In both groups, the majority of their directives were performed for instructional purposes: 69% (JPN) and 63% (POR). The internal distributions of their disciplining routines were also highly similar: 23% (JPN) and 28% (POR). The analysis so far conducted has identified two

major directive routines: “instructing” and “disciplining,” together constituting 93% of the total. Therefore, the subsequent analysis focuses on these two directive routines.

Directive Strategies

Directive Strategy Types and their Occurrences

Direct directive strategies (hereafter, “direct strategies”) are speech acts of “command/order” or “assertion” whose imperative force is stronger than its indirect counterparts. Speech acts of command/order consist of either an imperative verb form or a lexical that denote straightforward directive intentionality. An English example of the command/order type is “**Open** the textbook.” This directive act type consists of a direct imperative form or “bald-on-record” (Brown & Levinson, 1987). An example of the lexical type is “**Quick!**” Speech acts of assertion contains a wide variety of declarative statements: “obligation,” “prohibition,” “instruction,” “permission,” and “want/needs statement.”

Indirect directive strategies (hereafter, “indirect strategies”) are comprised of speech acts of suggestion, request, or hint. The realization of these indirect speech acts often involves such linguistic forms as question or request.

[Table 4-3](#) compares the directive strategies employed by the Japanese and the Brazilian female teachers. The table shows a clear quantitative difference in terms of their preferred use of direct and indirect strategies. The Brazilian teachers employed 30% more direct strategies than their Japanese counterparts. In contrast, the Japanese teachers preferred indirect strategies. The difference in their preferred strategies is statistically significant ([Table 4-4](#)). The quantitative analysis, referring to the global data of instructing and disciplining routines, has shown a notable difference: Japanese

teachers' indirectness versus Brazilian teachers' directness when performing directive speech acts.

Directive Strategies Performed for Instructional Purposes

[Table 4-5](#) shows the number of occurrences of directive strategies performed for instructional purposes. A total of 416 directive strategies were employed by the teachers when giving instruction. Importantly, the quantitative difference between the JPN and the POR groups is notable in the instructional context of directive usage: JPN 56% (direct strategies) and 44% (indirect strategies) versus POR 87% (direct strategies) and 13% (indirect strategies). The chi-square test confirms the identified difference as statistically significant ([Table 4-6](#)). The results of the data analysis, pertaining to the instructional routines, indicates that the Japanese teachers preferred more indirect strategies than the Brazilian teachers, and that the Brazilian teachers preferred more direct strategies than the Japanese teachers.

Directive Strategies Performed for Disciplinary Purposes

[Table 4-7](#) shows the distribution of the directive strategies performed for disciplinary purposes. Out of the total of 157 directive strategies identified for the analysis, both groups predominantly employed direct strategies: JPN 63% and POR 73%. This means that both groups demonstrate a distributional similarity in indirect strategies as well: JPN 37% and POR 27%. The chi-square test ([Table 4-8](#)) confirms that there are no significant differences between the groups' use of directive strategies in the context of giving discipline.

Directive Speech Acts

Directive Speech Act Types and their Occurrences

Table 4-9 shows the numbers of the directive acts performed by the Japanese and the Brazilian teachers. The results of the analysis indicate a clear difference between them: the POR group performed speech acts of order/command more frequently than the JPN group: POR 55% and JPN 30%. The JPN group, on the other hand, performed speech acts of request more frequently than the POR group: JPN 24% versus POR 0% (one occurrence). Table 4-10 confirms this observed difference as statistically significant.

Directive Speech Acts Performed for Instructional Purposes

Table 4-11 shows the numbers of occurrences of directive speech acts performed for instructional purposes. A total of 416 directive acts were employed by the Japanese and the Brazilian teachers when giving instruction. The results of the analysis show that the Brazilian group had a larger distribution of speech acts of “order/command”: POR 53% and JPN 27%. The JPN group frequently performed speech acts of “request” (26%) whereas the POR counterpart rarely performed requestive acts (0%, one occurrence). Table 4-12 shows their preferred use of different speech acts as statistically significant. The following section provides examples from the data in order to illustrate the differences here identified.

Examples of directive acts performed for instructional purposes

Command/order

8. JPN: A Japanese teacher is instructing her Brazilian and Peruvian students to write down a phrase in their notebooks.

Hai, nani-o kaku ka? Hai, “Ichi gakkai.” Kore kai-te.
well what-O write Q? well “first semester” this write-IMP

'Well, what to write? Well "First semester" **Write** this'

The teacher used the *te*-form of the verb, which indexes a casual relationship between interlocutors. Matsumori (1981, pp. 327-328) points out that the *te*-form is a mild command or request, frequently used by female speakers. Smith (1992) and Sunaoshi (1994a, 1994b) report that the *te*-form of directives forms part of the Motherese Strategy that Japanese female professionals use as a compliance-gaining strategy in work places. In the example above, the teacher employed this verb form to express her intimacy with the students while having them perform the requested action. I observed that teachers of the international classrooms frequently performed imperative speech acts by way of this directive form.

9. POR: A teacher is instructing how to do a mathematics exercise about basic numerals.

Escreva os numerais, um a menos e um a mais.
Write-IMP the numbers, one to less and one to more
'**Write** the numbers, one more and one less.'

The teacher used the third person imperative command form *escreva* (write). In colloquial Brazilian Portuguese, either third person (e.g., *escreva*) or second person forms (e.g., *escreve*) are used as a directive. Wherritt (1983, p. 108) points out that Brazilian mothers preferred the third person imperative command when they strengthened the force of their command to gain children's conformity. In the Brazilian classrooms under study, I observed that the Brazilian teachers performed both forms of imperatives when speaking to students. Importantly, these teachers preferred using the subjunctive—third person imperative—form when speaking to me, the researcher. This insight adds Wherritt's perspective on Brazilian women's directive usage in that they perform imperative speech acts either to strengthen the force of their commands or to

create distance to the interlocutor. The teacher in the example employed the third person imperative command for either purpose or for both purposes.

Request

10. JPN: A Japanese teacher is instructing her Brazilian and Peruvian students to go back to page one of the textbook.

Dewa, tsugi no peeji. Ichi peeji made modo-tte kudasai.

well, next LK page. One page until return please

'Well, [for our] next page. **Please go back** to page one.'

The teacher added *kudasai* (please) to the requestive *te*-form. The teacher employed this dependent morpheme *-kudasai* (please) as a politeness marker to soften the directive force. I observed that Japanese teachers frequently performed speech acts of request when giving instruction. In so doing, they used this polite format that indexed teacher-student relationships as formal, distant, and respectful.

11. POR: A teacher is requesting her Brazilian male student to pick up the exercise sheets from those who have finished their exercise.

Recolhe de quem terminou, Gabriel, por favor.

collect from who finished, Gabriel, please

'**Collect** [the exercises] from those who have finished, Gabriel, **please**.'

The teacher performed a requestive speech act by adding *por favor* ("please") to the directive utterance. Importantly, this example was the only one instance of request acts identified in the POR data. I observed that the Brazilian female teachers participating in this study rarely produced requestive speech acts when speaking to pupils. My interpretation of their behavior is that Brazilian adults tend to employ the expression *por favor* (please) when they literally request a favor from their interlocutor(s). The example above represents such instances of speech realization of "asking a favor."

Directive Speech Acts Performed for Disciplinary Purposes

Table 4-13 shows the distribution of occurrences of the directive acts performed for disciplinary purposes. The chi-square test (Table 4-14) suggests that the JPN and the POR groups are statistically different in regards to their directive usage performed for disciplinary purposes.

In Table 4-13, we can observe that two differences similar to those identified in Table 4-11—instructional contexts: (1) the POR group’s predominant use of order/command (POR 51% versus JPN 38%) and (2) the JPN group’s employment of speech acts of request (JPN 17% versus POR 0%). Moreover, we can observe one more difference: the POR group’s relatively frequent use of hint (POR 26% versus JPN 12%). I interpret this result in the following way: The Brazilian teachers, especially teacher Maria, frequently performed speech acts of irony with non-conforming male students in her class. I am providing an instance of teacher Maria’s speech act of irony in Example #15.

Examples of directive acts performed for disciplinary purposes

Command/order

12. JPN: A Japanese teacher is disciplining her student to remain quiet when reading the textbook.

Hai, yonde kudasai-tte itte masen. Yomi-takatta-ra, koe-o dasa-naide mede
Well, read please QT say NEG. Read want if, voice-O out-NEG eyes
yonde-nasai.

eye with read-IMP

‘Well, I am not asking you to read. If you want to read, **read** silently.’

The teacher used the command form of the verb *te*-form + *nasai*. This command form sounds less forceful than the masculine counterpart *yondero* (read). Yet, this command form is the strongest directive form found in Japanese female teachers’ use

of imperative language in my class observations. Importantly, Japanese mothers commonly employ this imperative form when telling children to perform actions (Matsumori, 1981). Japanese female professionals also use this form as part of the aforementioned Motherese Strategy (Smith, 1992; Sunaoshi 1994a, 1994b).

13. POR: A teacher is disciplining her student to put a toy back in the box.

O senhor vai até lá e guarda o brinquedo dentro da caixa.
the mister go-IMP till there and keep-IMP the toy inside of the box
'You, sir, **go** there and **put** the toy **back** in the box.'

The teacher used the second person singular inflection of the verb *vai* (go) and *guarda* (put away). The teacher also used the honorific pronoun of "you" *o senhor* (sir) as a compliance-gaining strategy by expressing a feeling of anger or irritation towards the student. The teacher's directive performance was straightforward by effect of these direct imperatives.

Hint

14. JPN: A teacher is reproaching her Peruvian male student, who criticized his Peruvian classmate for running in the hallway right after their tutoring lesson.

Hashitte masen. Dooshite hashitte nai noni iu-yo.
Run NEG. Why run NEG although say-PT
'He is not running. Why do you say [that] even though he is not running.'

Before the teacher's directive speech, the Peruvian male student in question commented on his classmate's activity: This student said that his classmate was running in the hallway right after finishing the tutoring lesson. The teacher, in response, used a question strategy (why do you say...) so that he learned not to criticize his classmate. The implicit directive force was realized by this question strategy performed by the teacher's hint.

15. POR: A Brazilian teacher is criticizing her student, who is not making enough effort to learn to read.

Você não consegue nem ler palavras. O que adianta, ne?
You NEG achieve NEG write words. The what possible, right?
'You cannot read words at all. What can you do [anything]?'

This teacher—teacher Maria—criticized a non-conforming male student in her class. The student was frequently distracted and did not make much progress. The frustrated teacher often performed speech acts of irony to criticize this and other non-conforming male students in her class. In the example above, she used the double negative construction: *não* (no) and *nem* (at all) to emphasize the expression of her negative emotion or evaluation. She also employed a question strategy (what can you do...?) to hint her disapproval to him.

Final Remarks

This chapter has analyzed the directive language of Japanese and Brazilian female teachers. The analysis has showed one important difference between these groups: Brazilian female teachers' direct strategies versus Japanese counterpart teachers' indirect strategies. The results of the analysis at speech act level have demonstrated one further difference: Brazilian female teachers' predominant use of speech acts of order/command and Japanese female teachers' preferred use of speech acts of request.

The next two chapters qualitatively analyze Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive and compliance-gaining strategies. These chapters elucidate cultural values and norms of behavior that these teachers communicate through their directives and other communicative resources.

Table 4-1. Directive routine categories and their occurrences.

Group	Directive routines (%)								
	Total	Instructing	Disciplining	Getting attention	Prompting politeness	Others			
JPN	322 (100)	223 (69)	75 (23)	11 (3)	9 (3)	5 (2)			
POR	293 (100)	193 (66)	82 (28)	16 (5)	0 (0)	2 (1)			
Total	615 (100)	416 (67)	157 (26)	27 (5)	9 (1)	7 (1)			

Table 4-2. Distribution of the directive routine categories.

Group	Directive routines (%)					
	Total	Instructing	Disciplining	Getting attention	Prompting politeness	Others
JPN	100	69	23	3	3	2
POR	100	66	28	5	0	1

Table 4-3. Occurrences of directive strategies.

Directive strategy type	Occurrences (%)		
	JPN	POR	Total
Direct	181 (57)	246 (84)	427 (70)
Indirect	134 (43)	47 (16)	181 (30)
Total	315 (100)	293 (100)	608 (100)

Table 4-4. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-3.

chi-square	57.47
dof ^a	1
p-value	<0.01

^adegrees of freedom

Table 4-5. Occurrences of directive strategies in instructing routines.

Directive strategy type	Instructing routines (%)		
	JPN	POR	Total
Direct	124 (56)	168 (87)	292 (70)
Indirect	99 (44)	25 (13)	124 (30)
Total	223 (100)	193 (100)	416 (100)

Table 4-6. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-5.

chi-square	48.88
dof ^a	1
p-value	<0.01

^adegrees of freedom

Table 4-7. Directive strategies employed in disciplining routines.

Directive strategy type	Disciplining routines (%)		
	JPN	POR	Total
Direct	47 (63)	60 (73)	107 (68)
Indirect	28 (37)	22 (27)	50 (32)
Total	75 (100)	82 (100)	157 (100)

Table 4-8. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-7.

chi-square	2.00
dof ^a	1
p-value	0.16

^adegrees of freedom

Table 4-9. Occurrences of the directive act types.

Directive strategy type	Directive act type	Occurrences (%)		
		JPN	POR	Total
Direct	Order/command	95 (30)	160 (55)	255 (42)
	Assertion	86 (27)	86 (29)	172 (28)
Indirect	Suggestion	38 (12)	20 (7)	58 (10)
	Request	74 (24)	1 (0)	75 (12)
	Hint	22 (7)	26 (9)	48 (8)
Total		315 (100)	293 (100)	608 (100)

Table 4-10. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-9.

chi-square	92.86
dof ^a	4
p-value	<0.01

^adegrees of freedom

Table 4-11. Occurrences and distribution of directive acts in instructing routines.

Directive strategy type	Directive act type	Instructing routines (%)		
		JPN	POR	Total
Direct	Order/command	60 (27)	102 (53)	162 (39)
	Assertion	64 (29)	66 (34)	130 (31)
Indirect	Suggestion	29 (13)	19 (10)	48 (12)
	Request	59 (26)	1 (0)	60 (14)
	Hint	11 (5)	5 (3)	16 (4)
Total		223 (100)	193 (100)	416 (100)

Table 4-12. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-11.

chi-square	69.51
dof ^a	4
p-value	<0.01

^adegrees of freedom

Table 4-13. Occurrences of the directive act types in disciplining routines.

Directive act type	Occurrences (%)					
	JPN		POR		Total	
Order/command	28	(38)	42	(51)	70	(45)
Assertion	19	(25)	18	(22)	37	(24)
Suggestion	6	(8)	1	(1)	7	(4)
Request	13	(17)	0	(0)	13	(8)
Hint	9	(12)	21	(26)	30	(19)
Total	75	(100)	82	(100)	157	(100)

Table 4-14. Results of chi-square test for Table 4-13.

chi-square	23.93
dof ^a	4
P	<0.01

^adegrees of freedom

CHAPTER 5 JAPANESE FEMALE TEACHERS' DIRECTIVE/COMPLIANCE-GAINING STRATEGIES IN MAINSTREAM CLASSROOMS

The chapter elucidates two first-grade female teachers' disciplinary directive practices that socialize their students into the disciplined self in mainstream classrooms. For this purpose, two ordinary speech events or interactional routines emerged as salient: *aisatsu* (formal greeting) and *happyoo* (formal presentation/discussion). Anderson (1995) has analyzed these interactional routines from a language socialization perspective. This chapter especially sheds light on the role of teachers' directives and other speech acts in these socializing speech events in Japanese primary public schools.²⁰ These interactional routines were selected since they reveal *cultural themes* (Spradley, 1979) that teachers as socializing agents express in such formal speech events by way of their directive and other speech acts. The data descriptions and interpretations shed light on the individual teachers' directive strategies with which they gain students' conformity to norms of behavior in their classrooms.

The chapter makes use of the interactional data extracted from these mainstream classrooms in the primary school under observation. Hoshi-sensei and Kawano-sensei were the teachers in charge of these classrooms. In each of these classrooms, there were about 35 Japanese students, age six or seven. In addition, one Brazilian female student (Isabel) belonged to Hoshi-sensei's classroom. There were three South American pupils in Kawano-sensei's classroom: one Brazilian female student (Misa) and two Peruvian male students (Niko and Koji). Since the general objective of this

²⁰ Anderson (1995) has analyzed these interactional routines from a language socialization perspective. This chapter especially sheds light on the role of teachers' directives and other speech acts in these socializing speech events in Japanese primary public schools.

dissertation is to elucidate language socialization practices of South American students, the chapter illustrates detailed accounts of these individual South American students' participation and their comportment in the described speech events. For this purpose, the data was videotaped and their private speech was recorded by a small microphone attached around their neck.

