

変動する力関係における
第二言語アイデンティティの交渉
—— 日本人 L2 英語使用者の声 ——

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Negotiation of Second Language Identities in Shifting Power Relations: Voices of Japanese L2 English Users

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There are power relations that second language (L2) English users negotiate through their engagement in English-language interactions with others. Shifting power relations can be equal or unequal, and they can impact Japanese second language (L2) English users' identities both positively and negatively. The present study conducted a qualitative inquiry to shed light on the participants' voices addressing how power relations in English-language interactions play a role in Japanese L2 English user's identity construction. The study employed questionnaire-based interviewing and diary observations in which 24 Japanese L2 English users participated. Based on analysis of the data, the author argues that the identities of the L2 users fluctuated depending on each interactional opportunity. High proficiency and fluency of non-native English speakers (NNEs), and native-speakerness were seen as symbolic resources, which affected how the participants positioned themselves as English users, either positively and empowering or negatively and leading to identity misalignment. Shifting power relations with interlocutors also influenced the L2 users in terms of the degree of their investment in further interactional opportunities. Moreover, a sense of sharing was often present among NNEs, which enriched the Japanese L2 English users' sense of being legitimate L2 English users.

- I. Introduction
- II. Literature Review
- III. Methodology

- IV. Findings
- V. Discussion
- VI. Conclusion

I. Introduction

Drawing on the poststructuralist perspectives on identity and the effect of power relations on the negotiation of linguistic identity, the present study aims to explore shifting power relationships in English-language communication in which Japanese second language (L2) English users participate. The study accomplishes its main goal by shedding light on the perspective of the participants. I discuss the findings regarding the following research question: How do power relations between native English speakers (NESs) and Japanese L2 English speakers, and between non-native English speakers (NNEs) and Japanese L2 English speakers emerge in the Japanese L2 English users' identities?

The common poststructuralist view holds that identity is not fixed, but rather is socially constructed, changes over time, and is therefore seen as a site of struggle. As a concept, identity refers to a sense of who people are and how they relate to the world. Also, identity construction is about the "desire for recognition", meaning "the sense of being acknowledged; a deep desire for association", and "a profound desire for protection, for security, for safety, for surety" (West, 1992: 21).

Studies on L2 identity have contributed that L2 learners are seen as individuals with multiple and fluctuating identities. Many studies have explored how L2 learners' identities are constructed and negotiated,

in particular learning contexts such as the immigrant experience (e.g., McKay and Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000) and the study-abroad experience (e.g., Jackson, 2008). However, research exploring the identities of Japanese users of L2 English (e.g., Block, 2006) with respect to the wider social world is scarce. Moreover, researchers in the previously mentioned studies have mainly investigated opportunities for learners to speak with native speakers (NSs) of a language but not with other non-native speakers (NNSs) of the language. Because of the global spread of English, many English-language interactions are conducted regardless of the speakers' physical locations and L1 backgrounds. As such, L2 English speakers' identities need to be understood with respect to such global and local use of English, considering that the identities of L2 English users are negotiated through (non-)access to linguistic resources and interactional opportunities.

II. Literature Review

1. The Relations of Power, Identity, and Second Language

Poststructuralist perspectives on identity have paid attention to the effects of power relations on the construction and reconstruction of linguistic identity (Block, 2007; Jenkins, 2007; Norton, 2000). Norton (2000: 7), in an investigation of the impact of power on L2 learning of immigrant women, defined the term *power* as "the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed and validated". In this sense, power is not something people can possess (e.g., economic power), but is something recognised by features such as the symbolic and material resources that one deems others represent. Symbolic resources imply such characteristics as language, relationship with others, and educational background. Material resources denote such characteristics as money, property, and capital assets (Norton, 2000: 7).

Linguistic variety and practice manifest symbolic capital such as educational background, placement on the social mobility ladder, and positions in the workplace (Block, 2007), and this also applies to speakers of a

L2. English is *de facto* the world lingua franca for communication in business, mass media, education, and so forth; thus, one often encounters the choice of this language for communication in ever-expanding English-speaking communities¹. This represents a certain symbolic power of the English language today.

Following Foucault (1984), such researchers as Block (2007), Norton (2000) and Weedon (1987/1997) explained that power relations appear to be present at all times and at all levels of human societies. Thus, we need to respect the fact that power relations are structured in heterogeneous and unequal characteristics of society where ethnicity, class, race, age, and gender of L2 learners can both facilitate and constrain their identity construction (Block, 2007; Norton, 2000). For instance, McKay and Wong's (1996) study on multiple identities of Chinese adolescent immigrant students in educational discourse in Canada illustrated how minority or non-native students' identities are interwoven by socioeconomic factors of Latino and Chinese students.

Moreover, identities were renegotiated depending on power relations both at the macro level of institutions (e.g., educational system, political system, legal system, and business corporations) and at the micro level of human activities (e.g., interactions and encounters on a day-to-day basis among individuals who have different access to power) (Block, 2007; Norton, 2000). According to Bourdieu (1977), linguistic practice can be seen as a form of symbolic capital:

At the level of relations between groups, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it. (p. 563)

In other words, linguistic practice always manifests the structure of the symbolic power relations, and language and its symbolic power are always in interplay. For example, as sociolinguists investigate language choice (dominant language vs. minor language) and choice of standard variation or vernacular, the choices made are dependent on the power relations behind them in every context (Bourdieu, 1977). Power relations can affect

identity construction both positively and negatively (Cummins, 1996); in other words, they can either empower individuals so that they can build up subject positions favourable to competing discourses², or they can constrain individuals to develop tension and conflict within themselves, and subsequently enable them to resist the dominant discourse (Canagarajah, 1999).

2. Power Relations and Second Language Use

Uneven power relationships exist between NSs and NNSs³, even though NSs are unaware of the fact. It is likely that NNSs sometimes acquit themselves inappropriately (e.g., showing deference exceedingly) because they see that they are in a disadvantageous position (Thomas, 1983). Park (2007), using a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, elucidated ways that interlocutors co-constructed and negotiated their membership categories (Sacks, 1972) through ongoing interaction. Park (2007) scrutinised interactional occasioning of NES–NNES interaction and found that an “asymmetry” occurred with interactional participants who displayed their unequal distribution of knowledge with respect to the language used, for instance, grammatical and phonological forms and pronunciation of an English word. Such asymmetry was described with labels such as requestor–requestee identities, and assessor–assessed identities. In a NES–NNES interaction where unbalanced power relations resided, Park (2007) discussed there was an issue of how participants came to perceive themselves and each other. The ways that their asymmetric conversational practice might be a resource for the successful communication between NESs and NNEs.