***Aisatsu* (Formal Greeting)**

Aisatsu as a formal greeting is a directive speech event because it involves directive speech acts (see following [Figure 5-1](#)). It is also a performative speech act that announces and proclaims a formal event characterized by its team spirit or group unity (Anderson, 1995, p. 145). Due to its formal and collectivist characteristics, the *aisatsu* routine is an important socializing event that connects the pupils in the classroom to the outer world of the adults.

Previous research on Japanese schooling has pointed out that the *aisatsu* routine functions as a ritual that separates “situational boundaries” (Anderson & Wolfe, 2009, p. 22) between the formal (e.g., class time) and the informal (e.g., recess time). It also functions to reinforce the cultural notion of *kejime* (Anderson, 1995; Tobin et al., 1989). *Kejime* denotes the capability of students to switch “on and off” between the formal and the informal situations. Only a few ethnographic studies have documented Japanese school teachers' directive practices such as correcting their students' “inappropriate” posture (Anderson, 1995, p. 138) and bowing (Holloway, 2000, p. 75). It is important to document further instances of the *aisatsu* routine in Japanese mainstream classrooms.

The Basic Structure of the *Aisatsu* Speech Event

First of all, it is crucial to describe the spatial and postural orientations of the participants that unfold in the *aisatsu* routine. These orientations form part of the context

of the *aisatsu* speech event as a formal activity. The teacher is positioned in the front area of the classroom. The students put their chairs underneath their desks and stand straight, facing towards the teacher. The teacher and the students stand up and straighten up their bodies, including their arms and their back. [Figure 5-10](#) illustrates these orientations that take place in a class opening *aisatsu* event (see the photo at the end of this chapter).

The basic interactional structure of the *aisatsu* event:²¹

1. The teacher initiates the *aisatsu* sequence with a prompt such as “Let’s begin” or “Please, go ahead.”
2. The *tooban* (designated student monitor(s)) perform(s) the *aisatsu* routine with the formulaic commands: “stand up,” “straighten up,” and “let’s start the class.”
3. The students acknowledge the *aisatsu* commands by bowing and saying “let’s begin” in unison.
4. The teacher evaluates the students’ collective behavior, and then requests the students to repeat the *aisatsu* activity or opts for starting the lesson.

[Figure 5-1](#) represents the basic *aisatsu* routine as performed in classrooms in this school. In line 1, the teacher cues the monitor to initiate the *aisatsu* event. The *tooban* (student monitor) carries out the *aisatsu* event with the directives: “stand up” and “straighten up” (in lines 2 and 3). The monitor declares the start of the class (in line 4) and the students in unison perform the declarative act (in line 5). In line 6, the *tooban* (student monitor in Japanese) commands the class to sit down. Finally, the teacher evaluates the collective *aisatsu* performance and reacts either verbally or non-verbally. Anderson (1995) has designated this participation structure as an “interactional

²¹ Anderson (1995) found a similar interactional pattern of the *aisatsu* routine in his study of a second-grade classroom.

umbrella” in which students’ participation and collaboration are encouraged by the teacher, who controls the speech event by her initial and final turns or statements.

This interactional structure is slightly different from the IRE (Initiation-Reply-Evaluation) format common in Western classrooms (cf. Mehan, 1979). In Japanese classrooms, the R component is usually performed by students as a group instead of individual students. In the *aisatsu* routine, the monitors participate as an agent of directive acts. The teacher can simply hold the power as a “shadow authority” rather than directly exerting the directive acts.

This act sequence appears to be similar to a triadic directive structure documented by LS researchers (e.g., Field, 1998, 2001) because the actual directive agent is not the teacher, but the student-monitors (*tooban* in Japanese). It is vital to point out that these student-monitors, in the *aisatsu* routine, can take charge both of observing the behavior of the classmates and of correcting their inappropriate behaviors.

Japanese Female Teachers’ Compliance-Gaining Strategies in the *Aisatsu* (Formal Greeting) Speech Event

This section provides a closer look at two Japanese first-grade female teachers’ compliance-gaining strategies (i.e., their use of language to shape their students’ behavior) observed in the lesson-starting *aisatsu* routine. A part of the expected group behavior in Japan is the formal and polite display of self. Teachers’ use of language in classrooms leads their students to an understanding of the cultural significance of this performance.

***Kejime and shisei*: Behavioral display of serious disposition**

In order to function as competent adult members in Japanese society, children need to be socialized into the appropriate way of performing greeting rituals in formal

interactional encounters. As mentioned in Chapter 3, *kejime* is the ability to switch “on and off” between the casual and formal modes of dispositions. This behavior is relevant in many situations in adult life. Examples of such rituals are job interviews and ceremonial occasions.

In the greeting interactional routine, hierarchy is more noticeable and social order is maintained when members comply to normative expectations. Such expectations are derived from social structure pertinent to a particular society. Therefore, in Japan, students’ upright postures, appropriate reverential bowings, and other physical manifestations of seriousness become the target of enculturation, constituting part of the preferred cultural dispositions.

A person’s behavior that fails to follow this group norm may be judged “inappropriate” for a *shakai-jin* (literally, person in society). Thus, the *aisatsu* routine practiced in classrooms plays an important role as a socializing practice. It prepares children for formal social/interactional events while at the same time maintaining order in peoples’ social life and their relationships.

In [Figure 5-2](#), teacher Kawano performs a series of directive acts and *kogoto* (small scoldings or nitpicking) in order to obtain formal *aisatsu* behavior from her students. In order to obtain her students’ upright postures, teacher Kawano employed a questioning strategy in line 4 (“are you standing up right?”) using the polite verb form. She also remained silent for five seconds until the class straightened up. The act of remaining silent indexes the solemn tone that is commonly created in ceremonies. This is to obtain the cultural theme or goal of *ittaikan* (literally, *feeling of one body* or *unity*) among participants.

Teacher Kawano uses the *kogoto* strategy to discipline four individual students who did not conform to her behavioral expectations (in lines 5 to 10). *Kogoto*—literally, *small words* in Japanese—implies picking on individuals and scolding them because of their small faults. Teacher Kawano’s questioning strategy (in line 5), used to scold Masashi for his standing on tiptoe, was complemented by her approaching him. In fact, she got close to Masashi prior to her statement in line 6: “Hey, I see that” performed in a complaining tone and right in front of him. Her physical proximity appeared to be an effective means for socialization of formal greeting postures: Masashi—and also the male student behind him—straightened up their bodies and arms when teacher Kawano was walking toward them (Figure 5-11).

In a similar fashion, teacher Kawano gave discipline to four more individual students: two boys and two girls (in lines 7-10). The details of their “inappropriate” behaviors varied according to each student: one boy for tidying up his desktop (in line 7); another boy for twisting his body (in line 8); one girl for balancing on the back of her chair (in line 9); and another girl for rubbing her hands together while she held them in front of her belly (in line 10).

Teacher Kawano’s insistence on obtaining the students’ conformity to straighten up highlights the cultural significance of *shisei* (posture and attitude). The word *shisei* implies the manifestation of the mental/psychological state on the physical/attitudinal plane or of their interconnected nature. In East Asian cultures like Japanese, the mind and the body are considered to be interconnected entities. In this cultural belief system, physical postures (e.g., body movements) reveal people’s true feelings or attitudes while their speech behavior may hide such genuine qualities. Taking such a cultural

belief into consideration, teacher Kawano's insistence on the students' postures assumes relevance as a means of socializing students into the appropriate formal behavior that is required for a competitive participation in adult life.

Self-group control for order maintenance: *Tooban* (monitors)'s collaborative role in policing classmates' behavior

One relevant theme for Japanese group culture is how to establish and maintain order, hierarchy, and harmony among its members. As mentioned in Chapter 3, researchers on Japanese culture and communication have heightened the cultural theme of *wa* (group harmony) and of *wakimae* (status-based social discernment) found in Japanese society. Lewis (1995) has reported that peer-based behavior control in primary classrooms is a method of discipline that Japanese teachers use to promote their children's self-discipline while reducing their reliance on adult authority. In so doing, students take turns to accomplish their duties related to daily classroom activities. Examples are calling attention of the class for the start and end of a lesson, distributing lunch, and cleaning the classroom. *Tooban*—literally, person(s) on duty—play an important role in organizing classroom activities. In Japanese primary classrooms, there are many duties the *tooban* in the rotation need to take care of. One of their duties is to conduct the formal greeting routine that starts off the beginning of a lesson.

In teacher Hoshi's classroom, three persons on day duty monitored and corrected their classmates' "misbehavior." These *tooban* took the initiative to create classroom order by carrying out the *aisatsu* performance, usually twice. They performed the first *aisatsu* enactment on time, without the teacher's presence in the classroom. Then, the second enactment was carried out upon the teacher's arrival. [Figure 5-3](#) represents the

dialogue on *tooban*'s role in monitoring their classmates' "misbehavior" during the first greeting enactment (photo in [Figure 5-12](#)).

As observed, the *tooban* repeatedly gave commands to individual students in order to correct their *shisei* (posture and attitude). Their power, however, was ephemeral due to the teacher's absence in the classroom. This was evidenced by the fact that many students neither completely straightened up their body nor bowed in the first greeting enactment. Moreover, the class became noisy again immediately after the first enactment.

The teacher's presence made a difference to the classroom atmosphere. Upon her arrival, some students immediately sat down and others stopped playing. This means that teacher Hoshi exercised massive power and control over her class. In the second greeting enactment, the *tooban* played the role of collaborating with her by creating order by means of a series of ritualized commands. [Figure 5-4](#) illustrates the effectiveness of the *tooban*'s employment of command that took place approximately 30 seconds after the first *aisatsu* enactment (photo in [Figure 5-13](#)). [Figure 5-4](#) demonstrates the *tooban*'s collaborative relationship with the teacher. Therefore, the teacher thanked the monitor/*tooban* 1 for his leadership (in lines 9 and 10). More specifically, the teacher appreciated him because he took charge of giving a command to the class and (re)gained order in the classroom.

The teacher—the classroom authority—benefitted from the *toobans*' collaboration by means of their use of commands (in lines 12-14). It is because of their collaboration that she effectively attained a serious atmosphere in the classroom. In other words, the commands voiced by the *tooban* enabled the teacher's exercise of power over her

students. Therefore, the teacher's mere statement: "*Hai* (well/ok)" in line 15 led some students to straighten up their bodies even further. That is to say, the *tooban's* commands gave the teacher the opportunity to pick on misbehaving students right away. In response to the fear of being criticized by the teacher, some students even straightened up their bodies. The teacher's short prompt effectively functioned as a disciplinary act that gained from her students the behavioral display of a formal attitude appropriate to start a lesson.

Difficulty in performing the *aisatsu* linked to the acquisition of basic literacy

Acquisition of basic literacy—80 ideographic *kanjis* (Chinese characters) and two phonetic systems: *hiragana* and *katakana*—is an important daily chore that is practiced in first-grade classrooms. First-graders, during the first semester, are likely to master these phonetic-based script systems, each of which has 47 letters. After mastering the phonetic scripts, they are likely to proceed to learn the *kanjis*.

Many Japanese children get a head-start by learning these scripts before the start of their primary schooling. South American first-grade students appear to be in a disadvantageous situation since they are still in the process of mastering these scripts even in their second semester. Throughout my observations of two first-grade classrooms, all four South American students had relative difficulties in the reading and writing of Japanese in comparison with their Japanese classmates. Their Japanese classmates appeared ready to start their lessons, since they had finished writing during the previous lesson period or within their recess.

In the described *aisatsu* events from the first-grade teachers' classrooms, Misa and Isabel—Brazilian female students—were not ready to engage themselves to the greeting routine due to their relative difficulties with copying the Japanese script. Misa

appeared to be distracted due to the pressure to finish copying a text written on the blackboard left from the previous lesson period on Language Arts. In a similar fashion, Isabel needed to copy the plan for the following day written from the blackboard into her notebook.

Misa risked being scolded by the teacher because she kept the opened notebook of Language Arts—a different subject—on her desk. In order to avoid a possible reprimand from the teacher, she closed the notebook while teacher Kawano was reprimanding some students. Upon the end of the *aisatsu* enactment, she put the notebook into her drawer and took out her Math notebook and textbook.

Isabel took advantage of her seating position—far from the *toobans*' standing position—to finish copying before the lesson formally began with the second *aisatsu* enactment. During the first *aisatsu* enactment, she managed to avoid the *toobans*' attention and quickly accomplished copying the plan. With the teacher's arrival in the classroom, she acted "wisely" by conforming to the norms strictly implemented with the second enactment. Upon the teacher's arrival, Isabel, who was talking to me, that is, the researcher, quickly went back to her seat. Then, she straightened up in reaction to the third *tooban*'s command: "straighten up" (Figure 5-14) and successfully joined the chorus statement: "Let's start."

The descriptions above rendered shed light on South American first-graders' accommodative behavior in response to the expectations of normative behavior in the *aisatsu* routine. South American first-graders are faced with the pressure to conform to the multiple expectations of the *tooban*, of the teacher, and the literacy task of copying text from the blackboard. The *tooban* and the teacher have their collaborative agenda

for establishing order by means of the greeting routine. South American first-graders need to cope with this agenda even though they have not finished their previous task. Acquiring basic literacy forms part of the relevant cultural skills that students need to master in their (early) first-grade year in Japan. It is important for such students to fully participate in classroom routines, including the formal greetings. Failure to follow the routine may expose them to their teachers' negative sanctions and to possible isolation from their classroom community.

***Happyoo* (Formal Presentation)**

The Basic Structure of the *Happyoo* Speech Event

The *happyoo* routine is a recitation speech event in which the students have the opportunity to make their answers, ideas, and opinions public in the classroom (Anderson, 1995). The basic structure of the *happyoo* routine is that (1) the teacher poses a question to the class, (2) the teacher chooses a student, (3) the chosen student responds with “*hai* (yes),” stands up, and makes his/her statement in the formal register, (4) students' multiple participation, and (5) teacher's feedback/expansion.

One distinctive characteristic of the *happyoo* routine is the classmates' *hannoo* (reactions) to the speaker who made his or her statement (Anderson, 1995). *Hannoo* reactions (line 3) can be “*ii desu* (good!),” “*onaji desu* (I agree),” “*tsuketashi desu* (I have something to add),” and “*shitsumon desu* (I have a question).”

Figure 5-5 represents the *happyoo* event as performed in classrooms in the school under investigation. The structure of the *happyoo* routine here illustrated was observed in other classrooms across grade years in this school.

The dialogue in Figure 5-5 was a discussion of how to weigh the teacher's dog, Kanon. In line 1, the teacher started the *happyoo* recitation event with the question

“How can we measure the weight of Kanon-*chan*.” Upon a nomination (in line 3), the teacher issued a directive in the form of a request: “Ok, those of you who are still writing please put your pencil in your desk” (in line 4). This request expression denotes a happyoo routine that requires the classroom members’ participation. The students’ participation in the happyoo routine was not only about speaking performance but also about listening performance. This rule pertaining to the happyoo event was expressed with the request made by the teacher in line 5: “Please compare your method [with presenters’ opinions].” This requestive speech act indicates that in the happyoo speech event students should pay attention to the one who is speaking.

In the presentation turn (in line 7), the student’s speech was formal due to the consistent use of the formal register with the polite ending *–masu*. In addition, this student formally announced the start of his presentation: “I am doing my presentation.” He presented his idea in a logical fashion with the steps he would take in order to weigh the dog. After presenting his idea, he asked the class what they thought of it (in line 8). Some classmates reacted: “I agree.” In this way, the speaker received the support of his classmates even though he was not receiving explicit feedback from the teacher.

These *hannoo* reaction turns constitute an important cultural expression performed in the happyoo event in Japanese primary classrooms (Anderson 1995, Cook 1999). The reaction turns create a sense of community because students need to pay attention to each other’s presentations (*happyoo*) and add comments (*hannoo*). In this fashion, the hannoo routine, by means of students’ multiple participation, leads the group to the construction of a collective learning environment. In this multiparty interactional

structure, the teacher plays the role of a facilitator rather than that of an evaluator of the students' answers.

Japanese Teacher's Compliance-Gaining Strategies in the *Happyoo* Speech Event

This section presents teacher Kawano's compliance-gaining strategies in the happyoo routine. This teacher was selected for a detailed analysis because she employed disciplinary speech acts more frequently than the other teachers observed in the school. Teacher Kawano was assigned to take charge of supervising novice teachers in the school; this suggests that the school administration deemed her a role model capable of managing students' learning in the traditional teacher-fronted lesson format.

Socialization of attentive listenership: *shisei* (posture), *henji* (responses), and *hannoo* (reactions)

"Listen well to what your teacher tells you" (*sensei no iu koto o yoku kiku* in Japanese) is a phrase that Japanese parents commonly give to their children. According to the dictionary *Daijisen*, *kiku* (literally listen) refers to "the action to understand and accept other's opinions and requests." In Japanese teacher-student relationships, students are expected to listen to their teacher carefully and to follow her instruction uncritically. The teacher uses disciplinary strategies called *muchi* (literally whip in Japanese) when the students do not follow her instructions. Teacher's use of directives serves to reify the roles and relationships between the teacher and students that exist in Japanese society at large.

***Shisei* (posture): "Putting your hands on your lap"**

Kawano-sensei frequently corrected her students' body posture (*shisei*) at the beginning of the happyoo event. Her insistence on the students' body posture reinforced

the norm of attentive listenership in the classroom. In [Figure 5-6](#), the teacher used directives to make the class put their hands on their lap in order to start the happyoo routine. More specifically, the teacher used the declarative command with the polite register: “Well, now you are going to put your hands on your lap” (in line 1). The teacher’s polite speech style –*masu* indexes that she was showing her polite face. Moreover, the use of the prolonged final vowels in lines 1 to 3 (as in *maasu* and *maseen*) indicates a display of her intimacy to the class as she adopted this child register.

Change in the teacher’s register indicates her attitudinal change toward the student(s). Her statement in line 6: “Still touching” rendered in the casual/non-polite register was efficient enough to embarrass the male student who was picked on ([Figure 5-15](#)). His violation of the norm pertaining to attentive listening was obvious because the teacher picked on him in the middle of her instructional speech (between line 5 and line 7).

Teacher Kawano had employed five directive acts between the polite command in line 1 and the first nomination of a student in line 9. This suggests that attentive listening behavior was required of the class before the teacher could initiate the happyoo routine. The teacher’s persistent use of various directive acts led to her students’ submissive behavior (i.e., attentive listenership) and, thus, to maintenance of classroom order during the happyoo event.

***Henji*: Appropriate response to teacher’s request**

In Japanese communication, hierarchy becomes marked with the use of specific forms of response, roughly equivalent to “yes” or “yeah” in English. There are three forms in Japanese: *hai*, *ee*, and *un*. Among these, *hai* is the most formal form that is

used when a socially inferior individual (e.g., student) responds to a socially superior individual's (e.g., teacher) command or request (Angles et al., 2000). Therefore, socialization of students' appropriate responses is an important agenda in classrooms where teachers perform the role of maintaining social hierarchy and such teacher-student relationships through their daily classroom interactions.

Figure 5-7 illustrates that a teacher's agenda is to socialize students into the appropriate way to acknowledge social relationships based on status differences (*wakimae* in Japanese). In this dialogue, teacher Kawano disciplined the students who did not respond with enthusiasm to her request. Her request was to use the "mountain strategy" whenever the total was over 10. The mountain strategy refers to the calculation process (e.g., $7+6$), in which a number (e.g., 6) is divided into two numbers (e.g., $3+3$) so that first ten can be calculated ($7+3=10$) and then added to the rest ($10+3=13$). She requested the class to use the binary node—"mountain"—that, in this case, would separate 6 into two blocks of 3 (in lines 4 to 6).

After the request, she employed a question directive strategy: "Did you understand?" in order to prompt the students' affirmation. Their dull response, however, led her to take disciplinary action: she picked on a male student (Figure 5-16) and started indirectly criticizing him: "You look rather a bit unhappy, don't you, Seijiro-san?"

Later, the teacher resumed criticizing him for his inappropriate way of replying to the request. In lines 19 and 20, the teacher, using mimicry, commented that his response (*henji*)—both the facial and tonal expressions—was inappropriate due to his unwillingness to comply to the request. Moreover, the teacher shamed Seijiro by calling him "this person (*kono hito* in Japanese)" in front of the class (in line 19). The

pronominal use of “*hito* (person)” functions as a face-threatening or derogatory act in Japanese face-to-face communication. Teacher Kawano’s insistent nagging or small scoldings—*kogoto* in Japanese—was an effective strategy while giving the class the fear of becoming the next “target.”

Hannoo: Appropriate reactions to peer’s presentation

Figure 5-8 is another instance that illustrates teacher Kawano’s directive practice to prompt *hannoo* (reactions to classmates’ presentations) from the class. In the dialogue, the teacher nominates two students: Kanako (S1) and Hideki (S2). Upon Kanako’s presentation, in line 9 the teacher stayed silent for seven seconds in order to gain students’ reaction (*hannoo*) to Kanako. Some students realized what the teacher’s silence meant (in line 8) and responded with “I agree” (in line 10). The teacher’s prolonged silence functioned as a disciplinary act that obtained the students’ appropriate reaction to the speaker.

After Hideki’s presentation, again, there were no reactions from the class. They appeared to be dull, possibly because they did not understand the teacher’s question or they did not feel confident of their own answers. In any case, teacher Kawano was displeased by their comportment and manifested her discomfort with the word *hen* (“strange” in English) (in line 16).

Socialization of polite speakership: Voice and posture in the display of the public self

The Japanese way of speaking in the public requires polite demeanors aside from verbal skills. The *happyoo* routine fosters students to become independent speakers who can display the public self by means of appropriate voice and posture. All of the three South American students in Kawano-*sensei*’s classroom were experiencing

difficulties in performing the competent speakerhood due to lack of verbal, reading, and postural competencies.

In [Figure 5-9](#), teacher Kawano nominated Niko—a Peruvian boy—and requested him to read aloud his answer that she already checked before choosing him. Niko was faced with the challenge of reading the text loudly with an appropriate posture that showed self-confidence. The teacher patiently helped him perform his presentation by means of various directives: commands, prompts, and instructions. Specifically, these directives were employed to have him stand up, speak aloud, and read his answer aloud.

The Japanese way of public speaking requires the speaker to stand up straight while talking. Teacher Kawano reminded Niko to stand up, immediately after he started reading without following the norm. Moreover, she requested him to take off his mask and speak loudly. Showing one's face and speaking aloud form part of the primary requirement for public speaking. However, Niko appeared to lack self-confidence or competence on assuming the role of public speaking. Therefore, the teacher helped him by verbally prompting him to read the text and by indicating with her finger the text he underlined on his notebook. Teacher Kawano demonstrated patience to lack of the South American students' speaking competence. She appeared harsh to Japanese students' speaking performance.

It is important to mention that 16 was the number of nominations teacher Kawano performed during the lesson. Out of this number, Niko was nominated twice including the data presented here. The teacher persistently disciplined students so that they conformed to the norm of speaking loudly and stand up properly by means of carrying

out the *happyoo* routine. The students in her classroom were encouraged to adopt these speaking behaviors, which constitutes the public self-image in mainstream society.

Figure 5-17 highlights the cultural importance of speakers' posture in the *happyoo* event. The photo illustrates the Japanese cultural emphasis on speakers' polite posture in three corporal aspects: back (*sesuji*), face (*kao*), and arms (*ude*). The body is straightened up. The face is shown to the public, and the arms are straightened without touching the desk. These corporal aspects of behavior are important in order to show a competent public image to the audience. Teacher Kawano's question directive: "where are you doing your presentation?" in interaction with this student was efficient to gain his appropriate performance as a public speaker.

Final Remarks

This chapter has elucidated Japanese teachers' compliance-gaining strategies in mainstream classrooms. Specifically, the chapter focused on two first-grade female teachers' disciplinary strategies during two speech events: *aisatsu* (formal greeting) at the start of a lesson and *happyoo* (formal presentation/discussion).

In the *aisatsu* routine, the cultural ethos of *kejime* (switching between the casual and formal modes of dispositions) and *shisei* (posture and attitude) are inculcated repeatedly throughout the realization of the daily routine. The teachers' directive strategies of *kogoto* (small scoldings or nitpicking) and physical proximity were effective means of socializing students into the appropriate formal behavior that will be required for competitive participation in adult life. Furthermore, the *tooban* (student-monitors) played an important role in maintaining the cultural ethos of *wa* (harmony) and of *wakimae* (status-based social discernment) by means of peer-based behavior control in classrooms. For instance, teacher Hoshi's authority was highlighted by the collaboration

of the toobans who policed their classmates' misbehaviors with and without her presence.

In the happyoo routine, attentive listenership and polite speakership were inculcated through teacher Kawano's disciplinary acts and shaming expressions (*muchi* in Japanese) that targeted "misbehaving" students. *Shisei* (posture and attitude), *henji* (responses to the teacher's request), and *hannoo* (reactions to peers' presentations) were the specific components of the required listenership. In terms of the polite speakership, voice (i.e., speaking aloud) and posture (i.e., standing straight and showing the face) were constantly corrected in addition to the use of the polite register of the verb ending *-masu*. Teacher Kawano's insistence on enforcing these components of speaking and listening in group learning settings is supported by the cultural belief in maintaining *wa* (group harmony) by means of yielding to authority. "Listen well to what your teacher tells you" (*sensei no iu koto o yoku kiku* in Japanese) is a saying that epitomizes the Japanese way of teacher-student relationships based on the value of *wakimae* (acknowledgement of hierarchy and status differences) in classrooms.

In this process of socializing the specific cultural values that took place in mainstream classrooms, South American students' participation was peripheral in the group learning dynamics whose standard or performance was above their current competence or performance levels. As a consequence, these students were likely to become less and less "visible" in the passing of grade years. *Okyaku-sama* (honorific way of referring to "guest" in Japanese) refers to those foreign students who are treated as strangers in mainstream classrooms.

The next chapter is concerned with South American students' issues of socialization and teachers' compliance-gaining strategies observed in tutoring interactions in the international classroom of the primary school under study.

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Prompt	<i>Hai, onegai shimasu.</i>	Well, please go ahead.
<i>Tooban:</i>	2 Command	<i>Kiritsu.</i>	Stand up. ((Ss stand up))
<i>Tooban:</i>	3 Command	<i>Kiotsuke.</i>	Straighten up. ((Ss straight up))
<i>Tooban:</i>	4 Declaration	<i>Korekara nijikanme no sansuu o hajimemasu.</i>	Now, we are starting our second class with Math.
Students:	5 Declaration	<i>Hajime mashoo.</i>	Let's start.
<i>Tooban:</i>	6 Command	<i>Chakuseki.</i>	Sit down. ((Ss sit down))
Teacher:	7	((T starts writing on the board))	

Figure 5-1. *Aisatsu* in teacher Kita's third grade classroom [1.21.2010].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Declarative Command [polite]	<i>Yotei kaiteiru hito yamemasu.</i>	Those of you writing the plan for tomorrow, stop writing.
Teacher:	2 Prompt	<i>Gooree, Marina-san Gooree</i>	Call attention. Marina-san, call attention. ((Ss stand up))
Tooban:	3 Command	<i>Kiotsuke</i>	Straighten up. ((in a very thin voice))
Teacher:	4 Question [polite]	<i>Kiotsuke ni natte imasuka.</i>	Are you standing up straight? ((T stays silent five seconds until the class stands up straight))
Teacher:	5 Question [polite]	<i>Masashi-san, kiotsuke desuka, sore.</i>	Masashi-san, are you standing up straight? ((To a male student))
Teacher:	6 Scolding [casual]	<i>Ne, wakkachau-yo, sensei niwa.</i>	Hey. I see that. ((T gets close to the same male student))
Teacher:	7 Command	<i>Kiotsuke.</i>	Straighten up! ((to an student who is next to T))
Teacher:	8 Getting attention/ scolding	<i>Ne, Kakesu-san.</i>	Hey, Kakesu-san. ((In a scolding voice, T talks to a student who did not straighten up.))
Teacher:	9 Scolding [casual]	<i>Namiki-san, itsumo osoi anata.</i>	Namiki-san ((loudly)). You are always slow.
Teacher:	10 Scolding [casual]	<i>Honoka-san no koremo kiotsuke ja naino wakacchau tte.</i>	Honoka-san, your way of doing is not [standing straight], I can see that. ((T imitates the gesture of rubbing hands that Honoka made))
Teacher:	11 Declaration [polite]	<i>Hajimemasu</i>	We are going to start.
Teacher: Students:	12 Declaration [polite]	<i>Hajimemashoo</i>	Let's start.
Tooban:	13 Command	<i>Ree</i>	Bow!
Tooban:	14 Command	<i>Chakuseki</i>	Sit down. ((Ss sit down))
Teacher:	15 Request [polite]	<i>Hai, nooto hiraite kudasai</i>	Ok, please open your notebook.

Figure 5-2. *Aisatsu* in teacher Kawano's classroom [10.26.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
<i>Tooban 1:</i>	1 Command	<i>Satoo-san, kiotsuke.</i>	Satoo-san, straighten up!
<i>Tooban 2:</i>	2 Request [polite]	<i>Sekini tsuite kudasai.</i>	Please, go back to your seats.
Students:	3 Response [polite]	<i>Hai</i>	Yes. ((few pupils respond verbally))
<i>Tooban 3:</i>	4 Command	<i>Yano-san, kiotsuke.</i>	Yano-san, straighten up! ((to a student))
<i>Tooban 1:</i>	5 Command	<i>Nakaya-san, kiotsuke.</i>	Nakaya-san, straighten up! ((to a student))
<i>Tooban 1:</i>	6 Declaration	<i>Ima-kara,</i>	From now,
<i>Toobans 1, 2, and 3:</i>	7 Declaration [polite]	<i>ni-jikanme no benkyoo o hajimemasu.</i>	we are starting the second lesson.
Students:	8 Declaration [polite]	<i>Hajimemashoo.</i>	Let's begin! ((there is no absolute order due to lack of teacher's presence. There are students who talk to each other after finishing the <i>aisatsu</i>))

Figure 5-3. *Aisatsu* in teacher Hoshi's classroom without teacher's presence [11.17.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Tooban 1:	9 Suggestion [polite]	<i>Shizuka ni shimashoo!</i>	Let's be quiet!
Teacher:	10 Thanks [casual]	<i>xxx. Hai, arigatoo-ne, Koosuke-san ((Tooban 1's name))</i>	xxx. Well, thank you, Koosuke-san. ((Tooban 1's name))
Tooban 2:	11 Suggestion [polite]	<i>Tachimashoo.</i>	Let's stand up!
Tooban 1:	12 Command	<i>Kiotsuke!</i>	Straighten up!
Tooban 2:	13 Command	<i>Kiotsuke!</i>	Straighten up!
Tooban 3:	14 Command	<i>Kiotsuke!</i>	Straighten up!
Teacher:	15 Prompt	<i>Hai</i>	Ok/well
Tooban 1:	16 Declaration	<i>Imakara</i>	From now
Toobans 1,2, and 3:	17 Declaration [polite]	<i>Sansuu no benkyoo o hajimemasu.</i>	we are starting the math lesson.
Students:	18 Declaration [polite]	<i>Hajimemashoo.</i>	Let's start!
Tooban 1:	19 Suggestion [polite]	<i>Suwarimashoo.</i>	Let's sit down!
Teacher:	20 Command [polite]	<i>Meate o kakimasu.</i>	We are writing the lesson objective.