Turning to power relations with respect to communication among NNEs, Jenkins (2007) maintained that the matters of negotiating and shifting power relations and then constructing new identity options have been and would be taken up considerably in English as lingua franca (ELF) communication. Earlier research in ELF communication, for instance, demonstrated that ELF communication (which is predominantly conducted among NNEs) tended to flourish in the absence of NESs. In her study regarding misunderstanding in ELF interaction, House (1999) advocated that we should raise our concern for inherent characteristics of ELF and

scrutinised how NNE–NNE interactions and NES–NNE interactions differed. Examining misunderstanding between German, Dutch, and Hungarian L1 speakers in an ELF setting, House (1999) found each participant’s turn appeared to be short, which is opposite to the features of NNEs’ verbose speech (i.e., using too many words or waffling), as found previously (e.g., Edmondson & House, 1991). She suggested that this resulted from the fact that interactants in ELF talk felt secure because NESs were not present, and that they did not feel intimidated because peer NNEs (who similarly have status as NNEs) were involved in secure and power-free environments. This contrasts with NES–NNE talk where NNEs felt insecure because they did not have automatic and free access to the language being used, as their native interlocutors had (House, 1999).

In addition to the characteristics of equal power relations between NES interlocutors in ELF interaction in the absence of NESs, Jenkins (2007) raised issues of other aspects of power relations in ELF communication. An *ideological undercurrent* (Jenkins, 2007: 201) in terms of ELF power relations has spread throughout significant parts of English language learning and teaching. What she referred to as an ideological undercurrent was recognised as the fact that teachers and learners frequently complied with native competence that was supposedly superior to their own. Furthermore, NNEs in ELF communication do not seem to consider themselves as equal to each other, but rank themselves, for example, according to accent. This was where power relations possibly came into play, influencing how speakers in ELF interaction negotiate and renegotiate their identities with each other (Jenkins, 2007). Likewise, Park’s (2007) CA study of social interaction involving one NES and a few NNEs showed not only that NNEs co-constructed their NNE identities with other conversational participants, but also that a NNE occasionally resisted being collectively categorised as a NNE along with other NNE interactants. Power relations among English users, including NESs and NNEs, comprise an intricate issue in ELF interactions.

The present research examines the participants’ own voices to explore how power relations are recognised by Japanese L2 English users during their engagement in English-language interactions. This research should add

further perspectives on the power relations described above.

III. Methodology

1. Participants

The participants were 24 Japanese L2 English language users⁴. They were chosen based on the following sampling criteria: The main criterion for sampling was that participants should be Japanese L2 English language users who were able to communicate in English to some extent, and who had intercultural experience through use of English (e.g., experience of living/studying abroad, or of taking a course where the medium of instruction was English). The other criterion was the frequency of

engagement in English-language related activities in personal, social, and educational contexts (i.e., at least twice weekly and preferably more often). Tables 1 and 2 provide brief biographical information of participants who took part in the diary study, as well as participants who took part in the questionnaire-based interview study, respectively. All participants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Nine of them participated in the diary study, and 15 participated in the questionnaire-based interview study. At the time of the data collection, 14 participants were living in Japan and 10 were sojourning in the U.K.⁵ They were mainly university students, postgraduate students, office workers, and English teachers/instructors, whose ages ranged from 20 to 36 years old.

Table 1

*The Background Information of the Participants in the Diary Study**

Data Collection Method	Participants (Pseudonyms)	Age	Gender	Location	Total Length of Studying Abroad	Status
Diary study	Isuzu	26	F	U.K.	6yrs	PhD student
	Yayoi	36	F	U.K.	6yrs	PhD student
	Miyu	28	F	Japan	6mths	PhD student/ English instructor/ Administrator
	Natsumi	34	F	Japan	15mths	Interpreter
	Hana	29	F	Japan	13mths	Office worker
	Kazusa	20	F	Japan/France	6mths	BA 3yr student
	Mio	25	F	U.K.	6yrs	MA student
	Musashi	20	M	Japan/U.K.	7wks	BA 3yr student
	Hikari	20	F	Japan	2mths	BA 3yr student

*The information was correct at the time of the data collection

Table 2

*The Background Information of the Participants in the Questionnaire-Based Interview Study**

Data Collection Method	Participants (Pseudonyms)	Age	Gender	Location	Total Length of Studying Abroad	Status
Questionnaire-Based Interview	Takako	20	F	Japan	2mths	BA 3yr student
	Hitomi	20	F	Japan	6mths	BA 3yr student
	Nina	20	F	Japan	0	BA 3yr student
	Mutsumi	21	F	Japan	0	BA 3yr student
	Fuyuka	23	F	U.K.	1yr+	MA student
	Hiromi	20	F	Japan	0	BA 3yr student
	Umi	20	F	Japan	1yr	BA 3yr student
	Yoshito	27	M	U.K.	3yrs6mths	PhD student
	Kaori	21	F	U.K.	4yrs	BA 2yr student
	Tae	30	F	Japan	18mths	English teacher
	Naofumi	29	M	Japan	2yrs8mths	PhD student
	Yoriko	21	F	U.K.	7mths	BA 4yr (exchange) student)
	Motoya	22	M	U.K.	3yrs	BA 3yr student
	Takeo	26	M	U.K.	6mths	LLM student
Tomomi	22	F	U.K.	3yrs	BA 3yr student	

*The information was correct at the time of the data collection

2. Method and Data Analysis

The qualitative inquiry involved two different methods to investigate identities of Japanese L2 English users with regard to their use of L2 English. The two methods were 1) longitudinal diary study, and 2) questionnaire-based interviews. The two approaches were chosen for triangulation of the data to acknowledge dynamic issues of L2 English users' identities, and to enrich the understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Denzin, 1989; Flick, 2009).

Regarding the diary study, preliminary instructions asked the diarists to keep note of occurrences, actions, and events that were conducted in English and that surprised them or struck them as unusual, and to observe critically such incidents. In particular, the instructions prompted participants to investigate any opportunity to interact with the target language speakers, including both NESs and NNESSs, and also to reflect critically on their engagement

with the target language speakers. In addition, I asked diarists to send each of their diary entries via e-mail to me as an attachment. Additionally, so as to clarify and deepen the understanding of the issues raised by the diaries, I entered into follow-up e-mail correspondence with each diarist for each diary entry.

I generally received their diary entries weekly or fortnightly. The study lasted from 6 to 8 months, depending on the respective participants' frequency of diary entries. The number of the diaries received from each diarist ranged from 12 to 20 entries. At the end of the diary study, I eventually gathered 130 diary entries from 9 diarists.