Figure 5-4. *Aisatsu* in teacher Hoshi's classroom with teacher's presence [11.17.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Elicitation [polite]	<i>Kanon-chan no taijuu ha doo sureba motomerareru deshoo ka.</i>	How can we measure Kanon-chan's weight?
Teacher:	2 Ss's bid	<i>Hai</i>	Hai ((Many students raise their hand and say "hai" to get T's attention))
Teacher:	3 Nomination [polite]	<i>Hai, dewa, Shiiki-san kara ikimasu</i>	Ok, well, Shiki-san goes first.
Teacher:	4 Request [polite]	<i>Hai, ja, enpitsu o motteiru hito wa oite kudasai.</i>	Ok, those of you who are still writing please put your pencil down.
Teacher:	5 Request [polite]	<i>Jibun no yarikata to kurabete mite kudasai.</i>	Please compare your method [with presenters' opinions].
Teacher:	6 Prompt	<i>Doozo.</i>	Go ahead ((to S))
Student 1:	7 Presentation [polite]	<i>Happyoo shimasu. Etto, boku no kago ni irete hakarimasu. Saisho ni kago no omosa o hakarimasu. Kago no omosa ga 500 guramu dato shimasu. Tsugini Kanon-chan o kago no naka ni irete hakarimasu. Ichi kiroguramu 500-guramu dato suruto, Kanon-chan no taijuu wa ichikiro ni narimasu.</i>	I am starting my presentation. Well, I will weigh her by putting her in a basket. First, I will weigh the basket. Let's say it is 500 grams. Then, I will put Kanon-chan into the basket and weigh them altogether. If it is one and a half kilograms, Kanon-chan's weight is one kilogram.
Student 1:	8 Prompt for class participation [polite]	<i>Doo desuka?</i>	What do you think? ((S1 asks the class))
A few Students:	9 Reaction [polite]	<i>Ii desu.</i>	Good!
Teacher:	10 Acknowledge	<i>Ummm</i>	Uh-huh ((T appreciates S1's remark))
Teacher:	11 Nomination	<i>Naoki-san</i>	Naoki-san ((T chooses Naoki and then his presentation starts))

Figure 5-5. *Happyoo* in teacher Kita's third grade math class [1.21.2010].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Command [polite]	<i>Ja, ima te wa hiza ni oki maasu.</i>	Well, now you are going to put your hands on your lap. ((T waits 15 seconds. Yet, some students are still working on their art pieces))
Teacher:	2 Scolding [polite]	<i>Mada ijittemaasu.</i>	Still touching [your pieces]. ((To some Ss))
Teacher:	3 Command [polite]	<i>Moo Sawarimaseen.</i>	[You] do not touch. ((To some Ss))
Teacher:	4 Command [polite]	<i>Hai. Ano ne, karada o ugokasu dakedemo taorechaisoo na hito nomo arimasunode, kubidake ugokashimasu. Kubidake, ii?</i>	Ok. Hey, you are going to only move your neck because some works may fall down by moving your body. Only your neck, ok?
Teacher:	5 Elicitation	<i>De, nani o tsukutta ka</i>	And, what have you made
Teacher:	6 Scolding [casual]	<i>Mada sawatteru</i>	Still touching ((A male student is raising his piece))
Teacher:	7 Elicitation [polite]	<i>Nani o tsukutta noka o itte moraimasu.</i>	I want you to tell us what you have made. ((Some students are still touching their works))
Teacher:	8 Request [polite]	<i>Chotto mienikui hito no mo arukamo shirenai kedo, ugokashite mite kudasai. Ne?</i>	Even though some people's works are hard to see, please look at [classmates' works] moving only your neck.
Teacher:	9 Nomination	<i>Hai, Takeru-san</i>	Yes, Kakeru-san
Student:	10 Response	<i>Hai</i>	Yes ((Presentation starts))

Figure 5-6. *Happyoo* in teacher Kawano's manual arts class [10.5.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Elicitation [casual]	<i>Shiki niwa nani ga tsuku no?</i>	What are you supposed to put in the equation? ((How did you solve the equation?)) ((Ss vie to be chosen))
Teacher:	2 Nomination	<i>Koji-san</i>	<i>Koji-san</i>
Student1:	3 Response [polite]	<i>Hai, oyama desu</i>	Yes. It is a mountain.
Teacher:	4 Feedback [casual]	<i>Oyama tsuku ne.</i>	A mountain is added [in the equation], right?
Teacher:	5 Request [polite]	<i>Mada oyama tsukete keisan shite kudasai yo.</i>	Please calculate, still using a mountain.
Teacher:	6 Declarative Directive [polite]	<i>Keisan kaado o yaridashite kotae ga suisui deruyou ni narumadeha doriru mo nooto mo purinto mo zenbu oyama o tsukemasu.</i>	You write the mountain in your workbook, in your notebook, and in your printed materials, in all of them, until you can easily recite the flash cards with no mistakes.
Teacher:	7 Question directive [polite]	<i>Wakarimashita ka</i>	Did you understand?
Students:	8 Response	<i>Haai</i>	Yees ((overall the students react with no enthusiasm))
Teacher:	9 Compliant [casual]	<i>Nan ka chotto iyasoo ja nai, ne, Seijiro-san</i>	You look rather a bit unhappy, don't you, Seijiro-san.
Teacher:	10 Elicitation [casual]	<i>Ne, nan de oyamka o tsukeru no?</i>	Look, why should we write a mountain? ((There is only one student who raises his hand))
Teacher:	11 Nomination	<i>Kaio-san</i>	<i>Kaio-san</i>
Student2:	12 Presentation [polite]	<i>Hai, oyama o tsukutte suuji o futatsu kaku kara desu.</i>	Yes. It is because we make a mountain to write two numbers [underneath].
Teacher:	13 Question [casual]	<i>Nan de kakuno?</i>	Why do we write that? ((to S2))
Teacher:	14 Comment [casual]	<i>Datte kotae wakatte iru hito iruyo ne?</i>	But, there are people who know the answers [without writing a mountain], right?

Figure 5-7. *Henji* (response to teacher) in teacher Kawano's math class [10.26.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	15 Comment [casual]	<i>Dakedo oyama kaite tte itta jan ne</i>	But, I told you to write a mountain, right?
Teacher:	16 Cue	<i>Nande deshoo ne?</i>	Why? ((talking to the class))
Student2:	17 Presentation [polite]	<i>Tatoe ba 8 tasu 5 datta ra, 8 wa ato 2 de narukara, a, 10 ni naru kara, 5 o 2 to 3 ni wakete, 8 to 2 de jyu o tsukutte 10 to 3 de 13 ni suru kara desu.</i>	It is because, for example, if [the problem] is 8 plus 5, 8 with 2 will be, ah, will be 10, so we separate 5 into 2 and 3, and then 8 plus 2 is 10, 10 plus 3 is 13. ((8+ 5 = 13))
Students:	18 Reaction [polite]	<i>Onaji desu</i>	 I agree!
Teacher:	19 Complaint [casual]	<i>Sore o kakitaku nasa soo dattan dakedo kono hito, Seiji-ro san ga. "Eee" tte kao wa shinakatta kedo "huum".</i>	This person, Seiji-ro-san looked unwilling to write it [a mountain]. He did not make a face like "Oooh ((complaining tone))", but "Un-un" ((unwilling tone)) ((T talks to the class))
Teacher:	20 Complaint [casual]	<i>"Kakimasu yo" tte ittara, "hai" tte ii henji janakute, "huum" tte iya soona kanji de ittan da kedo</i>	When I said "you are going to write [the mountain]", he did not respond with "Yes"; instead he said "un-un" in an unwilling tone. ((T talks to the class))
Teacher:	21 Question [polite]	<i>Sensei ga nande kakanakya ikeinai to itteiru to omoi masu ka</i>	Why do you think I am saying that [the mountain] should be used? ((Talking to S2, who is not able to answer))
Teacher:	22 Question [polite]	<i>Dooshite kakanakya ikenai n deshoo ka</i>	Why should we/you use [the mountain]?
Teacher:	23 Permission [casual]	<i>Ii yo</i>	It is ok ((T uses gesture to permit S2 to sit down))

Figure 5-7. Continued

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Nomination	<i>Kanako-san</i>	Kanako-san ((S1 does not react))
Teacher:	2 Nomination	<i>Kanako-san</i>	Kanako-san
Student 1:	3 Response	<i>Hai</i>	Yes
Teacher:	4 Command [casual]	<i>Henji motto ookii koe de</i>	When you respond, [respond] in a louder voice.
Student 1:	5 Response	<i>Hai</i>	Yes ((in a louder voice))
Teacher:	6 Request [polite]	<i>Hiita tokoro o yonde kudasai.</i>	Please read the parts that you underlined.
Student 1:	7 Reading the text	<i>Miwa-san wa 7 mai, Masato-san wa 6 mai tsukuri mashita.</i>	Miwa-san made 7 bookmarks and Masato-san made 6 bookmarks. ((S1's voice is too weak for the class to understand))
Teacher:	8 Silence		((T stays silent for 7 seconds))
A few students:	9 Reaction [polite]	<i>Onaji desu</i>	I agree!
Teacher:	10 Nomination	<i>Hideki-san</i>	Hideki-san ((S2 is surprised by the sudden nomination and holds his head in his hands. S2 takes 17 seconds until he starts to speak))
Teacher:	11 Question directive [polite]	<i>Hapyoo wa doko de shite masu ka</i>	Where are you doing your presentation? ((To S2 who reads aloud while putting his hands on his desk))
Student 2:	12 Presentation	<i>Miwa-san wa 7 mai, Masato-san wa 6 mai tsukuri mashita. Zenbu de nanmai tsukutta deshoo ka.</i>	Miwa-san made 7 bookmarks, Masato-san made 6 bookmarks. How many bookmarks did they make in total?
Teacher:	13 Question	<i>Kikoeta hito?</i>	Who could hear her ((Raise your hand if you could hear her? ((Half of the Ss raise their hand))

Figure 5-8. *Hannoo* (reaction to peers) in teacher Kawano's math class [10.26.2009].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	14 Question	<i>Kikoenai hito?</i>	Who could not hear her [Raise your hand if you could not hear her]?((Few Ss raise their hand))
Teacher:	15 Question	<i>Kiite nai hito?</i>	Who was not listening to her [raise your hand if you did not listen to her]? ((One student near T continues raising his hand))
Teacher:	16 Comment/ Evaluation [polite]	<i>Kikoeta noni nanimo hannoo ga nai tte hen desu nee.</i>	It is strange that no one reacts [to her response] even though you heard her. ((Still no reaction from the Ss))
Teacher:	17 Comment/ Evaluation [casual]	<i>Hideki-san, hanashi kiite nai mon ne.</i>	Hideki-san, you are not paying attention, right? ((To S2))
Teacher:	18 Nomination	<i>Hayashi-san</i>	Hayashi-san ((Another presentation starts))

Figure 5-8. Continued

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Nomination [polite]	<i>Hai, Niko-san itte kudasai.</i>	Niko-san, please tell us [your answer] ((T stands in front of Niko, points at the part that he underlined so that he reads it.))
Student:	2 Reading	<i>xxx</i>	xxx ((unintelligible))
Teacher:	3 Command [casual]	<i>Tatte</i>	Stand up ((T uses gesture so that Niko stands up))
Teacher:	4 Command [casual]	<i>Masuku totte, ookii koe de ii na yo.</i>	Take off you mask and speak loudly
Teacher:	5 Command [casual]	<i>Sen hiita tokoro dake yonde.</i>	Read only the underlined part
Teacher:	6 Prompt	<i>San hai</i>	Here we go!
Student:	7 Reading	<i>nana mai to</i>	seven bookmarks and ((in a thin voice))
Teacher:	8 Backchannel	<i>Un</i>	Un ((T backchannels))
Student:	9 Reading	<i>roku mai xxx</i>	six book marks, xxx ((in a thin voice))
Teacher:	10 Instruct [casual]	<i>kaita tokoro dake. Kokodake.</i>	Only the part you underlined. Only this part ((T points at the underlined part in his notebook.))
Teacher:	11 Prompt	<i>San hai</i>	Here we go!
Student:	12 Reading	<i>xxx</i>	xxx ((unintelligible))
Teacher:	13 Comment [casual]	<i>No tokoro dake ne.</i>	That is the part [you wrote], right? ((Niko sits down))

Figure 5-9. Polite speakership in teacher Kawano's math class [10.26.2009].



Figure 5-10. A class opening *aisatsu* event. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-11. Teacher Kawano' small scolding towards Masashi. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-12. The first enactment of *aisatsu* without teacher's presence. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-13. The second enactment of *aisatsu* with teacher's presence. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-14. Isabel's standing posture. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-15. The student appeared embarrassed, looking down at his artwork due to teacher's act of scolding. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-16. The male student stayed quiet and looked at teacher Kawano after being scolded by her. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 5-17. The student's *happyoo* posture. A) Before teacher Kawano's directive. B) After teacher Kawano's directive. Photos courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.

CHAPTER 6
JAPANESE AND BRAZILIAN FEMALE TEACHERS' DIRECTIVE/COMPLIANCE-
GAINING STRATEGIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLASSROOM

This chapter elucidates issues of conflict, social control, and status maintenance that took place in interactions between Japanese/Brazilian female teachers and a first-grade male student from Brazil. In so doing, it brings out themes of enculturation in Japan and Latin America (especially, Brazil) that were observed in the behaviors of these interactants. The case of one student in the international classroom/*kokuksai kyoshitsu* (cf. Chapter 3) was selected for detailed analysis. The motivation for the selection was that it is the tutoring interactions that made most salient the themes of Japanese enculturation and South American students' non-conforming behavior. Thus, the analysis sheds light on the teachers' conformity-gaining strategies in interaction with the most non-conforming male student found at the research site.

Background

Japanese schooling appears to promote students' cultural values that preserve the rules of the society and the norms of behavior necessary for learning in groups (Hess & Azuma, 1991). Japanese parents, too, support the socialization of rule-governed behavior via schooling by inculcating in their children the values of group cooperation and compliance with authority (e.g., teachers). In Japan, such mainstream sociocultural orientations give the foundations for teacher's authority in classrooms and students' adaptations to her instruction rather than her own adaptation to students' individual cognitive needs for learning (Hess & Azuma, 1991).

South American students—due in part to home-school cultural mismatches—appear to have difficulties acquiring such cultural dispositions that Japanese schooling requires of students. Moreover, South American countries' historical relations with their

former colonizing nations and their classist social structures have induced the masses to practice strategies to gain personal advantages in an unjust social situation or interpersonal treatment. In Brazil, *malandragem* (cunning/sly behavior) and *jeitinho* (the way of gaining an advantage by circumventing rules and conventions) are deemed modes of social navigation, becoming part of Brazilian national culture (DaMatta, 1990; Barbosa, 1992). In Spanish Latin American cultures, there are similar concepts: *picardía* (cunning/mischief/trick) widely used throughout the Spanish dialectal varieties, *cantinfleadas* used in Mexico (Merrell, 2004), *gauchada* known in Argentina (Garibaldi de Hilal, 2006), *palanca* practiced in Colombia (Fitch, 1998), and *viveza criolla* used in Argentina and Uruguay (Achúgar, 2003; Mafud, 1965).¹ Despite the distinct terminology used to designate the phenomenon, they share a characteristic tendency: the non-compliant—mostly masculine—behavior in the face of established rules, norms, and conventions.

Methodology

For this study, four female teachers (three Japanese and one Brazilian) were selected. It was these female teachers that gave lessons to the Brazilian boy under scrutiny (Adriano). The Japanese teachers were those who were described in Chapter 3 (teachers Suzuki, Sato, and Honda). All of them were highly experienced teachers working in local primary schools for more than two decades. The Brazilian teacher was working at the same primary school as a bilingual interpreter/translator as well as a teacher-assistant. She was close to the Brazilian students in the school and their parents because she bridged language barriers between the Japanese teachers and

¹ See Merrell (2004, Chapter 4) concerning *malandragem*, *jeitinho*, *picardía*, and *cantinfleadas*.

the Brazilian students/parents. Adriano was seven years old, an only child of a third generation Japanese-Brazilian father and a white, Brazilian mother, both in their 20s. At the start of data collection, Adriano had been in the Japanese school for six months. He received individualized one-hour tutoring each day so that he could catch up with his class in Math and Language Arts.

For the analysis, a total of eight lessons carried out by these teachers with Adriano were transcribed. In order to discover *cultural themes* (Spradley, 1979), I identified and further analyzed cultural scenes in relation with conflict, social control, and status maintenance in accordance with Spradley's theme-searching method (1979, p. 199)

The study

Fazendo Teatro e Palhaçadas: Being Dramatic and Acting the Clown

The Latin American concept of non-conformist behavior described above was observed in Adriano's frequent tricks during the tutoring sessions. Examples include hiding his pencils/notebooks, reversing teacher-student roles, and taking his teacher's pencil, all conducive to disturbing the lesson progress.

[Figure 6-1](#) represents his mischievous behavior that took place when interacting with teacher Honda. It is obvious that Adriano attempted to deceive the teacher by *fazendo teatro e palhaçadas* in Portuguese (figuratively *being dramatic* and *acting the clown* in English). Teacher Honda was accustomed to such playful tricks that South American boys were likely to employ by virtue of having dealt with Adriano in this school and other South American boys in her previous school in Hamamatsu. Therefore, she neither was deceived by, nor lost her temper at, Adriano's trick; she managed the potentially conflictive situation and continued carrying out the lesson.

Figure 6-2 is an instance of the teacher-student role reversal that Adriano achieved when attempting to read aloud cards with the help of teacher Suzuki. This is another example of Adriano's *fazendo teatro e palhaçadas* behavior (being dramatic and acting the clown). Adriano took over the teacher's role by employing the Portuguese command: "Repete! (Repeat!)." Teacher Suzuki appeared to be embarrassed, yet not irritated, by his command. In fact, Adriano was mimicking her usual directive phrase: "Repete!" used for pronunciation/reading practices with him. He was a cheeky, mischievous, and naughty (*sapeca*, *travesso*, and *malcriado* in Portuguese) boy, who took advantage of each and every situation in an attempt to disobey teachers' instructional and socializing agendas. Adriano was surely a *warugaki* in Japanese, a *malandrinho* in Portuguese, and rascal in English.

The cultural value of *sunao* (docility, receptivity, and obedience in English) has been reported as an important enculturation theme in Japanese child rearing and early schooling (Lebra, 1974; Lewis, 1984; White & LeVine, 1986). According to White and LeVine (1986), the quality of a good child (*iiko* in Japanese) includes *sunao* and other related traits: *otonashi* (gentle, mild), *oriko* (obedient, smart), and *hansei suru* (to reflect on one's weakness). This cultural view of child rearing and early child education does not allow for the idea that small children (e.g., preschoolers and lower-grade primary students), when interacting with an adult, could tell a little lie (*uso o tsuku* in Japanese) on purpose for individual gain or benefit.

From a Latin American perspective, the act of tricking or deceiving forms part of important survival strategies for its masses. In order to deal with their bureaucratic impasses and daily practices of socioeconomic injustice, peoples in Latin America are

driven to utilize all sorts of resources—including personal connections, tricks, and false excuses—to take advantage of, and avoid confrontations in, any power-laden encounters or situations. Putting Adriano’s behavior in such a sociohistorical context, his act of being dramatic and acting the clown may make sense as an important cultural asset. Such historically-sanctioned—mainly masculine—endogenous behavior, however, is highly discouraged by Japanese schooling (i.e., its mainstream classroom practices). These practices lead children to mainstream values and behavior (e.g., the aforementioned value of *sunao*).

Japanese Female Teachers’ Patient Disposition in Response to Adriano’s *Palhaçadas* (clown acts)

Adriano was an *o-kyaku-sama* (the honorific term that refers to “guest” in Japanese) in his mainstream classroom due to his non-conforming behavior. He neither followed instructions that his homeroom teacher—a male in his late 40s—issued to the class, nor participated in collective learning routines such as *happyoo* (formal presentation) events. In nearly 10 lessons that I observed over a three-month period, this teacher scarcely corrected Adriano’s non-conforming behavior; he almost gave up on him in order to carry out the lessons whose implicit agenda was to benefit the group, not disadvantaged foreign students.

In one Language Arts lesson, students were playing an educational game of cards called *karuta* in small groups. Adriano’s group complained to the teacher that Adriano repeatedly broke the rules of the game.

As shown in [Figure 6-3](#), the teacher, instead of correcting Adriano’s misbehavior, treated him as an outsider who did not understand the rule of behavior. Due to

Adriano's consistent non-conforming behavior in the classroom, the teacher appeared to give up on insisting Adriano follow his instructions.

The Japanese female teachers of the international classroom, on the other hand, were highly patient in the face of Adriano's non-conforming and clown acts. These teachers' patient behavior towards a mischievous Adriano was due to multiple reasons. However, the observations that I carried out in both mainstream and international classrooms in the school suggest a combination of three main factors: (1) the Japanese female teachers' motherly/affective attitude to small boys, (2) the international classroom's environment that enabled one-on-one tutoring and personalized teacher-student relationships, and (3) Adriano's tenacious non-conforming behavior that drove them to employ *amayakasu* (indulging) and *homeru* (complimenting) approaches.

Figure 6-4 illustrates teacher Suzuki's patient behavior towards Adriano's act of *malandragem/picardia* (cunning, slyness, mischief). Teacher Suzuki dealt with Adriano's trick in which he hid his pencil in an attempt to avoid the teacher's request to take out his pencil (Figure 6-10 and Figure 6-11).

It is vital to point out that teacher Suzuki needed 11 turns (out of a total of 21 turn exchanges) in order to have Adriano take his pencil out. For this purpose, she employed thirteen directive speech acts (bold in the transcript), including those used to make him sit up. Adriano, on the other hand, played the clown by means of two false excuses: (1) he could not reach his pencil box and (2) he forgot to bring his pencil. Furthermore, he behaved playfully without taking seriously the teacher's repeated request.

Adriano's slyness/astuteness was observed in line 14: "Ah, below." When he said "Ah," he had a gleam (*chispa* in Portuguese) in his eye: Immediately before this event

happened, he learned to use the word “below” in an exercise performed with the help of teacher Suzuki. It is difficult to confirm whether he used the word with an intention of creating confusion in teacher Suzuki’s mind or whether he just wanted to give her a hint. Despite the confirmatory difficulty, it is clear to state that his improvisational ability was outstanding; the teacher was (almost) deceived by his trick.

Adriano’s non-conforming behavior embodies the Latin American attitude of resistance to (often, despotic) authoritarianism rooted in its history. The popular saying: “I obey, but I don’t comply (*se obedece, pero no se cumple*)” known across Latin America expresses the separation between law and reality, which has been prevalent since its colonial period (Merrell, 2004). To make a sweeping generalization, Latin Americans, with the sense of distrust in established rules, norms, and conventions, seek opportunities to get an advantage out of each and every situation while avoiding direct confrontations with authorities.

In response to such cultural behavior, the Japanese female teachers showed patience by repetitively and insistently using directive speech acts. This played an important role not only in facilitating Adriano’s academic learning but also in slowly instilling in him hierarchy and status differences between Japanese teacher and their students. In the face of Adriano’s mischievously non-conforming behavior, the female teachers of the international classroom patiently and persistently pointed out what he should do (e.g., take out a pencil).

Overall, the female teachers of the interactional classroom reacted patiently to Adriano’s misbehavior. However, this was not always true. The next section illuminates

a Brazilian female teacher's tough reaction to Adriano's tenacious non-conforming behavior.

Brazilian Teacher's Acts of Rebuking and Persuading Adriano

The speech acts of rebuking and persuading took place together when Adriano's teachers got truly frustrated at his non-conforming behavior. The figure below—with an exchange of 11 turns—was extracted from a lesson that teacher Sato taught with the help of the Brazilian teacher. They became frustrated by his constant refutations and lack of respect for their instructional requests. In [Figure 6-5](#), the Brazilian teacher started a rebuke by criticizing his lack of respect and bad manners.

It is important to mention that she employed direct commands to Adriano: "Have respect," "Show good manners," "Behave well," "Study well," etc. As shown in Chapters 2 and 4, Brazilian adults and teachers tend to use direct commands with no polite modifier in interaction with their children or students. In such a way, their directive intention becomes straightforward and clear to children.

In addition to her loud voice and fast speech, proximity and eye contact played an important role in communicating her serious disposition. [Figure 6-12](#) evidences that her face was very close to Adrian's face and she was firmly staring at his eyes during her speech.

Regarding her discursive content, *respeito* (respect) and *educação* (good manners) are two cultural themes important for socialization of children, especially in the Latin American home domain. Showing respect to members in one's group means acknowledging their authority and superior status. Furthermore, as Zentella (1997) succinctly points out, the central tenet of this concept revolves around "the sharing of cultural norms concerning appropriate speech . . . child-adult roles, etc." (p. 10).

Therefore, the Brazilian teacher, in order to gain Adriano's obedience, inferred that teacher Sato's work was worthy of respect; something that his parents could not teach him because of the language barrier.

Emphasis on authority or status differences in Brazil serves to prevent manipulative actions from lay people of lower status in an attempt to gain personal advantages. The authoritative voice: "*você sabe com quem está falando?*" ("do you know who you're talking to?") functions to re-establish hierarchy in interpersonal encounters where the counterpart interlocutor of lower status attempts to overturn such social and situational disadvantages by means of *jeitinho* ("little way out" or "adroitness") (DaMatta, 1991).

Furthermore, *educação* in Portuguese is semantically wider than English, including the concept of "good manners." Gentlemanship (*caballerosidad/cavalheirismo* in Spanish/Portuguese) is a highly valued quality of men in Latin American contexts. The Brazilian teacher's appeal to this cultural value makes sense because acquisition of good manners starts in the home domain. Moreover, her reference to his parents was an effective socialization strategy because familial ties are a highly important cultural value in Latin America where patriarchal/paternal authority prevails (Romanelli, 2000).² Adriano's act of crying evidences how sensitive it may be for Latin American children to appeal to their familial ties and relationships.

[Figure 6-6](#) continues from the teacher Sato's previous discourse. Here, Adriano expressed his non-conforming behavior (turns 1 to 5). In response, the Brazilian teacher produced multiple reasons in an elaborated discourse in an attempt to persuade

² See Chapter 2 of the present dissertation on Latin American norms of behavior.

Adriano (turn 6). In so doing, the Brazilian teacher employed what I call “self-questioning and reasoning strategy (*Por que? Porque...*).” Here, the Brazilian teacher posed, by herself, a question as to why teacher Sato was “mad” at Adriano by way of “*por que? (why?)*.” Continuing on, she gave a series of reasons by means of the repeated use of “*porque... (because...)*.”

Among the reasons that the Brazilian teacher brought up, it is crucial to mention her use of the term *mendigo* (beggar in English). This appeared to be a theme that may appeal to Brazilian consciousness. Extreme poverty and its consequent massive production of homeless populations have been a serious social issue that Brazil has been facing (New strategies for poverty eradication in Brazil, 2013). Despite the pressing social need to eradicate poverty, half of Brazilians are chronically hungry (Merrell, 2004, p. 192). Putting the use of *mendigo* into a Brazilian perspective, the metaphor can be a resource that may lead to gain Adriano’s compliance.

In [Figure 6-7](#), teacher Sato—Japanese female, who was co-tutoring the same session, took the floor and attempted to persuade him by talking about his parents’ feeling. Teacher Sato attempted to appeal to the Japanese cultural value of *omoiyari*: empathetic altruism to others’ feeling (Lebra, 1974). In so doing, she employed comparatively more indirect speech acts than the Brazilian teacher: “Don’t be selfish-**ne**,” “Your father and mother **want you to study...**,” and “**Try to think** over....” As pointed out in Chapter 4, Japanese female teachers tend to use politeness (i.e., request) strategies in their directive speech acts in interaction with students. Teacher Sato’s directives were intended to appeal to his feeling. The use of the ending particles **–ne** and **–yo** in “don’t be selfish” and “...study well” index her emotional appeal as well

as their function as a polite modifier. The produced directive force, however, was much weaker than that of the Brazilian teacher. Furthermore, the proximity of her face to Adriano's face did not change at all when she produced her directive speech. She maintained her distance as shown in the same photo. The socialization effect of her directive acts may be diminished without closely performed face-to-face and eye-to-eye communication.

To conclude this section, the Brazilian teacher produced elaborated discourse in an attempt to appeal to Adriano's emotions. The Brazilian teachers' strategies of bringing up the issues sensitive to Brazilians: "Family ties/hierarchy" and social problem of "beggars" appeared to touch Adriano's emotions, as seen in his crying reaction. Her face-to-face and eye-to-eye communication with direct command was effective vis-à-vis this non-conforming boy. The Japanese teacher's communication, however, was not as powerful as that of the Brazilian teacher. Her directive speech acts were rather indirect due to politeness concerns performed by female teachers. Moreover, proximity (i.e., distance to Adriano's face and eyes) became salient as a resource relevant for compliance-gaining speech acts of rebuking and persuading.

Indulging and Complimenting for Drawing Out and Constructing Adriano's *iiko* (Good-child) Disposition

This final section provides an analysis of how Japanese female teachers drew out Adriano's disposition of *iiko* (good child with docility, receptivity, and obedience). As so far described, Adriano was a child who rarely conformed to his teachers' instructions. Despite the difficulties, the Japanese female teachers of the international classroom employed a series of indulging and complimenting (in Japanese, *amaesaseru* and

homeru, respectively) strategies for catalyzing his emotional dependency on, and involvement with, them.

Figure 6-8 is an instance of how these female teachers praised and complimented Adriano for his behavior as a good child (photo in Figure 6-13). Teacher Sato used the final particle *ne* seven times in this praising speech event. *Ne* functions to create affective common ground by means of expressing agreement and solicitation for agreement (Cook, 1990). Therefore, its use in a praising speech event can be a tool for bonding affective relationships between teacher and student in the Japanese context.

Teacher Sato's strategy of patting Adriano's head appeared to be highly compatible with the Latin American cultural habit of day-to-day physical contact as a way of communicating affection. In addition, it is of vital importance that this affective act should be performed when the teacher congratulates her student, and not when she attempts to make him study against his will. This is because positive politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987) is the norm predominant both in Brazil and in Spanish-speaking Latin America (Huelva, Santiago, & Rabasa, 2010; Felix-Brasdefer, 2006). In Brazil, for instance, compliments (*elogios* in Portuguese) are a well-accepted social etiquette that functions to raise interlocutor's self-image; and therefore they serve to maintain social relationships (Huelva, Santiago, & Rabasa, 2010, p. 202). Thus, teacher Sato's indulging strategy performed in the praising speech event can be a useful resource for gaining South American boys' compliance that fits into the cultural schemes and perspectives for Japanese and Latin American enculturation.

Figure 6-9 shows another instance of these female teachers' indulging strategy to Adriano (photo in Figure 6-14). Importantly, in this tutoring lesson, teacher Honda used

plenty of praise and compliments to Adriano. Examples are: (1) *atama ii* (smart), *sugoi* (how wonderful), *ii me shiteru* (you have good eyesight) when he could read the teacher' name written in *kanji*; (2) *Adriano-san mo kawaii yo* (you are also cute) when talking about guinea pigs, (3) *Adriano-san no kawaii okuchi mitai* (I want to see your pretty mouth) when Adriano hid his jaw/mouth inside his sweater, and (4) *sugoi jyoozu. Otoo-san ni iwa nakya, sensei. Adriano-san jyoozu desu yo tte* (Superb! I need to report to your dad "Adriano-kun is doing well") when he wrote *kanji* neatly. These and other compliments employed by teacher Honda were an effective resource for gaining Adriano's compliance, since during the lesson he behaved himself without displaying the mischievous/naughty part of his "usual" self.

Final Remarks

This chapter has endeavored to elucidate issues of conflict, social control, and status maintenance that took place in interactions between Japanese/Brazilian female teachers and Adriano—a first-grade male student from Brazil. For this purpose, the chapter elucidated Adriano's non-conforming and cunning/sly behavior as well as the teachers' compliance-gaining strategies. In so doing, the chapter has illuminated themes of enculturation in Japan and in Latin America.

Adriano's acts of *palhaçadas* (acting the clown) form part of an important Latin American cultural asset that its masses need in order to deal with bureaucratic impasses and practices of socioeconomic injustice. This cultural value, however, tends to be discouraged by mainstream classroom practices in Japan. This is because Japanese schooling impels children to become *iiko* (good child) with docility, receptivity, and obedience.

Despite the tendency, the Japanese female teachers of the international classroom were highly patient in the face of Adriano's non-conforming behavior and clown acts. They dealt effectively with a manipulative Adriano by means of their patient disposition and repeated issuances of directive speech acts (e.g., take out a pencil).

The Brazilian female teacher's communicative style and discursive content elucidated important issues of enculturation in Latin American contexts. Her use of direct commands with no polite modifier is compatible with previous research (Koike, 1992; Wherritt, 1993) (cf. Chapter 2) as well as the results of Chapter 4. Furthermore, this teacher's discourse on *respeito* (respect) and *educação* (good manners) shed light on the cultural value of "family ties/hierarchy." In addition, the issue of *mêdigo* (begger) she brought up appeared to raise Adriano's consciousness due to the reality that Brazil has been facing extreme poverty and its consequent generation of homeless populations.

Finally, the chapter has provided an analysis of Japanese female teachers' indulging and complimenting strategies used to gain Adriano's conforming behavior. Teachers' use of physical contact and of positive politeness (e.g., compliments) was highly compatible with the Latin American model of enculturation and social relationships. The qualitative analyses of the interactional data suggest that these strategies were an effective resource for gaining Adriano's compliance, because they raised affectionate dependency and bonding between the Japanese female teacher and the Brazilian boy.

The next chapter discusses issues that have already been presented throughout this dissertation. These issues are socialization, cultural themes of Japan and of Latin America, and Japanese and Brazilian teachers' compliance-gaining/directive strategies.

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Suggestory Command [polite]	<i>Kokugo no noto o dashi mashoo.</i>	Let's take out your Language Arts notebook.
Student:	2 Reply [casual]	<i>Kokugo no noto note kite nai.</i>	I did not bring it.
Teacher:	3 Suggestory command [polite]	<i>Kanji no noto dashi mashoo.</i>	Let's take out your kanji notebook.
Student:	4 Reply [casual]	<i>Kanji no noto, nani sore.</i>	Kanji notebook, what's that?
Teacher:	5 Suggestory command [polite]	<i>Kanji no noto o dashi mashoo.</i>	Let's take out your kanji notebook.
Student:	6 Reply [casual]	<i>Nanda yo, sore.</i>	What is that!
Teacher:	7 Complaint	<i>Adriano.</i>	Adriano. ((complaining tone))
Student:	8 Confession [casual]	<i>Hontoni wakaranai.</i>	I really do not understand.
Teacher:	9 Command [casual]	<i>Sagashite, kanji no noto.</i>	Find your kanji notebook.
Student:	10 Reply [casual]	<i>Nai yo.</i>	I do not have it.
Teacher:	11 Question [casual]	<i>Attara, dosuru.</i>	What would you do if we found it?
Teacher:	12 Threatening [casual]	<i>Attara, okoru yo.</i>	I would scold you if we found it.
Student:	13 Reply [casual]	<i>Un.</i>	Yeah. ((casual response))
Teacher:	14 Claiming [casual]	<i>Kanji no noto, aru jan, aru jan, Adriano-san.</i>	Your notebook is here, it is here, Adriano-san. ((T finds S's kanji notebook))
Teacher:	15 Suggestory Command [polite]	<i>Hai, shitajiki dashi mashoo, shitajiki.</i>	Ok. Let's take out your shitajiki ((a sheet of plastic)), shitajiki.