The questionnaire-based interview involved three questionnaires and a face-to-face semi-structured interview with each participant. This method aimed primarily to look closely at how Japanese L2 English users' pragmatic choices are influenced by their identity/

subjectivity⁶. To scrutinise the relationship between identity and pragmatic choice more systematically, a sequential multiple method study with qualitative interview was applied. This involved 1) a background information questionnaire, 2) an English elicitation questionnaire, 3) a Japanese elicitation questionnaire, and 4) a questionnaire-based interview. The last part of method (i.e., interviewing) was the principal method to have depth of insight on the link between speakers' pragmatic choices and their identity/subjectivity. Thus, the three questionnaires were employed as prompts to draw out the participants' inner perspectives on their English language use in various communicative situations.

A personal interview was conducted a few days after receiving each participant's three successfully completed questionnaires. Interviews were conducted in the participants' first language, Japanese, so that the participants felt more relaxed discussing their inner thoughts and perceptions. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed for later analysis. The interview sessions were in the range of about 90 to 150 minutes, depending on how much an interviewee would have liked to talk. Topics being discussed in an interview session were questions mainly based on a participant's responses in the three questionnaires. They were mainly asked to clarify and provide reasons for their responses on the questionnaires.

The findings were produced by extensive reading of the interview transcriptions and diary data, and organising the data by coding. The coding scheme (see Appendix A for an example of the coding scheme) was created by identifying patterns, themes, and categories within the data. The codes were partly grounded from the data, and partly developed from the research questions at hand. Coding helped build understanding of phenomena such as the participants' experiences and their own perspectives on them, as well as comparison with the established theories on identities of L2 users and power relations involved in various communicative situations in English.

IV. Findings⁷

1. Power Relations among NNSs

(1) Sense of sharing and collaboration in non-

native English-language interactions. The Japanese L2 English users (4 diarists and 7 interviewees) often expressed that they felt more comfortable while speaking to peer NNEs. The participants stated a variety of reasons why they felt secure about NNEs–NNEs interactions. For example, Tae explains in her interview that she can have good control over the flow of conversation with NNEs, and thus she can be relaxed during interactions.

Excerpt 1.

T: When I talk about something casual, I tend to feel more comfortable with NNSs than with NSs. Our conversation, well, because we don't have one another's background knowledge when speaking, the talk would not expand too much. Or it wouldn't go as I don't expect it to go at all.

I: Can you control it by yourself when you speak with a peer NNS?

T: Yeah. And, they would ask me and I would ask them. Also, there is time to catch up because the speed is not too fast. (Tae interview)

Similar to Tae's statement, Fuyuka explains the reason behind her emotional security, attributing it to the collaborative characteristic of NNEs interaction, which she refers to as "international friends".

Excerpt 2.

Well, in the case of international friends, in most cases, the conversation proceeds by our helping one another; so I'm fine. (Fuyuka interview)

Both accounts show that there are collaborative features in NNEs–NNEs interactions. NNEs help each other to co-construct their conversations consciously or unconsciously, which seems to facilitate their comfort during interaction.

Moreover, some other participants expressed the notion of sharedness with NNSs. Sharedness refers to something they perceive themselves as sharing with other NNSs⁸. For instance, Mio mentioned her realisation about what she shared with other non-UK students during her study at a British university.

Excerpt 3.

The people with whom I shared the flat, as well as my classmates, mostly did not have English as their mother tongue, and thus I could sympathise with them in terms of the shared pain of using a foreign language. (Mio reflective essay: 2009-12-14)

Likewise, Naofumi stated,

Excerpt 4.

Among those who are not NSs, we understand each other's feelings of being not able to understand English after all. Well, even though we speak absurd English, we understand what we mean, right? (Naofumi interview)

The sense of sharing (sharedness) with peer NNEs refers to the notion that they can understand each other's difficulties in learning and using a foreign language, and therefore they can sympathise with each other about such difficulties. The sense of sharing leads the participants to feel secure and comfortable during NNE–NNE interactions. Several diarists also expressed a similar awareness based on their daily opportunities for English-language interactions. For instance, on one occasion, Miyu had a chat in English with an international politics professor (Malaysian, NNE) in the department where she has been studying and working. She mentioned that it was comfortable to converse with the professor because he is a NNE, and she explained the issue further, as follows:

Excerpt 5.

If the interlocutor is not a NS, both of us have imperfect English, and I don't feel embarrassed even if I make mistakes to some extent. Also, NNEs' talk is not so fast; it is easy to listen to and I can speak slowly. With those thoughts, I feel relaxed and it lets me talk comfortably. (Miyu Diary 4⁹: 2009-07-05)

Her statement describes how the sense of sharing with other NNEs affects how comfortable she feels, and the way it may then affect her performance in English-language interaction.

Kazusa similarly reported her experience of having

an English-language conversation with a NNE in France, and her own analysis of why she was able to speak to the interlocutor calmly.

Excerpt 6.

When I spoke French to a girl who lives in the same flat, my English came back. I thought she was French, but actually she was a Romanian (age: 20–25) who came to study at the X University with the Erasmus programme. . . . I ended up speaking to her in a mixture of English and French. But I didn't feel indebted to her particularly because I could make myself understood to her. It is also perhaps because she spoke English relatively slowly, and she showed that she listened to and understood me. I could speak calmly because she listened to me with a smile. (Kazusa Diary 12: 2009-10-13)

Because of the fact that her interlocutor was a NNE for both English and French, I was curious how that influenced Kazusa's feelings. In response to my inquiry on why she thought she could speak to the Romanian student calmly, Kazusa explained.

Excerpt 7.

That fact that she was not a native French speaker didn't affect it, but the fact that she was not a NNE affected it. Even though I speak incorrect English, she is the same in that sense, so I could speak without feeling nervous. (Kazusa follow-up correspondence)

Lastly, Isuzu's comments signify that she embraces the fact of being a NNE herself when she speaks to a NNE, which contrasts with her interactions with NESs.

Excerpt 8.

I once again realised that it is a wonderful thing to be able to communicate with people from other countries (whose English is their L2). When I speak to a NS, it is somewhat unequal because as a NNE, I speak in order to adjust to the person's first language. When my vocabulary is smaller or I cannot speak using the correct grammar, I feel that I am inferior to the NS. But, when English is the L2 for

the other person, we speak to each other's L2, and I feel equal. I don't care much about my incorrect English. Or when I cannot understand what the other side says, I can think it is not my fault. I feel more comfortable compared to speaking to a NS, so I can interact in a way that is closer to when I speak Japanese. Also, if the other side's English is good, there are many things I can learn, such as how to talk, pronunciation, etc. (Isuzu Reflective essay: 2009-12-16)

Isuzu is empowered by the equal power relation with a peer NNES in contrast to when she is speaking to a NES (which will be discussed in the next section). She feels more like herself when interacting with NNEs, as she can recognise herself as a legitimate English speaker rather than a NNES. Moreover, she sees peer NNEs as a model for her learning due to the fact that what is being shared is the state of being a NNES.