Figure 6-1. Teacher Honda attending to Adriano [11.25.2009].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 <i>Tobasanai! Tobasanai moo.</i> <i>Anta, tatteru suwatteru?</i>	Don't throw [the word cards]! ((T speaks in a strong tone to S who threw, onto the desk, the word cards that he already read)) Don't throw. Are you sitting or standing?((T complains about S's kneeling on the chair))
Student:	2 <i>"Byouin" "Byouin" Repete!</i>	"Byouin [hospital]" "Byouin [hospital]" Repeat! ((S says the word "Repeat!" in Portuguese))
Teacher:	3 <i>Nani ga "Repete!"da! Hai.</i> <i>"Byouin" Hai, doozo, tsugi.</i>	Why are you saying "Repeat!"! ((T takes the cards back from S)) Well, "Byouin [hospital]" ((T corrects S's pronunciation)).Go ahead with the next one.
Student:	4 <i>"Myouji"</i>	((S takes the cards back from T and says:)) "Myouji [family name]"
Teacher:	5 <i>"Myooji" "Miyooji"</i>	"Myooji" "Myooji" ((T corrects S's pronunciation))
Student:	6 <i>Repete!</i>	Repeat!
Teacher:	7 <i>Sensei ka?</i>	Are you a teacher or what?
Student:	8 <i>Repete!</i>	Repeat!
Teacher:	9 <i>"Myooji" datteba. Hayaku, oite.</i> <i>Nani de sensei ga kurikaeshi</i> <i>teru ka!?</i>	It is "Myooji." Quickly, put the card on [the desk]. Why am I repeating!?
Student:	10 <i>"Choucho" Repete!</i>	"Choucho [butterfly]" Repeat! ((T laughs))
Student:	<i>Repete!</i>	Repeat!
Teacher:	11 <i>"Choocho" datteba. "Choocho"</i> <i>hai.</i>	I am saying "Choocho [butterfly]" "Choocho" Ok.

Figure 6-2. Teacher Suzuki attending to Adriano's attempt to reverse teacher-student role [10.23.2009].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Student1:	1 Sensei! Adriano otetsuki shita.	Sensei! Adriano is not following the rule.
Teacher:	2 likara. Adriano yoku wakaranai n dakara.	That is fine. Because Adriano does not understand [the rule of the game] well. ((T speaks in a pacifying tone))
Adriano:	3 Omae mo otetsuki.	You also broke the rule. ((S criticizes a male member of his group, yet his claim was observationally untruthful))

Figure 6-3. A student in Adriano's classroom complaining about Adriano's mischief [12.17.2009].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 <i>Andriano-san. Adriano-san. Enpitsu o dashite kudasai.</i>	Adriano-san. Adriano-san. Please, take out your pencil [from your pencil box]. ((T points to his pencil box. S does not follow T's instruction. S, lazily, puts his face on the desk, instead))
Teacher:	<i>Enpitsu o dashite kudasai. Adriano, enpitsu.</i>	Please, take out your pencil. ((T points to his pencil box)) Adriano, pencil.
Student:	2 <i>Toru no dekinai yo.</i>	I can't reach it.
Teacher:	3 <i>Hora</i>	Look! ((T moves the pencil box closer to him))
Student:	4 <i>Dekinai</i>	I can't.
Teacher:	5 <i>Hora</i>	Look! ((T moves the pencil box closer to him))
Student:	6 <i>Dekinai. Hora dekinai.</i>	I can't. Look, I can't.
Teacher:	7 <i>Nai o itteru! Hai, enpitsu hoshii desu. Enpitsu dashite kudasai.</i>	What are you saying! ((T smiles)) Ok, I want you to take your pencil out. Please, take your pencil out. ((T talks more seriously)).
Student:	8 <i>Não é, não é, não é.</i>	It is not, it is not, it is not. ((S playfully speaks in Portuguese))
Teacher:	9 <i>Ah, zannen, zannen. Hai, yappari kocchi ni shiyo. Hai, doozo.</i>	Ah, too bad, too bad. Well, I change [it] to this one ((T speaks to herself. T changes the worksheet to another one)). Here you are. ((T puts the new worksheet in front of S))
	<i>Ara, atta no?</i>	Ah, did you find [the pencil]
Student:	10 <i>Nai.</i>	I didn't. ((S hides his pencil under his arm))
Teacher:	11 <i>Attano? Hai, namae wa? Adriano.</i>	Did you find it? Well, [Write] your name? Adriano.
Student:	12 <i>Yabee nai shi.</i>	Phew, I don't have it. ((S, on purpose, drops his pencil to the floor without T's noticing of it))

Figure 6-4. Teacher Suzuki attending to Adriano's mischief [10.23.2009].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher:	13 <i>Adriano, hayaku dashite. Ah Adriano, nai. Doko enpitsu wa?</i>	Adriano, quickly take it out. Ah ((T opens S's pencil box and looks inside)) Adriano, you don't have it. Where is it?
Student:	14 <i>Ah, shita.</i>	Ah, below.
Teacher:	15 <i>Shita! Yada, moo. Wasureta. ja nai? Atta, Adriano, enpitsu?</i>	Below! ((T understands that he left his pencils in his downstairs classroom.)) Oh, no!, You forgot [to bring his pencil]. ((T hears Adriano stepping on his pencil)) Adriano, don't you have it on the floor? Did you find your pencil, Adriano?
Student:	16 <i>Mite. Kore chicchai.</i>	((S goes to the underneath of the table and hands his tiny pencil to the teacher)) Look. This is tiny.
Teacher:	17 <i>Chicchahi. Adriano no da ne, kore. Adriano tte kaite aru. Hai, Adriano chicchaikedo atta ne. Atta yo. Hai.</i>	It is tiny. It is yours. Your name is written [on it]. Well, Adriano, it is tiny but you found it. You found it. Ok.
Student:	18 <i>Ja, Adriano doko itta?</i>	Well, where is Adriano? ((S acts playfully underneath his desk))
Teacher:	19 <i>Shita</i>	Below
Student:	20 <i>Chigau yo. Ue da.</i>	Wrong. [I am] on top.
Teacher:	21 <i>Ue? Dokono ue da? Adriano-kun, Isu no ue ni suwatte kudasai. Adriano, Adriano, Adriano. Suwatte. Adriano, Isunoue. Hai koko, koko, isuno ue. Suwatte.</i>	On top? On top of what? Adriano-kun, please sit on the chair. Adriano, Adriano, Adriano, sit on. On top of the chair. Well, up here, up here. ((T points to his chair by tapping it)) On top of the chair. Sit up.
Teacher:	<i>Hai, jyozu ni suwaremashita ne. Hai, jya Adriano, namae kaite.</i>	Ok, you are sitting well, right. ((T pushes Adriano sitting on the chair closer to the table)) Ok, well, Adriano, write you name [on the sheet]. ((T touches his right arm, puts the sheet and his pencil right in front of him))

Figure 6-4. Continued

Speaker	Original	Translation
Brazilian Teacher:	<p><i>Tenha respeito, Adriano, tenha respeito. Você não tem educação. Na sua mente, dá educação o não dá? Seus pais não estão te dando educação, não estão? Tem educação para a professora. Esse daí é o que os seus pais ensinam para você em casa? Eles ensinam para você falar assim à professora? “Shiranee shi.” “Asso.” Eles falam para você: “Vai ai, fala assim com a professora. Faz bastante piada para professores.” Eles lhe falam assim na café da manhã, antes de você vir a escola? É isso que eles dizem para você? Eles não falam para você: “Comporta diretinho,” “Presta atenção!” “Estuda diretinho!” “Faz bem a lição para você” não é? Todo o mundo está preocupado com você, Adriano, se você não consegue fazer esse daqui.</i></p>	<p>Have respect, Adriano, have respect. You do not have good manners. Good manners are possible in your mind, or not? Your parents are not teaching you good manners, are they? ((S looks down, hangs his head, starts crying)). Show the teacher good manners. Do your parents teach you that one [a math exercise] at home? ((S hides his face and cries)) They are telling you to speak with the teacher in that way? “Cuse I dun know”. “Whatever. I dun care”. Your parents are telling you: “Go there [to school] and speak to your teachers like that”? Are they telling you to do a lot of nonsense with them? Are they telling you to do [all of this] at breakfast before you come to school? Is that what they are telling you? Aren’t they teaching you [instead]: “Behave well” “Pay attention” “Study well” “Do your homework for your own benefit”? Right? Everyone is worried about you, Adriano, [they are worried] that you cannot do this ((a math exercise)).</p>

Figure 6-5. The Brazilian teacher rebuking Adriano [2.18.2010].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Student:	1 <i>Pode que não seja todo mundo.</i>	It is possible that not everybody is [worried about me].
Brazilian Teacher:	2 <i>Todo mundo está preocupado com você.</i>	Everybody is worried about you.
Student:	3 <i>Claro que não.</i>	Of course not.
Brazilian Teacher:	4 <i>Claro que sim, está.</i>	Of course yes, they are.
Student:	5 <i>Claro que não.</i>	Of course not.
Brazilian Teacher:	6 <i>Você acha que a professora fica brava por quê? Porque você não obedece a ela; porque ela quer você aprenda esse daqui; porque se você não consegue fazer nada disso, como é que você vai fazer? Quando você ficar grande, você vai ser o que? Um mendigo, eh? Isso é o que você quer? Não, né? Tem que estudar. Não é verdade? xxx a única coisa que um mendigo consegue fazer é ficar e pedir dinheiro na rua. Tem que estudar, fazer matemática, fazer japonês, né? Você não acha? O que é que você acha?</i>	Why do you think the teacher gets mad? It is because you did not obey her; because she wants you to learn that here. Because if you can't do any of that, what will you be? When you become an adult, what will you do? A beggar, eh? That's what you want? No, right? You have to study. Isn't that true? xxx the only thing that a beggar can do is to stay and beg money on the street. You have to study, do math, study Japanese, right? Don't you think [so]? What do you think?

Figure 6-6. The Brazilian teacher persuading Adriano [2.18.2010].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 <i>Maa, wagamama o itte nai de ne.</i>	Weell, don't be selfish- ne
Brazilian Teacher:	2 <i>Ne? Ganbatte.</i>	Right? ((BT repeats T's final <i>ne</i>)) Stick to it.
Student:	3 <i>Yada.</i>	Nope. ((in a small and weak voice))
Teacher:	4 <i>Adriano-kun no oto-san ya okasan ha shikkari benkyo shite morai tai to omotteru yo. Konna koto o yattesu sugata o mitara doo omou ka kangaete mina.</i>	Your father and mother want you to study well- yo . Try to think over what they would feel if they see you behaving like this. ((T reinstates tutoring and continues teaching))

Figure 6-7. Teacher Sato persuading Adriano [2.18.2010].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 <i>Seikai, hai, zenbu kuria dekita. Sugoi. Yokatta-ne, yomete. Hai, Adriano-kun, Subarashii desu-ne. Jaa, hanamaru kaiteagerude-ne. Kouyatte-ne. Kurukurukuru. Hai, orikoo. Adriano, orikooda-ne. Dekimashita. Jaa, youbi, janai, hizuke yometa-ne. Hizuke-ne. Adriano-kun orikooda-ne.</i>	Correct answer, ok, you cleared all. Great! ((Applauding)) It's great that you read it all- ne . Well, Adriano-kun, it was very good- ne . So, I give you a big circle- ne . Like this- ne , <i>kurukurukuru</i> ((moving her hand in a spiral)). Ok, you're smart, Adriano, you're smart- ne . You did it. Ok, you could read "days of the week"- ne , I mean, "dates"- ne . Adriano-kun, you're smart- ne .
Student:	2 <i>Yomenai-jan.</i>	I can't read, though. ((S looks a little shy but gratified))

Figure 6-8. Teacher Sato's praising strategy [12.15.2009].

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher: 1	<i>Hana mo kamasete ageru. Hai, chiin.</i>	I also help you blow your nose. Ok, "honk."
Student: 2	<i>Arigatoo.</i>	Thank you.
Teacher: 3	<i>lie. Doo itashimashite.</i>	Not at all. You are welcome.

Figure 6-9. Teacher Honda indulging Adriano [11.18.2009].



Figure 6-10. Adriano's attempt to hide his pencil to trick teacher Suzuki. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 6-11. Teacher Suzuki putting a worksheet and a pencil in front of Adriano. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 6-12. The Brazilian teacher communicating with her face close to, and staring firmly at, Adriano's face. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.



Figure 6-13. Teacher Sato's act of praising Adriano. A) She patted him on the head. B) He looked a little shy but gratified. Photos courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.

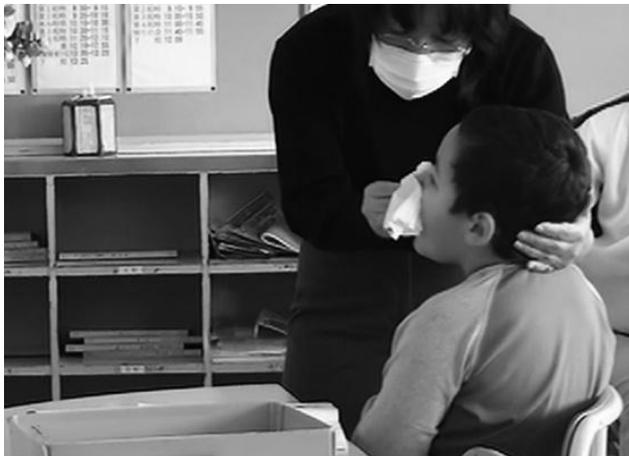


Figure 6-14. Teacher Honda's act of blowing Adriano's nose. Photo courtesy of Mutsuo Nakamura.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study has been to elucidate Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive strategies in classrooms, to identify cultural norms of behavior that these teachers instill in their students to illustrate these teachers' compliance-gaining strategies and to shed light on South American students' subjective reactions in Japanese schooling. This chapter explores and discusses the primary findings of the study. In so doing, it determines the contribution of the study to the knowledge base of Language Socialization (LS). There are four principal themes in the findings of this study: (1) *Jeitinho*: Norm-bending/norm-breaking acts: cultural differences and subjective positions in response to hegemonic classroom practices; (2) Research on Latin American behavior of "improvisation" from a LS perspective; (3) Japanese female teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies, and (4) Brazilian female teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies.

***Jeitinho* as Norm-Bending/Norm-Breaking Acts: Cultural Differences and Subjective Positions in Response to Hegemonic Classroom Practices**

Adriano's norm-bending and norm-breaking behaviors documented in Chapter 6 provide LS researchers in educational domains the opportunity to discuss a relevant question in the current context of globalization and *superdiversity* (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2010): How can we better understand, on the one hand, norms of behavior, values, and ideologies emanating from multiple institutions and, on the other hand, transnational students' multiple reactions in response to such multiple confluences? In order to explore and to speculate about the documented behaviors, I discuss the issue with two complementary perspectives: (1) a *culturalist* (i.e., culture as

a bounded entity) approach that understands transnational students' reactions embedded in cultural and historical contexts; and (2) a postmodern/poststructuralist view of multilayered norms, values, and indexicalities in the era of globalization and superdiversity.

First, I take a culturalist perspective that leads us to understand Adriano's non-conforming acts as collective manifestation of cultural assets of Brazilians and/or Latin Americans. As described in Chapter 6, norm-bending and norm-breaking acts are an important cultural disposition for peoples of Latin America. Embedded in their rigid hierarchical and bureaucratic systems, its peoples often circumvent rules, orders, and social conventions. Such norm-breaking behaviors are often referred to as *jeitinho* (Barbosa, 1992; DaMatta, 1990), *palanca* (Fitch, 1998), *picardía* (Merrell, 2004), and *viveza criolla* (Mafud, 1965). The native terms denote Latin American sociohistorical contexts of stratifications and exploitations and its ordinary peoples' struggle to gain individual benefit. The present study contributes to the knowledge base of LS in documenting such Latin American cultural knowledge and mode of behavior in encounters with the Japanese school system and its predominant classroom practices.