(2) English proficiency as a symbolic resource and sources of empowerment and investment. The diary data (of 3 diarists) provides particular insight on how differences in NNEs' proficiency or fluency are perceived by the participants, and it may provide a positive influence on their identities. As presented earlier, Isuzu, in her reflective essay, described the extent to which she could be inspired by a NNES with high proficiency: "if the other side's English is good, there are many things I can learn, such as how to talk, pronunciation, etc." (Excerpt 8). Comparatively higher English proficiency of another NNES in contrast to one's own can be a source of symbolic capital. It can influence the participants positively to invest more in learning and improving their English proficiency. For instance, Kazusa's diary depicts a story about her admiration of a NNES who speaks better than she does. She realises that it is a source of power and investment, leading her to study more. On the last day of the peace study programme she attended, she had another discussion session with co-participants.

Excerpt 9.

In today's group, there were 4 students from my university, including me, a female American student

(undergraduate, 20s), a female Malaysian student (age 24), and a female Japanese student (age 20) who studies at an American university. Since it was the last discussion session, I took the initiative and became a leader. . . . I couldn't express how to say "the idea is biased" in English immediately at that time, so I depended on the Japanese student who studies in the U.S. I couldn't catch what she said because she spoke English a little quickly, but I think I could've explained with simple words. I once again thought that I have to write and use English habitually in order to speak. (Kazusa Diary 8: 2009-08-06)

I was interested in how asking for help from the Japanese student who studied abroad and spoke English more fluently would have an effect on Kazusa, whether positively or negatively. In response to my inquiry, she described the effect as follows:

Excerpt 10.

I felt that I was lucky because I had her in the same group, and I thought she was great, as I expected. I don't think my goal is to be like her. It is more like I myself have to step up what I do. (Kazusa follow-up correspondence)

In this case, Kazusa was empowered by involvement in interactions with a fluent NNES, who holds symbolic resources. She had a high regard for the Japanese student, and then changed her admiration into her investment in her motivation to study more. Isuzu's comment and Kazusa's diary convey the notion that fluent NNEs' symbolic resources (i.e., higher English proficiency) are seen as achievable, or as something that the Japanese L2 English users can aspire to.

Hikari's diary describes in more detail how fluent NNEs are more the target of her own achievement, rather than NESs. In this diary, Hikari talks about the interaction with another NNES through an online chat, and how much she admires the interlocutor in terms of the quality of English he speaks.

Excerpt 11.

When I had a chat with Intradit (Thai, staying in Australia for a business trip, about 50s, race unknown) to whom I spoke on Skype, I felt that my English had improved compared to the last time we talked (about two months ago). I've been reading the news, so I was happy that I could talk about the global recession. But, his English and my English are completely different. I thought mine was formal and not practical. I wish I could speak English as naturally as he does. (Hikari Diary 1: 2009-05-22)

In response to my question about why she aspires to speak like Intradit, she explained.

Excerpt 12.

He can speak in expressions close to those used by NSs. I aim to speak natural English that is not "textbookish". It is expected that NSs are natural in speech, but I respect NNSs greatly when they speak naturally. That's because I cannot do it. The difference between NSs [and NNSs] is the matter of the fact that it is a result of effort. It happens as a result of effort. I also aim to speak naturally as a result of my effort.

To sum, perceived high English proficiency in other NNEs is seen as a symbolic resource, which turns into a somewhat achievable target and therefore becomes an aspiration for the participants. This kind of symbolic resource is seen to empower the participants to become motivated to learn more of the language (i.e., investment; Norton, 2000). The power relations between them are collaborative rather than restrictive. However, as will be presented in the next section, the symbolic resources of fluent NNEs often work coercively on the people who perceive the power relations.

(3) Coercive power relations and loss of investment in NNE–NNE communication. Contrary to the findings presented in the previous section, the differences in English proficiency among NNEs perceived by the participants often cause negative effects on the participants' identities. Three diarists and 8 interviewees reported this phenomenon.

For instance, some of the interviewees stated that they find it difficult and stressful to follow conversations with fluent NNEs because of the "speed" (Hiromi and Hitomi interviews) and the flow of the conversation, and because it is "native-like" (Naofumi interview). Similarly, Fuyuka mentioned she would "get panicked" to some extent when speaking to more fluent NNEs.

Excerpt 13.

If the interlocutor speaks very good English, it is like I'm defeated. So, it's like I cannot make mistakes, and I feel pressured. (Fuyuka interview)

The participants feel anxious, insecure, pressured and sometimes defeated in English-language interactions with more fluent NNEs. Such a negative emotional effect was often reported among diarists based on their everyday experiences as well. For instance, Miyu reported that her friend's ability to speak good English was a factor leading to nervousness when talking to her on the phone. Her Romanian friend (female postgraduate student in a Japanese university) called her one morning to ask to borrow a dictionary from her.

Excerpt 14.

I am on having-tea-terms with her, so I'm used to speaking English to her, but I get nervous when talking on the phone because I sometimes can barely make out what the other end is saying. (Miyu Diary 7: 2009-07-21)

Thus, she stated, "I was on pins and needles during the conversation from start to finish, as I worried there would be mistakes during the conversation." Miyu claimed that the reason for her worry was that it was a conversation on the phone, but also because of the interlocutor's good ability to speak English.

Excerpt 15.

Her speaking ability is very high and she is very fluent; also, her pronunciation is sound. Her ability to express herself is profound. When I think about the ability of speaking, she can speak a lot better than me. Therefore, such differences are linked to

nervousness and guardedness that I felt during the conversation on the phone. (Miyu Diary 7: 2009-07-21)

Acknowledging the NNS interlocutor's much higher ability in English leads participants to feel nervous during interaction, or some feel "defeated" by them because of the differences in proficiency. In this sense, they seem to put themselves in a weaker position than the more fluent English speakers; in other words, there is an unequal power relationship between them that is constructed by the participants. As a result, the nervousness negatively influences their ability to listen and speak, that is to say, the unbalanced power works coercively to put pressure on the identities. The participants judge themselves negatively, and this judgment influences them detrimentally and ends up putting constraints on their ability to communicate. Natsumi reported the following incident concerning this issue in one of her diaries: During a morning break at work, Natsumi and her Japanese colleague, who is also an interpreter at the factory, went into a lounge. They were chatting in Japanese for a while because there were no non-Japanese trainees around them. Shortly, a Nigerian trainee came up to them and strangely asked them to speak in English to each other because he wanted to observe them speaking to each other in English.

Excerpt 16.

I wouldn't feel resistance to speaking English if there had been a [non-Japanese] English speaker present. However, I was perplexed by the situation in which two Japanese people would speak English all of the sudden and the English speaker would just listen to us. We were given a topic to discuss this time; thus, we talked briefly about it. For example, I said "I went to Tokyo for shopping. How about you?" However, the conversation didn't expand like it usually does. Perhaps the fact that the English speaker (the Nigerian) was just listening to us without joining in the conversation gave me a feeling of pressure. Moreover, I've never spoken to my Japanese colleague in English when only the two of us are speaking. The colleague speaks English very well, of course, because she has spent more time

abroad than I have. Therefore, because I didn't want her to hear my bad English, the conversation didn't expand and I must have got confused. (Natsumi Diary 1: 2009-05-13)

Natsumi recognises that her Japanese colleague has spent more years abroad (3 years compared to Natsumi's 18 months), and speaks better English. This means that Natsumi sees symbolic resources in her colleagues and there is a power relation between them. The power relation, with which Natsumi identifies, works on Natsumi's identity coercively. Hence, she was "scared very much" about exposing her "lower" English-speaking abilities to her colleague, who holds symbolic power compared to Natsumi. She, consequently, could not put in the effort to facilitate the conversation.

A similar influence of power imbalance based on perceived difference in English proficiency, and its destructive influence on further communication, is reported by Yayoi, as well. In this diary entry, she describes an experience of feeling uncomfortable when speaking to a NNS with more fluency than she has.

Excerpt 17.

When I was about to leave a lab today, a young guy sitting next to me spoke to me and found it was Mark (Dutch, 21 years old). I felt like leaving the place as soon as possible because when I chat with him, I always feel my low English ability. He is almost a native speaker of English and also speaks super fast. I get nervous and feel a pressure when I speak to him, and so I make mistakes that I usually do not make or I cannot remember easy words. While we were chatting today, he always asked me questions and I just answered. I could not ask him anything and my answers were short. I knew it was not good, but I could only manage to follow what he said and what I should say. (Yayoi Diary 10: 2009-09-14; original in English)

She felt so uncomfortable speaking to the interlocutor that she could not make any effort to facilitate the interaction. Speaking to a more fluent NNS made her nervous because she compared her own fluency to his. She put

herself in a powerless position by comparison because, as a NNEs, she believes she should be able to speak English as fluently. Therefore, she blames herself for her “low English ability” and “regret[s] that she had not made opportunities to expose [herself] to English”. She always puts forth effort to use English; however, when she is actually engaged in social interactions where she feels uncomfortable about her self-perception, she cannot invest much effort for further interaction. Consequently, she resorts to not having to expose her “poorer” level of English ability by withdrawing from the conversation.

2. Power Relations between NSs and the Japanese L2 English Users

(1) Feelings of inferiority and insecurity toward NESs. Many participants (8 interviewees and 4 diarists) reported their perception toward NESs’ speech, and how the perception has a negative influence on them psychologically. Their accounts reveal that the perceptions were constructed clearly based on their daily experiences of engagements in English-language interaction with NESs. For instance, Tae reported that she feels she has “no control over conversation” in interaction with NESs, and thus she gets “stressed”; Hiromi, Takeo, and Naofumi gave an account that NES talk is “too fast” and thus they “cannot follow”, which makes them “anxious” and “panic”. Naofumi also mentioned that NES speech makes him “realise his inability”. NESs’ speech seems to exert an unconstructive emotional effect on the participants’ self-conception as English language users, regardless of whether or not NESs realise it or act to force NNEs to feel in such ways. The participants seem to compare their ability to that of NESs. The following comment by Yoriko (who studies at a British university as an exchange student) explicitly states how she generally sees British English speakers (i.e., NESs) and how it influences her.

Excerpt 18.

Y: It’s like, British students talk their mouth off with perfect English.

I: Yeah, they are native speakers.

Y: I just think that they are never wrong, only because they speak perfect English. So, I get shocked at my own English proficiency. Yeah. (Yoriko

interview)

The negative psychological effect from NESs influences the Japanese L2 English speakers so detrimentally that they position themselves in a weaker position, or perceive themselves as inferior to NESs.

Excerpt 19.

With NSs, well, like, I feel nervous. Like they understand that my English is incorrect after all. Yeah, I feel like I couldn’t make myself understood if I don’t pronounce well; [I imagine] such ideas, like they are making a fool of me, a little, if I don’t speak correctly. I will be conscious about such things. (Naofumi interview)

Negative emotional effects caused by (the prospect of) interacting with NESs were also frequently recounted in the daily engagements in English-language interaction in the diaries. For instance, Natsumi, who works as an interpreter at a factory and interacts with trainees coming from all over the world on a daily basis, expressed her nervousness and lack of confidence when she heard the news that she could expect American trainees in a few weeks.

Excerpt 20.

Today, when I was about to leave work after a meeting, there was a piece of paper left on the desk. As I looked into it, it was a schedule chart. It seems like Americans will come for a 2-week training next week, and I will be in charge as an interpreter. It seems like it is the same training when the Indians came. Ummmmmmmm... I think I must have increased some vocabulary since last time, so the situation shouldn’t be too hard. But I’m worried. I have many opportunities to speak English with Asians, but I don’t have many opportunities to speak with white NESs, to be honest. I assume that [NSs’] pronunciation should be easier to understand compared to Indians, but I feel depressed for some reason. Am I nervous because I will meet them for the first time, or because they are white? I don’t know. Maybe for both reasons. Anyways, I will revise

the vocabulary that I learned in the last training session again in order to have more confidence.
(Natsumi Diary 9: 2009-07-10)

Even though she speaks English as an interpreter at her everyday job, the prospect of working for Americans as an interpreter makes her worried and nervous. The diary clearly depicts her worries about her ability to use English when it comes to speaking to NESs. She further mentions clearly that her nervousness also stems from the fact that the Americans are NESs.

Excerpt 21.

There may be stress because I feel that I have to speak English with appropriate grammar. When I speak to Asians, I don't care much about making grammatical mistakes. That's probably because I think the other side would make mistakes like me, too. (Natsumi follow-up correspondence)

In the next diary entry, she wrote about the day when the Americans arrived and she started to work with them. She still expressed her nervousness.

Excerpt 22.

Today, two Americans (Tony and Sean) came for training. . . . I was a little depressed from the morning, and as soon as I started to work, I panicked, as I couldn't do good translation from the beginning. (Natsumi Diary 10: 2009-07-15)

A week later, she made another diary entry when she completed the work with the Americans. She had developed a good relationship with the Americans and enjoyed the work; however, she reflected that the fact that they were NESs affected her experience.

Excerpt 23.

Yesterday, I finished the interpreting work with the Americans. There were times when I couldn't understand what they said and asked them to repeat it, but overall, I think things went OK. . . .