With this culturalist perspective, Adriano's norm-breaking and street-wise behaviors mean a manifestation of Latin American wisdom and witty mindset to circumvent "unfair" laws, rules, and social conventions. The old Brazilian adage "*Manda quem pode, obedece quem quer*" [Those who can, give orders; those who want to, obey] (Duarte, 2006, p. 513) suggests commonsensical knowledge about the breakable and malleable nature of rules and orders in Latin America. The sociohistorical context of Japan, however, leads its ordinary people to conform to authority even though this, in

the end, is also adopted by individuals for their own benefit. The Japanese old adage “*Nagai mono niwa makarero*” [It is no use kicking against the pricks; no meddling with our betters] suggests the Japanese sense of receptivity in the face of the powerful. In this cultural belief system, there is no room for individual ingenuity to subvert the authority; instead there is a need for behaving with the disposition of *sunao* (receptivity, gentleness, obedience) in the face of the authority (e.g., teacher). The results of the present study suggest that this cultural value continues to be the core of child enculturation/socialization in Japan. This is not quite compatible with breakable and malleable rules/norms practiced in Latin America.

Adriano’s *jeitinho* (tricky, norm-bending, and improvisational acts) was noteworthy in the international classroom—a “safe” site for foreigners in Japanese schooling—due to its teachers’ individualized attention to his behavioral/cultural needs. Yet, this attention did not take place in his mainstream classroom due to more vertical teacher-student relationships prevalent in this more formal learning context: it is the students who adapt to teacher’s instruction, and not vice-versa. Previous literature (e.g., Hess & Azuma, 1991) succinctly points out that this is due to the fact that Japanese schooling promotes the normative orientations of the society and the norms of behavior necessary for learning in groups. In such classrooms, Adriano’s tricks and other friendly misbehaviors were considered to be individual acts of resistance to the teacher’s authority and of nuisance for an ideology of group harmony (*wa* in Japanese), a paramount cultural theme of any Japanese groups or organizations. Therefore, in mainstream classrooms as hegemonic spaces, there is no room for cultivating the Latin American values of *jeitinho* and *simpatia* (friendly disposition); instead, as shown in

Chapter 5, the Japanese values of *sunao* (as mentioned above) and *wakimae* (discernment of role and status differences) were discursively—i.e., by way of teachers' directive and compliance-gaining acts/events—reinforced as normative group behaviors in collective learning environments.

Second, viewed in postmodern/poststructuralist light, culture is not a bounded entity, but it is open to constant tensions and transformations. Therefore, the concepts such as cultural norms and values are better situated in multiple arenas for hegemonic practices, subjective contestations, and constant transformations. In this regard, Blommaert (2005, 2007) provides us with two relevant concepts to understand culture: *orders of indexicality* and *polycentricity*. Orders of indexicality refers to “[s]tratifed patterns of social meanings often called ‘norms’ or ‘rules’, to which people orient when communicating” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 172). It is important to highlight that social meanings or norms are stratified—some more valued and privileged than others—in each of the multiple and multilayered *centering institutions* such as family, peer group, subcultural group, school, company, social class, ethnic group, nation-state, democracy, and capitalism. Importantly, individuals participate in, are influenced by, and act across the polycentric institutions. This implies that whenever any individuals communicate with each other, they indexically (e.g., by means of speech style, register, and body posture) display subjective positions or voices in response to multiple expectations emanating from distinct institutions.

Applying Blommaert's perspective to the present study's findings, the Japanese female teachers, by way of scoldings or nitpickings, reinforced hegemonic expectations on appropriate student behaviors, such as formal body postures and deferential

responses, in conformity with existing social stratifications and status differences. Embedded in such hegemonic and normative practices, the individual South American students showed their subjective reactions: most of them were receptive in harmony with other classmates, while Adriano was confronted with hegemonic pressures emanating from the Japanese school institution. Such pressures were: use of polite register, display of teacher-student status differences, and insistence upon the dominant mode of education with emphasis on group learning. In response to such normative pressures, he performed norm-breaking and norm-bending acts of the *jeitinho*.

Importantly, viewed in such postmodern/poststructuralist light, the cultural value of *jeitinho* is not a fixed cultural act but is constantly challenged by polycentric systems. A recent study carried out by Almeida (2008) has captured the issue. His research—based on a survey applied to 2,300 Brazilian adults—illustrates that social acceptance of *jeitinho* behaviors markedly differs depending on their levels of educational attainment. Specifically, his data suggests that nearly 70% of the participants with a college diploma responded negatively about the *jeitinho*; in contrast, nearly or more than half of the participants with lower educational attainment accepted such behaviors.¹ Almeida's argumentation is that Brazilians, with gradually increased access to higher education, learn norms and values of democracy, which is understood as a transnational institution.

Now, let me return to Adriano's case. I want to focus on his family as a centering institution that influences his subject-position taking. For instance, his mother—white

¹ According to OECD (2012, p. 34), in Brazil college graduates are still a minority, representing 11% of the Brazilian adults ranging in age 25 to 64. Preschool/primary, middle, and high school graduates consist of 45%, 14%, and 30%, respectively.

race, non-college educated, factory working—was critical about Adriano’s teachers, whom she thought were not capable of attracting his attention and of stimulating his curiosity to help his learning. In an interview that I had with her, I understood that there was a gap between her criticism of teachers’ capability and children’s cooperative behavior highly valued by Japanese schooling. My point is that Adriano’s non-conforming acts ought to, in part, derive from multiple conflicts and gaps of stratified patterns of values or expectations between family and school such as “teacher’s capability” versus “student’s cooperation.”

Research on Latin American Behavior of “Improvisation” from a LS Perspective

Barbosa (1992) defines *jeitinho* as “social procedure defined as a form of creativity and improvisation, creating personal spaces in impersonal domains” (p. 45, my translation). Stanyek (2011) links Barbosa’s definition of *jeitinho* to the concept of improvisation. In so doing, he gives us a list of terms that express Brazilian improvisations: “*jeitinho, malandragem, ginga, jogo de cintura, malícia, gambiarra, esperteza, axé, manha, suingue, astúcia, drible, malabarismo, balanço, equilibrista, pirataria, arranjar-se, molejo, and cordialidade*” (p. 4).

Acts of “improvisation” represent Brazilianness (*Brasilidade*), Brazilian national culture (Barbosa, 1992; Stanyek, 2011), and therefore they can be understood as acts of Brazilian identity (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Spanish-speaking Latin America also shares the cultural value of improvisation employed to evade often rigid institutional rules (Smith, Peterson, Ayestaran, Jesuíno, & Ferdman, 1999). In other words, ordinary people’s improvisational behaviors—situated in Latin American contexts—may constitute crucial resources or *tactics* (Certeau, 1988) so that those oppressed achieve

“self-empowerment” in the (often despotic) hierarchical structures of Latin America (Abreu, Lustosa, & Oliveira, 1982; Duarte, 2006) and elsewhere they transmigrate in the era of globalization.

Supported by the statement above, Adriano’s behavior may be understood as a tactful act of resistance and of self-empowerment performed in a Japanese hegemonic institution (i.e., school). In this institution, teachers perform the socializing agenda of instilling in their children the Japanese mainstream values (Chapters 5 and 6): *sunao* (receptivity, gentleness, obedience), *kejime* (display of serious disposition), *shisei* (formal body and attitudinal posture), *henji* (polite response to authority), *hannoo* (careful reaction to group members’ speech), and *wakimae* (status-based social discernment). There is an attempt to socialize all these and other hegemonic norms and values—after all—for reifying the hegemonic ideologies of Japan: *wa* (group harmony), *antei* (social stability), and *keizoku* (cultural continuity).

By investigating Adriano’s improvisational acts from a LS perspective, the present study contributes to the LS knowledge base; it elucidates the ongoing process in which teacher-student face-to-face interactions lead to construct “social or hegemonic realities.” Examples of such realities are: commonsensical knowledge (normative behavior as a “good child”), role and status (teacher’ predominance over student), and self (serious and receptive dispositions). It is crucial to point out here that, from a LS perspective, there are no fixed categories and concepts in everyday life, yet they are negotiated and constructed through face-to-face interpersonal interactions that may involve non-conformity, conflict, and teachers’ accommodations to individual students.

Such a dynamic view of realities has the potential to contribute to practice theory by shedding light on both *structure* and *agency* as well as their dialectic relationships in a specific social domain (e.g., schooling). For instance, Certeau's analytical model on *strategies* and *tactics* (as cited in Frederick Erickson, 2004, p. 139-143) can be effectively incorporated into the LS approach. This is because institutional strategies are performed to discipline ordinary people for the maintenance of its structure, whereas ordinary people react to such disciplining powers by using creative tactics. As a backdrop to the analytical model for the present study, it can illustrate female teachers' strategies to discipline Adriano, his tactics to resist their socializing agendas, and their dynamic interplay.

In the same vein, LS research may contribute to critical discourse analysis (CDA) by focusing on issues of social inequality, cultural conflict, and ethnic belonging in the era of globalization. For instance, LS approaches may be viewed from the perspective of Blommaert's concept of *othering* (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205): the structuring process of institutionalized social categories and labels, enacted in, and embodied by, our daily face-to-face interactions. Importantly, this structuring process, in both Blommaert's and LS's views, affects our identity ("who and what we are") and construction of "cultural others." The LS-oriented CDA research is able to elucidate South American students' improvisational/norm-breaking acts, perceived negatively in Japanese contexts, Japanese teachers' differential treatments towards such students, and the subsequent (re)production of social inequality and alienation in society at large.

Along the same line, LS research fits into Gee's analytical model: *Discourse* ("big D" Discourse) and *discourse* ("small d" discourse) (Gee, 1990). LS approaches

endeavor to shed light on both the big D: dominant values, attitudes, body positions, beliefs, emotions, and ideologies (i.e., mainstream culture) and the small d: the way language is used by specific interlocutors to enact particular activities in a given social context (i.e., language in use). Applying this analytical model to LS, the present study has the potential to illustrate unique value conflicts that affect South American students in succeeding in Japanese schooling. For instance, the present study found evidence that the Japanese mainstream value of *sunao* (receptivity, gentleness, obedience) is not quite compatible with the Latin American value of norm-avoiding and norm-breaking improvisations (e.g., *jeitinho*) conceived as resistant behavior towards authority. This line of research may also elucidate the process of cultural conflict, resistance, and alienation that are taking place in the Japanese school system.

Japanese Female Teachers' Directive/Conformity-Gaining Strategies: Directive Acts and Small Scoldings

The present study contributes to LS research by discovering Japanese female teachers' frequent and persistent directive and other speech acts used to gain students' conformity in both international and mainstream classrooms. In order to discuss the findings in light of Japanese modes of socialization, it is important to pose two questions: (1) What is salient about their compliance-gaining strategies? and (2) Are these strategies gender-specific?

In the international classroom, female teachers showed their patient behavior towards Adriano by repetitively issuing him requests and other directive speech acts until finally he performed the requested acts (e.g., "take out your pencil," "take out your notebook"). The female teachers of this classroom displayed their patient disposition

towards a non-conforming Adriano. They, too, patiently repeated the same requestive message by using a variety of directive speech acts. They also employed indulging (*amayakasu*) and complimenting (*homeru*) strategies for compliance-gaining. These teachers were playing a demanding—yet at the same time—indulging mother role when interacting with him.

I contend that the socializing strategy that the Japanese female teachers of the international classroom employed is similar to the female nagging behavior elucidated by Boxer's research (2002). Boxer points out two primary characteristics of nagging speech acts/events in an American English speech community: (1) it often takes place "as the result of non-compliance with a previous request issued among intimates" (p. 50) and (2) women—especially, mothers and wives—frequently use these speech acts in response to their non-conforming sons and husbands (p. 57). The characteristics pointed out by Boxer match these female teachers' patiently performed directive-giving behavior towards Adriano. Furthermore, their polite use of directives coincides with the results of Chapter 4 concerning Japanese female teachers' frequent use of requests as well as previous research on Japanese women's Motherese Strategy—an affective, motherly disposition—depicted in Chapter 2 (Smith, 1992; Sunaoshi, 1994a, 1994b).

With the motherly (dis)position—less impositive, but more affective than men—these Japanese teachers grappled with a non-conforming Adriano. I contend that these teachers' indulging and praising strategies form part of women's resources to establish solidarity with, and gain compliance from, children. I support the argument with evidence that *amae* (Doi, 1962)—Japanese endogenous psychology of overdependence on another's benevolence—is based on the prototypical indulgent

mother-child relationship. Furthermore, Clancy (1986) highlights that this social psychology is the foundation of Japanese interpersonal communication: “[the] speaker presum[es] upon the listener’s willingness to cooperate, empathize, and intuit what . . . she has in mind” (p. 217). This solidarity is the idealized model of Japanese interpersonal and interactional relationships. Viewed in this light, the Japanese female teachers’ indulging and praising strategies make sense as a vital resource for creating solidarity with, and gain compliance from, a non-conforming boy. Thus, in the interactional classroom, both nagging and indulging acts were performed as Japanese female teachers’ directive/compliance-gaining strategies.

In mainstream classrooms, the female teachers—Kawano and Hoshi—frequently picked on misbehaving/non-conforming students by using speech acts of *kogoto* that I translated vaguely as small scolding, complaining, nitpicking, or nagging in Chapter 5. The noun *kogoto*, as defined by *Meikyo* Japanese Dictionary, is “an act of scolding, grumbling discontent or dissatisfaction by pointing out little things” (my translation).

It is important to note that, as shown in the figures presented in Chapter 5, *kogoto* recurred after the teacher’s requests to the group (e.g., “straighten up,” “put your hands on your lap”). Then, the teacher picked on individual students who were not conforming to her requests. By taking merely this aspect of *kogoto*, it may appear to be a sort of nagging speech act; yet I contend that *kogoto* lacks two components to be genuinely considered nagging: (1) intimacy and (2) gender-specificity.

As for (1), there is an emphasis on hierarchical relationships between teacher and students in mainstream classrooms. I assert that this is because hierarchy is a requirement to achieve the Japanese group harmony; therefore, formal/polite behavior

is a norm in these classrooms. Chapter 5 has demonstrated that the *aisatsu* and *happyoo* speech events or interactional routines function to socialize students into formal/serious dispositions. Moreover, in teacher Kawano's classroom, students were not allowed to retort to the teacher, because she held the right to nominate the speaker during the class. For this reason, *kogoto*, as a speech act/event, entails hierarchical relationships and status differences, not intimate relationships and solidarity.

As for (2), I assert that male teachers also use the speech acts of *kogoto* in classroom. In fact, the male teacher of Adriano's class frequently employed the speech acts of *kogoto* towards non-conforming students in his classroom. [Figure 7-1](#) shows one of such speech acts performed by this male teacher. As the figure suggests, *kogoto* can be a compliance-gaining resource for both male and female teachers. *Kogoto* speech acts/events in mainstream classrooms function to pick on individual students and thus to sustain norms of group behavior. For this purpose, teachers, by means of *kogoto*, disapprove and even shame non-conforming students, publicly in front of the class.

The core of the discussion is that belonging to a group is of vital importance in Japan, and therefore, teachers frequently employ the speech acts of *kogoto*, that lead the class towards the normative order of the group. To illustrate this point, I am providing the data collected in Kawano-*sensei's* classroom ([Figure 7-2](#)).

Conformity to group is a crucial theme for Japanese modes of socialization that start in the home (Clancy, 1986). Continuing on in schools, teachers control individual students for the observance of group norms. Teachers' speech acts of *kogoto* are routinely implemented in order to reproduce the cultural model of socio-centered individuals who ultimately will become socialized to behave for the benefit of the group.

Viewed with a critical lens, these Japanese teachers' directive and compliance-gaining strategies can be better understood as a means to gain *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990). The habitual process of acquiring features of social structure (e.g., status and hierarchy) is attained through daily communicative practices. In their daily classroom practices, Japanese teachers implement dominant norms and values while (re)enforcing normative group behaviors. I argue that these communicative practices are the ideological base for the maintenance of a monolithically *imagined community* (Anderson, 1991). In this respect, Blommaert and Rampton (2011) succinctly point out that nation-states were created and maintained under the ideology of *homogenism*—one nation, one culture, and one language. Importantly, this ideology has been discursively reproduced by *centering institutions* (Blommaert, 2005), such as schooling. Viewed in this light, the female teachers' directive and other compliance-gaining practices described in this study are—in the end—their political acts of reproducing dominant ideologies of monolithic Japan.