After working with Indians and Americans, the things that concerned me when I was speaking

English were grammatical in nature. For example, when I talked about something that happened in the past, I was going to speak in the past tense but actually spoke in the present tense, and then later I corrected myself with the past tense. Or I often reflected to myself whether I used the past tense correctly or not. When I speak to Indians, I rarely care about such things so much, but I think I became conscious about speaking properly when speaking to NESs. (Natsumi Diary 11: 2009-07-22)

Natsumi could not be her true self and enjoy the conversation with NESs since she became conscious of herself trying to speak English with “proper” grammar. This caused her to feel depressed and stressed.

Diary entries such as Natsumi's (Excerpts 20-22) illustrated that the symbolic power of NESs is recognised in their actual opportunities to interact with NESs. For them, NESs are the “perfect” speakers of English, which is regarded as a symbolic resource. Moreover, the entries demonstrated how symbolic power influences the participants' sensitivity. They generally worry about making grammatical mistakes and feel obliged to match up to the perceived NES's standard. As a consequence, they put themselves in a weaker position relative to NESs.

(2) Coercive power relations with NES and constraint on identities. Unequal power relations with NESs were also reported as resulting from experiences of being marginalised by NESs (or the majority of the immediate community) by 4 participants in my study. Isuzu (a diarist) reported her experiences of what she perceived as being discriminated against because of her ethnicity and being a NNEs in Britain (see Excerpt 25 for one of her accounts). Naofumi stated that he did not feel welcomed and “felt a wall” between him and his host family in Australia, which potentially affected his perspective of the relationship between him and NESs. Fuyuka felt distance from British students as she could not be friends with them, no matter how hard she tried, which led to a lingering distant relationship between her and NESs (i.e., British). All of these participants perceived themselves as occupying a weaker position than NESs because of being a NNEs or a foreigner, and

perceived their experience as being marginalised. Such marginalising or discriminatory experiences inevitably shape and influence how they identify NESs and behave around them.

For example, Tomomi encountered being marginalised or discriminated against due to her status as a NNS.

Excerpt 24.

T: Most of my classmates are NSs, and really, most of them don't have any interest in Asian or overseas students. When I was a first-year student, I spoke to a person but she was like, "Oh, well, you are not a NS. I don't want you because you cannot help me study".

I: Oh, you were told something like that?

T: Like that, such a nuance. I was like, "I see". So I don't initiate speaking to them. And since they are NSs, I get perplexed a little, too.

I: In what sense do you get perplexed?

T: Well, like, I worry that they wouldn't understand me in terms of pronunciation, etc.

I: I see. The other side [doesn't understand] your [pronunciation]?

T: That's right. After all, there are some times when my English is pronounced with a Japanese accent. So I worry that I cannot make myself understood at all. . . . So, I'm scared how they would react when I talk to them. (Tomomi interview)

One past discriminatory experience affected Tomomi immensely, and she has a fear of speaking to NESs because she is afraid of their reaction toward her. Her identity as an English user is considered to be constrained by the unequal power relation she experienced. She lost the power of investment in interacting with the target language speaker in the target language culture.

Isuzu talked of experiences she perceived as discrimination against her in this diary.

Excerpt 25.

I went to Tesco yesterday. A lady at the till (British, 20s) was unfriendly. She had a sullen attitude and spoke coldly. When a store staff's attitude is bad, if it is in Japan, I just think, "Ah, this store staff has

a terrible attitude"; but when I'm in the U.K., I think, "Is it because I'm Japanese?" It's not simply "terrible-mannered staff", but I think, "staff who changes his/her attitude depending on customer's race". After I encounter such events, when I speak to other British people (except for friends), I get nervous, a little.

The problem lies with the store staff, if the person is biased, but I start to think that other people, who have nothing to do with this store staff, may actually look down on some [minority] people in their minds, which is covert discrimination. Because of wariness that I don't want to be treated with a cold attitude, I get nervous about it [speaking to British people]. (Isuzu Diary 10: 2009-08-30)

Elsewhere, she explained that the reason behind the perceived discrimination was not only based on her racial background but also her "limited" English competence. She felt that she was in a powerless position. Here, the power relation was represented between Isuzu, who was a "racialised" as having a "disadvantaged ability" in English language use, and British people, who comprise the majority of the community speaking British English (e.g., Jackson, 2008). Her sense of self as an English speaker was misaligned. Subsequently, she hesitated to engage in future interactions with British people because she was afraid of being a victim of identity misalignment again.

Symbolic resources of NESs that can affect the Japanese L2 English users appear as both sides of one coin. Above, I have presented how the participants construct their powerless position as English language users against NESs, who hold symbolic power. Such an unequal power relation can influence Japanese L2 English users' identities detrimentally. On the other hand, there are occasions when NESs' symbolic resources are recognised positively and have a constructive impact on Japanese L2 English users' L2 identities, to which I turn in the next section.

(3) Empowerment by symbolic resources of NESs. One day, Miyu wanted to know the difference in meaning between phlegm and sputum, words that came

up in the textbook she was using to teach at a college of nursing. She asked one of her friends, who is Japanese Canadian (Ella), about the difference.

Excerpt 26.

In the dictionary, both said ‘痰・唾’ [tan · tsuba]. I wanted to know how they are used differently, and asked. She told me that “phlegm” is the yellow stuff you get when you are sick, and “sputum” is saliva. But I said to Ella that it seems like “sputum” also means the yellow stuff. She checked with the English–English dictionary, and we found that it also has a meaning of the yellow stuff.

It looks like “sputum” is a medical term and she normally doesn’t use it. Even Ella, who is a NES, didn’t know the specific definition, which has both the meaning of ‘痰’ [tan] and ‘唾’ [tsuba]. For Ella herself, it seems that this was a new discovery.

I felt refreshed that I could know the differences between “phlegm” and “sputum”, and glad to learn there are words of which even NSs don’t know the meanings, especially words that aren’t used commonly. (Miyu Diary 3: 2009-05-29)

Miyu further expressed that she was encouraged by this experience, which gave her courage to use English more freely.

Excerpt 27.

By reconfirming that there are words which even NSs don’t know, I could find the courage to ask NSs, or others who speak English very well, by saying I don’t know the word when I don’t. By doing so, I may be able to challenge myself to use different expressions a little more in conversation where I tend to use the same words and expressions. (Miyu follow-up correspondence)

This experience exerted a positive influence on her identity, and now she is ready to express herself more with newly acquired words and expressions, without being too hesitant. She intends to invest more in challenging her own ability to use English.

Another example is seen in Kazusa’s diary. One day

while she was studying at a French university, she met an American student through one of her friends.

Excerpt 28.

We’ve been speaking in French at first, but she cannot speak French very well either, so we spoke in English in the end. It was very easy to talk and the conversation grew lively. I was worried a bit where I could have made myself understood well, so I asked her whether it’s ok or not, and she responded and praised me, saying “Not a problem at all. Your pronunciation is especially good.” I was very happy. (Kazusa Diary 11: 2009-09-15)

This entry shows her insecurity about her English when she spoke to a NES, given that she was worried about her ability to converse in English and confirmed this with the NES. The most significant aspect for her in this diary was that she received praise on her English language ability from the interlocutor when she felt insecure. She further explained that the fact that the person who gave her the compliment was a NES increased her level of delight.

Excerpt 29.

I think it is because I was praised by a NES rather than [because she was] an American. But I should be happy when I get praise by NNSs. The size of my happiness is bigger when I get praise from a NS than from a NNS. I think I’m happy when I get praise from somebody who can speak English obviously better than me. (Kazusa follow-up correspondence)

Symbolic resources of NESs that the participants interpret sometimes help the participants to see themselves as an English user. As shown above, recognising that a NES is not perfect and being acknowledged as a good English user by a NES who holds symbolic resources encouraged the participants to affirm themselves as English users. On the other hand, experiences of discrimination, for example, by NESs with symbolic resources misaligned the participants’ identities and detrimentally affected their investment in future English-language interaction.

V. Discussion

I presented the above findings regarding how participants recognised power relations with interlocutors in English-language interactions. As English is a world lingua franca, the data in my study presented the participants engaging in interactions with a variety of people all over the world. The power relations between the participants and their interlocutors are constructed through their engagement in ELF interactions. In much of the earlier research, this aspect was disregarded, and most studies have investigated the relationship between learners and NESs or only among NNEs.

The findings and the participants' stories led to answers for the following research question: How do power relations between NESs and Japanese L2 English speakers, and between NNEs and Japanese L2 English speakers emerge in the Japanese L2 English users' identities?

In this section, I will summarise the findings regarding power relations in English-language interactions, as well as discuss the findings in relation to discourses found in the present study and constructive options for L2 users' self-identification.

1. Power Relations, Symbolic Resources, and Positioning of Self

The findings suggest that the participants consider fluency and advanced ability in English communication of other NNEs as symbolic resources (Bourdieu, 1977). Moreover, NESs are seen as powerful by the participants because of their NES status, which is signified as a symbolic power. NESs are recognised by their appearance (e.g., typically represented as white Europeans) and by their pronunciation. The participants acknowledged that advanced linguistic ability of NNEs is an important asset to participate fully in the communities of English speakers (Jackson, 2008). The power relation with the interlocutors is created and recognised by the participants, which implies that power is "not fixed, pre-determined quantity, but can be mutually generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations" (Norton, 2000: 9). Indeed, unbalanced power relations are created by recognising the differences between participants and the symbolic resources of more proficient NNEs and NESs. The findings showed that such unbalanced power

relations can influence the L2 English users' identities, both positively and negatively (Cummins, 1996). With which interlocutors participants found power imbalances depended on what resources they saw as symbolic power in that person (Norton, 2000). This suggests that the participants' feelings of anxiety and lack of confidence in their L2 abilities are socially constructed rather than representing inherent personality traits (Norton, 2000). My data also suggests that a detrimental emotional influence was constructed within the frame of the participants' lived experiences (e.g., Excerpts 24 and 25). Their identities as English language users were constrained, and they regarded themselves as helpless, powerless, and weak. In the most extreme cases, some participants were afraid of interacting with others who held symbolic resources (e.g., fluent NNEs and NESs), and could not put forth effort to facilitate the conversation further. In other words, they lost investment in the opportunities to interact with others even though they were generally motivated L2 English users (Norton, 2000). Consequently, their identities regarding L2 use were misaligned (Norton, 2000; Jackson, 2008).

At times the participants were empowered by recognising the symbolic resources of fluent NNEs. The symbolic resources were acknowledged as something the Japanese L2 English users admired and aspired to gain in order to achieve greater access to the wider communities of English language users. As a result, they were empowered to be more competent L2 English users and motivated to learn more. The symbolic resources of more proficient NNEs were appreciated as a result of their "blood and sweat", or the effort they had made to learn English. There was a collaborative power relation between them (Cummins, 1996), which affirmed their identities as English language users.

In contrast, unequal power relations with fluent NNEs and NESs often appeared to work coercively on the identities of many of the participants. This effect induced negative emotions such as anxiety, insecurity, lack of confidence, and inferiority in relation to how participants saw themselves as English language users. They put themselves in powerless and weaker positions, where they could not expand their identities as English users. The feelings of anxiety and lack of confidence

were linked to the power relations that the participants negotiated in social interactions while speaking English (Morita, 2004; Nogami, 2011; Norton, 2000). As seen in many of the participants' narratives, positioning themselves in a weaker position can have negative and undesirable effects (e.g., loss of investment) on L2 English users' identities because they often perceive themselves as powerless or "incompetent NNESs", and their self-perception is based on their English language competence, which can be argued to act as a representation of aiming towards native-based competence. It may be said that many Japanese L2 English users in my study are often engaged in a NS–NNS dichotomy (Pavlenko, 2003). It was common among the participants to feel insecure about their "deficiency" in English language use when interacting with NESs and fluent NNESs, and such phenomena can be explained as a discourse of "native speakerness" (Cook, 2008). We might suggest that L2 English users who experience power imbalances between NES/fluent NNES and NNES see "NS competence" as the ultimate end in their pursuit of L2 acquisition and NESs as the ultimate symbolic goal of competence for NNESs (Nogami, 2011; Pavlenko, 2003). In discourses where the NS–NNS dichotomy is significant, it is restrictive for self-representation of L2 English users (Nogami, 2011; Pavlenko, 2003).

However, there are options available for L2 English users to consider themselves as bilingual/multilingual, multicultural, and legitimate L2 users, so that they can find ways to empower themselves to reconstruct positive self-identification (Cook, 2008; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003). L2 users should be able to seek and claim their legitimacy as L2 English language users where they can expand their identities beyond the discourse of native speakerness. In order to achieve this, L2 English educators can provide L2 learners an alternative vision for current and future possible selves during the education process (Jackson, 2008; Kanno, 2003; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Pavlenko, 2003). This would help L2 learners optimise construction of their L2 identities

2. Sharedness and Self-Identification

Commonly, the participants recognised equal status with peer NNESs. Perceiving that they shared the same

status as a NNES helped them to identify themselves positively as an English language user. Some stated that being NNESs—that is, having a foreign accent, making linguistic mistakes, and sympathising with the difficulty of learning/using L2—is what they share. The participants addressed collaborative features of NNESs' interactions and the sense of sharedness with peer NNESs. The participants also appreciated that peer NNESs help each other through conversation to achieve successful communication, and NNESs understand one another in terms of the nuisance and obstacle of being NNESs participating in English-speaking communities (ELF community of practice; Kolocsi, 2009). Such sharedness bestows on Japanese L2 English users a positive psychological effect when engaged in English-language interactions. They expressed their comfort and security in English-language interactions with NNESs. The participants' narratives on the discourse of sharedness did not constitute a pre-determined variable; the sense of sharedness was constructed through their lived experiences and described in their day-to-day engagement in English-language interactions.