Brazilian Teachers' Directive/Compliance-Gaining Strategies: The Use of Direct Imperatives as Cultural Expressions of Trust and Human Closeness

The present research contributes to the knowledge base of Crosscultural Pragmatics by comparing Brazilian and Japanese female teachers' directive speech acts that took place in instructional and disciplinary interactional contexts. The results of the analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrated a major difference between the Brazilian and the Japanese groups: the Portuguese frequent use of direct strategies by means of speech acts of "order/command" versus the Japanese frequent use of indirect strategies, through speech acts of "request." The predominate use of imperatives in Brazilian

teachers' directive acts coincides with previous research on Brazilian adult's directive behavior towards Brazilian children (Koike, 1986, 1992). The four Brazilian female teachers who participated in this study rarely produced requestive speech acts in interactions with Brazilian pupils. Instead, they employed direct imperatives or *bald-on-record*—in terms of Brown and Levinson (1987)—such as “*So apagar aqui, ô. Apaga 10. Precisa apagar* (Just erase here, look. Erase 10. You need to erase [it]),” “*Olha aqui na minha mão* (Look here in my hand),” “*Lê, lê, lê* (read, read, read),” “*Yuji, vê pra frente* (Yuji, look forward).”

I assert that the Brazilian teachers' predominant tendency to use direct imperatives and to avoid requests towards children expresses a Latin American idealized model of social relationships based on trust (*confianza*) and human closeness (*calor humano*) (Travis, 2006). The predominant use of direct imperatives in adult-child interactions implies these core cultural values to which Brazilians and Spanish-speaking Latin Americans adhere. Their use of direct imperatives indexes trust and human closeness in social relationships as a Latin American mode of language and culture socialization.

The present study contributes to LS research because it documented a Brazilian female teacher's interactional and discursive embodiment of such cultural values when she strived to gain compliance from a non-conforming Brazilian boy. Her direct communicative style (i.e., close proximity, close eye contact, and direct imperative use) emanated from the idealized model of social relationships based on the cultural ethos of trust and human closeness. Her persuasive discourses (i.e., “respect,” “good manners,” and “beggars”) illustrated such cultural principles and values despite—and because of—the Latin American sociohistorical contexts of hierarchies and of social problems.

This chapter has explored and discussed the primary findings of the present study. It has also determined the contribution of the study to the knowledge base of LS. This research study illustrated the cultural differences between Japan and Brazil in terms of their cultural values, norms of behavior, and transnational students' subjective reactions to hegemonic classroom practices in the era of globalization and superdiversity. Importantly, the present study contributes to LS by elucidating Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive/compliance-gaining strategies as practices of a hegemonic institution and South American students' subjective positions in response to confluences of multiple norms and values emanating from polycentric institutions.

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Request [polite]	<i>Hai, dewa, noto o dashite kudasai.</i>	Ok, well, please take out your notebook. ((T asks his teacher assistant to bring his camera from the teachers' room. Some Ss do not conform to T's request))
Teacher:	2 <i>Kogoto</i> [casual]	<i>Moo nani yaru noka wakaranai yatsu ga iruna, aikawarazu. Okottemo onaji dana, Toku-san ni shitemo, Ume-san ni shitemo. Nanimo dashite inai.</i>	There are guys who [still] don't know what to do now. Toku-san and Ume-san, there is no change [in your behavior] even though I have scolded you. You have not taken out anything [onto your desks].
Student:	3 Response [casual]	<i>Datte, kokugo no noto, kyokasho wasurechatta n da mon.</i>	Cause I forgot to bring my Language Arts notebook and textbook. ((One of the students in question answers))

Figure 7-1. *Kogoto* performed by the male teacher in Adriano's language arts class [1.21.2010].

Speaker	Speech act	Original	Translation
Teacher:	1 Complaints	<i>Ano ne, konna koto iwarenakutemo dekiru yoo ja nakya dame nano yo. Hakkiri ittene, ima 35 nin iruto, 30 nin gurai wa minna dekiteru no yo. Ato nokori no go nin wa kiite nakkatari, fudebako dashite nakattari, hon akenakattari shiteiru none.</i>	((T scolds individual students for their non-conforming behavior, and then talks to the class)) You know, you should do it [opening your textbook and writing the date on your notebook] without being told to do so. To be frank, out of 35 people now, about 30 people can do [it]. The five remaining are not listening, don't take out their pencil cases, don't open their notebooks.
Teacher:	2 Questions	<i>Saa, kono goni no naka ni hairu noha dare deshoo. Hairitai hito?</i>	Well, who will be in these five people? Do you want to join [them]? ((No one raises their hand))

Figure 7-2. *Kogoto* performed by teacher Kawano [10.26.2009].

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

The present dissertation has had the objective of elucidating the overarching theme of classroom language socialization practices that South American transnational students experience in Japan. It has examined both Japanese and Brazilian female teachers' directive use and compliance-gaining strategies in interaction with their Brazilian and Peruvian students. It has analyzed the particularities of Japanese classroom socialization practices and South American pupils' reactions in these classrooms. This final chapter aims at discussing implications and recommendations of the present research for educational policies/practices and future research. In so doing, I reflect on political implications of my findings in order to envision a potential for creating social justice and educational support in favor of transnational students' learning in Japanese schooling.

I consider that classroom socialization practices documented in the present study are byproduct of a strong hegemonic ideology of homogeneity of Japan as one nation, one ethnicity, and one common language (Befu, 2001). In their classroom practices, teachers play a crucial role in reinforcing and regulating national ethnic identity that leads children to become part of the group-sanctioned society (Gordon, 2009, p. 177). In this prevailing classroom socialization practice, students (need to) learn to be submissive to teacher's authority in order to sustain a predominantly group-based learning environment (Hess & Azuma, 1991; Hoffman, 2000, p. 197). South American transnational students, who are socioeconomically, linguistically, and culturally disadvantaged, tend to remain beyond the margins of the collective learning

activities/routines as they advance into higher grades. This is the overall tendency of mainstream classroom socialization practices claimed by prior research and elucidated by the present dissertation.

In these whole-group and teacher-centered classrooms, individual students' spontaneous participation and other improvised contributions are highly discouraged as I have analyzed in Chapter 5, such as the *happyoo* (formal presentation). The crucial issue here is that teachers mold students into a pattern of group-oriented behavior through fixed interactional structures. Students are expected to not butcher the established interactional form that privileges the "group harmony" that teacher creates with students' collaboration. Moreover, Japanese teachers are likely to have an educational belief based on egalitarianism between students (Gordon, 2006, p. 767). In this prevailing belief system, children, regardless of background, can succeed academically according to their individual efforts and cultural dispositions they acquire, such as docility and discipline. This cultural belief justifies Japanese teachers' preference for whole-group instruction over individualized instruction in mainstream classrooms.

In the international classroom of the Japanese school under scrutiny, however, individualized tutoring was provided in attention to South American students' individual, cultural, and learning needs. In this classroom, the female teachers responded patiently to such students' subjective reactions to their instructional/socializing agendas. The individualized tutoring format gave them the advantage of learning academic subjects and of acquiring spoken/written Japanese through spontaneous interactions. According to my observations in other international classrooms, teachers, on the basis of their own

philosophies of teaching, designed teaching/learning activities while flexibly making decisions based on individual students' needs. Despite the disparities in these teachers' practices, there is a practical need for this classroom as a learning/socializing space for the benefit of South American transnational students.

Practical Implications

This study contributes to the instructional practice of Japanese teachers of international classrooms who are teaching South American students on a daily basis. The results of the present study suggest that South American students benefit most from the individualized tutoring format because teachers can perform their socializing agendas—in addition to their instructional agendas—according to their individual students' cognitive and affective needs. For instance, their motherly (dis)position—with indulging and praising strategies—instills into non-conforming students the Japanese mainstream value of *sunao* (receptivity, docility, obedience). For this enculturation effect to take place, it is necessary that teacher-student interactions evolve spontaneously in a way similar to natural conversations in the family domain. The dyadic interactional style adopted in the international classroom facilitates the process by which Japanese teachers and thereby South American students accommodate to the forms and formalities that derive from normative expectations of “appropriate” social relationships and norms of behavior prevalent in mainstream classrooms.

My research's recommendation for such instructional practices is that teachers should better reflect upon effects of their socializing practices on South American transnational students' identity (“what and how they are”) in the current context of globalization: they can physically move across national borders, go back and forth, and

live both in Japan and in South America. My proposition is that teachers acquire awareness of their socializing agenda. This is because Japanese mainstream values and norms of behavior can negatively affect their re-adaptation processes in their countries and cultures of origin. For instance, teacher Suzuki of the interactional classroom frequently urged her South American students not to “tell a lie.” Tricky and improvisational behaviors, however, can form part of an important cultural asset in Latin American contexts. The request of the teacher for “sincere” behavior: “Be faithful,” “Don’t tell a lie” may constitute the learning of an important cultural credo of Japan. This attitude, however, can claim its validity only in contexts where there is a shared belief in democratic social order and trust in interpersonal relationships. Japanese teachers ought to bear in mind that many peoples in South America struggle for economic survival in everyday life, and South American families living in Japan often originate from such contexts.

The results of the present study also point to an important recommendation for Japanese teachers of mainstream classrooms. They should better consider potentially negative consequences of the teacher-centered interactional format and of the group-oriented learning style for South American students, as these practices are reproduced as a matter of course. South American students in socioeconomically, linguistically, and culturally disadvantaged positions cannot keep pace with academic demands and instructional language without interactional support in classrooms, such as help from peers. In order to scaffold less advantaged individual students’ learning, teachers ought to implement more small group activities. Based on the Japanese collective value of empathy (*omoiyari*), teachers ought to encourage members of small groups to help

each other rather than encouraging competition among small groups. In this way, teachers will be able to promote “social justice” in classrooms so that every learner has access to learning (Currie, 2006).

Limitations and Future Research

The present research has its own limitations. First, there is a limitation in the serendipitous nature of an ethnographic research process. This means that ethnographers modify their research themes and focus in response to the unpredictability of the field circumstances. Under the overarching theme of “classroom socialization of South American students,” the initial research design was broad enough to cover salient themes that could potentially emerge in the processes of conducting ethnographic field research and data analysis. In fact, the recurrent theme of South American students’ non-conforming behavior emerged, and I have included an analysis of conflict-laden teacher-student interactions in Chapter 6. Due to the serendipitous nature of ethnographic research, the ethnographer of communication should approach his research with the awareness that there may be insufficient data to support all possible avenues of research originally envisioned.

Second, the methodological limitations of this study are: (1) selection of participants, (2) data recordings, (3) data analysis process, (4) link between the directive and the compliance-gaining strategies, (5) combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses, and (6) comparison of Japanese and Brazilian directives.

As for (1), the clear focus on female teachers in the face of one non-conforming pupil has allowed me to examine their directive/compliance-gaining strategies in depth. Yet, there is a need to study other participants’ socializing experiences in order to draw

additional conclusions. Analysis of data about other participants would allow the researcher to explore two possible cases: (1) other South American non-conforming students and (2) male teachers' socialization practices.

As for (2), the audio-visual recording method was a crucial component for a detailed understanding of the contexts (e.g., speakers' intentions, proximities, gestures, and facial expressions). The Brazilian school administration's denial of the video-recordings undermined my detailed understandings of interactions in Brazilian classrooms. The video recordings of teacher-student interactions in the Japanese classrooms allowed me to understand the role of non-linguistic resources, such as proxemics and kinesics, as target of socialization. As audiovisual data was a necessary component of the present research, it might have been preferable to explore other Brazilian schools in town in order to find an alternative research site.

As for (3), I was not able to find bilingual research collaborators who could have helped in the entire research process as transcribers (especially, for Portuguese transcriptions), data coders (e.g., for "intercoder reliability" in quantitative analysis), and as native consultants (for acquisition of "native perspectives"). Despite the limitations, I had support from my Brazilian and South American friends, who voluntarily collected/transcribed data, provided me with their native perspectives, and answered my inquiries about native terminology. Due to moral reasons, however, I chose not to exploit the friendship in exchange for achieving a fine-gained ethnographic analysis of Brazilian Portuguese and South American students' behaviors.

As for (4), during the processes of data analysis and of dissertation writing, I realized the importance of extending the scope of data analysis to include compliance-

gaining practices.¹ This is because analyzing directive speech acts or events ends up confining the research(er) to a mere analysis of directive usage. In reality, however, such analysis is too narrow for an ethnographic study that aims at understanding both language and culture. Compliance-gaining practices—as a sort of (language) socialization practices—require a gamut of linguistic and nonlinguistic/cultural aspects of communication as relevant resources for child socialization and enculturation. In other words, the “directive force” that molds students into patterns and norms of behavior has multiple forms and is omnipresent in classroom interactions. Examples of such are: interactional routines, turn-taking organization, participation structures, floor-keeping, interruptions, proximity, silence, and speech acts/events. Directive acts/events are one constituent of such directive force observed in teachers’ discursive and interactional practices.

As for (5), I first did a quantitative data analysis in order to identify quantitative differences between Japanese and Brazilian female teachers’ directive use (Chapter 4). As a second step, I did qualitative data analysis on directive/compliance-gaining practices in Japanese classrooms. This analytical procedure was taken in order to facilitate later qualitative analysis. Yet, the quantitative analysis has limited the qualitative analysis due to an insufficient focus on specific speech contexts, such as interactional routines, speech events, interactional formats (e.g., dyadic, multiparty), and learning activity formats (i.e., tutoring, small group, whole-class). Therefore, it would have been preferable to start the data analysis from a qualitative perspective, and then (if necessary) carry out quantitative analysis to back up or further the qualitative results.

¹ This realization was inspired by Fitch (1994).

As for (6), there was a challenge to comparing levels of directness between Japanese and Brazilian directive speech acts. Facing the challenge, I elaborated a crosslinguistic coding scheme of Japanese and of Portuguese in accordance with Crosscultural Pragmatics, more specifically CCSARP (Chapter 3). The challenge was how to incorporate contextual components of speech in its directive act analysis. This is because the CCSARP approach predetermines the contexts of speech (i.e., when, who, to whom, what, for what purpose) and collects data from participants on how they would speak in these imaginary contexts. To grapple with the issue, I incorporated contextual categories such as “instructing” and “disciplining” into the coding scheme; yet the results of this eclectic approach have shown its epistemological limitations—i.e., how we know what we intend to know—in terms of combining a contextual/qualitative approach and a crosslinguistic/quantitative approach.

Finally, but not less importantly, there is limited prior research literature on Portuguese sociolinguistics, Brazilian norms of behavior, and social relationships. Despite the situation, research on *jeitinho* (“Brazilian modes of social navigation” or “little way out”) was an exception. Anthropologists, cultural psychologists, professionals in business communication, and the like have analyzed this phenomenon (Chapter 2). Yet, I could not find any research in linguistics or in related fields (e.g., education) that might have related the phenomenon to issues of language socialization. Due, in part, to this limitation, the present research had difficulties illuminating the links between Brazilian cultural contexts and their communicative behaviors.

For future research, I propose the following investigative processes. First, I find non-conforming Brazilian students by visiting international classrooms of Japanese

primary schools. In order to look at gender as one relevant factor for understanding non-conforming behavior, both female and male students (by preference, equal in number) are included in the research design.

Second, I and collaborators—by preference Japanese-Brazilian Portuguese bilinguals—audio-visually record interactions between the Brazilian student and his/her Japanese teacher. In order to record their interactions solely or primarily, one-on-one tutoring is the preferable “target.”

Third, I and the collaborators individually transcribe recorded interactional data. We also take contextual notes on potential issues of conflict, teachers’ compliance-gaining strategies, and students’ tactics in reaction to teachers’ instructional and socializing agendas.

Fourth, I and the collaborators meet periodically and check the produced transcripts; discuss potential issues of conflict while at the same time checking the notes/descriptions and watching video-recorded conflict-laden interactions. We also discuss both Japanese teachers’ specific compliance-gaining strategies—including directive usage and other communicative resources—and Brazilian students’ non-conforming tactics.

Finally, in order to corroborate if the identified strategies and tactics are culture-bound practices, I and the collaborators carry out two comparative analyses and two documentations: (1) compare the individual teachers’ strategies, (2) compare the individual students’ tactics, (3) document other Japanese teachers’ compliance-gaining strategies, and (4) document other Brazilian students’ non-conforming tactics. Such a

corroborative/collaborative approach will elucidate cultural differences in socialization practices across languages and cultures.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mutsuo Nakamura was born and raised in Japan. He received a bachelor's degree in international relations with major in intercultural relations from Nihon University in 1995. In 1997, he started to study cultural anthropology at Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), Mexico. In 2000, he graduated from CIESAS with a masters' thesis on indigenous education and native professionals' activities for language/culture promotion in Mexico. In 2004, he began his doctoral studies in linguistics at the University of Florida. During his doctoral field research: 2009-2012, he pursued and completed a bachelor's degree in education with a teacher certificate from Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso (UFMT), Brazil. Nakamura was awarded his Doctor of Philosophy degree in May, 2014, and is now pursuing an academic career in linguistics and anthropology while he continues working on Latin American children's enculturation and language socialization in Japan and elsewhere.