This perception of sharedness helped construct equal power relations among NNESs, and the participants felt secure and positively affirmed in their positions as English language users: They were legitimate L2 English users in this community of L2 English users who share non-nativeness (Kolocsi, 2009). Because of the sharedness, it seems that the participants are able to identify themselves positively as English language users. They are on the same and equal ground with other NNESs, and they appreciate the sharedness empowering them as legitimate English users. They can express their "true selves" during English-language interactions with others of equal power status without being constrained socio-psychologically.

VI. Conclusion

I presented findings regarding how Japanese L2 English users recognise power relations with interlocutors in English-language interactions. The power relations between Japanese L2 English users and their interlocutors are constructed through their engagement in various English-language interactions. Power relations with

interlocutors of different backgrounds were fluctuating, which the Japanese L2 English users negotiated at every interactional opportunity. Power relations appeared to influence the L2 users' identities both encouragingly and detrimentally. Although the finding presented the sense of sharing with peer NNEs (which had a positive effect on L2 users' identity negotiation as L2 users), the symbolic power of NESs and fluent NNEs often put negative pressure on the L2 users' identity construction and constrained the possibility of their acknowledging themselves as legitimate L2 English language users.

The present study remains descriptive rather than prescriptive; however, it may raise awareness in second/foreign language educators of the possibility of finding ways to empower their students as L2 users and to reconstruct positive self-identification by acknowledging how power relations with interlocutors can influence L2 learners/users.

Appendix A Coding Scheme (Diary Study)

Category	Code & Description		Further explanation
1. Pragmatic choice in relation to subjectivities	1.1. Resistance to other's pragmatic choice based on subjectivity		'Subjectivity': own moral, believes, feeling of not being acknowledged etc.
	1.2. Own pragmatic choice deliberately based on subjectivity		
2. Sense of self	2.1. English self		Personality related to as a user of English
	2.1.a. English self vs. Japanese self		Contrasting/comparing own linguistic-behaviour speaking in English and in Japanese, or English linguistic-behaviour in Japan
	2.1.b. Struggle between English self vs. Japanese self		
	2.2. Sense of insecurity		E.g. anxiety in English interactions, lack and loss of self-confidence in English proficiency during English interactions
	2.3. Self-affirmation/self-appreciation as an English speaker		E.g. happy about having being able to communicate in English
3. Sharedness (feeling comfortable and/or secure because of what they perceive to share with the interlocutor)	3.1. The relation of culture/ethnicity		With East-Asian interlocutors.
	3.2. The degree of non-nativeness		
	3.3. Being non-native speaker		Not related to one's English proficiency/competence
4. Power relations	4.1. NS (including "British")	a. Negative psychological effect (discomfort, anxiety, perceived discrimination, withdrawal)	*(Codes 4.1 – 4.4) Symbolic resources: Resources that the diarist sees something symbolic in the following people (4.1. – 4.4)
		b. Loss of investment in using/learning English	

		c. Positive psychological effect (empowered) (feeling comfortable, and secure, and admiration to the interlocutor)	*(Additional codes: a, b, c, and d) In relation to interaction with the interlocutor (4.1 -4.4), (if any) influence of symbolic resources to the speaker
		d. More investment in learning/communicating in English (motivated and desire for the future self)	
	4.2. More fluent NNS (In relation to English proficiency/competence compared to a diarist)		a. Negative psychological effect (discomfort, anxiety, perceived discrimination, withdrawal)
			b. Loss of investment in using/learning English
			c. Positive psychological effect (empowered) (feeling comfortable, and secure, and admiration to the interlocutor)
			d. More investment in learning/communicating in English (motivated and desire for the future self)
	4.3. Multilingual/multicultural people (Not being related to English proficiency)		a. Negative psychological effect (discomfort, anxiety, perceived discrimination, withdrawal)
			b. Loss of investment in using/learning English
			c. Positive psychological effect (empowered) (feeling comfortable, and secure, and admiration to the interlocutor)
			d. More investment in learning/communicating in English (motivated and desire for the future self)
	4.4. Oneself (symbolic resources as an English speaker)		a. Negative psychological effect (discomfort, anxiety, perceived discrimination, withdrawal)
			b. Loss of investment in using/learning English
			c. Positive psychological effect (empowered) (feeling comfortable, and secure, and admiration to the interlocutor)
			d. More investment in learning/communicating in English (motivated and desire for the future self)
5. Perception of English	5.1. Appreciation of English as Lingua Franca		
	5.2. Perception of English lingua-culture (including evaluation of English lingua-culture)		

- 1 “English-speaking world/communities” does not refer to countries where the first language is English, but refers to the world in which any speakers of English (regardless of being NESs or NNESSs) participate.
- 2 The term *discourse* here is used in a Foucauldian sense, referring to a “set of historically grounded statements that exhibit regularities in presuppositions, thematic choices, values, etc.” (McKay & Wong, 1996: 579).
- 3 Having acknowledged the problem of the terms NS/NNS, I use them for the sake of practicality, and do not intend to emphasise the dichotomy, but rather query it.
- 4 I refer to the participants as L2 users rather than L2 learners because the term ‘L2 users’ facilitates recognition that the speakers are not “deficient native speakers” (Cook, 1999: 185), but active agents who use the language in their own right. The term ‘L2 learner’ seems to denote people who learn the second language in a classroom but not those who use the language outside a classroom. A L2 user refers to a person who uses another language than his/her first language (Cook, 2002: 1).
- 5 The two contexts of the participants’ main location of residence were chosen to investigate the group differences, if any. However, the findings did not indicate group differences regarding the research questions, but showed more individual differences.
- 6 The term subjectivity denotes “one’s view and perception of the world composed of individual dispositions such as values, beliefs, morals, feelings, and personal principles” (Ishihara, 2006: 88). The difference between “identity” and “subjectivity” is that the former is more permanent and the latter is more ephemeral (Block, 2009).
- 7 The participants’ narratives that will be presented are all translated from Japanese unless otherwise noted (i.e., “original in English”).
- 8 “Other NNESSs” in this article refers to non-Japanese NNESSs.
- 9 This number indicates, in this case, the fourth diary entry made by Miyu on July 5, 2009. This rule applies to all entries in the rest of the article.

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